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The American Reception of Gabriel Fauré: From Francophile Boston, 1892-1945, to the Broader Postwar Mainstream

Heather de Savage
University of Connecticut - Storrs, heather.desavage@uconn.edu

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Heather Rachael de Savage, PhD

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The importance of French influences in American musical life from the 1920s onward, particularly as personified in the teaching of Nadia Boulanger, has long been central to narratives of American music; the much earlier impact of Gabriel Fauré (1845–1924), however, has been largely ignored. This dissertation examines Fauré's reception in the United States, through a detailed consideration of performance and criticism in Boston between 1892 and 1945, and a more selective examination of key aspects of the composer's broader reception both during and after this time.

Boston's increasingly Francophile orientation in the decades around 1900, manifested across multiple domains, encouraged the presence of French music on concert programs, and distinguished its musical world from that of predominantly Germanophile New York. Leading cultural figures, including painter John Singer Sargent as well as musicians such as Charles Martin Loeffler and Edward Burlingame Hill, vigorously promoted Fauré's music. A survey of performances that took place in Boston during the composer's lifetime, from the American premiere of the First Violin Sonata in 1892 to the Boston Symphony Orchestra's memorial concert of 1924, reveals the extent to which the city laid the foundations of his broader American reception; this pioneering role continued after Fauré's death, culminating in the Harvard festival in honor of his centennial in 1945. Furthermore, I argue that the writings of Boston music critics, especially Philip Hale and Edward Burlingame Hill, spearheaded the identification and promotion in this country of a distinctively French musical aesthetic, of which Hale and Hill

viewed Fauré a supreme exemplar. Such advocacy for Fauré continued among a younger generation of American musicians, particularly composers who studied with Nadia Boulanger (herself a devoted Fauré pupil), most notably Aaron Copland, Walter Piston, and Elliott Carter. The final chapter of the dissertation considers Fauré's reception after 1945, and beyond Boston and the concert hall, in order to understand the significance of his music in the United States today, examining adaptations of his music for ballet, and analyzing the extraordinary popularity of the Requiem, including its role in aspects of popular culture such as film and television.

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Heather Rachael de Savage

BMus, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1998

MA, University of New Hampshire, 2007

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The American Reception of Gabriel Fauré: From Francophile Boston, 1892–1945,

to the Broader Postwar Mainstream

Presented by

Heather Rachael de Savage, BMus, MA

Major Advisor _____

Alain Frogley

Associate Advisor _____

Glenn Stanley

Associate Advisor _____

Eric Rice

University of Connecticut

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Chapter 1

Introduction

> It is a little difficult for those of us who have long admired Fauré's work to foresee how the present dwellers of Harvard Yard will take to him. Personally, I'm just a trifle nervous.
>
> —Aaron Copland, 1945

Aaron Copland made this confession in his introduction to a festival, organized by the Harvard Department of Music, in honor of the centennial of the birth of Gabriel Fauré (1845–1924).[1] Copland had long admired Fauré, and in 1924 had chosen him as the subject of his first published essay, hoping to educate his readers on the value of this composer whom he regarded then as "neglected" by Americans.[2] Writing just weeks prior to Fauré's death, Copland even suggests the "need for Fauré propaganda" to help Americans become familiar with his music.[3] Although he was the first to use the actual word "neglected" to describe Fauré's reception in the United States, the idea did not originate with Copland: others before him had felt that Fauré needed special advocacy in the United States and had tried to stimulate American interest in him through their writings.[4] In fact, the above statement represents a long-standing and ongoing belief that Fauré's music was less familiar to American audiences than it should be, and it is a sentiment that even today those who admire Fauré and his music will readily comprehend.

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[1] Aaron Copland, "Faure [sic] Festival at Harvard," *The New York Times*, November 25, 1945, 56. Many newspapers omit the acute accent from Fauré's last name. It would be cumbersome to note such omissions throughout the dissertation: where the accent does not appear here, it should be assumed that it is absent in the source cited.

[2] Aaron Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master," *The Musical Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (October 1924): 573–86.

[3] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master," 573.

[4] Most prominent among these were Boston critics Philip Hale, Henry Taylor Parker, and Edward Burlingame Hill, whose writings I will discuss in detail in Chapter 6.

However, Copland's underlying suggestion in the centennial essay that Fauré's music was then still largely unknown to American audiences, and in the Boston area in particular, is not accurate. It had actually been heard publicly in Boston since at least 1892, and thereafter followed a fairly steady course of growing familiarity and popularity, through performances, critical writings, and active promotion by specific individuals in the city who admired Fauré—in some cases even more deeply than did Copland. In fact, among America's major musical centers it is in Boston that one encounters the most concentrated and sustained engagement with Fauré's music during his lifetime, and it is here, it can be argued, that the foundations of the composer's wider reputation in the United States were laid. In this dissertation I will trace how performers, critics, composers and institutions based in the city, or with strong connections to it, helped to establish this composer in American musical life.

Today, there is no question that Fauré's music is performed regularly and widely across the United States. The Requiem, op. 48, perhaps his best-known work, is given frequently by choral ensembles of all levels, and has been used in the cinema, advertising, and other arenas of popular culture. Symphony orchestras perform his suites and arrangements of his music, and today's recital audiences are extremely familiar with his *mélodies*, solo piano works, and chamber music. Nevertheless, Fauré's position in the American musical world has largely been restricted to the second rank, lagging behind not only the Austro-German composers that dominate the performance canon, but also his French contemporaries. This is partly due to the assumption by many that he was in essence a "salon composer," whose music appealed only to a rather limited, elite audience, in comparison with the broader appeal of, for example, Debussy

and Ravel.[5] This is due partly to the relative prestige and impact of different genres, of course, and since the early twentieth century both of these latter composers have enjoyed a high mainstream profile in Europe and in the United States that is dominated by large-scale works for orchestra or the stage, categories largely absent from Fauré's catalogue: in Debussy's case *L'Après-midi d'un faune*, *La mer* and the opera *Pelléas et Mélisande*, for example, or *Daphnis et Chloé* and *Ma mère l'oye* in Ravel's. Yet although such hierarchies of genre certainly shaped Fauré's reputation during his lifetime, a striking feature of reception history is the way in which it can disrupt and complicate established narratives of this kind. For instance, although Fauré is not now strongly identified with orchestral music, Boston audiences in the first decade of the twentieth century had reason to view the matter somewhat differently. The orchestral suite drawn from his incidental music to Maeterlinck's play *Pelléas et Mélisande* earned a great deal of recognition, and a regular place in the orchestra's repertoire, after its premiere by the Boston Symphony orchestra (BSO) in 1904 (four years before the American premiere of Debussy's opera, incidentally); and his suite *Shylock*, op. 57, and the overture to his opera *Pénélope* were heard on multiple occasions in Boston during this period as well.[6]

As I will discuss in the closing chapters of the dissertation, there are signs that Fauré's reputation is now beginning to be re-evaluated. But regardless of whether some do still indeed place Fauré in that secondary role of "salon composer," in terms of the historical record, the simple fact is that American audiences, and particularly those in Boston, had opportunities to get to know a significant number of his musical works, across a variety of genres, even while he was

[5] Jean-Michel Nectoux traces the origins of Fauré's reputation as a "salon" composer back to the popular *Berceuse*, op. 16, of 1879. See Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, trans. Roger Nichols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 85. Fauré's presence in the Parisian salons and his association with "salon" style is discussed in various early American critical writings and concert reviews, which I address in subsequent chapters.

[6] See Appendix 3.

still living. This is not to say that an interest in Fauré's music was exclusive to Boston: his chamber works and *mélodies* began to be performed in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other American cities around the same time that they started to appear on Boston concert programs.[7] Nevertheless, the amount of activity that was centered in Boston, and the significance of the American premieres that took place there, is striking. Although Fauré never visited this country in person, his music did establish a significant place within its musical life, and it can be argued that this was in no small part through the efforts of numerous performing musicians and critics in the Boston area who actively promoted his cause.

It is particularly important to recover this history because Fauré's American reception has been almost completely ignored in previous scholarship on the composer.[8] In his landmark 1979 volume on the life and works of Fauré, Robert Orledge cites Copland's 1924 article, but accepts without question the idea that the composer was "then unknown in the USA," and suggests that Copland may even have overestimated Fauré's standing in France at that time.[9] Indeed, a recurring theme in writing on Fauré has been the idea that until relatively recently, the composer's music had for the most part very little exposure or impact anywhere outside France, in large part because its essential qualities were too distinctively French to be understood outside

[7] For example, see "Musical Matters," *The New York Times*, April 8, 1894, 21 (Piano Quartet no. 1 in C minor, op. 15); "In Social Spheres: A Musicale," *Los Angeles Times*, March 19, 1896, 7 (*Berceuse*, op. 16); and "By Bankers' Athletic Glee Club," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 4, 1897, 41 ("Les roses d'Ispahan").

[8] Two exceptions are found in studies on Fauré's indirect influence on American composers Aaron Copland and Walter Piston through Nadia Boulanger. See Edward R. Philips, "Fauré, through Boulanger to Copland: the Nature of Influence," *Gamut: Online Journal of the Music Theory Society of the Mid-Atlantic* 4, no. 1, Article 9 (2011), http://trace.tennessee.edu/gamut/vol4/iss1/9 2 (accessed June 3, 2014), and Carlo Caballero, "Fauré *chez* Piston: Nadia Boulanger and the Shadows of a Style," in *Nadia Boulanger in North America: Histories and Legacies*, edited by Johanna Keller, 30 pp (accepted by University of Rochester Press). Presented as "Fauré *chez* Piston: Nadia Boulanger and the Bequest of a Style," at "Nadia Boulanger & American Music: A Memorial Symposium," University of Colorado, Boulder, October 8, 2004. I thank Dr. Caballero for making available to me a pre-publication draft of his article. Additionally, Ellen Knight includes a number of references to Charles Martin Loeffler's interest in Fauré in Ellen Knight, *Charles Martin Loeffler::A Life Apart in American Music* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

[9] Robert Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré* (London: Eulenburg Books, 1979), 41.

their native habitat.[10] (Although even in France, some, most notably the Russian-French philosopher Vladimir Jankélévitch, have discussed Fauré's music as existing just beyond the reach of one's full understanding of it.[11]) This dissertation will address a number of key questions concerning the development of Fauré's profile in the United States: 1) Why did Boston prove to be such a fertile ground for his early reception compared to other major American cities?; 2) Which of Fauré's compositions were first introduced to Boston audiences, and who performed them?; 3) What qualities in Fauré's music do Boston critics identify in their writings during this period, and how do their views compare with those of Copland and other American composers who admired Fauré?; and, finally, 4) How did this early reception (1892–1945) expand to encompass the more mainstream presence that Fauré's music enjoys in the U.S. today? Through a study of performances, critical writings, and other activities in the Boston area between 1892 and 1945, this dissertation examines the above questions in order to work toward an understanding of America's changing perception of Gabriel Fauré and his position in the musical world. In the final chapter I broaden the scope to consider aspects of the composer's American reception after 1945, including the extraordinary popularity of the Requiem and the place of Fauré's music in popular culture.[12]

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[10] On Fauré's reputation outside France see in particular Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 16–17, 39-44; Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 280–83; Rollo Myers, *Modern French Music: Its Evolution and Cultural Background from 1900 to the Present Day* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 9, 29; and Klaus Strobel, "Zur Fauré-Rezeption in Deutschland," in *Gabriel Fauré: Werk und Rezeption*, ed. Peter Jost (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1996), 186-96. Fauré did have some modest success in England during his lifetime, partly through his own efforts at self-promotion (rare for him), but this seems to have been largely restricted to the 1890s and faded quickly: see Robert Orledge, "Fauré en Angleterre," *Association des amis de Gabriel Fauré: Bulletin* 13 (1976): 10–16.

[11] Vladimir Jankélévitch, *Gabriel Fauré et ses melodies* (Paris: Plon, 1938), expanded and reprinted as *Gabriel Fauré, ses melodies et son esthétique* (Paris: Plon, 1951) and as *Gabriel Fauré et l'inexprimable* (Paris: Plon, 1974; repr., Paris: Presse Pocket, 1988). See also Vladimir Jankélévitch, *Music and the Ineffable* (*La musique et l'ineffable*, 1961). Translated by Carolyn Abbate. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

[12] Reception history, which has become a major sub-field in musicology during the last twenty-five years, can involve many different approaches, in terms of those who are responding to the music in question (e.g., critics, general listeners, institutions, composers etc.), the kinds of sources that are consulted to trace these responses, and the ways in which reception is evaluated (e.g., performance statistics, influence on other music, relationships to

This chronological span begins with one of the most significant American public premieres of Fauré's music, the First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13, given by Charles Martin Loeffler in 1892, and concludes with the Fauré Festival at Harvard in 1945, organized in honor of the centennial of his birth. Between 1892 and 1945, activities suggesting a strong interest in Fauré took place in the form of performances by individual musicians and ensembles, critical writings, and formal lectures.[13] For the early period, which I consider 1892–1925, I am particularly interested in the selections that first reached the ears of audiences at public concerts in the Boston area while Fauré was still living, and in the months immediately following his death. The period 1924–45 (with slight overlap due to the chronology of Copland's first article) marks the expansion of his reception in this country following his death, through the broader interest among composers in America (e.g., Copland, Nadia Boulanger during her time spent in the U.S., and a number of her students) as expressed through their critical writings, lectures, and activities in honor of Fauré, and through the introduction of two large-scale works: the Requiem

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wider aesthetic and cultural trends). Music poses particularly complex questions for historians of reception, not least because unlike the novel, for instance, where an author may reach their readers relatively directly, a composer must usually rely on performers to present their works; performers' interpretative decisions not only form part of the reception process in themselves, but also play an important part in shaping the responses of listeners. While such complexities clearly raise fascinating issues of critical theory, the approach in the present study is more pragmatic and historical. It is a study primarily of performance history and critical reception, with the latter interpreted in the context of broader cultural developments, especially changing American attitudes to France and French music, in Boston and beyond. Composers are considered to the extent that they communicated in verbal form their views on Fauré: I do not for the most part examine compositional influence as such, since that would raise a whole range of quite different issues and approaches. (For an introduction to reception history and theory as applied to music, see Mark Everist, "Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value," in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 378–402; and David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: the Key Concepts* (Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2005), 152–6.

[13] My focus here is on live performance and critical reception. Though I do mention several recorded performances of particular significance in Chapter 8, I have not attempted to trace a broader history of Fauré on record or the radio in the United States; this would greatly expand the scope of an already extensive study, and is in any case much more difficult to assess in terms of impact. Relatively few recordings of Fauré's music were made before 1945; most of these were of individual *mélodies* and piano pieces, and only a handful involved American performers or record companies, although American listeners would have been able to purchase many of the European recordings. For a comprehensive Fauré discography up to 1977, see Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Phonographies Gabriel Fauré 1900–1977*, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1979).

(premiered in Philadelphia in 1931, and conducted by Boulanger in Boston in 1938[14]), and the opera *Pénélope*, which was given in a concert performance at the Fauré Festival in 1945.

As I shall argue in Chapter 2, one of the most important factors that contributed to the successful reception in Boston of Fauré and other modern French composers was the Francophile culture that began to take root there in the 1870s, following the Franco-Prussian War. This interest in French culture deepened during the First World War and in the years that followed, as Americans actively turned away from German influences during that time, and Boston particularly continued to engage with French literature, art, and music, as an alternative to German models. As the city's musical world began to crystallize, an increasing number of European musicians who had studied in Paris established Boston as their professional home, bringing with them old and new musical selections to expand the local performance repertoire. The strong presence of modern French music on Boston's concert programs in the years surrounding the turn of the twentieth century sharply distinguished its musical world from that of New York at the time.[15] Recitals and chamber concerts often included one or more selections by a French composer, and Fauré's *mélodies*, solo piano works, and chamber music earned a good deal of recognition. Local performances were faithfully reviewed in area newspapers, most importantly the *Boston Daily Globe*, *The Boston Journal*, the *Boston Evening Transcript*; the BSO programs were made available to subscribers through bound volumes published each year. Additional local coverage was offered in the *Cambridge Chronicle* and the *Harvard Crimson*, while publications such as *The Worcester Spy* and the *Springfield Gazette* highlighted activities

[14] Students of the Curtis Institute, Philadelphia Museum of Art, April 19, 1931; see Curtis Institute, Recital Programs 1930–31. Third Season of Chamber Music Concerts by Artist-Students. April 19, 1931. Boston Symphony Orchestra, dir. Nadia Boulanger, Symphony Hall; see "Boston's Orchestra Conducted by Woman," *The New York Times*, February 19, 1938, 18.

[15] In its inaugural season (1891–82), the Boston Symphony Orchestra included works by Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921) under the direction of George Henschel; works by César Franck (1822–1890) and Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931) were added to the repertoire by the end of the decade, and Fauré beginning in 1904.

in Western Massachusetts, often featuring performers visiting from Boston or New York. *The New York Times* also took an interest in Boston performers, particularly the concerts given by the BSO on its regular touring performances in New York. The "Musical Boston" section of *Musical America* informed the broader American readership about activities in the city, and highlighted particular trends as they developed. Not surprisingly, performances of modern French music attracted the particular attention of critics who actively promoted the music of that country, and these writers often highlighted Fauré as a representative composer of the modern French school.

The assessment of Fauré's reception in the United States clearly needs to take into account significant differences in local conditions and attitudes from those in France. Fauré was widely known in the French musical world in a number of professional roles, as well as in the elite circles of Parisian society. The majority of his premieres took place in Paris, at prominent public venues, private societies, and salons, and received a good amount of attention during his lifetime. Yet, competition was fierce among his many French contemporaries, and shaped by complicated internal cultural politics, the subtleties of which were not necessarily understood outside of France. As we shall see later in this chapter, even in his native country he was only recognized as a major figure relatively late in life, and even then with significant limitations. In other countries, the discourses of national identity and tradition that loomed so large in late-nineteenth century music inevitably played an important role in the reception of any foreign composer, along with broader issues of stylistic originality and modernism. These questions functioned differently in a country such as Germany, where a strong musical identity was already firmly in place (and influential internationally), to a country such as England, where in the years around 1900 a national musical identity was just beginning to emerge. Nevertheless, in both countries a composer such as Fauré was inevitably interpreted not just as an individual but as a

representative of some concept of French identity. The situation in the United States was different yet again, though in some ways close to that in England. The sense of a national musical identity was still essentially non-existent, but American critics, composers, and audiences were eager to learn what European traditions had to offer, and in particular what might be relevant and helpful to the development of American music. The repertoire was in a state of almost constant expansion, and thus the music of various European composers was in competition on concert programs and in critical discussions. The majority of Americans lacked the points of reference available to many Europeans through their longstanding performance traditions, and their knowledge of existing composers, individual performers, and ensembles, and so did not have the perspectives that would have facilitated their understanding of music, old and new; instead, they relied heavily on the words of knowledgeable "elders" of the arts world to guide their cultural development and aesthetic values. In assessing Fauré's reception in this context, a particular responsibility is placed on critics, who educated their readers about his music and asserted his value in relation to other composers, in addition to the performers who selected his music for their programs.

There exists to date no broad-based study of American responses to French music during this period, though a number of scholars have examined the reception of individual composers. James Briscoe's account of the early American reception of Claude Debussy notes the importance of Boston and the BSO in particular in promoting the composer's music, but does not discuss the background to such advocacy, and in particular the city's growing interest in all aspects of French culture; Nicholas Gebhardt's study of Maurice Ravel's 1928 tour of the United States focuses more on the cultural and commercial dimensions of the American promotion of European composers in general than on Ravel's own status as a French composer; and in a short

survey of Camille Saint-Saëns's reception in New York during his lifetime, Carolyn Guzski briefly discusses the role of the New York Symphony Society in promoting French music as a foil to the city's predominantly Germanic (and in the operatic domain Italianate) musical culture, but does not pursue broader perspectives in the reception of French composers.[16] The American reception of canonical German composers has been the subject of more comprehensive studies, two of which suggest some analogies and points of contact with the present investigation. *Bach in America* (2003), a collection of essays edited by Stephen A. Crist, contains chapters that consider early critical writings, the reception of Bach in particular cities (including Boston), and the efforts of individual critics of the mid-nineteenth century in promoting a composer who was then little known in the US.[17] In *Beethoven in America* (2011) Michael Broyles takes a far more wide-ranging and eclectic approach; this is to be expected, given that Beethoven has been a consistent part of mainstream American musical culture in various guises since the early nineteenth century.[18] Broyles's primary goal is to examine how Americans interpreted and understood Beethoven over the years, amid changes in their own society. He also highlights Beethoven's presence (both as a biographical figure and through his music) in film and theater, and reinterpretations of his music in popular culture—Beethoven has become a "pop icon" in a way that Bach has not.[19] This dissertation shares elements with both these studies. Nevertheless,

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[16] See James R. Briscoe, "Debussy in Daleville: Toward Early Modernist Hearing in the United States," in *Rethinking Debussy*, ed. Elliott Antokoletz and Marianne Wheeldon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 225–58; Nicholas Gebhardt, "Crossing Borders I: the Historical Context for Ravel's North American Tour," in *Ravel Studies*, ed. Deborah Mawer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 92–113; and Carolyn Guzski, "Saint-Saëns in New York," in *Camille Saint-Saëns and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 91–200.

[17] Stephen A. Crist, ed., *Bach in America*, Bach Perspectives 5 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); on these individual topics see in ibid., respectively, Matthew Dirst, "Doing Missionary Work: *Dwight's Journal of Music*," 15–36; Michael Broyles, "Haupt's Boys: Lobbying for Bach in Nineteenth-Century Boston," 37–56 and Mary J. Greer, "The Reception of Bach's Music in New York City, 1855–1900," 57–114.

[18] Michael Broyles, *Beethoven in America* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 2011).

[19] W. A. Mozart has also taken on pop-icon status, largely through the film *Amadeus* (1984), but not anywhere to the same extent as Beethoven.

there are clearly important factors that distinguish the American reception of Fauré from that of Bach or Beethoven. Most importantly, while few people with a basic knowledge of art music would question the fact that these German composers are well known and frequently performed in this country today, the status of Fauré, on the other hand, continues to raise questions, if not so much about the value of his music, then as to the extent to which general listeners are familiar with it. As was observed above, this is a theme that emerged in some of the earliest critical writings on Fauré, and a "need for Fauré propaganda," as Copland identified it, continues to be addressed today.

The remainder of this chapter offers a brief overview of Fauré's activities in his native France, his general reception there during his lifetime, and particularly his growing recognition as a composer of substance, and an important figure in the French musical world, following his appointment as director of the Paris Conservatoire in 1905. This will establish a point of reference for his American reception, specifically in Francophile Boston, that developed in parallel to it. His biography has been well-established by a number of scholars, most notably Jean-Michel Nectoux and Robert Orledge, as well as Jessica Duchen, and earlier, Émile Vuillermoz, Norman Suckling, Charles Koechlin, and Fauré's own son, Philippe Fauré-Fremiet.[20] Orledge also includes a brief account of Fauré's contemporary reception in France.[21] Together, the comprehensiveness of these works makes it unnecessary to provide an exhaustive biography of the composer here, although I will include an overview to orient the reader.

[20] See especially Philippe Fauré-Fremiet, *Gabriel Fauré*. (Paris: Rieder, 1929); Charles Koechlin, *Gabriel Fauré* (Paris: Félix Alkan, 1927); Norman Suckling, *Fauré* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd, 1946); Émile Vuillermoz, *Gabriel Fauré*, trans. Kenneth Schapin (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1969); Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: His Life through His Letters*, trans. J. A. Underwood (London: Boyars London, 1984); Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*; Nectoux, *A Musical Life*; Jessica Duchen, *Gabriel Fauré* (London: Phaidon, 2000).

[21] See Orledge, "Fauré's Reputation—Then and Now," in *Gabriel Fauré*, 34–44.

Fauré in France (1845–1924)

Gabriel Urbain Fauré was born in Pamiers, in Southern France, on May 12, 1845. The youngest of six children, he spent his first four years in the care of a foster mother, before moving with his family to Foix when his father was appointed the director of the École normale there.[22] Fauré's potential as a musician was observed as a young child, and his father was advised to enroll him in the newly-established École Niedermeyer in Paris; he began his studies at age nine and remained until his graduation in 1865.[23] Fauré made many close connections during his time there, including most notably with Louis Niedermeyer (1802–1861) himself, as well as Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921), who began teaching at the school in 1861. The latter became Fauré's primary mentor and lifelong friend, and the two corresponded regularly throughout their lives.[24] Fauré earned a number of honors during his time at the École Niedermeyer, including awards for solfège, piano, harmony, and literature, as well as the first prize for composition in his graduation year for the choral work *Cantique de Jean Racine*, op. 11.[25]

Following his graduation Fauré began his professional career in Rennes, approximately two hundred miles west of Paris, where he spent four years as the organist of the Saint-Sauveur church; he also taught private piano lessons, worked as an accompanist, and composed, although he did not complete any notable works during that time.[26] In 1870 he moved to Paris and worked as an organist at the Notre-Dame de Clignancourt church for a short time before enlisting in the French army, which he served for the duration of the Franco-Prussian War (August 1870–March

[22] For a discussion of Fauré's family background and his early childhood, see Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 1–5.

[23] Nectoux describes the young Fauré's time at the École Niedermeyer, in ibid, 5–10.

[24] Selections of their letters appear in Camille Saint-Saëns and Gabriel Fauré, *The Correspondence of Camille Saint-Saëns and Gabriel Fauré: Sixty Years of Friendship*, ed. by Jean-Michel Nectoux, trans. J. Barrie Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[25] Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 10.

[26] Ibid., 12–16.

1871).[27] He stayed at Rambouillet just outside the city during the Paris Commune, then traveled to Cours-sous-Lausanne, Switzerland, and spent the summer teaching composition at the École Niedermeyer, which had been temporarily relocated there. Upon his return to Paris that fall, Fauré quickly became part of the elite Parisian musical world to which Niedermeyer had introduced him as a child, and attracted the attention of patrons such as Pauline Viardot, whom he met in 1872, and whose salon was one of several that he frequented.[28] He made various important social and musical connections with other French composers, and was soon closely involved with the Société Nationale de Musique (est. 1871), which he co-founded with Saint-Saëns, Franck, d'Indy, and others.[29] In addition to a position as organist at the St-Sulpice church in Paris, and his performing and social activities, Fauré was active as a private instructor of piano and harmony.[30] His own compositions also kept him well occupied, and many of his *mélodies* and chamber works were premiered at the Société Nationale, or at the salons, during that period. He earned a modest income through his published music, although he also held a number of important professional positions beginning with the prestigious Église de la Madeleine, where he had first worked as a substitute in Saint-Saëns's absence in 1874; he was installed there in a permanent capacity as choirmaster beginning in 1877, and eventually succeeded Théodore Dubois as organist in 1896.[31] It was at the Madeleine in 1888 that the Requiem was first performed, but in a version significantly different from that normally heard today; the work was

[27] Nectoux describes Fauré's military experience in ibid., 16–17.

[28] In addition to the Viardot salon, over the years Fauré was also associated with the salons of his mentor Saint-Saëns, Winnaretta Singer, and Élisabeth, Comtesse Greffulhe. For discussions of Fauré's interactions with his patrons and his role in the Parisian salons see Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 17–18, 34–37; Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 34–35, 169–72, 225–27; and Sylvia Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, princesse de Polignac* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 37–39, 45, 50–63, 87–88, 94–95, and passim. Singer's patronage of Fauré was significant, and he was eventually considered her "house musician." See ibid., 95.

[29] Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 19.

[30] Ibid., 27.

[31] Ibid., 24–25.

revised a number of times in subsequent years and would not become widely known until after 1900.

In his early personal life Fauré suffered the emotional setback of his broken engagement to Marianne Viardot (daughter of Pauline) in 1877; this experience led to periods of emotional upset that increased amid the resentment he already felt toward his occupations that stood in the way of his creative work.[32] Six years later, at age thirty-eight, Fauré married Marie Fremiet, the daughter of the noted French sculptor Emmanuel Fremiet. Fauré and his wife had two sons together, although their marriage has generally been considered a warm companionship more than a romantic relationship. While this was his only marriage, he is known to have been involved with other women, including actress Emma Bardac, who later married Debussy, English composer Adela Maddison, and most significantly, pianist Marguerite Hasselmans, with whom he was associated throughout the last two decades of his life.[33] He did benefit financially from his marriage, as money from the wealthy Fremiet family afforded him a degree of professional freedom and creativity; it was also Emmanuel Fremiet, his father-in-law, who first delegated him as Chevalier in the Légion d'honneur in 1890, and promoted him to the next rank of Officier in 1903.[34] Nevertheless, throughout this period Fauré also supported his wife and young sons through his various professional posts and his published music.[35]

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[32] Nectoux describes Fauré's relationship with Marianne Viardot and his subsequent emotional upheaval, as well as his overall dissatisfaction particularly with his church position, in ibid., 30–32, and 26–27.

[33] For a discussion of Fauré's involvement with these women, see ibid., 180–81, 281–87.

[34] The official documents show Emmanuel Fremiet as Fauré's designator. Documents pertaining to Fauré's Légion d'honneur awards are held in "Fauré, Gabriel Urbain," Dossiers des titulaires de l'Ordre de la Légion d'honneur, Archives nationales, Paris, dossier LH/940/44.

[35] Nectoux discusses Fauré's early business dealings with the French publishers Choudens, Durand, and Hamelle, in Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 26–27. Choudens paid Fauré approximately sixty francs for each *mélodie*, which was certainly not a fortune, but the sales did increase the public recognition of Fauré's name and his music in Parisian homes. Ibid., 26.

Fauré's reputation as a composer grew only slowly, and was until the later 1890s confined largely to the network of salons that formed an important if rarefied part of Parisian artistic life. He was on the whole reluctant to promote his own music; furthermore, although he was a respectable pianist and organist, he was not regularly in the public eye as a solo performer or conductor, unlike some of his composer colleagues, most notably Saint-Saëns. The lack of a high-level performing career also limited his ability to promote his music abroad; he did make regular trips to England during the 1890s, where his music was championed by Adela Maddison and others, but he was primarily active in private settings that did not generate a wider reputation of any substance, and it was not until a trip to Russia in 1910 that he was able to enjoy in person significant public acclaim outside his native country.[36] But as his English connections demonstrate, Fauré did attract loyal supporters, and these included a number of Americans. Most prominent among these was the noted painter John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), whom Fauré had known since at least 1889, in which year Sargent painted the first and most famous of his several likenesses of the composer. Sargent was an accomplished pianist and sometimes played Fauré's music in private gatherings, introducing his music to influential English and American social circles. Sargent is known to have read through Fauré's First Violin Sonata, op. 13, with Charles Martin Loeffler (1861–1935), upon their first informal meeting in Boston in 1887.[37] Loeffler, a German-born violinist and composer of Prussian parentage who emigrated to the United States in 1881, had settled in Boston, and became an ardent advocate of Fauré's music; it was partly through their shared interest in this composer that a friendship between Sargent and

[36] See Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 278. Fauré's strong reception in Russia is also acknowledged in Edward Phillips, *Gabriel Fauré, A Guide to Research*. Routledge Music Bibliographies. 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2011), 3.

[37] For a description of this first meeting between Sargent and Loeffler in November 1887, see Knight, *Charles Martin Loeffler*, 67.

Loeffler first developed.[38] Another of Fauré's Boston admirers was the famed patroness Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924), for whom a number of musicians, Loeffler for one, as well as Harrison Keller, Heinrich Gebhard, and Ferruccio Busoni, are known to have performed selections of Fauré's music in her salon at her request.[39] Of these associations in Boston, it was Sargent, Loeffler, and Gardner who maintained the most lasting personal connection to Fauré over the years.[40] It should be noted that despite these transatlantic connections, and his awareness of Loeffler's work in promoting his music and that of other French composers to American audiences, Fauré seems never to have seriously contemplated visiting the United States, even though both Saint-Saëns and d'Indy were warmly welcomed there.[41]

It was, in fact, Fauré's unexpected rise to the heights of the French educational establishment that propelled him finally, late in his career, to national fame. He had originally been rejected for a teaching position at the Paris Conservatoire in 1892, serving as inspector of conservatories in the French provinces instead.[42] Four years later, he was granted a position as professor at the Conservatoire and worked with a number of students who went on to become

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[38] In a letter to Elise Fay, Loeffler describes a visit with Sargent in London in 1894: "It was a treat. Conversation: Fauré, Fauré, Fauré! . . . He was kind, charming, and interesting." Ibid., 118. In addition to the shared conversation, Sargent gave a copy of his Fauré portrait to Loeffler on this visit, as Knight acknowledges in ibid. (This is presumably the well-known oil painting of 1889.)

[39] Loeffler performed Fauré's music with Busoni in Gardner's salon in 1894; see ibid., 93. Violinist Harrison Keller also refers to performing Fauré (with Heinrich Gebhard) for Gardner as late as 1919; see Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr, eds., *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists Since 1860* (Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1997), 122.

[40] Loeffler and Fauré corresponded over the years, and would meet in Paris when Loeffler was visiting the city; they even played through the First Violin Sonata at the Madeleine in 1910. For an account of this informal performance, see Knight, *Charles Martin Loeffler*, 145. Nectoux includes several letters between the men, dating from 1905 through 1921. See Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré, His Life through His Letters*, trans. J. A. Underwood (London and New York: Marion Boyars, Ltd., 1984), 256–57, 259, 312–13, 316–17, 324–25. Correspondence between Gardner and Fauré appears in the collection *Isabella Stewart Gardner Papers*, held in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum Archives, Boston, MA. Both Loeffler and Sargent contributed to the emergency funds sent to Fauré in 1922, underlining their ongoing support of the composer (see fn58).

[41] In a letter to Loeffler from 1906, Fauré enthuses, "I treasure greatly the memory of your visit to Paris. I very much want you to come back *soon* and have your works performed by Chevillard; that is essential now. You must find an audience in France as you have managed to find one for *us* in America!" See Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: His Life through His Letters*, 259.

[42] Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 15.

important figures in the French musical world, among them Ravel, Florent Schmitt, Jean Roger-Ducasse, and Nadia Boulanger, all of whom admired him greatly.[43] In 1905, amid a great deal of controversy, he was appointed as director of the Conservatoire, a position he retained until his retirement in 1920.[44] In addition to his institutional roles, he contributed articles to *Le Figaro*, the arts journal for which he had periodically served as music critic since 1903, and co-founded the Société Musicale Indépendante in 1909; that year he was also elected to the Académie des beaux-arts of the Institute de France.[45] Although he had begun to suffer the loss of his hearing around 1903, he remained an active composer, completing many important works in the last decades of his life.[46] Among these were the opera *Pénélope* (1913), the song cycles *Mirages* (1919) and *L'horizon chimérique* (1921), the Second Piano Quintet (1921), Piano Trio in D minor, op. 120 (1923), the String Quartet in E minor, op. 121 (1923–24), and numerous others.[47]

Fauré's appointment as director of the Conservatoire in 1905 was cloaked in the scandal of the so-called "*Affaire Ravel*" that surrounded the results of the prestigious Prix de Rome competition that year.[48] Ravel, who had studied with Fauré, and was competing for the fifth and final time (he had reached the age limit of thirty years), was eliminated during the preliminary

[43] Boulanger, of course, would go on to teach many American composers (a topic to which I will return later in the dissertation), but Fauré himself seems never to have had an American pupil.

[44] For an extensive history of Fauré's tenure as director of the Conservatoire, see Gail Hilson Woldu, "Fauré at the Conservatoire: Critical Assessments of the Years 1896–1920," in *Regarding Fauré*, ed. Tom Gordon (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1999), 97–118, and Gail Hilson Woldu, "Gabriel Fauré as Director of the Conservatoire National de Musique et de Declamation" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983).

[45] Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 19, 23.

[46] Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 292–93.

[47] For a chronology of Fauré's compositions see Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 272–326.

[48] The Prix de Rome is an annual scholarship competition that began in 1663 with categories in painting and sculpting, and later architecture (1720), musical composition (1803), and engraving (1804). The winner was awarded the opportunity to study in Rome and was housed in the Villa Medici or another elaborate property. See David Gilbert, "Prix de Rome," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40632 (accessed June 10, 2015).

round due to apparent "errors" in counterpoint and harmony in his cantata *L'aurore*.[49] His rejection so early in the competition was surprising to many, given his strong association with the Société Nationale and the musical works that had already earned him recognition as a composer. Accusations of favoritism were made when it was brought to light that the six finalists that year were all students of Charles Lenepveu, professor of composition, who was expected to succeed Théodore Dubois (1837–1924) as the director of the Conservatoire; Ravel, on the other hand, was closely linked at that time to Fauré, who was also being considered for the position.[50] A great deal of uproar and publicity followed the competition, some directed at Dubois, who had already retired; however, the decision of the judges was upheld and Lenepveu's student Victor Gallois was awarded the first prize.[51] Perhaps the most unexpected turn of events occurred when Président Émile Loubet appointed Fauré as the new director of the Conservatoire later that year, rather than Lenepveu, as had been widely expected.

To say that the installation of Fauré took the members of the Conservatoire as well as the musical society of Paris by surprise would be an understatement. While some cheered this decision as a move toward a new era of modern thinking for the new century (as well as an indirect form of justice for Ravel), others saw this as the beginning of a true conflict between the traditionalists and the modernists in the French musical world. When it became known that he was under consideration, many professors threatened to resign from the Conservatoire if Fauré

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[49] Ravel's fugue included disallowed parallel fifths and a major seventh harmony in conclusion. See Barbara L. Kelly. "Ravel, (Joseph) Maurice," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/52145 (accessed December 9, 2013). See also Roger Nichols, *Ravel* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 59–65.

[50] Woldu, "Fauré at the Conservatoire," 6–7.

[51] Woldu discusses the circumstances of the Prix de Rome that year, Dubois's departure, and the subsequent decision to appoint Fauré as director, in ibid., 3–7. Victor Gallois, who went on to teach at the Douai Conservatory in northern France, but did not earn further fame as a composer. He is recognized as the teacher of composer Henri Dutilleux. See Caroline Potter, "Dutilleux, Henri," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08428 (accessed June 10, 2015).

were appointed, and several followed through upon being informed of the official decision on June 15, 1905.[52] To them, Fauré represented a perilous departure from the school's traditions in several ways, including the very fact that he was not an alumnus, which had been an unstated prerequisite for the position in the past. Furthermore, as a composer, Fauré had long been considered by the traditionalists of the Conservatoire too much of a modernist, too "free-thinking," and a disruption to the musical traditions of France.[53] Despite Fauré's relatively advanced age—he was sixty years old at the time of his appointment—he was considered an active threat to the existing state of the Conservatoire, which was steeped in a tradition that had existed since the establishment of the school in 1795. However, this sentiment was not universal, and some of his contemporaries expressed their pleasure in his appointment. In fact, Debussy wrote to congratulate Fauré and predicted that he would "shake the dust" from the long-held traditions of the Conservatoire.[54]

Fauré was quite optimistic regarding his appointment at first, and assumed that his responsibilities would be purely artistic, allowing him the luxury of time to compose. He wrote to his American friend, Loeffler, with great enthusiasm:

> The appointment was signed on 12 June last, a month ago, and to my delight it was been received with *extraordinary unanimity*; despite its somewhat revolutionary aspect, the conservatives of the music world have applauded it as much as the more progressive elements…I was able to turn to advantage the fact that they absolutely insisted on placing me at the head of the Conservatory in order to wrest certain advantages: firstly that of not living in, secondly that of being rid of most of the *administration* (paperwork and so on!). My job will be purely artistic.[55]

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[52] Woldu, "Fauré at the Conservatoire," 1.

[53] Ibid, 8–10.

[54] Debussy's words in a letter of congratulations to Fauré dated June 28, 1905, quoted in ibid., 11.

[55] Letter of July 11, 1905, in Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: His Life through His Letters*, 256. The appointment was actually signed on June 15, 1905: see Woldu, "Fauré at the Conservatoire," 1.

Despite the optimism and positivity his words to Loeffler convey, Fauré surely understood the upheaval that his appointment had sparked, although perhaps not to the extent that it soon reached.[56] While he was not quite as vivid as Debussy had been in their private correspondence in regard to "shaking the dust" from the Conservatoire, Fauré did assert early on his intentions to blend traditional with modern elements to create a more liberal education there. Paradoxically, to modernize outdated curriculum and policies also meant bringing back the music of the past—plainchant practices, Renaissance vocal repertoire, and early opera performances.[57] As predicted, Fauré's immediate reforms were not were not well-received across the board; in fact many of the long-standing faculty members who had not resigned when Fauré's appointment was announced eventually did so, objecting in particular to his new policies regarding auditions and examinations, changes that would remove much of the control from the studio professors.[58] Those who resigned generally assumed that they were leaving the Conservatoire to crumble under the guidance of its new director. However, over time the changes Fauré enacted did much to strengthen the quality of musicianship and expand the breadth of the musical education of the Conservatoire students; particularly notable was Fauré's insistence that historical and practical studies of early music should be included in the curriculum.

To be sure, Fauré had earned a degree of notoriety in the early days of his directorship, yet this in turn contributed to the familiarity of his name, and the growth of his reputation as a composer and important musical figure. His music itself became known in France on a larger

[56] A number of articles in the French newspapers kept the public apprised of the situation. See ibid., 10–11.

[57] Woldu discusses Fauré's education at the École Niedermeyer as an important influence on his decision to include early music studies as part of his Conservatoire reforms. See ibid., 17–26. It should also be noted that he appointed musicologist Henry Expert (1863–1952), another Niedermeyer pupil and a specialist in Renaissance music, as Second Librarian at the Conservatoire.

[58] In order to prevent favoritism during the audition process and public juries, Fauré enacted the policy to have the studio teachers not attend the proceedings, and instead to bring in unrelated individuals for the sake of neutrality. See Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 268–69.

scale due in part to the publicity he received in the newspapers and musical journals in Paris, and throughout his tenure, both older compositions as well as the new works he composed in his small amount of free time at the Conservatoire were performed in public concerts.[59] After fifteen years as director of the Conservatoire, Fauré was strongly encouraged to retire, and was essentially forced out in 1920, due to his age and his declining health.[60] He was granted some financial support from the state from the end of that year, but the inflation in France following the First World War contributed further to an incredibly strained financial situation for Fauré and his wife.[61] Many of his close friends provided him with financial assistance, including those within his Boston circle, Loeffler, Sargent, Edward Burlingame Hill, and Fanny Mason, who collectively sent Fauré gifts of money. Fauré was touched that his friends would help him in this way, and repaid their kindness with gifts of select manuscripts and even the dedication of his Second Cello Sonata, op. 117, to Loeffler.[62] In addition to private gestures by his friends and colleagues abroad, Fauré also benefited from the additional compassion and generosity of the French state. He was elevated to Grand Officier, the second-highest rank of the Légion d'honneur, in 1920, prior to his retirement from the Conservatoire.[63] Although he was named

[59] Notably, the premiere of *Pénélope* at Monte Carlo in 1913, and a staging the same year at the Théâtre du Champs-Elysées in Paris, and revivals in Paris of *Prométhée* in 1907 and 1917, and *Pénélope* in 1919. See Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 213, 326–29.

[60] Ibid., 425.

[61] Nectoux discusses this situation and the fact that Fauré was not technically eligible for a retirement pension until 1922 (i.e., thirty years after he entered into public service.) The payments were classified by the government as "indemnity for infirmity." See ibid.

[62] See Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 425; and Knight, *Charles Martin Loeffler*, 204–05. Knight specifies the specific gift to Fauré of 2,000 francs by this group of Americans in March, 1921, illustrated through a letter from Loeffler to Sargent dated March 18, 1921. Nectoux clarifies that Fauré gave the manuscript of the Second Quintet to Loeffler, and the song "Dans la forêt de semptembre" to Sargent. See Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 425.

[63] Nectoux's *Grove* article identifies 1920 as the year of Fauré's promotion to Grand-Croix of the Légion d'honneur, but that promotion to the highest rank did not occur until January 31, 1923. The dates as listed on the document certifying his promotion to Grand-Croix are: Chevalier, July 12, 1890; Officier, April 5, 1903; Commandeur, December 29, 1910; Grand Officier, April 26, 1920; Grand-Croix, January 31, 1923. See Archives nationales de France, Paris, dossier LH/940/44. See also Jean-Michel Nectoux

honorary director of the school, he was well aware that he was essentially being forced out of his position; as Grand Officier Fauré was granted a modest stipend (one hundred twenty francs) that accompanied the honor, but also the additional level of respect from his country that did much to soothe his wounded pride.[64]

Perhaps the most large-scale public statement of France's collective affection toward Fauré was the national celebration of his life and work, an event held at the Sorbonne on June 20, 1922.[65] President Alexandre Millerand attended, along with many other notable French political figures, as well as Fauré's colleagues, former students, and hosts of admirers. In addition to the significant honor the event represented, it was also conceived in part as a fund-raising endeavor for Fauré.[66] As part of the festivities, a grand concert of Fauré's works was performed by students of the Conservatoire and also featured notable musicians, including conductors d'Indy and Henri Rabaud, cellist Pablo Casals, and pianist Alfred Cortot.[67] The lengthy program included a wide range of compositions from the earliest popular works, the award-winning choral piece from his Niedermeyer days, the *Cantique de Jean Racine* (1865) and one of his earliest *mélodies* "Lydia" (1872), and his incidental suites, *Caligula* (1888), *Shylock* (1889), and *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1898), to his most recent accomplishment, the Second Piano Quintet (1921).[68] Despite the glory and splendor of the occasion, by now Fauré's hearing was almost

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"Fauré, Gabriel (Urbain)," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09366 (accessed November 13, 2013).

[64] Fauré expresses his bitterness about his late-won fame in a letter to his wife, Marie, quoted in Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 426.

[65] The proceedings are well documented in numerous sources. For example, see *Hommage national à Gabriel Fauré: Sorbonne: 20 juin 1922* (Paris: 1922); Jean Chantavoine, "L'Hommage national à Gabriel Fauré," *Le Ménestrel* 84, no. 24 (June 16, 1922): 265–66; Paul Bertrand, "L'Hommage national à Gabriel Fauré," *Le Ménéstrel* 84, no. 25 (June 23, 1922): 275; "French Nation Pays Tribute to Fauré," *Musical America*, July 8, 1922, 10; Paul Landormy and M. D. Herter, "Gabriel Fauré (1845–1924)," *The Musical Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (July 1931): 293–301; and Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 425–26.

[66] Ibid., 426.

[67] Ibid., 425.

[68] Ibid., 425–26.

entirely lost and his experience of the event was mostly a visual one. Nevertheless, the review of the homage as published in *Le Ménestrel* reflects the deep level of respect those in attendance had for Fauré, and his importance as one of France's most noted musical figures:

> Cheers, recalls, encores, and especially repeated ovations addressed to the master followed relentlessly, to the point of sometimes seeming a little indiscreet and ostentatious. They were without a doubt, the spontaneous expression of the admiration that the work of the one being glorified deserves to receive: work both graceful and strong, subtle and deep, shining imperishable as one of the purest jewels of French genius.[69]

Following the national celebration, a flood of interest in Fauré and his music continued in Paris, as is evident through various performances and activities by his colleagues and friends. In addition to a concert given in his honor later that year by the Société Musicale Indépendante, a special edition of *La Revue musicale* was published as a tribute to the composer.[70] (It had been in progress since the previous year.[71]) The edition was organized by the journal's founder, Henri Prunières, musicologist and former student of the Conservatoire, and featured a biographical sketch of Fauré, writings by the composer, and brief musical works by several of Fauré's admirers and former students, among them Ravel, Florent Schmitt, Jean Roger-Ducasse, Nadia Boulanger, and others. Additional contributions to this stream of activity came from the younger generation of Fauré admirers, including Darius Milhaud, who published the essay "Hommage à

[69] "Acclamations, rappels, *bis*, et surtout ovations renouvelées à l'adresse du Maître se succédèrent sans relâche, jusqu'à paraître parfois un peu indiscrets et ostentatoires. Ils étaient sans nul doute, l'expression spontanée de l'admiration que mérite de susciter l'oeuvre de celui qu'on apothéosait: oeuvre à la fois gracieuse et forte, subtile et profonde, qui brille impérissable comme l'un des plus purs joyaux du génie français." Bertrand, "L'Hommage national à Gabriel Fauré." (All translations are mine except where otherwise indicated.)

[70] The Société concert was given on December 13, 1922 and included Fauré's *La Bonne Chanson* and the Second Quintet, as well as the pieces composed in Fauré's honor for the special issue of *La Revue Musicale* in October, 1922. See *La Revue Musicale* 4, no 11 (October 1922), and Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 427–28.

[71] Ibid., 426–27.

Gabriel Fauré" in early 1923.[72] That year also brought new stagings of *Pénélope* and *Promethée*, and a performance of the Requiem at the Théâtre du Champs-Élysées, and the ultimate honor of Fauré's promotion to Grand-Croix, the highest rank of the Légion d'honneur, with a stipend of two hundred francs.[73]

Fauré died in his home on November 4, 1924 following a steady decline in his health over the previous two years.[74] He was granted the honor of a state funeral held in Paris on November 8; among those in attendance were Président Gaston Doumergue, François Albert, Minister of Arts, d'Indy, Rabaud, Boulanger, and a large number of colleagues, students, friends, family, and admirers.[75] The funeral itself was held at the Madeleine, where Fauré had spent so many hours throughout his career, and where many works, including the Requiem, had been premiered. That day, his mourners heard the Requiem, as well as selections from *Shylock* and *Pelléas et Mélisande*. The ceremony was followed by an assemblage of speakers outside the Madeleine, and a long procession to the Cimetière de Passy, where Fauré was laid to rest.[76] While France mourned his loss, it also celebrated his life and his overall importance to his country's musical world. As it was expressed in *Le Ménestrel* the following week, "This pure jewel of the French soul may rest forever in the place of our hearts."[77]

The celebration of Fauré's life was not limited to France; many newspapers throughout Europe and the U.S. published either a simple announcement of his death, or an extensive

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[72] First published in Darius Milhaud, *Entretiens* (January, 1923). Reprinted in Darius Milhaud, "Hommage à Gabriel Fauré," in *Notes sur la musique*, ed. Jeremy Drake, 114–16. (Paris: Flammarion, 1982). Quoted in Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 435.

[73] See "Récépissé, no. 33, 402," Archives nationales de France, Paris, dossier LH/940/44.

[74] Nectoux recounts Fauré's health during his final years, in Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 449–68, passim.

[75] "France's President at Faure Rites," *The New York Times*, November 9, 1924, E7; and ibid., 467–68.

[76] Nectoux comments that the wind made it impossible to hear the speakers, which included d'Indy, Albert, and Boulanger. See Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 468.

[77] "Ce pur joyau de l'âme française peut reposer à jamais dans l'écrin de nos coeurs." See Jean Chantavoine, "Gabriel Fauré," *Le Ménestrel*, November 14, 1924, 470.

obituary.[78] In some cases, there was significant coverage of his funeral due to the scale of the event and the number of dignitaries in attendance that day. In Boston, his death was felt more deeply for some, particularly Loeffler, for whom this marked the second in a close succession of personal losses (Isabella Stewart Gardner had died in July of that year; John Singer Sargent died in January, two months after Fauré.) Boston musicians took the opportunity to honor the composer by giving a memorial concert at Symphony Hall in his honor in early December that was organized by Serge Koussevitzky (1874–1951), in his first season as director of the BSO.[79] Koussevitzky had studied at the Conservatoire during Fauré's tenure as director, greatly admired him, and solidified the long-term connection between the BSO and Fauré's music in Boston over the next twenty-five years. Given Fauré's broadly-recognized status as a "late bloomer" in regard to his professional accomplishments, the fact that this man, known for his modest and humble nature, could inspire such widespread recognition at home and abroad is significant.[80] In the next chapter, I will establish the cultural context in which Fauré's music was received in Boston, where he came to be considered, as he was in Paris, "one of the purest jewels of French genius."[81]

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[78] See, for example, :Gabriel Fauré Dies, Famous Composer," *The New York Times*, November 5, 1924, 19; "Gabriel Fauré Dies," *Hartford Courant*, November 5, 1924, 16; "Fauré, Famous Paris Composer, Buried in State," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 9, 1924, 10; "Passed Away," *Musical America*, November 8, 1924, 39.

[79] P. R., "Fauré Honored at Symphony Concert, Program in Memory of Dead Composer," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 6, 1924, 2.

[80] Nectoux addresses the continued growth of interest in Fauré in France, in Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 468–70.

[81] Bertrand, "L'Hommage national à Gabriel Fauré."

Chapter 2

The Development of Musical Culture in Boston ca. 1830–1918:

Competing European Models and the Turn from Germany toward France

> …I think that to be an American is an excellent preparation for culture. We have exquisite qualities as a race, and it seems to me that we are ahead of the European races in the fact that more than either of them we can deal freely with forms of civilization not our own, can pick and choose and assimilate and in short (aesthetically &c) claim our property where we find it.
>
> —Henry James[1]

The reception of Gabriel Fauré's music in Boston was conditioned by patterns and developments in the elite culture of the city, in which the increasing penetration of the various forms of European reception of European thought and art played a decisive role. Henry James's prescient words, written to a friend and fellow author in 1867, bring to light a perspective that was increasingly pervasive in intellectual circles the United States at this time. James was not the only literary figure to have asserted the American readiness and desire for "high" culture. Nearly three decades earlier, in an oft-cited lecture given at Dartmouth College, Ralph Waldo Emerson had compared the cultural status of the nation to an "empty vase" waiting to be filled with a variety of artistic and literary elements that should reflect the specific American experience.[2] Nineteenth-century Americans who had experienced first-hand the cultural offerings of European cities were well aware of the lack of a true cultural identity within their young country. They

[1] Quoted in Nicola Bradbury, "While I Waggled My Small Feet: Henry James's Return to Paris," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 34 (2004): 186–93, esp. 188. (Excerpt from a letter from James to T.S. Perry, 1867.) Bradbury suggests that James is considering two races in terms of Northern and Southern Europeans.

[2] Garry E. Clarke addresses the question that follows, "What should fill [the vase]?" in his discussion of the New England School composers in, "The American-Europeans," in *Essays on American Music*, ed. Garry E. Clarke (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), 73–86, esp. 73.

were equally aware of all the possibilities for establishing such an identity, and for a long time Americans pursued this goal, not surprisingly, by taking their cues from the leading cultural developments in Paris, London, Vienna, and other European cities. As that "empty vase" began to fill, many Americans were perhaps unconsciously drawn to the cultural elements that were deeply associated with the individual European nations. The Classical ideals of Italian architecture, as well as the *Beaux Arts* style of French architecture near the turn of the century, the emotionalism and sensuality of French painting, the literature of England, and the philosophy and intellectualism of Germany were all active forces in the developing American urban centers.[3] Elements of traditional and modern literature, art, and music increasingly permeated the sensibilities of the cultivated American consumer, and notably contributed to the development of a national cultural identity within the United States.

In general, establishing classical music as a part of the broader American identity meant fostering a direct knowledge of well-established European traditions and the notable figures associated with them, while developing a practical performance culture within the country.[4]

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[3] Henry Hope Reed and Edmund V. Gillon Jr. *Beaux-Arts Architecture in New York: A Photographic Guide* (Mineola NY: Dover Publications, 1988).

[4] Several important studies have traced the general development of American musical culture throughout the nineteenth century. See, for example, David Ewen, *Music Comes to America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co, 1942; Clarke, *Essays on American Music*; Michael Saffle, ed., *Music and Culture in America, 1861–1918* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998); Mark N. Grant and Eric Friedheim, consulting editor. *Maestros of the Pen: A History of Classical Musical Criticism in America* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998); and Judith Tick and Paul E. Beaudoin, eds., *Music in the USA: A Documentary Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). More specialized studies include Jessica Gienow-Hecht's study of the transatlantic musical relationship with Germany, Ralph Locke's work on the role of female patronage in the development of American musical culture, Joseph Horowitz's discussion of key musical figures in America at the turn of the century, and examinations by Walter Raymond Spalding and MacDonald Smith Moore of music's role in the development of the very different cultural environments of Harvard and Yale. See Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Locke and Barr, eds., *Cultivating Music in America*; Joseph Horowitz, *Moral Fire: Musical Portraits from America's* fin de siècle (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Walter Raymond Spalding, *Music at Harvard: A Historical Review of Men and Events* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977); and MacDonald Smith Moore, *Yankee Blues: Musical Culture and American Identity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985). Scholars such as Christine Merrick Ayars, Michael Broyles, Nicholas Tawa, and Karrin Ford have considered various aspects of musical life specifically in Boston, a city that was especially receptive to the cultivation of art music and culture

When addressing aspects of national style within a musical work one is naturally drawn to the inclusion of explicit elements, such as folk song or folk-song style, native scales, rhythms, and other local idioms, or literature (traditional or contemporary), that individually or in combination create an immediate connection between the music and its country of origin.[5] Common points of departure for a discussion of national elements in nineteenth-century music include the deep-seated literary traditions within German lieder, literary and linguistic elements in Russian art song, opera, and program music, and the more recent ideals of the Italian citizen as represented within *Risorgimento*-era Italian operas.[6] The latter context, especially, is an indication of the politically volatile climate of nineteenth-century Europe that led to an increasing desire, on the part both of existing independent nations and, as in the case of the Italians, of populations under foreign rule aspiring to independence, to represent the strength of one's culture through the arts. This intersected in a variety of ways with conflicts between tradition and incipient modernism, as in the so-called War of the Romantics, which pitted the followers of the New German School, led by Liszt and Wagner, against traditionalists, represented by Schumann, Brahms, and others; similar conflicts emerged in France between modernists and conservatives in the last decades of

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during this era, while Tabitha Heavner's study of critical reception and the development of musical taste in New York during the Gilded Ages serves as a point of comparison for the differing aesthetic ideals of New York and Boston. See Christine Merrick Ayars, *Contributions to the Art of Music in America by the Music Industries of Boston 1640 to 1936* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1937); Michael Broyles, *Music of the Highest Class: Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); Nicholas E. Tawa, "Why American Art Music First Arrived in New England," in *Music and Culture in America 1861-1918*, ed. Michael Saffle (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998); Karrin E. Ford, "Diverging Currents: Women Composers, Musical Institutions, and the Criticism of the 'Old Guard' in *fin de siècle* Boston" (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 2011); and Tabitha Heavner, "Culture of a Community: Good Music and the Critics, Conductors, and Patrons of Gilded Age New York" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, 2009).

[5] Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism." *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50846 (accessed October 14, 2014).

[6] Taruskin and others highlight the presence of the unison chorus in works such as Verdi's *Nebucco* as representing the desire for a unified yet independent Italy. See ibid. See also Philip Gossett, "Becoming a Citizen, The Chorus in 'Risorgimento' Opera," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2, no. 1 (March 1990): 41–64, esp. 53, and James Parakilas, "Political Representation and the Chorus in Nineteenth-Century Opera," *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 2, *Music in Its Social Contexts* (Autumn 1992): 181–202, esp. 189.

the century.[7] An interest in promoting a sense of modernity, strength, and progress was particularly marked in France following its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71). As Jann Pasler has shown, the French government of the Third Republic considered art music an effective vehicle for projecting an image of national strength and progress through its cultural activities.[8] The activities of the Société Nationale de Musique, founded by Camille Saint-Saëns and Romain Bussine in 1871 under the motto *Ars Gallica*, stimulated creative productivity among French composers (Fauré, Franck, and Duparc were among the early members), and contributed greatly to the promotion of French music and taste to the citizens of that country, as well as to other European citizens who, at that time, considered France a weakened nation.[9] The programs of the Société's concerts utilized the work of living French composers as a symbol of national strength and progress, and the music itself exhibited elements of style – particularly clarity, emotional restraint, and understated sensuality – often recognized today as characterizing French music of that period, just as the themes of structural discipline and philosophical depth are broadly associated with German music, or emotional directness and theatrical flair with Italian compositions.[10]

The understanding of national style in terms of these characteristics has become well-established over the years. To be sure, modern scholars have the advantage of a fully-formed

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[7] In this case, rather than resulting in a coherent national style, such conflict actually led to a scattering of style elements.

[8] Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

[9] Earlier musical activities in Paris, such as the Concerts Populaires in the 1860s, promoted German concert music, with little attention paid to French works. See Elaine Brody, "The Death of Berlioz and the Birth of the Société Nationale," in *Paris, the Musical Kaleidoscope 1870–1925* (New York: George Braziller, 1987), 16–20.

[10] The first concert of the Société Nationale de Musique took place on November 17, 1871. The program included works by Camille Saint-Saëns, Jules Massenet, Théodore Dubois, Jules Garcin, and Alexis de Castillon. Other composers represented in the Société's concerts include Gabriel Fauré, Henri Duparc, Ernest Chausson, Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel, Olivier Messiaen, and many others associated with French style at various points. For a survey of nineteenth- and twentieth-century French composers see Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter, eds., *French Music Since Berlioz* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006).

conception of the music composed during a particular historical era, and are able to trace the musical developments with the perspective of where they eventually led. However, during the nineteenth-century, the attempts to determine national styles in general was still very much in progress, and in this country was gradually developed through the writings of music critics and others associated with the developing musical institutions, who in many ways took their lead from European critics. American readers and audiences relied heavily on the ideas of educated and well-informed local critics and foreign correspondents, and developed an understanding of European music based largely on the information fed to them through local or imported publications, which allowed them to develop a set of expectations, in terms of the style of particular composers in relation to their nationalities, even before they heard their music.

In Boston, while many of the early musical publications focused on local performance culture and education, particularly vocal instruction, occasional articles highlighted a musical genre or style as it related to a particular nation; these early articles tend to be relatively anecdotal, and based on generalizations rather than salient examples.[11] In the second half of the century it became increasingly common for traveling Americans to be engaged as reporters on cultural activities in Paris, London, or other cities, and these individual impressions informed the reader through the context of eye-witness reports.[12] Some publications took a more formal and cosmopolitan approach and began to make a concerted effort to establish particular connections between composers, styles, and tastes to their particular nation of origin, regularly including

[11] For example, an anonymous article in the *Massachusetts Musical Journal* offers a somewhat disjointed description of Russian music, highlighting the national songs and military music; the author observes an overall monotonous quality, which he blames on the limitations of the balalaika. This instrument and a single-pitched pipe have captured the author's interest, although he does not seek to define them in any formal terms, See "Russian Music," *Massachusetts Musical Journal* (August 15, 1855): 54.

[12] It is important to note that these personal perspectives might or might not be an accurate reflection of the music, and depended largely on the writer's individual level of experience and knowledge of music, as well as personal bias.

columns dedicated to European musical culture. For instance, *Dwight's Journal of Music* ran a column entitled "Foreign Musical Intelligence," and as early as 1852 articles in the journal identify certain features of French style and taste, in terms that will be echoed over the years by later authors. For instance, a discussion of the quality of the orchestra at the Paris Conservatoire highlights elements that over time became closely linked to French compositional style and performance practices, such as good tuning and clarity of sound, the latter vividly described as, "…no rasping of basses, no howling of horns, no squeaking of fiddles, no blowing of trombones,"—nothing, in short, that would disturb the quality of the performance.[13] The same year, a discussion of the popularity of certain operas in Paris at the time draws a connection between the style associated with Rossini and Meyerbeer and the overall musical tastes of French audiences as understood by the writer: "What two truer types of the musical tastes of Frenchmen! The epicurean sparkle of the one, and the wild *diablerie* of the other;—but both strong and genuine, and far more wholesome than the Italian music since Rossini."[14] (Neither of these composers was a native, of course, but as foreign composers resident in Paris and popular there they were taken to reflect French predilections.) These kinds of observations became more common over the years, as more attention was paid to French music and musical culture.

By 1891, music scholars and journalists wrote on topics of national style with authority, articulating key elements that had been established over the past four decades in foundational American criticism. This is particularly evident through the publication in Boston of the four-volume encyclopedia *Famous Composers and Their Works*, through which one might quickly assess national styles as defined by some of the most prominent music scholars in the United

[13] This assessment was written in comparison to the overall quality of the London Philharmonic at that time. See Correspondence to London Musical World, "The 'Society des Concerts' at the Conservatoire at Paris," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 1, no. 7 (May 22, 1852): 1.

[14] "Foreign Musical Intelligence: Paris," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 1, no. 1, April 10, 1852, 6. At this point, musical tastes in Italy focused almost entirely on Verdi, whose music reigned supreme there. See ibid., 7.

States (e.g., Henry Krehbiel, Louis C. Elson, Arthur Foote, Philip Hale, etc.) as well as European writers who contributed to this American series.[15] While George Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* had been available since 1879, the *Famous Composers* series was one of the most expansive sources widely available to American readers at that time; in addition to essays on individual composers and genres, the series also included a substantial essay on each of the major European musical nations—Germany, Austria, Italy, France, England, and Russia—as well as America. This was an element that Grove's *Dictionary* lacked, although similar information could be gleaned from various entries. Each of the *Famous Composers* essays includes an historical overview of that country's music, and highlights the particular genres, style elements, and overall musical significance associated with it. These essays elegantly synthesize various points of discussion that had developed since the earliest days of *Dwight's Journal*, and offer a valuable perspective on how national musical stereotypes were perceived and disseminated to American readers in 1891.

Henry Krehbiel's essay "Music in America," which concludes the series, perhaps most clearly underlines the qualities associated with individual countries, as understood from an American perspective, and how these qualities might eventually play into American music. Krehbiel asserts that:

> The reflective German, the mercurial Frenchman, the stolid Englishman, the warm-hearted Irishman, the impulsive Italian, the daring Russian will each contribute his factor to the sum of national taste.[16]

These stereotypes of national character are reflected in more specifically musical terms in the essays on countries. Amid the discussion of compositional contributions, John Knowles Paine

[15] John Knowles Paine, Theodore Thomas, and Karl Klauser, eds., *Famous Composers and Their Works*, vols. 1–4 (Boston: J. B. Millet Company, 1891).

[16] Henry Krehbiel, "Music in America," in *Famous Composers and Their Works*, vol. 4, 933–60, esp. 960.

and Leo R. Lewis also focus on the intellectual disciplines of German criticism and theory and their connection to music of that nation, while Arthur Pougin comments (more vaguely in this case, it must be said) on the "remarkable vitality, the power of expansion and the force of production of the French musical school at the end of the nineteenth century." (He lists Fauré among the "young composers" making contributions to French music, along with Duparc, Messager, Widor, and numerous others.)[17] Martin Roeder stresses the emotions and passion present in Italian music and in its performance as exhibited through bel canto singing and the style of Italian virtuoso violinists.[18] The "stolid Englishman" might well be represented by the conservative English sacred choral institution, as well as in traditional folk music, ballads, and sea-songs, as discussed by W. S Rockstro in "Music in England," and the "daring" of the Russian is observed through exotic musical elements, which, for the American reader, includes the use of Russian folksong.[19] Of all the European countries, Krehbiel suggests that it is the German traditions that have had the most overt influence on American musical culture thus far, particularly through German singing festivals and music for male choruses, as well as in the intellectual disciplines of music theory, criticism, and aesthetics.[20]

Krehbiel's emphasis on German influence was hardly controversial, as by the early 1890s German dominance was widely acknowledged by writers on the American musical scene. For much of the nineteenth century this dominance was as obvious in Boston as in any other major

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[17] John Knowles Paine and Leo R. Lewis, "Music in Germany," in ibid. vol. 1, 604–7, and Arthur Pougin, "Music in France," in ibid., vol. 4, 735–56, esp. 756.

[18] Martin Roeder, "Music in Italy," in ibid. vol. 1, 147–53.

[19] Henry T. Finck combined his discussion of Russian music with Polish, Hungarian, and Norwegian music. See Henry T. Finck, "Music in Russia, Poland, Scandinavia and Hungary," in ibid., vol. 4, 845–66.

[20] Krehbiel, "Music in America", 933–34. German influence on this country's development in general has a longer and more deep-seated history. A German population had existed since the late-seventeenth century, and it contributed various threads of practical influence in areas such as agriculture and industry; the development from the 1820s of a formal public school system in America was largely modeled on the German structure. For an early overview of German contributions to American life, see Rachel Davis-Dubois and Emma Schweppe, eds., *The Germans in American Life* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1936).

American city. Indeed, in the realm of music criticism, Boston had in the mid-nineteenth century been at the center of the development of an aesthetic perspective that helped to establish the primacy of German music in the performance domain. This was led by Ralph Waldo Emerson and other writers involved with New England Transcendentalism, a movement profoundly influenced by the German Idealist philosophy of Immanuel Kant, G. W. F. Hegel, and others, as well as writings by and about Goethe, a number of which examined the aesthetics of music and the visual arts.[21] Mark N. Grant cites Emerson as the leading representative of the Transcendentalist attitude toward music, and summarizes this in the words of musicologist Irving Lowens:

> …if works were to be regarded as the language of thought, then music must be regarded as the language of feeling. The unfortunate person who was unable to sense the uniquely communicative nature of music was debarred from comprehension of some of life's deepest mysteries. Not everything could be said in words.[22]

Grant's observation that the transcendentalists "were finding 'religion' anew in their worship of the fine arts" is amply borne out by the essays published in a number of influential journals with which these writers were associated between 1835 and 1850.[23]

The Transcendentalists' most prominent disciple in the musical domain was John Sullivan Dwight (1813–1893), who trained first as a Unitarian minister at Harvard, and was ordained into the church, but then went on to devote his energies to music journalism, most

[21] For a study of Transcendentalism and its relationship to German Idealist philosophy and religion, see Philip F. Gura, *American Transcendentalism: A History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007).

[22] Quoted in Grant, *Maestros of the Pen*, 38.

[23] Grant mentions in particular the *Dial* (edited by Emerson and Margaret Fuller) and the *Harbinger* (edited by George Ripley) among those journals associated with Transcendentalism that included issues devoted to classical music. Grant, *Maestros of the Pen*, 37. See also Ora Frischberg Saloman, "Margaret Fuller on Musical Life in Boston and New York, 1841–46," in *Listening Well: On Beethoven, Berlioz, and Other Music Criticism in Paris, Boston, and New York 1764–1890* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2009), 137–50.

notably through the journal that carried his name.[24] In the first issue of *Dwight's Journal of Music* Dwight listed the general content he planned to publish, including essays on "Music in its moral, social, and religious bearings," an objective that falls directly in line with the German Idealist philosophy that he broadly embraced, even in his discussions of music not from the German tradition.[25] He was a particular advocate of Beethoven; for Dwight and many others at the time, the symphonies of Beethoven represented the most highly-developed and inspirational expression of the German musical tradition—and indeed of the essence of music as an art form.

Dwight is widely acknowledged as having played a foundational role in the development of musical criticism in the United States, and he and other like-minded American critics helped to inculcate in their readers not only specific German aesthetic concepts, but also a broader acceptance of German music and musical thought as the gold standard for this strand of high culture. It was certainly the case in Boston that it was rare before the 1880s to hear any concert music other than a small number of symphonies and overtures by Austro-German composers.[26] As an influx of immigration beginning in the 1850s brought an increasing number of German musicians to Boston and New York, where they contributed notably to education and

[24] In an early issue of *Dwight's Journal of Music*, Dwight quotes Hegel's assertion that one should not think while listening to music, rather feel and enjoy the music. This is a tenet that pervades Dwight's essays throughout his career as a writer on music. See *Dwight's Journal of Music* 8, no. 21 (August 21, 1858): 162. Later, the composers of the Second New England School also considered the Transcendentalist writers as part of their general background. See Tawa, "Why American Art Music First Arrived in New England," 143–44.

[25] *Dwight's Journal of Music* 1, no. 1 (April 10, 1852): 1. In addition to these philosophical essays, Dwight promised essays on genres, styles, musical education, and theory, as well as concert reviews, news on the latest music publications, general musical news from at home and abroad, correspondence, and some non-musical content focusing on the visual arts and literature. Dwight also included translations of essays by French and German writers, and in addition to the editor himself, contributors later included prominent Boston musicians such as John Knowles Paine, William Apthorp, and Alexander Wheelock Thayer (Beethoven's first American biographer). The style and content of the journal were emulated by the *Musical Herald* and the *Musical Record*, and by other publications in Boston and beyond; Oliver Ditson later purchased *Dwight's Journal* in 1881 and folded this into his *Musical Record*, continuing Dwight's legacy of thoughtful music criticism under the guidance of a variety of contributors and editors.

[26] David Ewen provides an overview of the musical repertoire performed in the United States during the nineteenth century, in *Music Comes to America*, 3–71, passim. Ewen refers to Boston as "the cradle of symphonic music in America" because of the early performances given there, including unspecified symphonies by Haydn in 1810 and Beethoven's First Symphony in 1820. See ibid., 19.

performance practice within the development of art music in this country, these musicians set new standards to which American musicians aspired. For much of the second half of the nineteenth century, this meant pursuing additional musical studies with master artists in Germany and Austria, and as modes of travel became more accessible and affordable, study abroad became a realistic option and allowed Americans to acquire the highest level of technical and artistic aptitude that was simply not available to them in the United States to the same extent.[27] This applied to composers as well as performers, and persisted even as America began to develop its own conservatories and university music programs in the antebellum period.

By contrast, French influences on American musical life emerged more slowly and less directly, and without immigration playing a major role. A French population had been present in North America since the late seventeenth century. Early French settlements that had been established in parts of Canada and the territory that later became Louisiana expanded in the generations that followed, and by the nineteenth century a sizeable French population was also present in New York and New England (largely via Quebec and New Brunswick), as well as California and the Midwest. Jacqueline Lindenfeld identifies several categories of immigrants during this period, including military personnel, religious or political refugees, and those merely seeking a better or more adventurous life, categories that can be applied to other groups of immigrants in the U.S. as well.[28] However, while the reasons for immigration might be a common factor across different ethnic groups, French immigrants seemed for the most part to

[27] Clarke, "The American-Europeans," in *Essays on American Music*, esp. 73–75. As late as 1896 Boston music educator Louis C. Elson encouraged students to study abroad, but also urged them to utilize the resources available to them in the U.S. first. See Louis C. Elson, *European Reminiscences* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser Co., 1896), 270.

[28] See Jacqueline Lindenfeld, *The French in the United States: An Ethnographic Study* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), 1–11.

become assimilated into the American mainstream more readily than other groups.[29] For instance, German immigrant communities tended to remain fairly insular in terms of maintaining their language, religion, social customs, and other elements associated with traditional "old world" life, factors that contributed to the tangible presence in the U.S. of a distinct German culture. French immigrants, on the other hand, particularly those arriving in the U.S. via Canada rather than coming directly from France, were often already fluent in English, had anglicized their names, married outside their native circles, and were generally blended into mainstream American life. In this way, the sense of an authentic French presence in the U.S. was much less obvious than in the case of German culture, so that when French culture began to become increasingly attractive in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was as a more exotic and foreign phenomenon than the increasingly domesticated influence of German art and ideas.

In the musical arena, while there were certainly French musicians working in the United States, they were far less numerous than their German counterparts. Nevertheless, as the twentieth century approached, a combination of shifting aesthetic ideals, increased transatlantic travel, and the broader growth of interest in French culture led to the emergence of France, and Paris in particular, as an attractive alternative to Germany for musical study in Europe. By the turn of the century, it had become almost as common for young American musicians to study in France as in Germany, and soon enough a clear divergence of these two paths emerged in New York and Boston, with New York musicians continuing to look more toward Germany, while their Boston counterparts began to favor a newly Francophile orientation.[30]

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[29] Ibid.

[30] For example, Philip Hale, Everett Ellsworth Truette, and John Victor Bergquist were among the many organists who studied with Alexandre Guilmant, while Daniel Gregory Mason (grandson of Lowell Mason) studied composition with Vincent d'Indy, and Edward Burlingame Hill and Blair Fairchild studied composition with Charles-Marie Widor.

The gradual elevation of French musical ideals occurred within Boston's developing broader interest in French culture from an aesthetic and social perspective. However, at the end of the First World War Boston's collective interest in French culture was intensified through one event in its musical world that served in many ways not only as support for a pro-French culture, but as a catalyst for the deliberate rejection of German influences: the very public deportation of Boston Symphony Orchestra director Karl Muck and all of the scandal surrounding him. In the remainder of this chapter I will briefly trace the development of musical life in late nineteenth-century Boston, the emergence of the city as a center of interest in French culture in general and music in particular, and its eventual turning away from German influences in the shadows of the war.

Music in Boston ca. 1865−1925: Performing Organizations and Educational Institutions

As was typical across the United States during the nineteenth century, the development of a thriving culture of art music in Boston was driven initially by choral music. The success of the Handel and Haydn Society, established in 1815 and still active today, helped to inspire the formation of similar organizations both in Boston and across the country; through them American concert audiences and amateur singers became familiar with a canon of large-scale sacred works by European composers, most notably Handel's *Messiah*, Haydn's *Creation*, Mozart's *Requiem*, and (by mid-century) Mendelssohn's *Elijah* and *St. Paul*, as well as newer compositions written for this medium.[31] A comparable orchestral and recital infrastructure took longer to develop, at least to the level encountered in most major European cities of the mid-nineteenth century. Although Boston was in many respects in the vanguard among American

[31] Both the Handel and Haydn Society and the later Boston Cecilia (est. 1876) continue to feature significantly in the city's performance culture today. While numerous sources include an overview of each ensemble, for a recent historical outline see "About the Handel and Haydn Society," *Handel and Haydn Society*, http://www.handelandhaydn.org/about/history (accessed January 13, 2014), and "The History of the Boston Cecilia," *The Boston Cecilia*, http://www.bostoncecilia.org/about-us/history/ (accessed April 16, 2014).

cultural centers, even here it was not until late in the century that there were sufficient professional training opportunities and dedicated performance venues to support a high-quality concert life on a broad scale. Nevertheless by the last quarter of the century the influx of immigrant musicians, increasingly numerous concert tours by visiting European artists, new performance venues, and the establishment of educational institutions that could yield a new generation of elite American musicians, were all raising the city's musical life to a new level.[32]

The founding in 1881 of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the city's first permanent orchestral organization, set the seal upon such developments, but also heralded important new directions that would help establish Boston as a center for French music. Although the orchestra would continue to draw heavily upon German music and musicians, it also pioneered the development of a much broader repertoire, in large part through the vision and tenacity of its founding patron. New York native Henry Lee Higginson (1834–1919), a retired Major in the Union Army, had studied piano and composition in Vienna and was well-versed in the symphonic repertoire of central Europe.[33] Using the wealth he had accrued as a banker, as well as vast financial resources inherited from his family, Higginson not only founded the BSO, but continued to act as its primary financial backer until the end of the First World War. He had extremely high expectations of the ensemble, and relied largely on the European instrumentalists

[32] For information on Boston performance venues see Appendix 1. As travel between the United States and Europe became easier through the establishment of passenger cruise lines in the mid-nineteenth century, more and more European musicians pursued formal American concert tours. The Kneisel Quartet, the Ysaÿe Quartet, and other European ensembles contributed actively to the spread of chamber music to American audiences across the country, and in many cases introduced works that became part of the American concert canon in due course. The Hamburg-America line was the first company to specialize in transatlantic voyages, with regular service between Hamburg and New York or Boston in the early 1870s.

[33] Joseph Horowitz has discussed Higginson's significant role in the development in Boston's musical world most recently in Horowitz, "Henry Higginson: High Culture, High Finance, and Useful Citizenship," in *Moral Fire*, 19–73. During a routine blood-letting procedure, Higginson suffered an injury to his arm that prevented him from pursuing a career as a concert pianist, but he nevertheless went on to serve as a captain and then major in the Union Army. See John Ogasapian and N. Lee Orr, *Music of the Gilded Age* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 24–26.

and conductors he imported rather than the Boston musicians he had come to find unreliable.[34] Although he allowed the conductors that he hired independent creativity in programming, Higginson's financial leadership gave him the power not only to determine the personnel, but also to influence the repertory of the BSO programs. While earlier ensembles in Boston had focused almost exclusively on the German repertoire, Higginson encouraged the orchestra to diversify its repertory, seeking to enrich Boston's musical culture through the incorporation of new works by French and Russian composers.[35] By the 1920s the orchestra had established itself as arguably the leading American ensemble in the performance of Franco-Russian orchestral repertoire.

Higginson also made substantial contributions, of both money and advice, to educational institutions in the city, most notably to Harvard University, his alma mater, and the New England Conservatory. Boston had long played a leading role in education at all levels, including in the musical domain. The Boston Academy of Music, established in 1822, was one of the nation's earliest conservatories, and its curriculum served as a model for emerging music education in public schools.[36] In the years after the Civil War, the founding of the New England Conservatory and the Boston Conservatory rapidly established Boston as a leading center for professional musical formation, and Harvard was the first American university to appoint a professor of music. In this educational field as well as that of performance, the period between the Civil War and the First World War saw a strong shift from a predominantly German orientation toward more Francophile allegiances.

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[34] Upon his first return to Berlin in 1908 BSO director Karl Muck observed that the ensemble was made up mostly of European musicians. See "Muck Talks of America," *The New York Times*, May 31, 1908, C3.

[35] Higginson was open to the concept of modern music, although he did stipulate that he did not wish to include any "crazy work" on the programs and that he "hates noise." See Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 76. Also quoted in Horowitz, *Moral Fire*, 53.

[36] For an overview of the founding and development of the Boston Music Academy, see Broyles, "Samuel Eliot and the Boston Academy," in *Music of the Highest Class*, 182–214.

Like other American universities, it had taken Harvard some time to accept music as a legitimate subject of formal study. The American social elite for much of the nineteenth century was primarily of Anglo-Saxon descent, and its members shared with their peers in Victorian Britain a belief that anything beyond a casual amateur interest in music was not a fit pursuit for a gentleman, regarding it instead the preserve of the lower classes, women, and foreigners, and associated in turn with a potentially dangerous, "unmanly" world of excessive emotion and sensuality.[37] The perceived high moral tone and virility of the recent German musical tradition, particularly as embodied in Beethoven, had gone a long way to recovering respectability for the art form, but change was slow to come in the university arena. The key here was to emphasize theoretical rather than practical studies. As MacDonald Smith Moore notes in his discussion of music and identity in late nineteenth-century New England, and of the establishment of music departments at Harvard and Yale, "After centuries of near-banishment, music returned to liberal education following the Aristotelian tradition that, alone among the arts, music *theory* (and, correlatively, composition) was a fit activity for a gentleman because it was an abstract and intellectual pursuit, not a lowly craft."[38] While music had been an informal presence at Harvard since the establishment of the school in 1636, in the context of church services and other functional events, musical studies were not offered as part of the curriculum until the 1850s, after various efforts by the Harvard Musical Association to foster music at the university, including a series of public lectures and concerts in the 1840s, finally led in 1856 to formal course offerings,

[37] Macdonald Smith Moore highlights anxieties surrounding "manliness" and "effeminacy" in musical identity in the universities during the nineteenth century, in *Yankee Blues*, passim. Even at the end of the century, the very concept of music was for some still inextricably linked in the American mind with women's activities, both personal and professional. B.D. Allen, in an 1896 article entitled "Music and Manhood", felt moved to write that "When we mention music and manhood, too often it produces an impression akin to the mention of millinery and manhood, or dress-making and manhood." See B. D. Allen, "Music and Manhood," *The Etude* 14 (1896): 157.

[38] Moore, *Yankee Blues*, 21.

and in 1862 to a permanent music faculty position.[39] Composer and organist John Knowles Paine (1839−1906) was hired at that time as Harvard's first organist and choirmaster, but in addition to his primary responsibilities he also taught courses in music appreciation and music theory; it was with these academic subjects that Paine laid the foundations of Harvard's music department, and of a curriculum that became the model for many other American universities. He rose from instructor in 1862 to associate professor in 1873, and finally full professor in 1875, making him the first professor of music in the United States.[40] He remained in this position until 1905, and Harvard's music department continued to grow due to his pioneering efforts.

Paine pursued his own musical studies in Berlin, and at the time of his appointment, Harvard's European connections in general were primarily German. However, for the generations that followed, the growing interest in French music and performance studies led many of Paine's successors to choose Paris for their supplementary education.[41] The "French connection" among Harvard composers has been observed frequently in the scholarly literature, and although it is most often discussed in relation to those who studied with Nadia Boulanger in the 1920s and 1930s, it had begun considerably earlier.[42] It is also important to note that it

[39] For a discussion of the first public lectures organized by the Harvard Music Association see Broyles, *Music of the Highest Class*, 249–59. Broyles discusses the "stony silence" of Harvard University concerning the work of the Association, particularly regarding its desire to include music in the curriculum (ibid., 248). A sporadic chronology of musical activities from 1808 through 1897 appears in Spalding, *Music at Harvard*, 49–95..

[40] Kenneth C. Roberts and John C. Schmidt, "Paine, John Knowles," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2253739 (accessed January 17, 2014). It should be noted that, while Paine is widely acknowledged as the first American music professor, Levi Parsons Homer had given instruction in music at Harvard during the 1850s, and was formally announced as the new "Professor of Music" in the Massachusetts Musical Journal in 1855. Homer is described as "an accomplished musician and in every respect qualified for this very responsible office." See "Professor of Music to Harvard University," *Massachusetts Musical Journal*, August 1, 1855, 1.

[41] Among the noted musicians who pursued additional musical studies in France were Edward Burlingame Hill, Walter Piston, Virgil Thomson, Leonard Bernstein, Elliott Carter, and John Adams, among numerous others. As the earliest example here, Hill studied in Paris with Charles-Marie Widor before his appointment to the Harvard faculty as professor of theory and piano in 1908; the others studied much later with Nadia Boulanger.

[42] Carlo Caballero discusses the possible connection between Harvard graduate Walter Piston and Fauré as filtered through Boulanger in the 1920s, in Caballero, "Fauré *chez* Piston."

echoed a broader and pervasive influence of French culture and ideas that developed at Harvard toward the end of the nineteenth century. This was, in fact, widely noted as one of the most significant features distinguishing Harvard and Yale, the two leading American universities of the second half of the nineteenth century: while Yale was staunchly devoted to promoting its purely American character, free from what were considered the confines of the European legacy, Harvard gradually developed a "French" identity within its ethos of conservative tradition.[43] In terms of the stereotypes of national character prevalent at the time, this undoubtedly contributed to the fact that, for all of its academic prestige, as an institution preparing young American men for future leadership, Harvard had developed a reputation for being too "soft." The image of Harvard as over-refined and positively effeminate is perpetuated in the works of F. Scott Fitzgerald, notably in a much-quoted passage from *This Side of Paradise* (1920):

> I don't know why, but I think of all Harvard men as sissies, like I used to be, and all Yale men as wearing big blue sweaters and smoking pipes. … I think of Princeton as being lazy and good-looking and aristocratic—you know, like a spring day. Harvard seems sort of indoors—And Yale is November, crisp and energetic.[44]

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[43] The relative proximity of Harvard and Yale contributed to a natural, ongoing competition and a comparison by the American public. Thomas Clarke Owens discusses this rivalry at length in "Charles Ives and His American Context: Images of 'Americanness' in the Arts." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1999.

[44] F. Scott Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise* (New York: Scribner, 1920), 27. The characters speaking are Fitzgerald's autobiographical Amory Blaine and his mentor Monsignor Darcy. Blaine is debating which university to attend following his graduation from the elite boarding school he attends. Fitzgerald himself attended Princeton University. Harvard was well aware of the "indoor" versus "outdoor" culture in American universities as early as 1863, as is evident through an article that asserts the physical and psychological benefits of "outdoor" sports (i.e. football, base-ball [sic], and cricket) to "correct laziness, nervousness, awkwardness, and effeminacy." See "Exercise and Recreation," *Harvard Magazine* 9 (1863): 207–10, esp. 209. While such a recommendation was considered necessary at Harvard, it seems unlikely that similar encouragement would have been required at Yale, where sports were considered at least as important as academics.

It should be noted that beyond the region, New England in general was considered effete, a judgement that would have encompassed Yale as well as Harvard. Countless references to "the effete East" have appeared in print in a variety of contexts, both serious and humorous, since the 1880s; this stereotype continues to prevail in some areas, often in comparison to the western or Midwestern states. See, for example, "The Effete East and the Rowdy West," *Chicago Tribune*, June 23, 1887, 6; "Dog Masseur: They Are the Newest Fad in the Effete East," *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1902, A3; R. B., "The Effete East," *Life* 59, no. 1531 (February 29, 1912): 439; "When West Meets East," *Los Angeles Times*, October 1, 1919, 116; and, more recently, "Some Things Just Aren't Done in the Effete East," *Boston Globe*, March 7, 1976, 42; "For Baseball Romantics It's Time to Change Sox," *The New York Times*, October 9, 2005, I2.

The increasing number of French professors who taught at Harvard during the nineteenth century naturally contributed to the Gallic orientation of the school, and although some Americans objected to Harvard's promotion of French culture, its influence at Harvard certainly reinforced growing Francophile tendencies among elite Bostonians.

While a detailed consideration of the gender politics shaping American music is beyond the scope of this discussion, gendered stereotypes of national identity were certainly not irrelevant the reception of the different national styles represented in the music of the era. Furthermore, Charles Ives's well-documented anxieties concerning effeminacy in music, and his suspicion of French music, and Debussy in particular, on this count, may at one level be seen as reflecting his formation in the hyper-masculine environment of Yale in the 1890s. The association of French music with effeminacy, which for some extended inevitably also to homosexuality, would persist well into the twentieth century.[45]

While Harvard's music department continued to grow as an academic presence in New England, the performance strand of musical education was developed by two of Boston's most prominent musical institutions: the New England Conservatory (NEC) and the Boston Conservatory, established within one week of each other in 1867.[46] Despite sharing a common goal of providing Boston musicians with exemplary training, the two institutions differed significantly in their approaches. While Eben Tourjée and others involved with the creation of

[45] On Ives in particular see Owens, "Charles Ives and his American Identity", and Judith Tick, "Charles Ives and Gender Ideology", in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 83-106. The relationship of sexual and gender politics with concepts of national identity in American musical life are discussed in detail in Nadine Hubbs, *The Queer Composition of America's Sound: Gay Modernists, American Music, and National Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); on the role of France in particular see pp. 140–51.

[46] John Sullivan Dwight offers a contemporary perspective on the early days of the two conservatories in "The History of Music in Boston," in *The Memorial History of Boston* Volume 4, edited by Justin Winsor (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1881), 459–60. Cincinnati Conservatory and the Chicago Musical College also opened that year; the Peabody Institute had been officially dedicated in 1866, and Oberlin Conservatory in 1865.

NEC (prominent advisors included John Sullivan Dwight and music publisher Oliver Ditson) aspired to create an elite conservatory in the European tradition, violinist Julius Eichberg founded the Boston Conservatory with a broader and progressive social agenda in mind, incorporating a community music school, and an inclusive admissions policy unique at this time.[47] Given its more exclusively professional orientation, it was perhaps not surprising that NEC emerged as the preeminent music school of Boston; students who pursued performance studies on orchestral instruments were groomed for a professional career with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, although majors in piano or vocal performance, and composition, were also common at NEC by the turn of the century. Through the efforts of French-trained musicians Wallace Goodrich, Edward Burlingame Hill (who taught at both Harvard and NEC), and others, by the early years of the twentieth century the curriculum was increasingly influenced by that of the Paris Conservatoire, including a similar range of courses in general music history and theory, as well as solo, chamber, and large-ensemble performance.

The most direct connection between Boston and the Paris Conservatoire, however, was established by a new institution founded toward the end of this period. The Longy School was established in 1915 by the French composer and oboist Georges Longy, who had immigrated to Boston in 1898 following his studies at the Paris Conservatoire. Longy quickly established his position in Boston, becoming the principal oboist of the BSO; he also organized and conducted a

[47] Eichberg was among the first administrators to admit women and African Americans into this kind of institution. Eileen Southern discusses the unusual opportunity African American musicians had during this era through Boston Conservatory's inclusive admission. See Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), 266. One of the notable ensembles that emerged from the Boston Conservatory was the Eichberg String Quartette (est. 1878), an all-female group, under the direction of Eichberg himself. Other all-female string quartets formed in the decades that followed, for example the American String Quartette and the Durrell String Quartet, both active in Boston and on tour throughout the United States during the first decades of the twentieth century, among various other all-female instrumental ensembles. For a discussion of the Eichberg Quartette and Julius Eichberg's active promotion of female string musicians see Christine Ammer, "The 'Lady Violinists' and Other String Players," in *Unsung: A History of Women in American Music* (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corporation, 2001), 32–61, esp. 41–43.

number of ensembles during his time in the city.[48] Like Higginson, Longy encouraged his colleagues to explore an expansive repertoire, and through countless performances introduced Boston to hitherto unfamiliar musical works, both old and modern. As a prominent member of the musical community, Longy was closely associated not only with the BSO, but with the faculty and students of Harvard, NEC, and Boston Conservatory. Despite the already strong influence of French musical pedagogy in the Boston area, Longy felt the need to offer Boston students an education even more closely modelled on that of the Paris Conservatoire, and to this end founded his own school.[49] Longy's reputation ensured an immediate success for the school, and its close proximity to Harvard (especially after the institution moved from Boston to Cambridge in the 1930s) led university students—Elliott Carter, for one—to pursue additional studies there.[50] More importantly, because of the robust interest in French culture at Harvard, the Longy School was a welcome and almost natural presence within the community. On a broader scale, its inherent connection to the Paris Conservatoire enhanced the presence of French musical culture within Boston's educational institutions, and further strengthened the Francophile orientation of the city's musical life.

Choosing France: Americans in Paris

Long before Boston became a center for French music, art, and literature, the beginning of a Franco-American connection was forged in this country through the politically-driven travels of

[48] For example, the Boston Orchestral Club (1899–1913), the Longy Club (1900–14), the MacDowell Club (1915–25), and the Boston Musical Association (1919–21), among others. See Leonard Burkat, "Longy, Georges," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45648 (accessed December 31, 2013).

[49] Longy "…founded the Longy School in Boston to provide comprehensive training in musicianship and performance in the Paris Conservatoire model. The curriculum emphasized individual attention to each student, as well as solfège and theory as the basis of sound musical understanding." See "History," *Longy School of Music of Bard College*, http://www.longy.edu/about/history/ (accessed November 21, 2014).

[50] Elliott Carter studied English at Harvard through the master's level (1926–32), with additional studies in music there and at Longy. He went on from there to Paris to study with Nadia Boulanger (1932–35), who would herself would teach at Longy in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

men such as Benjamin Franklin, who served in Paris as the American ambassador during the late-eighteenth century. Thomas Jefferson and John Adams also traveled there as American diplomats, and their work, along with that of Franklin, did much to establish a strong link between the two countries.[51] A good portion of this early transatlantic travel was funded by the French diplomat Charles Gravier, comte de Vergenne, whose continued assistance throughout the American Revolution in the form of tangible goods contributed to a Franco-American alliance that endured well beyond the war.[52] Although some wealthy Americans had the opportunity to travel abroad, for most, France was for most Americans an exotic country that existed exclusively in newspaper articles and fictional stories, and the French literature imported to local book shops.[53] However, this began to change and over time, the concept of French travel became a more accessible possibility, and many began to consider travel to Paris an essential part of their personal development.

As David McCullough has examined, a select number of American authors, artists, and political figures pursued French travel beginning in the 1830s, mostly for their personal

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[51] Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) first traveled to Paris in 1767 for his own pleasure and remained in the city for six months. He returned in 1776 in the political capacity as commissioner and then as the United States Minister to France, a position he held from 1778 until his return to the U.S. in 1785. John Adams (1735–1826) served in Paris twice, first as a diplomat 1778-79, then as a peace negotiator the following year. Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) served as a diplomat in Paris in 1884, and succeeded Franklin in the position of Minister to France in 1885, a position he held until 1789. Numerous scholars have addressed the early Franco-American relationship and the contributions of Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson, including William Howard Adams, Connor Cruise O'Brien, and others, as well as the personal accounts given in their complete autobiographies or as writings compiled in anthologies. See, for example, Adam Gopnik, ed., *Americans in Paris: A Literary Anthology* (New York: Library of America, 2004), and Jennifer Lee, ed., *Paris in Mind: Three Centuries of Americans Writing about Paris* (New York: Vintage, 2003).

[52] For a discussion of Gravier's financial assistance during the American Revolution, see Orville Theodore Murphy, *Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes: French Diplomacy in the Age of Revolution*, 1719–1787 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982).

[53] Following the Civil War era there was a significant increase in literature imported from Europe, and this became one of the most effective methods of stimulating interest in foreign travel. The writings of Charles Baudelaire, Victor Hugo, and Honoré de Balzac were imported to American booksellers, and were also purchased abroad by elite travelers. The romantic descriptions of even the difficulties of Parisian life both modern and historical appealed to a wide readership, and many began to crave the culture described especially in Hugo's works *Notre-Dame de Paris* and *Les Misérables*, which were immensely popular among American readers.

interests.[54] At that point, transatlantic travel was not a glamorous undertaking; it was time-consuming, expensive, and greatly lacking in amenities, thus embarking on this journey was a commitment very few people were willing or able to make.[55] Among the earliest figures who considered such travel an essential part of their personal development were Bostonians Samuel Morse (1791–1872), Charles Sumner (1811–1874), and Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–1894), who each pursued a portion of his studies in Paris in the 1830s.[56] They returned with a unique perspective on the exotic culture few others at home had yet the chance to experience.[57] The second generation of Americans in Paris include notable writers, such as Mark Twain, Henry Adams, and Henry James, who were each inspired to write short stories or novels based on their experiences; the latter, who had spent time in Paris as a child, adopted the city as his home, as did Edith Wharton who later pursued philanthropic endeavors during the First World War.[58] Though these writers take vastly different literary approaches, particularly those working from the perspective of an American expatriate, they contributed mutually to the American audience's understanding of Paris during this time.

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[54] See ibid., passim.

[55] In the 1830s, transatlantic travel cost an average of $3,000 and took approximately three weeks at sea. See David McCullough, "The Way Over," in *The Greater Journey: Americans in Paris* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 3–24.

[56] Charles Sumner, studied at the Sorbonne (1837–40); Samuel Morse, studied painting in Europe (1830–32, returned to Paris in 1839); Oliver Wendell Holmes studied at the École de Médecine in the early-1830s. Ibid.

[57] Holmes, in particular, passed his cultural observations to American readers two decades later through his popular Breakfast Table series published in three parts in the *Atlantic*. For a discussion of these writings see William C. Dowling, *Oliver Wendell Holmes in Paris: Medicine, Theology, and The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, Becoming Modern: New Nineteenth-Century Studies (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2007). To be sure, Holmes and the others represent an elite group of privileged Americans during this early era. Following the Civil War commercial travel began to develop; the relative luxury and substantially shorter duration of such voyages offered a far more attractive prospect for travelers, thus a growing number of Americans who had the financial means to do so embarked on trips to Europe. See Foster Rhea Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964).

[58] Selections of writings by Twain, Adams, James, and Wharton, as well as other American writers of this era, pertaining to their experiences in Paris are included in Gopnik, ed., *Americans in Paris*, and Lee, ed. *Paris in Mind.*

In reaching the broader American public, Twain was particularly effective; in his typically witty style, he wrote an account of his Parisian adventures that entertained his readers, but also provided practical information that served for some as a travel guide with helpful hints on preparing for the journey, what to expect regarding financial matters, and humorous suggestions for interacting with French citizens. Perhaps inspired by Twain's writings or similar publications, young American men and women even from more modest backgrounds developed an interest in foreign travel and began to consider the experience of a journey to the major cities of Europe a requisite rite of passage, a status symbol, wanting to return as stylish, cultural people of the world. To this end, many devoted a year or so following their college graduation to travel abroad before returning to the States to assume the responsibilities of career, marriage, and family. This was essentially a continuation of the tradition of the "Grand Tour," which had had deep roots within European culture since the early days of the Renaissance and continued to thrive there in the nineteenth century.[59] Modern travel similarly offered young adults from affluent backgrounds an opportunity to explore history and culture, and to sow their "wild oats" amid the wonders—both ancient and modern—of European cities before settling into their adult lives. When they did return, they brought with them not only physical mementos of their experiences in London, Vienna, Paris, Venice, and other European cities, but also an intense desire to have the opportunity of similar cultural experiences at home. They wished to attend concerts and lectures, visit art museums, shop in elegant boutiques, and regularly partake of elevated social interactions similar to those they had experienced abroad. Concert halls and museums were built, learned societies and elite salons formed, and culture in American cities, especially Boston and New York, began to crystallize along European lines.

[59] For a discussion of the history and development of the European "Grand Tour," see Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1998).

By the turn of the century the majority of wealthy Americans acknowledged European travel as a key element of their social status; the interest specifically in an elegant Parisian cultural experience was fed by the diverse literature available to them. However, the concept of studying abroad, as Sumner, Holmes, and Adams had done, began to flourish among young American performing musicians; this reflects the awareness of a practical necessity to complete one's musical education abroad, where the well-established traditional conservatories and other musical institutions were considered superior to those still developing in the U.S. The Austro-German music system was greatly valued by American musicians, and a round of formal studies in Vienna or Berlin, for instance, was considered by many the pinnacle of one's musical education; however, for some musicians in this country, particularly in Boston, the music society of which was becoming increasingly populated by French or French-trained performers and educators, Paris represented a legitimate and increasingly desirable alternative. By the 1920s, it was almost as common to encounter American musicians studying in Paris with Nadia Boulanger as it was to find them in Vienna with Arnold Schoenberg; however, it took the effort of various individuals over time to establish Paris as a valid option in the minds of American students. One of the earliest American musical figures to promote French musical studies was the Boston native, Louis C. Elson (1873–1940), who ardently urged young American musicians to choose France, and specifically promoted the Paris Conservatoire for their supplementary musical training.

Louis C. Elson (1848–1920)

Elson, a music educator and author, was among the first Americans to assert in print the value of French over German musical education. A graduate of Harvard, Elson had pursued his additional studies at the Leipzig Conservatory, in keeping with what was at that time the natural path of

American musicians. However, he later had the opportunity to observe the pedagogy at a number of European music institutions over the course of his personal travels in the 1880s–90s; he was especially responsive to the course of study at the Paris Conservatoire, and his respect for the French conservatory system comes through clearly in his volume *European Reminiscences, Musical and Otherwise* (first published in 1891).[60] At that time, Elson was the head of the theory department of the New England Conservatory, and had already published three volumes on a variety of musical topics, had served as editor for the *Musical Herald*, the *Boston Courier*, other Boston-based periodicals, and contributed to Cincinnati's *Musical Visitor*. Elson enjoyed a strong reputation as one of the leading musical figures of his day, similar to the position held by Dwight.[61]

The content of the *Reminiscences* is primarily composed of writings Elson submitted as a contributor to American publications while on vacation, thus the activities he pursued, both musical and otherwise, are often lighthearted.[62] While it has a strong musical focus, Elson's travelogue approach is both informative on many topics and humorous for the general reader, and bears similarities to that of Twain's *Innocents Abroad* in both style and content; in Elson's words, he wished to present the "kaleidoscope phases of European life in many different aspects."[63] To this end, Elson organized the chapters by geographic location in the order in which he visited each locale, and included in his table of contents eye-catching and, in some cases,

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[60] Elson, *European Reminiscences*. See also Karl Kroeger, "Elson, Louis Charles," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08752 (accessed May 22, 2013). *European Remembrances* was expanded and reissued twice, in 1896 and 1914.

[61] Louis C. Elson, *Curiosities of Music* (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1880), Louis C. Elson, *The History of German Song* (Boston: New England Conservatory of Music, 1888), and Louis C. Elson, *Theory of Music* (Boston: New England Conservatory of Music, 1890).

[62] Elson specifically names the *New York Tribune*, the *Boston Advertiser*, and the *Boston Transcript* as the publications to which he contributed at that time. See Elson, *European Remembrances*, preface.

[63] Ibid.

scintillating subheadings pertaining to the musical happenings in each city, as well as a variety of other topics of daily life, local sights, and current events. The book was advertised as "…Europe seen through the eyes of a musician," and for many, Elson's rich, vivid descriptions and his careful balance of musical and social accounts offer his readers a new variety of round-trip voyage by proxy.[64] In fact, upon its release *European Reminiscences* was hailed as "one of the most charmingly written books in all musical literature…the next-best thing to going abroad one's self."[65] Despite its broad topical content, it was designed primarily for the late-nineteenth century American musical audience. His colorful descriptions of private musicales, the opera in Paris, the Exposition Universelle (1889), the Bayreuth Festival, as well as more "exotic" topics, such as music on the Venetian canals, zither music in the Swiss Alps, and Hungarian gypsy music, are all told in entertaining tidbits and through personal anecdotes. Furthermore, Elson's first-person accounts of his interactions with a variety of noted musical acquaintances offer an additional dimension of the connection between his reader and the foreign lands described in this volume. In general, the absence of specific date references give the work a sense of timelessness, and even more than seventy years after its publication it was compared to Twain's *Innocents Abroad* for its "broad humor and invariable high spirits" and was still recommended as "a totally forgotten minor classic of American travel literature."[66] However, as much as a light-hearted musical travelogue it proved to be for the general reader, the volume also includes key information for young American musicians on the cusp of making the decision of where to study in Europe.

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[64] "Publisher's Notes," *The Etude* 14, no. 6 (1896): 140.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Frederick Freedman, ed., *Lectures on the History and Art of Music: the Louis Charles Elson Memorial Lectures at the Library of Congress, 1946–1963* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), vii.

As a trusted figure in Boston's musical world, Elson's descriptions of the musical happenings in a variety of European cities and, in some cases, his direct recommendations for students, as well as the star-quality accorded by his social engagements with composer Jules Massenet, Leipzig's Kapellmeister Carl Reinecke, and even Richard Wagner's widow, Cosima, helped establish *European Remembrances* as a "must-read" book among young American musicians. Although he includes general descriptions of the Leipzig Conservatory, once familiar territory for him, and the Royal Danish Conservatory, he does not present enough fine detail to be considered of practical value to a young music student considering his options for European studies.[67] In fact, it is not until one of the final chapters that Elson offers a comparison of the musical advantages and disadvantages of each European capital, and it is here that a young reader seeking this kind of advice should find it. He remarks on the overall quality of musical performances in London and the world-famous instructors there, the attributes of Milan for the young singer, and the piano and composition courses in Munich and Leipzig, and the overall effect of musical activities in Paris; although the author presents his discussion in a relatively balanced tone, because of the time he devotes to the latter city, with colorful descriptions in both positive and cautionary tones, in some ways he seems to direct his reader down the French path. He suggests:

> There are few Americans who pursue the French course of musical study, because most of our countrymen believe that the Germans have a first mortgage on music, and no other nation has anything to do with tuition. This is a mistake; while giving every homage to the excellence of Teutonic pedagogy, I must say that the course at the Paris Conservatoire is remarkably thorough and effective…[68]

[67] Elson does describe in general terms his visit to the Leipzig Conservatory, and his meeting with Salomon Jadassohn, professor of piano. He similarly recounts his meeting with Niels Gade, director of the Royal Danish Conservatory. See Elson, *European Remembrances*, 32–34 and 43–44.

[68] Ibid., 52–53.

In his recommendation, Elson is not denying his own musical training in Leipzig, or denigrating the other European options; rather, he is asserting an additional value within the French conservatory system that his readers might have underestimated or with which they had not been familiar at all.[69]

By the time of Elson's writing, some American musicians had already chosen to study in Paris (Philip Hale, for one); however, an explicit recommendation such as this from one of Boston's most respected music educators at the time was likely taken to heart by many young readers and their American instructors. Despite his support of the tradition of pursuing one's additional studies in Europe, considering a multi-dimensional course of studies a crucial element in one's training, he also urges young students to take advantage of the resources available to them at home before embarking on this stage:

> Don't go to Europe for musical study until you have entirely exhausted what resources are offered to you in your own fair country, and study just as vehemently and persistently in Boston, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, or any other American musical centre, as if you were in Milan, or Paris, or Leipsic [sic], or London, and you may become an adept in your art before having seen Europe at all.[70]

While a young musician anxious to embark on this advanced stage of his development would not necessarily welcome this recommendation to delay his studies in Europe, Elson does offer his readers various useful points to consider. The fact that France was presented as a valid option

[69] Elson devotes several pages in a description of the Parisian musical world in colorful, exciting terms, although his recommendations are not without qualification or caution. In fact, he specifically warns young women never to study in Paris without the supervision of a parent or brother. (He acknowledges the prudishness of this statement, but is adamant in his recommendation.) See ibid., 262. His more general caution for any young student is that Paris offers more in terms of distractions from one's studies, specifically compared to German cities such as Leipzig and Munich; of course, for a young reader, this would not necessarily be considered a deterrent when one is considering where to study away from home. As in Elson's own travel experiences as described in this volume, a degree of frivolous, hedonistic activity is as much a part of the overall experience as it is about staying exclusively focused on one's studies or professional tasks.

[70] Ibid., 270.

over Germany at this point at all was likely received by some readers as questionable advice; however, when suggested by a reputable musical figure such as Elson, this option could be taken with greater consideration. To be sure, the volume is not entirely Franco-centric; but the significant amount of time he devotes to discussions of the French musical world underlines his assessment of Paris as an important musical center. Additionally, as a high-power music educator in Boston, and one who regularly interacted with French or French-trained musicians who had recently arrived in the city, Elson also anticipates the broader turn to a Franco-centric aesthetic that began to take hold there in the 1890s.[71]

The Emergence of French Culture in Boston

As more wealthy and middle-class Americans had the opportunity to travel to Europe, and others were gradually exposed to European cultures through literature, public lectures, and accounts passed on through their acquaintances, they increasingly began to consider the appeal of having similar cultural opportunities close at hand. As early as the 1870s Boston newspapers began to reflect an awareness of French society in particular, and further stimulated this interest through reports on the political state of affairs surrounding the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), while gossip columns followed the social activities of elite Parisians and visiting Americans, the latest styles in clothing and cuisine, and the intellectual and creative trends in the arts and literature.[72]

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[71] *European Remembrances* was published two more times during Elson's life (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser Co., 1896, 1914); he also wrote several important monographs and reference books that further solidified his position within the American musical world. For instance, *The National Music of America and Its Sources* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1900), *Elson's Music Dictionary* (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1905), and *Elson's Pocket Music Dictionary* (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1909). Among the more specialized monographs are *Shakespeare in Music* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1900), *Children in Music* (New York: The University Society Inc., 1918), *Woman in Music* (New York: The University Society Inc., 1918), and the pedagogical study *Mistakes and Disputed Points in Music and Music Teaching* (Philadelphia, Theodore Presser Co., 1910).

[72] Traveling Americans were often engaged to submit articles to newspapers or journals at home over the course of their journeys, particularly in the case of an especially significant event. For instance, one Lucy Hooper submitted several letters to the *Boston Daily Globe* in 1877, including one that describes a celebration held in Paris in honor of President Ulysses S. Grant, following his term in office. See "Fetes by Americans in Paris," *Boston*

The mainstream perspective shifted noticeably in the following decade as the same newspapers brought Boston readers closer to French culture not only by describing the events abroad through fact and fiction, but also by offering tangible French commodities and similar cultural experiences at home. This was due in part to the influx of French immigrants arriving in the city, where some were hired to offer their expertise in a formal context, but where many more began to establish small businesses in rented spaces or in their own homes.[73] It was especially common for French women to offer lessons in conversational French, or to style hair in the latest Parisian styles and provide the finest French beauty treatments, although business endeavors by both men and women also included modest restaurants featuring French cuisine, or tailor shops specializing in the Parisian styles depicted in American publications.[74] The classified section of the *Boston Daily Globe* and other local newspapers frequently included advertisements by various *mesdemoiselles* who offered their expertise to Bostonians who were eager to emulate aspects of their appearance and etiquette.[75] This was useful to Americans—both men and women—who wished to travel abroad and fit in with the elite circles in Paris. It also accorded a certain *élan* to those who did not travel, but wanted to create the appearance of being an experienced French traveler, or perhaps even a native Parisian in Boston.

Daily Globe, December 12, 1877, 3. While that story might be considered of general interest to the American reader, other items were of interest particularly to arts readers, such as the announcement of the new Opéra at the Palais Garnier, inaugurated in January 1875. See "Opening of the New Grand Opera House," *Boston Daily Globe*, January 6, 1875, 5. Additional articles followed in the *Globe* as well as in *The New York Times* and broader American publications, such as *Harper's Bazaar* and *Scribner's Weekly*. More generally, descriptions of lectures within the fine arts world of Paris anticipate similar lectures late given in Boston. For example, see "The Fine Arts," *Boston Daily Globe*, May 18, 1872, 1.

[73] For example, A. H. Solial was hired by the Chauncy Hall School in Boston to teach classes in his native French language. See "French Lessons: Native Instruction," *Boston Daily Globe*, September 14, 1884, 7.

[74] Two such restaurants were "Restaurant Français" and "Valiquet's Café Français," the latter which had been in operation since at least 1877. See "Restaurants," *Boston Daily Globe*, February 12, 1880, 3, and "Restaurants," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 24, 1877, 7.

[75] In some cases, it is difficult to ascertain whether the advertised instructor was actually born in France, was French-Canadian, or had simply adopted the use of a French title of courtesy. For example, one "Mme. STRLING" advertised, "Parisian French lessons to beginners and to the most advanced students at moderate prices." "Classified Ad: Instruction," *Boston Daily Globe*, February 13, 1887, 14.

The interest in French culture during this early era proved to be far more than a passing trend among Bostonians; in fact, their interest in French styles and culture deepened, the Exposition Universelle (1889) serving in some ways as a catalyst, as wealthy Bostonians returned from their voyages abroad with first-hand accounts as well as photographs and stereopticons of the event, which had significant popular appeal.[76] In the 1890s, public lectures as a form of entertainment and education began to feature more French-themed discussions and displays. Among the city's fine and performing arts audiences, authentic French cultural goods were also welcomed in the form of new French works added to the Museum of Fine Arts collection, as part of a broader expansion of its holdings, and French music, which began to appear on Boston concert programs for the first time with noticeable regularity.[77] Some European performers on tour in the United States, as well as those who had immigrated to this country, included works of French composers on their concert programs in Boston and other U.S. cities; in this way American audiences experienced their first taste of French music through high-quality performances by renowned musicians such as Charles Martin Loeffler, Eugène Ysaÿe, and numerous others. Over the next thirty years the presence of French music and musicians in Boston increased noticeably, gaining momentum during the First World War. At this time, Karl Muck was the director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the perhaps highest representative of German culture in the Boston musical world. While an anti-German movement flourished throughout the country to varying extents during that era, it was the dramatic removal of Muck

[76] See, for instance, "Wells' Lecture Tonight," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 16, 1890, 22. Advertised as an "illustrated entertainment," Dr. Rufus Gibbons Wells and his wife presented an account of their world tour, with a strong focus on their time spent in France, highlighted by photographs of the country and the Exposition Universelle in Paris.

[77] Susan Hayes Ward, "Fine Arts: Paintings at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts," *The Independent* (October 22, 1891), 7. The author describes the diverse holdings at the museum, which included works by Claude Monet and other modern French artists, as well as unnamed artists of the Renaissance.

from his position and his replacement by a French conductor that went far in crystallizing the Francophile culture that had been developing in Boston for years.

The Effect of World War I on the French Presence in Boston

When the First World War began in July 1914, the Central Powers (Austria, Hungary, and Germany) pitted against the Allies (United Kingdom, Russia, and France), the United States assumed a position of neutrality under the leadership of President Woodrow Wilson and remained thus for the next three years. Nevertheless, American sympathies, particularly toward the vulnerable French nation, were present from the outset through the philanthropy in France of American individuals such as Edith Wharton, as well as the work of Franco-American committees on both sides of the Atlantic that provided humanitarian relief, especially to children and soldiers displaced by the war.[78] For instance, Wharton was inspired to compile an anthology of literature, art, and music by her well-respected French and American friends and colleagues. Her intention was to inspire donations to war charities, specifically the American Hostels for Refugees, and the Children of Flanders. The anthology *The Book of the Homeless* was published in 1916 and included essays, poems, and short stories in both French and English, color

[78] Living in Paris throughout World War I, Wharton had the rare opportunity to publish significant first-hand accounts of the events as they took place in France. As a noted writer as well as a blossoming member of Parisian society, Wharton had independence that offered her a certain degree of power and status in the eyes of secular French society, which also transmitted to the United States. She published a series of articles as a correspondent for Scribner's Magazine, describing her impressions of Paris at the beginning of the war, from the perspective on one familiar with the city before such changes occurred. Wharton was especially touched to witness the troubles of the injured and the refugees during the first year of the war, her descriptions effectively conjuring images of sadness, loss, and desperation. She describes what she calls "the look of Paris," which changes from "dumb bewilderment" and "concentrated horror" to "calm, meditative, strangely purified, and mature." These articles, written between August 1914 and February 1915, were published as the collection *Fighting France: From Dunkerque to Belfort* (1915) and later as part of the Scribner's series *The War on All Fronts* (1918). See Edith Wharton, *Fighting France: From Dunkerque to Belfort* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), esp. 33 and 41, and Edith Wharton, *Fighting France,* in the series *The War on All Fronts* vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918).

facsimiles of works by French and American artists, and musical scores in the hand of Vincent d'Indy and Igor Stravinsky.[79]

While Wharton and other Americans abroad were eyewitnesses to the events as they unfolded in Paris and other European cities, it was not until the official American position shifted in 1917 that the effect of the war was truly felt at home. As Germany's intentions against the United States became known through the interception of a telegram sent by German Foreign Secretary Arthur Zimmermann to Mexico's German diplomat Heinrich von Eckardt, a broad anti-German sentiment began to pervade the country and a move toward the purposeful elimination of German influences had a great impact on American cultural ideals.[80] The distrust and hatred for the German language, culture, and anyone of German heritage resulted in a widespread boycott that was enacted in American cities to varying degrees. Consumers widely avoided German commodities, businesses altered the names of common goods that sounded "too German," schools discontinued German language classes and all references to German culture, and German immigrants Americanized their names to express their new loyalty as well as to protect their families.[81] In the musical world, the boycott extended to the attempted disallowance

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[79] Edith Wharton, ed., *The Book of the Homeless* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). Musical scores include excerpts from *La légend de Saint Christophe* (Vincent d'Indy) and "Souvenir d'une marche boche" (Igor Stravinsky). The book was sold for five dollars per copy, and additional funds were made through the sale of the original copies of the contributed works at an elite auction in New York. See Alan Price, "The Making of Edith Wharton's *The Book of the Homeless*," *Princeton University's Library Chronicle* 47 (1985–86): 19–21.

[80] German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmerman sent a coded telegram from Germany to Mexico stating its intentions to ignore the neutral stance of the United States and engage in unrestricted submarine warfare; the so-called "Zimmerman Note" urged Mexico to join forces with German for safety and money, and to attack the U.S. if necessary. The telegram was intercepted and decoded by the British government, who sent it to the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson published the document in order for the U.S. Congress to allow him to enter into the war. He did so on April 6, 1917. The original telegram and decoded message are held in the National Archives: Zimmermann Telegram, 1917; Decimal File, 1910-1929, 862.20212/82A (1910–1929), and Decoded Zimmermann Telegram, 1917; Decimal File, 1910-1929, 862.20212/69, General Records of the Department of State; Record Group 59; National Archives.

[81] The anti-German sentiment has been examined in a number of volumes; for example, see Thomas Adam, ed., *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History; a Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005), Stephen Ellicott Cornell and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World* (Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge Press, 2007), Petra DeWitt, *Degrees of Allegiance:*

of Austro-German works in American concert halls, which threatened much of the existing canon that had been so recently established in the United States.[82]

David Ewen has examined the effect of the First World War on American musical culture, from the boycott of German concert music to the internment and deportation of the BSO director Karl Muck in 1918.[83] The attempt to ban German music entirely from American concert halls severely challenged those responsible for concert programming in the United States. Although French and Russian concert works had been gaining familiarity with American audiences, particularly in Boston, the most popular works were the symphonies of Beethoven and the operas and overtures of Wagner. New York audiences were particularly fond of these composers, and the prospect of losing them to through a prohibition of this sort was not an appealing option to musicians, though considered necessary by many for the sake of American loyalty. Ewen acknowledges the fine line between patriotism and prejudice, and argues that the unmitigated rejection of well-established works by Austro-German composers was a symptom of the yet undeveloped status of the American understanding and appreciation of art music. He argues:

> Not even the great German music which was a negation of everything for which Imperial Germany stood: Beethoven, for example the greatest democrat in music! For great music, I insist, did not yet mean so much to America in 1917 that it could not be swept away with the big broom of prejudice.[84]

Ewen reminds us that such a reaction did not take place in England or France, where the effects of the war were far more tangible on a day-to-day basis. The music of Beethoven, Mendelssohn,

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Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's German-American Community During World War I (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012), and Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German Cincinnati*, Images of America (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005).

[82] The boycott was enacted at the state level, to varying degrees of severity. See David Ewen, "Music and the First World War," in *Music Comes to America*, 137–41.

[83] Ibid., 141–49.

[84] Ibid., 138.

Schumann, and Wagner still filled a large portion of concert programs in London and Paris, and the anti-German sentiments that had been present particularly in France, did not extend to the musical repertoire.[85] Some Americans took steps to preserve the presence of German music in the American concert repertoire; for instance, Washington in January 1918 by Clara Clemens Gabrilowitsch (daughter of Samuel Clemens/Mark Twain, wife of renowned pianist Ossip Gabrilowitsch, and a professional singer in her own right) met with President Woodrow Wilson in January 1918 to discuss the ban on German music in American concert halls. President Wilson agreed that the music of "dead German composers" need not be included in the ban, a decision that he expressed in a written statement.[86] However, while the continued performance of German music was important, a significant event within the Boston music scene did much to continue the increasing presence of French, Russian, and other non-German musical works into the repertoire: the deportation of the Boston Symphony Orchestra director, Karl Muck (1859–1940).

The Muck Crisis and a Shift to Franco-Russian Leadership of the BSO

German-born Karl Muck moved with his family to Switzerland at eight years of age and acquired Swiss citizenship as a young adult, a fact that would become significant in relation to later events. A talented pianist and violinist, Muck began performing as a child and pursued his studies in Heidelberg and Leipzig; he earned his doctorate at the University of Leipzig in 1880. Muck held conducting positions with a number of prominent orchestras, including the Vienna Philharmonic; however, it was as conductor of the Berlin Court Opera, where he was the favorite

[85] Ibid., 137–38. Regarding the status of Germans in Paris during the 1880s, see Knight, *Charles Martin Loeffler*, 45–55. Upon his return to Paris in 1884 Charles Loeffler was believed to be an American rather than a German, a fact that relieved him: "Imagine, everyone takes me for an American and I am very content for Germans are hated here in an amazing way." Ibid., 49.

[86] Ewen, *Music Comes to America*, 139.

of Kaiser Wilhelm II, that he attracted the most attention.[87] Through the ongoing publicity of Muck's work in Europe, Henry Lee Higginson was aware of the conductor's unusual talents and invited him to conduct the BSO; the Kaiser granted Muck leave to conduct in Boston from 1906 to 1908, and then to return in 1912 as a long-term replacement for Max Fiedler.[88]

Muck considered the talents of the BSO to be of the highest order and referred to it in 1908 as the equal of leading European ensembles, although he observed that since it contained a preponderance of European musicians, it could not truly be considered "American."[89] This point not only underlines the fact that the development of Boston's native musical culture was still in progress, but also relates to Muck's long-term objectives for the ensemble. He articulated these in an article published in the *Berliner Börsen-Courier* first in 1908, and then reprinted there just prior to his return to the BSO in 1912.[90] Muck had two essential goals: "…to create traditions in the New World, and to defend German music against the encroachment of the French school."[91] He omits the second, politically-charged goal from the plans outlined in the *Boston Daily Globe* just after his return to Boston; in that article, he insists that his programs will include some "novelties," and simply acknowledges the difficulty in finding works from both the French and German schools that would be unknown to Boston audiences, a testament to the work of his predecessors.[92] In actuality, Muck's idea of defending against "the encroachment of the French school" can quite easily be dismissed as mere rhetoric, at least regarding his activities with the BSO during his first term in Boston. To be sure, his first two programs in 1906 were solidly

[87] Muck's close connection to the Kaiser later contributed significantly to his disrepute from the American perspective during the war.

[88] Muck's eventual return to the U.S. in 1912 was advertised well in advance in the American newspapers, "Karl Muck to Return," special cable to *The New York Times*, October 2, 1910, C4.

[89] "Muck Talks of America," special cable to the *New York Times*, May 31, 1908, C3.

[90] "Hinter den Kulissen," *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, February 19, 1908 (reprinted June 16, 1912). Quoted in Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*, 79.

[91] Ibid.

[92] "Dr. Muck Arrives," *Boston Daily Globe*, October 3, 1912, 11.

Austro-German: the first concert included Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and three pieces by Wagner (the *Faust* Overture, the *Siegfried-Idyll*, and Prelude to the *Mastersingers of Nuremberg*).[93] The second concert featured an eclectic program of works by Bach, Haydn, Spohr, and Mozart.[94] Overall, these programs were popular, designed to please Muck's first audiences in Boston, and were well within his personal comfort zone. However, his talent as an interpreter effortlessly extended to encompass a much wider range of music, and from the third concert onward Muck began to include works outside the traditional Austro-German repertoire, as his predecessor Wilhelm Gericke (1845–1925) had done.[95]

Although Muck continued to select new and well-established Austro-German works for the BSO, he also made a determined effort to include works by French, Russian, and English composers, frequently devising thematic programs around them.[96] In fact, one of the most unexpected features of his first season was a Monday night special concert devoted entirely to the music of Saint-Saëns, featuring the French composer as a guest artist.[97] (This was one year after Vincent d'Indy had appeared as a guest conductor with the BSO: see Chapter 5). This highly publicized concert, as well as the fact that Muck included many French works on other BSO concert programs, certainly does not match the conductor's assertion, at least in German publications, that he had intended to stave off the "encroachment" of French music, or that he

[93] BSO concert program, Season 26 (1906–1907), Week 1. Citations of the BSO concert programs refer to the weekly Subscription Series concerts at Symphony Hall, unless otherwise indicated; complete citations are provided in the bibliography.

[94] Ibid., (October 19 and 20, 1906). Works included Bach, *Suite for Flute and Strings*; Haydn, *Symphony in G Minor*, No. 13; Spohr, Concerto for Violin in D minor, No. 9; and Mozart, Symphony in C minor, "Jupiter."

[95] Gericke had premiered Fauré's Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande* Op. 80 with the BSO in 1904.

[96] For example, see Muck's all-Russian program, which included works of Tchaikovsky (Concerto for Violin); Rimsky-Korsakov (Overture to "The Betrothed of the Czar"); and Glazounoff (Symphony No. 5). BSO concert program, Season 26 (1906–1907), Week 6.

[97] Ibid., (November 26, 1906). See also "Saint-Saens Here," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 27, 1906, 4. The works included the Overture to *Les Barbares*, the Piano Concerto in G Minor, No. 2, three walzes ("Valse nonchanlante," "Valse mignonne," and "Valse canariote") and the Symphony in C Minor, No. 3. Muck conducted the ensemble, and Saint-Saëns was the soloist for the piano works, which delighted the large audience in attendance.

wanted to maintain a strictly German repertoire. If that had been the case, Higginson, who had deep convictions regarding the expansion of the repertoire to encompass a wider international scope, would surely not have retained Muck, and certainly would not have requested his return in 1912; neither would he have fought so diligently to keep the German-born Muck in his American post during the First World War.[98]

Despite the almost exclusively positive response to Muck from American audiences and critics alike, his reputation in the United States was irreparably damaged following a BSO performance in Providence, Rhode Island on October 30, 1917, at which he famously failed to lead the ensemble in the National Anthem. This triggered one of the greatest controversies in the history of American music.[99] Up until this point the anthem was not typically included on American formal concert programs; however, since the country was now officially at war, many believed that the anthem should be included as a display of national pride and solidarity. Muck had already attracted some public attention as a "man of notoriously pro-German affiliations," and had yet to include any American patriotic music on the BSO programs during his tenure.[100] At the Providence concert, a group of prominent citizens specifically requested that the anthem be played, at least in part as a test of Muck's loyalty to this country. When Muck did not grant their request, his refusal was widely reported; Americans were immediately informed of what appeared to be Muck's deliberate stance against their country, and cast their judgment

[98] For a discussion of the challenges German conductors in the U.S. faced during the First World War, see Edmund A. Bowles, Karl Muck and His Compatriots: German Conductors in America during World War I (And How They Coped)," *American Music*, 25, no. 4 (Winter 2007): 405−40.

[99] The incident occurred on October 30, 1917 and was reported the next day and in the days that followed in the *Boston Daily Globe* and other national newspapers. For the first local notice, see "Symphony Does Not Play U.S. Anthem," *Boston Daily Globe*, October 31, 1917, 8.

[100] Muck was known to have contributed money to what he believed to be a pro-German publication (*Fatherland*) while on tour in San Francisco with the BSO in 1915; such a contribution was not considered questionable until the United States entered the war. The story had been widely reported in American newspapers, although Muck was considered a victim of a false collector. See "Dr Muck Victim of a False Collector," *Boston Daily Globe*, January 11, 1916, 1. Readers were later reminded of Muck's pro-German contributions once the 1917 controversy was in full swing.

accordingly. Higginson supported Muck, unequivocally stating, "The Star-Spangled Banner has no place in an art program such as given by the Symphony."[101] American readers were also reminded that:

> Dr. Muck has made up his programs very much as he did before the war began. There is no chauvinism in them. He has played German music in larger proportion than that of other nations, for the simple and undeniable reason that there is more and better German music than music of other nations. But he has not hesitated to play French, Russian, Finnish, and Rumanian music.[102]

Nevertheless, despite any rational explanation that was offered to the public, many of the BSO's touring cities sided against Muck, in some cases banning him and the BSO altogether.[103] The scandal was widely addressed in the newspapers from a variety of perspectives, with numerous quotations from Higginson and Muck, as well as New York conductor Walter Damrosch, who supported Muck, and President Theodore Roosevelt, who fulminated against him in characteristically vivid terms.[104] Muck offered to resign, but Higginson publicly asserted that to lose the unusually gifted Muck as a conductor would be a "disaster" for the BSO from an artistic standpoint,[105] and ultimately rejected his resignation, with the conductor remaining in his post for another four months. Nevertheless, despite Higginson's powerful support, and the fact that Muck's Swiss (rather than German) citizenship was officially verified on December 7, the

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[101] "U.S. Agents Arrest Muck," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 26, 1918, 1. Higginson's support of Muck is evident in various newspapers from the time of this scandal. For example, see "Muck Blameless, Higginson Insists," *The New York Times*, November 5, 1917, 5; "Major H. L. Higginson Defends Symphony," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 1, 1917, 4; and "The Case of Doctor Muck, Major Higginson, and 'The Star-Spangled Banner," *The New York Times*, November 4, 1917, X5. One article expands this point to include Muck as a part of the decision, asserting that both he and Higginson believed: "The Star-Spangled Banner" is not good enough to have a place in a concert of the highest class of music; that it would disturb the symmetry of the program as planned; that "art is a thing by itself and not related to any particular nation or group"—and art should not be mixed up or connected with patriotism. See "The Case of Doctor Muck."

[102] Ibid.

[103] Pittsburgh, Detroit, Baltimore, Springfield, and Washington. See Ewen, *Music Comes to America*, 146.

[104] "Karl Muck Again," *Hartford Courant*, March 12, 1918, 14; "Muck Should Not Be Allowed at Large, Says Roosevelt," *Hartford Courant*, November 3, 1917, 8; "Dr. Muck Resigns, Then Plays Anthem," special to *The New York Times*, November 3, 1917, 22.

[105] See "Dr. Muck Resigns, Then Plays Anthem."

conductor was considered an enemy alien within the United States. He was finally arrested on March 25, 1918, and escorted out of the U.S. on August 21, 1919, as he stated, "Without flag or country."[106] Muck never returned to the U.S., feeling that he had been entirely betrayed by the country that he had grown to consider his home.

The deportation of Muck saw an almost immediate shift to French leadership of the BSO, and to the hiring of more French players in the orchestra. He proved to be a convenient scapegoat for the anti-German movement in Boston, and when twenty-nine of the BSO's German musicians were interned during the war, Muck's name was placed at the forefront of the cause. The war was over by the time he left the U.S., but the anti-German feelings lingered. Any credit that Muck had earned during his time with the BSO was quickly diminished, if not erased entirely, in the minds of many unforgiving Americans.[107] Higginson, no longer financially able to support the ensemble, and likely beaten down by the Muck controversy, had relinquished his administrative role with the BSO in April 1918, nearly forty years after having founded it. The institution made the conscious decision to move away from further German leadership and, following a short period of temporary conductors, elected the French conductor Henri Rabaud to the post. Rabaud led the orchestra for one season before he returned to France to replace Fauré as director of the Paris Conservatoire, and was followed by Pierre Monteux, who led the BSO for the following five seasons. Interestingly, while this change in leadership was considered an ideal antidote to the long-term German influence of which many Bostonians had come to disapprove, in reality Rabaud and Monteux essentially continued what Muck had already begun through his expansion of the repertoire − although now in authentic French clothing. The appointment in

[106] "Muck Leaves U.S. as 'Man without Flag or Country,'" *The Hartford Courant*, August 22, 1919, 8. Muck was held in Fort Oglethorpe, a converted mountain resort, active as an internment camp 1902–47.

[107] The degree to which this long-term pathological response to Muck persisted is evidenced by the fact that recordings made by the BSO in 1917 under Muck's baton were not released to the public until 1995, despite their historical value as the first ever recordings of the ensemble.

1924 of Serge Koussevitzsky as principal conductor cemented this new orientation, and went on to sustain it through a long period of stability. Koussevitzsky, a Russian with strong ties to Paris (he recruited many prominent French musicians into the orchestra), would hold the position for twenty-five years; during this time he further diversified the repertoire of the orchestra, particularly through the commissioning of new works by a cosmopolitan range of contemporary composers, who included a number of Americans closely associated with French music, most notably Aaron Copland and Walter Piston.

Although the post-war development of the BSO was at least partly indebted to Muck's achievements before his unfortunate departure, it does represent the most dramatic and highly visible manifestation in the musical arena of the broader shift in the balance of power of German and French cultural values in Boston that has been traced in this chapter. For the musical domain, it solidified the change in trajectory from a predominantly Austro-German repertoire and performance style, and an associated set of aesthetic ideals, to the more Francophile approach that had first begun to emerge in the 1870s. While in New York and other major cultural centers the First World War certainly led to a questioning and erosion of the Germanic dominance that had characterized American musical life for at least a century, no other city was as fully primed for this process as Boston, or pursued so fully its implications. With an understanding of this background, it is now possible to trace the Boston reception of Gabriel Fauré, and its role in articulating a new musical aesthetic for American audiences, in its proper context.

Chapter 3

Early Performances of Fauré's Works in Boston and the Surrounding Area (1892–1925): Chamber Music, Piano Solos, and Mélodies

In his article "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master" (1924) Aaron Copland observes, "New music travels very slowly."[1] He offers this as an explanation as to why Fauré's music had not yet reached the same level of popularity in the United States as it had in the composer's native country. Having just completed three years of study in Paris with Nadia Boulanger at a time when the elderly Fauré was frequently honored in ceremony, concert, and print, it is not surprising that Copland had a heightened awareness of the composer's French reception compared to what he presumed to be the case in the United States. The information in his article suggests that he did have a sense that American audiences were at least somewhat familiar with Fauré's music, particularly certain popular *mélodies* and chamber works. However, amid his enthusiastic efforts to promote Fauré, he is seemingly unaware of the significant number of compositions that had already been heard by American audiences thus far, and the extent to which some had even been adopted into the standard performance repertoire of noted performers, particularly in Boston.

The successful transmission of Fauré's music to Boston audiences was due in part to the key figures who actively promoted Fauré and other modern French composers through their repertoire choices, as well as their contributions to the numerous published editions of Fauré's music issued by American music publishers.[2] (See Appendix 2 for a list of early publications of

[1] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master."

[2] Fauré's *mélodies* and piano works had been published for years in Boston as individual works as well as collections that were assembled and marketed to diverse consumers. The first-known American publication of a

Fauré's works in the United States) The city had been home to French-trained musicians since the 1880s; such performers included violinist Charles Martin Loeffler, cellist Hugh Codman, pianists Félix Fox, and Harold Bauer, who were among those who gave the American premieres of Fauré's works, many of which remain in the performance repertoire today. Certain individual solo piano works (e.g., the Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31, and *Thème et variations*, op. 73) and *mélodies* (e.g., "Les berceaux," "Au cimetière," and "Clair de lune") emerged in a broad sense as standard recital pieces in Boston; however, other works have had a particular historical connection to their earliest performances in the city. For instance, Loeffler's landmark performance of the First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13, in Boston in 1892 was the first of many given over the next thirty years by both professional and student performers; Loeffler later edited this work for simultaneous publication by the Boston Music Co. and G. Schirmer, Inc. in 1919.[3] Codman's performance of the *Élégie*, op. 24, in 1897 was followed by a similar rise in the popularity of the piece; it was edited by another prominent cellist, Alwin Schroeder, for the Boston Music Co. in 1914. Noted chamber ensembles such as the Ysaÿe Quartet, the Arbós Quartet, and the Kneisel Quartet, along with their collaborative pianists, were crucial in

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work by Fauré is an arrangement of the *mélodie* "Aurore," for violin and piano accompaniment, first published by G. Schirmer in 1894 in the collection *Thirty-Seven Violin Pieces You Like to Play* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1894). This collection remains a significant part of the violin repertoire for students and amateurs, and has been reissued numerous times over the years. Although these collections often contained some of the same pieces, the publishers endowed them with eye-catching titles to appeal to consumers of differing interests. Because of the lack of consistent sales figures during this era, it is impossible to quantify how much these particular editions contributed to the performances of Fauré's works in the city, or how much particular performances might have stimulated the sales. However, it is useful to acknowledge the broad access that American consumers had at that time to printed editions of Fauré's music, some essentially reprints of the European editions, others with editorial notations (e.g., Loeffler's bowing suggestions for the Violin Sonata), or English adaptations of existing works (e.g., "Bless the Lord, O My Soul," a contrafactum of the baritone solo "O Salutaris.") I thank Carlo Caballero for his assistance in identifying this piece, published as "Bless the Lord, O My Soul," adapted by E. B. Melville, D. D. (Boston: Boston Music Co., 1921). Note: E. B. Melville was the penname of Carl Engel, editor of the Boston Music Co. at that time and who was later the President of Schirmer and the Chief of the Music Division of the Library of Congress. Engel edited a number of sacred works for the Boston Music Co. using this name, including the Doctor of Divinity letters.

[3] Gabriel Fauré, Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13, ed. Charles Martin Loeffler (Boston: Boston Music Co., and New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1919). This was a fairly late introduction of an American edition, especially of a work that had gained a notable degree of popularity since Loeffler's premiere of the sonata For a brief discussion of Loeffler's role in this and other American publications of Fauré's music, see Knight, *Charles Martin Loeffler*, 204–05.

introducing Fauré's two piano quartets and his first piano quintet.[4] The Boston Symphony Orchestra (BSO), under a number of different conductors during Fauré's lifetime, contributed to familiarity with his orchestral music, in particular through its performances of the suite, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80, which might otherwise have been overlooked in this country. From a present-day perspective, in which Fauré is known primarily through his Requiem, op. 48 (first performed in the U.S. several years after the composer's death), perhaps a surprising item on this survey of early performances is the choral work, *The Birth of Venus*, op. 29.[5] First given at the illustrious Worcester Music Festival in 1902, this was one of several early attempts by choral conductor Wallace Goodrich to establish this piece in the repertoire; however, while it gained some traction in the early part of the century, it soon fell into a state of almost complete neglect among American audiences, and was eventually eclipsed by the Requiem. With the exception of *The Birth of Venus*, most of the works introduced in Boston during this era became popular among the broader American audience, and continue to appear on concert programs today, along with numerous others that were presented later.[6]

The particular scope I have selected (1892–1925) for this portion of my study begins with the first-known public performance in Boston of a work by Fauré (Charles Martin Loeffler's American premiere of the First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13, at the Union Hall in 1892), and extends through the end of the 1924–25 concert season, which concluded approximately six

[4] First Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15 (Ysaÿe Quartet, with Max Bendix, piano; 1898); Second Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 45 (Arbós Quartet, with Heinrich Gebhard, piano; 1904); First Piano Quintet in D minor, op. 89 (Kneisel Quartet, with Heinrich Gebhard, piano; 1907). Of these works, the Second Piano Quartet became especially popular during the first decades of the century. I am unaware of a performance of Fauré's Second Piano Quintet, op. 115, in Boston during his lifetime. This work was published by Durand in 1921, and Loeffler arranged for G. Schirmer, Inc. to reprint this edition the same year.

[5] This work was published by G. Schirmer, Inc. in 1900 as a reprint of the original Hamelle edition, with an English translation prepared by Theodore Baker.

[6] Musicians in other American cities (e.g., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, etc.) also performed select works by Fauré and other modern French composers on their individual recitals during this era; however, concert reviews in local newspapers suggest a casual interest, rather than an active promotion of these composers, as is observable in Boston.

months after Fauré's death. The American concert season traditionally ran from October through May; although there were certainly concerts and recitals given during the summer months, I have excluded these performances from the present study because they were typically private social affairs—events or musicales to which the general public did not have access. I have organized these performances by genre; the order in which the performances occurred largely follows a natural chronology. Inevitably other performances given in Boston during this era might have included works by Fauré, but because they were not widely advertised to the public they are excluded from the present study. The sources I have consulted from this period include the daily newspapers, the *Boston Daily Globe*, the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, and *The Boston Journal*, and the advertisements in the weekly concert programs for the BSO, all of which served as the primary formats for advertisements and reviews of the city's musical events. In some cases, I have included the newspapers of western Massachusetts (the *Worcester Daily Spy* and the *Springfield Gazette*), in which Boston's musical performances of this era were regularly advertised and reviewed, and *The New York Times*, which contains reviews of select performances by the BSO given in New York City. For the broader American coverage of musical activity in Boston, I have consulted the "Musical Boston" section of the weekly journal *Musical America*; additionally, issues of *The Etude*, as well as Henry Charles Lahee's *Annals of Music in America: A Chronological Record of Significant Musical Events* (published in 1922), and individual volumes of *The Musical Yearbook of the United States*, offer snapshots of American musical culture at certain points. Generally, the reports on concerts that included Fauré's music are quite detailed, and include information about specific works performed, and in the case of the chamber works, the opus number and/or key is often listed. However, it was not uncommon for an article to include a general reference to "songs by Fauré"

or “works by Fauré” in the case of a vocal or piano recital, or perhaps a reference to “Nocturne” without a specific key or opus number; I have included as much information as possible on the list of performances in Appendix 3.

The wide variety of performances between 1892 and 1925 illuminates both the diversity of Fauré’s works that were heard by Boston audiences during this period, and the notable ensembles and individual musicians who actively contributed to this first level of exposure that Boston audiences had to Fauré’s music during this important era of cultural development in the city. Most of these works fall in the early part of Fauré’s oeuvre, and although he continued to compose actively throughout his life, the later works were generally not heard in this country until after his death, in keeping with Copland’s assertion that “new music travels very slowly.”[7] While some of the compositions performed during this period suggest the potential longevity for Fauré’s music as a whole, others reflect passing trends in the popularity of specific works at different times. I have selected for discussion the Boston-area performances of the greatest historical importance. (See Appendix 3 for a complete list of known performances of Fauré’s music in Boston during this period. Appendix 4 includes a brief biography of each featured performer, excluding the accompanists who did not also perform as featured artists.)

Chamber Music

Of the numerous chamber works in Fauré’s oeuvre, three stand out for their early and continuous popularity on American recitals: the First Violin Sonata in A major, op. 13, *Élégie,* op. 24, for solo cello with piano or chamber ensemble, and the Second Piano Quartet in G major, op. 45.

[7] Copland, “Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master,” 573.

The Violin Sonata in A major, op. 13, was among the first works by Fauré that Boston audiences heard with any frequency during this period. Copland remarked in 1924, "Even in America, I believe, it is not altogether unknown or unplayed."[8] He was correct in his assertion; in fact, by that time the sonata had been performed on numerous public recitals, including those by the most prominent musicians of the time. Fauré's enduring friendships with notable instrumentalists, particularly the leading violinists Charles Martin Loeffler and Eugène Ysaÿe, and the deep respect they had for Fauré, which at least partly contributed to the frequent inclusion of his works on their concert programs and those of other musicians they influenced. Loeffler is especially significant for his contributions to the earliest introductions to the music of Fauré in America, notably through his Boston premiere of the sonata in 1892; he also later served as the editor for its first American publication in 1919, as previously discussed.

At the time of Loeffler's Boston premiere of the sonata on January 28, 1892 in Union Hall, he was already established in the city as a solo recitalist, as well as the associate concertmaster of the BSO. The performance was given as part of pianist Carl Baermann's chamber concert, which also included Mozart's Piano Quartet No. 1 in G minor, K. 478 and Beethoven's Piano Trio in B-flat major, op. 97.[9] Fauré's sonata stood well alongside these two familiar works, as indicated in Louis C. Elson's review of the performance. He comments, "The novelty of the evening was the sonata by Fauré; it is one of the best new works which has been produced in Boston for some time."[10] Elson, who soon became an advocate for Fauré and other modern French composers, unwittingly reveals how little known Fauré's name was in Boston at

[8] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master," 582. Copland is referring to the fact that, following its first performance by the Société nationale de musique in Paris in 1878, Fauré's Sonata was played almost as often in Paris as Franck's Violin Sonata in A Major (1886).

[9] Louis C. Elson, "Musical Matters: The Baermann Chamber Concert," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January 29, 1892, 5.

[10] Ibid.

the time, even by him, as is reflected in his comment, "Gabriel Fauré is a pupil of Saint Saens [sic], and ranks as one of the very best of the young French composers."[11] At this point Fauré was forty-six years old and long past his years as a student of Saint-Saëns, yet Elson's tone is one of unusually gentle encouragement toward a composer of Fauré's age. He genuinely appreciates the sonata, which he asserts, "…certainly shows a master hand in the technique of writing, and a decidedly original and musical fund of ideas."[12] He was especially taken with first and final movements:

> The first movement starts at once with a rich, passionate theme, which is worked out between the violin and piano, with a warmth of coloring and richness of treatment that is almost intoxicating. The Scherzo is one of the most original and unique things we have heard lately; it is very dainty and crisp and fairly bristles with difficulties for the players, especially in the matter of maintaining a perfect ensemble. The playing of this and the last movement woke the audience up to a high level of enthusiasm.[13]

Elson's positive assessment of the scherzo is supported in other reviews of the sonata in subsequent years, that particular movement earning more frequent attention in print than any other movement. Furthermore, his general tone of approval of Fauré, based on this piece, is confirmed by his assertion that, "[Fauré] is a writer who is certain to rank high in the annals of music, and who bids fair, in the near future, to occupy the position in the music of France which Saint Saens [sic] has held."[14]

In the following years there were several worthy performances in Boston of the sonata, including those by renowned violinist Eugène Ysaÿe, Carl Barth of the Arbós Quartet, and Willy

[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

Hess of the Boston Symphony Quartet.[15] In general, the reviews of Fauré's sonata present a tone of appreciation similar to that of Elson, and, in some case, the critics offer predictions for its enduring place within the violin performance repertoire; however, the sonata was not received with exclusive positivity. One review in the *Boston Evening Transcript* practically eviscerates it, even while praising the performance itself, as well as Fauré as a composer.[16] The performance was given on March 25, 1912 in Steinert Hall, by the American String Quartette, an all-female ensemble led by Loeffler's student Gertrude Marshall and actively promoted by Loeffler; pianist Heinrich Gebhard appeared as a featured artist.[17] The program included the sonata, performed by Marshall and Gebhard, as well as a variety of non-standard solo and ensemble pieces.[18] A reviewer, signed H. K. M. (i.e., Kenneth Macgowan[19]), wrote a lengthy review of the concert in

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[15] Ysaÿe performed the piece on at least two high-profile recitals. The first performance on February 17, 1898 in Boston Music Hall was assisted by well-known Italian pianist Raoul Pugno; the second on March 4, 1917 in Symphony Hall was assisted by up-and-coming pianist Maurice Dambois. Both performances received favorable reviews. (See Philip Hale, "Ysaye-Pugno, First of Their Concerts in Music Hall Last Evening," *Boston Evening Journal*, February 18, 1898, 7; and "Ysaye the Master," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 5, 1917, 9.) Carl Barth, assisted by Antoinette Szumowska, performed the sonata in a concert by the Arbós Quartet on January 25, 1904 in Jordan Hall. A review of the performance refers to Fauré's Sonata as "a little lacking in ideas," although the performers played well. (See advertisement, "Musical, Current Recitals," *Boston Daily Globe*, January 24, 1904, 22; and review, "Arbos String Quartet," *Boston Daily Globe*, January 26, 1904, 8.). Willy Hess performed the piece on February 25, 1907 in Chickering Hall, assisted by Ossip Gabrilowitsch. This performance was advertised and reviewed in the same newspaper. (See "Musical News," *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 23, 1907, 18; and Edward Burlingame Hill, "Debussy and Faure," *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 26, 1907, 12.)

[16] H. K. M., "Music and Musicians," *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 26, 1912, 28.

[17] The American String Quartette was promoted and financially supported in part by Loeffler. From its earliest performances the Quartette favored the concept of "novelty" works and unfamiliar composers as a way of staying competitive with the more widely-recognized ensembles that frequented Boston's recital halls, especially the quartets of Kneisel, Ysaÿe, Dannreuther, and Flonzaley. The Quartette identified a market for itself in the city and, through a combination of unusual repertoire and the assistance of established guest performers on their programs, grew in popularity during the second and third decades of the century.

For a brief history of the ensemble and Loeffler's involvement, see Ellen Knight, "The American String Quartette: Loeffler's 'Feminine Flonzaleys.'" *The Sonneck Society for American Music Bulletin* 18, no. 3 (September 1992): 98–101.

[18] Gebhard drew the interest and attendance of a large portion of the audience, and the program was heavily weighted with solo piano works in order to showcase his talents The program included Fauré's Sonata and a piano quintet by Dvořák, and also a variety of solo piano pieces by Debussy, Chabrier, and the "new Bohemian composer" Bartók.

[19] "H. K. M." is probably Kenneth Macgowan (1888–1963), who was working as a drama critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript* at this time, along with the primary critic Henry Taylor Parker. (Parker is known to have assigned recital reviews to his colleagues while he kept the BSO concerts and large drama events for himself.) Macgowan later went on to become a prominent author of drama criticism and a professor at UCLA.

which he compliments the Quartette for its program selections and devotes much energy and space in his column to Fauré's sonata, first praising the ensemble for its inclusion of the piece. He observes, "…it gave us an opportunity of taking stock of the newer Frenchman once more. We have heard much of Fauré's music, and yet the newness of it is not completely exhausted."[20] This implies a degree of familiarity with Fauré in 1912 among the reviewer and his readers; however, while he has a clear appreciation for the composer, he absolutely did not enjoy this particular piece, as is evident in his vehement assessment:

> The peculiar virtue of a new programme [sic] from the concert-goer's standpoint is not so much its excellence as its newness. And even with such a comparative classic as Fauré's violin sonata we do not justify its place on the programme because of its inherent quality. Rather the contrary. The piece no doubt has its historical importance. But it is nevertheless a long-winded experiment, involved, uncertain, unmelodic, inept. In plain English, it is stupid.[21]

The critic does not mince words or excuse the quality of the sonata for its relatively early place within Fauré's oeuvre; he simply does not like the piece or Fauré's compositional style in it. He takes an almost fiendish delight in describing the composer's particular use of harmony, commenting that it is "almost wizard-like in its buttery sliding from key to key; in its mystic deification of uncertainty; in its complex interweaving of uninteresting voices."[22] He even goes as far as to remark on what he perceives as a lack of sincerity in Fauré's work, specifically compared to that of Chabrier:

> In sharp contrast with [Fauré] yesterday there stood the Bourrée Fantasque of Chabrier, a man who was always superior to the drawing-rooms he patronized. The two men, each in his time, were doing practically the same work in harmonic innovation, but Chabrier, unlike Fauré, makes an instant appeal of sincerity. His cleverness and daring always get adequate returns, while Fauré,

[20] H. K. M., "Music and Musicians."
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

> especially in the first movement of the violin sonata, is utterly economical in the complexity of his writing (which looks so learned on paper), and when he affects "color," he so often achieves only neutral dulness [sic].[23]

This is a surprising assessment, considering that one of the descriptive terms used in discussions of Fauré's compositional aesthetic is "sincere."[24] Through carefully-crafted descriptions H. K. M. asserts that Fauré is "a master of the slithering modulation" and a "tickler of polite emotions," thus presenting the composer as one whose style reflects his Parisian salon personality, and in this case, not to a satisfying effect.[25] This example of such a negative response to Fauré's sonata is certainly exceptional; it earned far more positive than negative commentary over the years, and the number of performances throughout this early period suggests the active transmission of the piece to Boston audiences. By 1957, it was "recognized as one of the pearls of the repertory," and today it is frequently included on American recital programs as well as audition repertoire lists for prestigious programs of study.[26]

Another of Fauré's chamber works that stands out for its frequent performances in Boston during this period is the *Élégie,* op. 24 (1883), a one-movement composition for cello and piano accompaniment.[27] Fauré's French publisher Hamelle had first published it with an alternate violin part, and it is interesting to note that it was in this configuration that the first-

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Carlo Caballero has addressed the role of sincerity in French music of the early-twentieth century, and specifically that of Fauré. See Carlo Cabellero, "The Question of Sincerity," in *Fauré and French Musical Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 11–56.

[25] See H. K. M., "Music and Musicians."

[26] See commentary on Gabriel Fauré, First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13, on *Heifetz: Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Fauré, Vitale*, Jascha Heifetz, violin, with Brooks Smith, piano (RCA Victor LM-2074, LP, 1957). Regarding repertoire lists, the Juilliard School, for instance, includes the sonata as a selection for live performance repertoire for the Artist Diploma, Graduate, and Post-Graduate programs in Collaborative Piano.

[27] Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life* 97–98. Nectoux suggests that Fauré had originally intended it a part of a cello sonata. In a letter to publisher Julien Hamelle, Fauré wrote, "My cello piece was excellently received, which greatly encourages me to go on and do the whole Sonata!" Nectoux has interpreted this as referring to the *Élégie*, although Fauré's first complete cello sonata was not composed until 1921. (See ibid. fn98.)

known performance of the piece in Boston was heard.[28] American violinist Hugh Codman's recital in Steinert Hall on December 16, 1897 featured an eclectic program that comprised, in addition to the *Élégie*, works by Franck, Saint-Saëns, Schumann, Dvořák, Tchaikovsky, J.S. Bach, and Cui.[29] (Codman was known for his inventive programs, often favoring the modern French composers and introducing his audiences to their works; for instance, in addition to Fauré's *Élégie* he gave the Boston premiere of Chausson's *Poëme* in 1904.[30]) Hale reviewed the recital in *The Boston Daily Journal*, and though much of his attention is on Franck's Violin Sonata in A Major, which he calls "the most important feature of the concert," Hale remarks briefly on Fauré's *Élégie*, heard for the first time in Boston on this concert, commenting that Fauré is less familiar to the concert audiences than he should be.[31] Following this early violin performance of the *Élégie*, Boston audiences heard it in its original form for the first time in a performance by the accomplished cellist Elsa Ruegger, assisted by H. G. Tucker (piano), in a performance that was called "delightful."[32] It continued to develop a place in the cello repertoire through highly successful performances by cellists Virginia Stickney and Alwin Schroeder (who also edited the *Élégie* for Boston Music Co. in 1914[33]) in solo recitals, and Marion Moorhouse in

[28] Gabriel Fauré, *Élégie* for violoncello (or violin) and piano, op. 24 (Paris: Hamelle, 1883); orchestrated by Fauré in 1896 and published by Hamelle in 1901.

[29] In addition to Fauré's *Élégie*: Franck (Violin Sonata in A Major), Saint-Saëns ("Rondo Capriccioso"), Schumann ("A summer's night"), Dvořák ("Good night"), Tchaikovsky ("Spanish Serenade"), Bach ("Prelude" from the Sixth Violin Sonata), and Cui ("Cavatina," op. 25). Codman was assisted by pianist Mary A. Stowell; A singer, "Mr. Townsend," also performed on the recital. See Philip Hale, "Hugh Codman's Concert," *Boston Daily Journal*, December 17, 1897, 6.

[30] Charles Henry Lahee, "April 25, 1904," in *Annals of Music in America* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1922), 133.

[31] See Hale, "Hugh Codman's Concert." Hale includes Cui in this assessment as a composer who deserves to be better known by audiences.

[32] "Delightful Afternoon," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 19, 1906, 8. Although given in the formal Chickering Hall this audience was of the more casual, afternoon sort than the formal audiences of many Boston recitals, and felt free to leave at will. According to the reviewer, "Those who left before the chamber concert was concluded were the only losers."

[33] Gabriel Fauré, *Élégie*, ed. Alwin Schroeder (Boston: Boston Music Co., 1914).

a concert of the Boston Musical Association.[34] Perhaps the most unexpected success of the piece was during a recital given by the cello class of New England Conservatory cello professor, Josef Adamowski, on April 25, 1910 in Jordan Hall, where the *Élégie* was performed in unison by eight of his students.[35] The concert, which also included works by Brahms, Saint-Saëns, Schumann, Chopin, and Dvořák, was reviewed by Edward Burlingame Hill, who comments specifically on the performance of the *Élégie*:

> One might question the wisdom of playing a piece for one violoncello in magnified proportions, but the result in the case of the Fauré elégie [sic], proved not only justifiable but of surprisingly pleasurable effect. For the piece, played for the most part with excellent accuracy, took on broader outlines, a compelling sonority, and surprising poetry. This same elégie [sic], contemplative, atmospheric, possessing real depth, shows Fauré at his very best.[36]

The question of presenting a solo work such as this in a unison ensemble performance is actually less problematic to consider than Hill suggests. For instance, one might find precedent in Fauré's Piano Quartet in G minor, op. 45, which is by definition an ensemble piece, and yet the texture frequently has the string players in unison for extended passages, amid the more varied piano score.[37]

Both the First Violin Sonata and the *Élégie* became widely familiar to Boston's audiences during the first decades of the twentieth century, and the latter was even featured on the Fauré memorial concert given by the BSO in 1924. However, the composer's ensemble works were

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[34] Virginia Stickney was assisted by pianist Marion Lina Tufts in a performance at Steinert Hall on February 5, 1910. (See"The Concerts of Saturday," *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 7, 1910, 13.) Alwin Schroeder was assisted by pianist Kurt Fischer in a performance at Steinert Hall on February 15, 1912. (See L. P., "Steinert Hall: Mr. Schroeder's Concert," *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 16, 1912, 12.) Marion Moorhouse performed the *Élégie* on a concert of the Boston Musical Association on April 28, 1920 in Jordan Hall. (See "Musical Association Gives Closing Concert," *Boston Daily Globe*, April 19, 1920, 2.)

[35] E. B. H. "The Concerts of Yesterday," *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 26, 1910, 14. Among the cellists was Virginia Stickney, who had recently performed the *Élégie* on her solo recital.

[36] Ibid.

[37] For example, see the Second Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 45, I, mm. 1–15, and II, mm. 58–83, among numerous other sections in which the strings are presented in unison or octaves. Gabriel Fauré, Quartet No. 2 in G minor, op. 45, for piano, violin, viola, and cello (New York: International Music Co., 1950).

also heard a number of times on Boston's concert programs, the Second Piano Quartet, op. 45, receiving particular favor. The quartet was premiered in Boston by the Arbós Quartet on March 28, 1904 in Jordan Hall, the last in a series of six concerts given by the ensemble led by Enrique Fernández Arbós. A professor at the Royal College of Music (1894–1916), Arbós was completing a year-long position as concertmaster of the BSO and was scheduled to return to London, where he had possibly first encountered Fauré's quartet.[38] It had been performed publicly a number of times there since its premiere in 1897 and quickly surpassed the popularity of Fauré's First Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15, published three years earlier.[39] The final concert by the Arbós Quartet in this series included performances by a number of guest artists, including Heinrich Gebhard, who assisted on Fauré's quartet.[40] The program also included Beethoven's Third String Quartet in C major, French "songs of sentiment" by H. de Fontenaille ("Pense d'Autrefois") and Bizet ("Berceuse"), and three (unnamed) Lieder by Brahms. The entire concert was well-received, as indicated by the review printed in the *Boston Daily Globe* the next day.[41] While the Beethoven piece was familiar to the audience, and the ensemble's high-level performance was "as perfect a rendition as it is possible to hear," it was Fauré's Piano Quartet, entirely new to the audience, which engendered far more interest.[42]

The unnamed reviewer describes the quartet in poetic terms, as a "lovely, dreamy, imaginative composition."[43] He seemingly underestimates the importance of the piano score in

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[38] For a brief biography of Arbós, see Theodore Baker, "Arbós, Enrique Fernández," in *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, 3rd ed., rev. Alfred Remy, M. A. (New York: Schirmer, 1919), 24. Following the departure of Arbós it became traditional for in-resident members of the BSO to form the on-going Boston Symphony Quartet.

[39] The First Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15 (1876–79) was refused for publication by Choudens and Durand; it was published by Hamelle in 1884 following Fauré's revisions of the Finale.

[40] Other guest performers included Muriel Foster (contralto) with Kate Eadie (piano accompaniment). "Arbos Quartet Concert," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 29, 1904, 8.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

this piece, although he compliments the virtuoso Gebhard's "delightfully submissive" performance that supported and connected the movements in a way that other pianists would not do quite as effectively: "…it is withal a tender, delicate trellis-work by which the four movements are supported, and one which in less gifted hands would have been a blemish rather than a necessity to the theme.[44] The critic acknowledges the role of the piano, but refers to it as "hardly more than an elaborate accompaniment," perhaps erring in the way many critics have regarding the style of Fauré's piano works, which often sound simpler than they are in reality.[45] Even Franz Liszt, in the now-famous anecdote of his meeting with the young Fauré in 1882, expressed surprise upon his first reading of Fauré's *Ballade*, stating, "I've run out of fingers."[46] Gebhard's sensitive interpretations as an ensemble player contributed to the overall effect of the performance, which the reviewer finds particularly remarkable in the third movement, of which he observes, "In the 'adagio non troppo' movement, especially, with its chiming piano and soulful viola introduction, was the indescribable beauty of the theme made evident."[47]

Following its first performance in Boston, which was appreciated by what the reviewer considered a "critical audience," the quartet was performed by a variety of chamber ensembles in the city, including the American String Quartette, assisted again by Gebhard on one occasion,

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 51. Nectoux remarks here that the more common account of the story includes the quote, "It's too difficult," which he corrects. Considering Liszt's vast abilities as a virtuoso his comment was probably an honest assessment on first-reading of the highly active piece, rather than a glib dismissal, as some have interpreted the more commonly misquoted statement. Sylvia Kahan has addressed the fact that Fauré met with Liszt more than once, and that Liszt probably encouraged Fauré to orchestrate the Ballade. Sylvia Kahan, Fauré the Colorist: Two Versions of the *Ballade*," presented at the conference *Effable and Ineffable: Gabriel Fauré and the Limits of Criticism* (University of Washington, October 21–25, 2015).

[47] "Arbos Quartet Concert," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 29, 1904, 8. The "chiming" quality is often cited in scholarly discussions of this movement, as well as in Fauré's own description of the music and its relationship to the memories of his childhood. For a discussion of the "chiming" elements of this movement, see Carlo Caballero, *Fauré and French Musical Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 41–47; and Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 91–94.

and the Durrell Quartet, another all-female ensemble.[48] With little exception, the piece was considered "enjoyable" and "interesting," and in all cases it has been considered an effective piece to highlight the talents of the musicians, and particularly those of the assisting pianists, to whom much of the success of the individual performance has been credited.[49]

It is important to note that, while it was the Second Quartet that became familiar over time, Fauré's First Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15, was actually heard first in Boston six years earlier. The Ysaÿe Quartet performed it in the Boston Music Hall on April 23, 1898 as the opening work on a program that also included works by Bach, Godard, and Franck;[50] unfortunately, the performers were forced to stop during "one of the most beautiful passages" of the Fauré because of the disruption caused by late audience members, "…which seems a great pity," as observed in the *Globe*.[51]

Piano Solos

While Fauré's *mélodies* and select chamber works had appeared on Boston's concert programs during the 1890s, it was not until 1900 that his solo piano works were heard publicly in the city.[52] The establishment of the major performance venues and ensembles in Boston encouraged

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[48] American String Quartette, January 3 1918, Jordan Hall, and January 17, 1921, Steinert Hall; Durrell Quartet, October 30, 1923, Jordan Hall.

[49] The Durrell Quartet in particular was complimented for its "practiced competence of technique and a style of interpretation faithful to the composer's intentions." See, "Interesting Program by the Durrell Quartet," *Boston Daily Globe*, October 31, 1923, 6.

[50] "Music and Musicians," *Boston Daily Globe*, April 24, 1898, 24. This program was mentioned a week earlier in "Music and Musicians," *Boston Daily Globe*, April 17, 1898, 17.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Fauré composed several individual pieces for solo piano during his student years at the École Niedermeyer. Several were not published during his lifetime, including the Piano Sonata in F Major (1863), the *Fugue à trois parties* (c. 1862), and the *Mazurka* in B-flat major (c. 1865). From the mid-1870s onward Fauré published collections of nocturnes, barcarolles, impromptus, valses caprices, and preludes, as well as a theme and variations, and compositions for four hands, most notably the *Souvenirs de Bayreuth* (1888) and the *Dolly* Suite (1894–96). Even within the collections, the discrete quality of Fauré's piano works renders them suitable for individual performance, rather than requiring the inclusion of several as a recital set; this is a quality often shared with his *mélodies*. In the earliest performances of Fauré's piano works in the United States during the composer's lifetime it was common for the pianist to include just one nocturne or impromptu on a recital program.

several important pianists to make their homes and careers there, performing in solo recitals and chamber music concerts, regularly serving as accompanists for singers and other solo performers, and, in some cases, appearing by invitation as guest artists with the BSO. Three notable pianists—Félix Fox (1876–1947), Heinrich Gebhard (1876–1963), and Harold Bauer (1873–1951)—had an especially strong presence within Boston's burgeoning musical world, their names frequently appearing in print in the musical columns of the city's newspapers. And it was these pianists who played a significant role in introducing Fauré's piano works to Boston audiences.

Félix Fox was the first to introduce Fauré's solo piano works to Boston audiences. Born in Breslau, Germany, Fox completed his studies in Leipzig and Paris then settled in Boston in 1897, where he established a school for pianoforte with fellow pianist Carlo Buonamici the following year.[53] Fox performed with the BSO at Symphony Hall, and presented his first solo recital at Steinert Hall in 1898, and both performances contributed to his immediate success as a pianist in the city, his name appearing regularly in the Boston newspaper advertisements for a variety of musical events there. In addition to his work as a soloist and private instructor, Fox became a much sought-after accompanist for Boston recitals. On his own programs, Fox frequently included French works, and his contribution to the dissemination of modern French music in America was well-recognized abroad. In fact, Fox was honored with the title Chevalier in the Légion d'honneur in 1908 for his service to French music.[54]

[53] The Fox-Buonamici School of Pianoforte Playing was founded in 1898 and remained a collaborative venture until Buonamici's death in 1920. At that point the school was renamed the Felix Fox School of Pianoforte Playing; the school dissolved in 1935.

[54] "Felix Fox," *New York Times*, March 26, 1947, 25. The documents pertaining to Fox's nomination and subsequent awarding of the title Chevalier of the Légion d'honneur are available in "Fox, Félix," Dossiers des titulaires de l'Ordre de la Légion d'honneur, Archives nationales, Paris, dossier 19800035/743/84336.

On many of his earliest recital programs in Boston Fox included selections by Fauré, introducing his audiences to a variety of individual solo works. On November 10, 1900 Fox gave a recital in Steinert Hall, the program of which featured Fauré's Nocturne No. 3 in A-flat (1883) and well-established works such as Bach's *Chromatic Fantasie and Fugue*, Schumann's *Études Symphoniques*, and selections from Chopin's Etudes, op. 10.[55] In a review of the recital Hale seizes upon the opportunity to issue a colorful rant about having heard the familiar works so many times:

> Must we always be stuffed with Bach, Schumann, and Chopin until the digestion can accommodate only with difficulty pieces by men now living? Would not a piece by Bach be as impressive toward the middle or even at the end of a program? Why should we always be brought face to face at the very start with the early Egyptians?...Must we always hear Schumann's Etudes [sic] Symphoniques, or Carnaval, or Fantasie?[56]

Despite his displeasure with the overexposure of these selections Hale acknowledges that Fox also provided the audience with the opportunity to hear many "unfamiliar" pieces as well, wishing only that they had appeared earlier in the program.[57] In addition to Fauré's Nocturne, the program included works by Widor, Bernhard, Larcombe, Philipp, Blumenfeld, and Steherbatcheff.[58] Hale commends Fox for his courage in selecting these works, and urges other performers to follow in his example.

While Hale delights in the inclusion of unfamiliar works, an anonymous reviewer of the same recital quibbles with this very element of the program.[59] He praises the concept of "going

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[55] "News of the Theaters," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 10, 1900, 11.
[56] Philip Hale, "Mr. Felix Fox," *Boston Sunday Journal*, November 11, 1900, 2.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Widor ("Toccata"), Bernhard ("Second Impromptu"), Larcombe ("Vieux Air"), Philipp ("Pinalenes"), Blumenfeld ("Prelude," op. 7, no. 21), and Steherbatcheff ("Tourmente"). Ibid.
[59] "Music and Drama," *Boston Evening Transcript*, November 11, 1900, 10.

off the beaten track of pianoforte recitals" from his own perspective, but asserts that an audience does not always appreciate hearing unfamiliar works:

> It is difficult for [Fox's] audience always to appreciate the French dishes served up in the nocturnes, toccatas, and "tourmentes" of unfamiliar composers. Had Mr. Fox chosen his selections with an eye singly to giving up things musically substantial, the listener would have felt far better satisfied at the end of his hour, singularly interesting though it was nevertheless.[60]

Though his point is well-taken, considering how far along Boston was in its collective Francophile interest by the year 1900, the reviewer's concern specifically regarding the unfamiliar French works on behalf of the audience is perhaps surprising. Furthermore, his assessment of the general response to the program does not accord with that of Hale, who refers to the large and "applausive" audience, suggesting a well-received performance by Fox.[61] While Hale and others supported a departure from the musical canon that had been more or less established by then, in some ways, this reviewer's words reflect the discomfort other American critics felt toward such a departure.

The success of this early performance was repeated throughout Fox's career. Although he made Boston his professional home, Fox also toured widely in the major American cities, offering eclectic and unusual programs. Despite his German heritage Fox's programs often favored works by modern French composers, and it was at least partly through his performances that audiences were introduced to a variety of Fauré's solo piano works.[62]

As previously discussed, Heinrich Gebhard contributed to the dissemination of Fauré's piano works in Boston as a collaborative pianist; however, his own solo performances also

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Philip Hale, "Mr. Felix Fox," *Boston Sunday Journal*, November 11, 1900, 2.

[62] In addition to Fauré's Third Nocturne, Fox notably performed the Barcarolle in A minor, and the Second and Fourth Impromptus on his Boston recitals. See Appendix 3.

helped to make significant progress in this area. Like Fox, Gebhard was German-born, but his move to the United States occurred much earlier when he moved to Boston as a child with his parents.[63] He pursued musical studies in Vienna as a young adult, but returned to Boston in 1899 and quickly established himself as a recital pianist, and debuted with the BSO that year.[64] Over the next two decades Gebhard performed as a guest artist with numerous musical ensembles in the city, most notably the Choral Art Society, the Kneisel Quartet, and the American String Quartette, and accompanied Boston's most prominent soloists, including Charles Loeffler, in a broad variety of repertoire.

Like Fox, Gebhard exhibited a strong affinity for French music through his solo recitals, often including works by Saint-Saëns, Fauré, Debussy, and other modern French composers. Among Gebhard's most frequently-performed works in Boston during the first decades of the twentieth century was Fauré's Second Impromptu in F minor (1883). The piece, with its quick scales and overlapping textures, lyrical middle section, and quickly shifting modality, had all of the elements that would excite an audience with its virtuosic brilliance, while still remaining quite accessible. Gebhard performed the piece for the first time on a diverse program given at Steinert Hall on November 20, 1900 and again two years later on December 3, 1902, to an "appreciative" audience.[65] Precisely one year later, Gebhard performed not only the impromptu but also Fauré's *Pavane*, the *Pièces Brèves*, no. 8 (Andante), and the *Valse Caprice*, no. 3, offering his audience a sampling of Fauré's piano works in a recital advertised as part of a

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[63] Nicolas Slonimsky, Laura Kuhn, ed., and Dennis McIntire, associate ed., "Heinrich Gebhard," in *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of 20th Century Classical Musicians* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 451.

[64] Gebhard had appeared with the BSO as soloist in October, 1899 in Beethoven's Concerto for Pianoforte in C minor. "University Calendar," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 2, 1899.

[65] See Philip Hale, "Heinrich Gebhard," *The Boston Journal*, November 21, 1900, 5; and "Musical Topics," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 4, 1902, 7. In addition to the Fauré impromptu, Gebhard's program included established works of Brahms (*Rhapsodie*, op. 119, no. 4), Bach (selections from the *Well-Tempered Clavier*), and Schubert (Allegro from the Sonata in A major, Posthumous), as well as Liszt's transcription of Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and works by Edward MacDowell, Clayton Johns, and Theodor Leschetizky.

musical season of "unusual promise."[66] The recital exceeded the expectations of at least one reviewer, who applauds Gebhard's selections and goes as far as to thank the pianist for not performing the "constantly repeated Bach and Schumann numbers"—an implicit critique of the canon—in favor of works by Loeffler, whom he mentions as a fellow Boston musician, and those by Gebhard himself. [67] The reviewer suggests that the concert was "good," although it still needed "a little more relief to be quite fine."[68] However, he is pleased with the inclusion of the Fauré pieces, referring to the group as "perhaps the most agreeable section of his program."[69]

Through his lengthy career Gebhard became one of the most prominent recitalists in Boston, his concerts drawing a large and loyal audience. One consistent element of Gebhard's recitals that partly contributed to his ongoing success was his creative programming through the inclusion of unfamiliar works. One might wonder whether, by including the same "unfamiliar works" such as Fauré's Second Impromptu repeatedly on his high-profile recitals in Boston, Gebhard risked the criticism of reviewers who might observe a pattern of repetition and eventually express a weariness of the piece, as Hale had written regarding the overexposure of certain works of Bach, Schumann, and others.[70] However, a review of Gebhard's recital on December 10, 1918, nearly two decades after his first performance of the impromptu in Boston, refers to the program of "unfamiliar music," suggesting that this is not the case.[71] The designation of the piece as "unfamiliar" at this late date is surprising, considering the number of performances of the piece on recitals of other renowned pianists in Boston by this time, including those by Félix Fox, Antoinette Szumowska, and Harold Bauer, suggesting that it had become

[66] "Boston Musical Season This Year Is of Unusual Promise," *The Boston Journal*, November 29, 1903, 6
[67] "Gebhard's Recitals Growing in Merit," *The Boston Journal*, December 4, 1903, 4.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] See above discussion, and Philip Hale, "Mr. Felix Fox," *Boston Sunday Journal*, November 11, 1900, 2.
[71] "Gebhard's Program of Unfamiliar Music," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 11, 1918, 12.

something of a fixture on the recital programs of other pianists in Boston during this period. However, in some ways it was Boston's relative unfamiliarity with Fauré's individual piano works, in spite of his continuing growth of broader popularity in the city, that prevented the Impromptu from crossing the fine line between being a "standard" and simply being considered *overplayed*.

Of the three pianists who greatly contributed to the popularization of Fauré's piano works in America, it was English-born Harold Bauer (1873–1951) who had the most significant personal connection to the composer and the French musical world as a whole. Like Gebhard, Bauer had moved to Boston with his parents as a child. He had enjoyed a successful touring career in Europe as a violin prodigy, although he later changed his focus to piano performance at the recommendation of Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860–1941), with whom he studied at the Paris Conservatoire as a young man.[72] When Bauer moved to Paris in 1893 he essentially adopted the city as his home; he spent the majority of the next two decades there, but returned annually to the United States to give performances in Boston and New York.[73] His musical reputation thrived on both sides of the Atlantic, as is underlined by Fauré's personal invitation to Bauer in 1907 to serve as an adjudicator for the public examinations held at the Conservatoire, an honor that was

[72] Harold Bauer, *Harold Bauer: His Book* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948). Paderewski, whose influence over the young Bauer was great, convinced him that he would find more performance opportunities in Paris as a pianist, rather than as a violinist.

[73] Bauer gave his first recital in Boston in 1900 and returned annually with few exceptions. See ibid., 53–66. Though he favored the East Coast, especially Boston, for his performances, by 1906 Bauer was engaged in at least one tour that extended to the Pacific Coast, and included performances beginning in St. Louis, and proceeding through Oklahoma City, Galveston, Texas, Phoenix, Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, with a stop in Cleveland on the way back to Boston. See "Musical Notes," *The New York Times*, March 4, 1906, X2. For a detailed discussion of this tour see Harold Bauer, *Harold Bauer: His Book*, 190–210.

made permanent for the duration of his years in Paris. He subsequently formed a close friendship with Fauré, whom he greatly respected as a composer.[74]

While his early performances in Boston had been well-received, it was upon his return to the city in 1908 that Bauer truly began to claim his position as the most in-demand pianist and pedagogue in Boston. This was largely due to his broad recognition in Paris, where he had recently been named as an officer of public instruction; an article in the *Boston Daily Globe* printed just before Bauer's return to the United States refers to the honor and describes favorably his recent interactions with Boston piano students.[75] In addition to his new French position Bauer returned to Boston with new repertoire that he acquired in Europe, which the *Globe* announced would result in notable works performed in the city for the first time.[76] However, years before this Bauer had already begun to include selections by Fauré on his American concerts, which he performed in the primary recital venues in Boston as well as at area colleges, such as Wellesley and Smith. On December 5, 1903 he performed at Steinert Hall as part of a diverse program that also included traditional works by Bach, Schumann, Chopin, and Liszt, German-Polish composer Moritz Moszkowski, and other modern French works by Franck and Chabrier.[77] Bauer earned particular compliments for his "clear intellectuality of exposition" in the Fauré and Bach pieces.[78] The following year, Bauer's recital program included another work by Fauré, the

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[74] Ibid., 111, 115. Bauer describes his friendship with Fauré and Henri Rabaud during his years in Paris. Correspondence between Bauer and Fauré is held in the Harold Bauer Collection, 1880–1951, Music Division, Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)

[75] "Musical Matters," *Boston Daily Globe*, January 19, 1908, 28.

[76] Ibid. As predicted, one of Bauer's first recitals upon his return did feature new additions to his repertoire, including Debussy's *Estampes* (1903). See "Harold Bauer's Recital," *Boston Journal*, January 17, 1908, 6. The review names the individually movements of *Estampes*, "Pagodes," "La Soirée dans Grenade," and "Jardin sous la pluie."

[77] "Boston Musical Season This Year Is of Unusual Promise." The article provides few details about the specific works performed. In addition to Fauré's *Thème et variations* the program included works by Bach (unspecified), Schumann (Romance), Chopin (Fantasia), Liszt (Etude in D-flat), Franck (Prelude, Fugue, and Variation, assisted by Wallace Goodrich, harmonium), Chabrier (Bourrée), and Moszkowski (Etude).

[78] "Bauer's Second Recital Adds to Good Music," *The Boston Journal*, December 6, 1903, 4.

Second Impromptu, as well as works by Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin, Balakirev, Arensky, and Wagner.[79] The impromptu was particularly well-received and became something of a fixture on Bauer's recitals. In 1905, he included it again on his program given at Jordan Hall, this time as part of an especially challenging program that also featured works by Bach, Schubert, Schumann, Ravel, and Balakirev.[80] Bauer played the Fauré piece following Ravel's *Jeux d'eau*, in a flashy pairing that dazzled his audience. A review in *The Boston Journal* remarks on his versatility as displayed by this program and his effective performance in music ranging from the "cold, hard brilliancy" of the Bach Chromatic Fantasie and Fugue to the "tenderness and sweetness" of the Fauré Impromptu.[81]

Bauer continued to include Fauré's solo works on his American recitals, and also frequently assisted other artists in performances of his chamber works. Bauer's technical and interpretive merits, and critics continued to note his talent for creating unique and interesting recital programs. An advertisement for one of Bauer's Boston recitals asserts, "Mr. Bauer's well-known skill in program making can be relied upon to make his coming recitals interesting alike to students, professional pianists and the public at large."[82] His frequent inclusion of new works, especially those of Fauré and other modern French composers, became an additional appeal for Bauer, whose popularity in Boston continued to thrive throughout his career.

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[79] The recital was given on December 12, 1904. Amy Grace Maher, "Recital by Harold Bauer," *The Smith College Monthly* 13 (Smith College, October, 1905): 272.

[80] "Musical Matters: Harold Bauer's Recital," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 3, 1905, 38.

[81] "Bauer Displays His Versatility," *The Boston Journal*, December 5, 1905, 7.

[82] "Harold Bauer's Recitals," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 19, 1905, 38. As is the case with many articles that promote Bauer as an eminent performer of general public interest, this advertisement does not reveal the names of specific works to be included; rather, it offers the promise of a performance that would appeal to the general public, a tactic that contributed to the continued large audience that attended Bauer's recitals.

Mélodies

By the turn of the century it was already becoming fairly common for American singers to include a selection or two by Fauré or other modern French composers on their recital programs, some even including full sets of Fauré's *mélodies*. This was due in part to the growing availability of particular selections imported from Paris, or American editions of the same works published locally. (See Appendix 2.) Between 1892 and 1900 several of Fauré's *mélodies* were introduced to Boston audiences, and today many of these pieces remain well-established in the French song repertoire of American singers. In 1924 Copland remarked, "Some of these songs, as for example, 'Les Berceaux,' 'Les Roses d'Ispahan' and especially 'Clair de Lune' are so beautiful, so perfect, that they have even penetrated to America."[83] Copland was absolutely correct that these *mélodies* had been performed in this country; yet this is also an understatement, given the strong presence on American recitals by this time of these and other *mélodies* that Copland did not include in his discussion. Because the early response of these works is somewhat tied up in the performances of the individual singers, the purpose of this section is to identify the first-known performances in Boston of these *mélodies* and the general circumstances of the performances, and to highlight other especially notable performances that soon followed.

The earliest-known recital in Boston that included Fauré's *mélodies* was given by two singers, mezzo-soprano Lena Little and baritone Heinrich Meyn, on December 1, 1892 in Chickering Hall.[84] The program included two *mélodies* by Fauré, "Au cimetière" (1888) and "Clair de lune" (1887), and songs by Schumann, Schubert, Brahms, Saint-Saëns, Arthur Goring-

[83] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master," 577.

[84] Philip Hale, "Drama and Music: Miss Little and Mr. Meyn," *Boston Morning Journal,* December 2, 1892, 5. Violinist Otto Roth also performed on this recital. There is no mention of a pianist in the review, although one was surely present.

Thomas, and Clayton Johns.[85] This was the same year as Loeffler's premiere of the Violin Sonata, and once again Philip Hale had the chance to assess Fauré's music; however this time he is not entirely impressed and offers a fairly mixed opinion of the two Fauré selections.[86] He refers to "Au cimetière" as "a dramatic setting of fantastic words," but asserts that "Clair de lune" is "a vain striving after effect, and it is without vocal or instrumental charm."[87] Nevertheless, while Hale finds that these particular *mélodies* by Fauré leave much to be desired, he does emphasize the composer's overall value: "The composer is now the chapelmaster of the Madeleine, and much of his music is worthy of musicians of catholic taste."[88] (We will see in Chapter 6 that it was not unusual for Hale to include similar general value judgments in his reviews, recommending in general the music of a new or unfamiliar composer, such as Fauré, or making note of specific works of interest, even while dismissing others.)

Despite Hale's somewhat unfriendly review of "Clair de lune," this *mélodie* and "Au cimetière" both quickly grew in popularity among American singers, and began to appear on song recitals across the country.[89] "Clair de lune" was a particular favorite of singers and audiences, and there were at least four editions of the piece published in Boston between 1900 and 1913.[90] Notable individual performances during this era include those by Polish soprano Polva Frisch, American mezzo-soprano Susan Metcalfe-Casals (wife of cellist Pablo Casals), and

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[85] In addition to the Fauré *mélodies*, Hale refers to Schumann's *Dichterliebe* and specifies the pieces by Clayton Johns ("Upon a Winter Morning," "Lullaby" (with violin obbligato), "Roumanian Gipsy Song," and "When Phyllis Comes." Ibid.

[86] Hale expresses very few positive words about the program in general, referring to Johns's "Roumanian Gipsy Song" as "dull" and "When Phyllis Comes" as "without point." Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Singers Katharine Fisk, Julie Wyman, John Braun, Povla Frisch, and Susan Metcalfe-Casals included one or both of these *mélodies* on their recitals in Boston in the first decades of the twentieth century. (See Appendix 3.)

[90] Gabriel Fauré, "Au cimetière" and "Clair de lune," in *Famous Composers and their Works*, ed. Louis Elson, Philip Hale, and John Knowles Paine (Boston: J. B. Millet, 1900); Gabriel Fauré, "Les berceaux," "Roses d'Ispahan," and "Clair de lune," in *Modern French Songs* vol. 1, ed. Philip Hale; trans. Isabella G. Parker and Alexander Blaess (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1904); "Clair de lune," trans. Alexander Blaess (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1904; reissued in 1913).

American tenor John Braun.[91] Both "Clair de lune" and "Au cimetère" also appeared on larger programs, including one by the Philharmonic Society of New York (directed by Josef Stransky) in 1913, which featured the French tenor Edmond Clément, who had also performed Fauré's "Les berceaux" on his first song recital in Boston two years earlier.[92] For the New York performance, Clément chose Fauré's "Clair de lune" as a representative French *mélodie* to go along with his large-scale French selections, Massenet's "Rêve de Manon" (from *Manon*) and Meyerbeer's "O Paradise" (from *L'Africaine*). The overall presence of these *mélodies* on American song recitals of the era, including one given by a native French singer, reflects the rare mismatch between Hale's first impression of particular musical works and their potential for long-term popularity in this country. Today, both "Clair de lune" and "Au cimetière" are popular recital selections for American singers, and remain among Fauré's most familiar *mélodies*.

Two other *mélodies*, "Rencontre" (1878) and "Le secret" (1879), were both heard in Boston for the first time in an especially high-profile context, on the much anticipated recitals of Theodore Byard, the popular English baritone. Byard's recitals in Steinert Hall on November 28, 1898 and in Sanders Theater the following week marked his first appearances in this country, thus were widely promoted through advertisements in the area newspapers and in *Musical America*. Unfortunately, on both occasions the poor quality of singing (as judged by the reviews)

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[91] John Braun, tenor; Ellis Clark Hammann, piano (February 23, 1907); Povla Frisch, soprano; Jean Verd, piano (Jordan Hall, February 17, 1916); Susan Metcalfe-Casals, mezzo-soprano; Ruth Deyo, piano (Jordan Hall, March 24, 1917) Braun, a native of Philadelphia, had become familiar to Boston audiences through his recitals in the first decade of the century. He performed "Clair de lune" as part of a set of Fauré *mélodies* that also included "Automne" and "Toujours." Braun performed his "program of novelties," an eclectic mix of German, English, and French works, in Boston (Potter Hall) and New York (Mendelssohn Hall) the same week. See "Mr. Braun's Recital," *The Boston Journal*, February 23, 1907, 11; and "Concerts of the Week," *The New York Times*, February 24, 1907, X3.

[92] Clément performed "Les berceaux" in Boston on March 16, 1911 at Jordan Hall. The concert on March 16, 1913 was given at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. This concert was presumably well-attended, given the draw of the visiting Clément, who also performed arias by Massenet and Meyerbeer ("Rêve de Manon" from *Manon* and "O Paradise" from *L'Africaine*), and the advertised works to be performed by the Philharmonic Society, including Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, Gluck's *Alceste* Overture, Dvořák's *Carnaval* Overture, among others. See "Music Here and There," *The New York Times*, March 16, 1913, X9.

by "the great English Baritone" greatly overshadowed his musical selections.[93] The performance in Steinert Hall included the Fauré *mélodies* as part of a set along with Godard's "Tu souviens-tu?" and Hatton's "To Athena."[94] Hale's review of Byard's debut performance focuses primarily on his poor technical performance and the equally disappointing solo performances by pianist George Proctor and cellist Alwin Schroeder; Hale largely ignores the music itself, despite the presence of new works on the program, normally a point of interest in his reviews. Although he issues numerous points of displeasure with Byard's performance in particular, he does grant that the singer would "give pleasure to a friendly audience."[95] This is an important point because the opportunity to hear new repertoire performed by the highly-anticipated Byard was probably more important to the general audience, and, in spite of any obvious technical deficiencies, made more of an impression on them than it might have had on Hale's critical ears.

Byard's second performance was part of a program by the BSO at Sander's Theater on December 8, 1898; he included four art songs from the Steinert Hall program, including "Rencontre."[96] In addition to this song, the inclusion of larger, symphonic works by Saint-Saëns and Massenet established a strong French presence on the program, although Schubert's Ninth Symphony was the primary focus of reviews of the concert. Although "Rencontre" and the other art songs were somewhat buried amid the larger works, Byard actually fared better on this set,

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[93] "Musical Boston," *Musical America*, November 12, 1898, 31. For a brief description of the history of this collection see Gabriel Fauré, *Gabriel Fauré 50 Songs*, ed. Laura Ward and Richard Walters (Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard Corporation, 1995), 76. "Rencontre" was published by Fauré's first French publisher, Durand, in 1880 along with "Toujours" and "Adieu" as *Poème d'un jour*, and again by Hamelle in 1897.

[94] Byard's selections also included works by Jean-Baptiste Lully ("Bois épais" from *Amadis*), Salvator Rosa ("Star vicino"), Charles Edward Horn ("Cherry Ripe"), Robert Franz ("Marie" and "Es hat die Rose sich beklagt"), Peter Cornelius ("Lin Don"[?]), and Adolf Jensen ("Am ufer des Flusses, des Manzanares"). See "Musical Boston," *Musical America*. November 12, 1898, 31.

[95] Philip Hale, "Theodore Byard," *Boston Evening Journal*, November 29, 1898, 3. Byard was accompanied by George Proctor; violinist Franz Kneisel also appeared.

[96] The director of the BSO at this time was Heinrich Gericke, although due to illness, Franz Kneisel was the conductor this evening. ("School and College, Harvard University," *Boston Evening Transcript*, December 8, 1898, 22.) Byard's art song selections included, in addition to Fauré's "Rencontre," the Cornelius and Hatton pieces, and one of the Franz pieces (unspecified). See "Symphony Concert," *Cambridge Chronicle*, December 10, 1898, 7.

according to one review, because his particular singing quality is that "of a 'parlor singer,' and not much else.[97] This is a complaint similar to that expressed by Hale; yet, as with the first recital, the audience genuinely enjoyed Byard's performance and gave an enthusiastic response after each selection.

Regardless of Byard's technical merit on these occasions, the fact that "Rencontre" and "Le secret" were introduced to Boston in the context of an anticipated celebrity appearance is notable. In the case of the Sanders Theater event, there is a good chance that many of the audience members had also been in attendance at the first Steinert Hall performance, and were thus afforded an unusual opportunity to hear "Rencontre" a second time by the same performer, in relatively close succession, for a potential degree of acquired familiarity not often possible with new works during this era.[98] In the years that followed, as Fauré's name became increasingly familiar to song recital audiences in Boston both "Rencontre" and "Le secret" were adopted into a growing repertoire of modern French works. In addition to these *mélodies* and the above-mentioned "Clair de lune" and "Au cimetière," Boston recital audiences also heard "Les roses d'Ispahan," "En prière," "Fleur jetée," "Lydia," and "Les berceaux," the latter which earned particular favor among the broader American audience.[99]

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[97] Ibid. In this context of this statement, the reviewer is clearly contrasting the smaller-scale works with the larger, orchestral works that do suit Byard's vocal abilities as well.

[98] Individual songs were not often included on the BSO programs at Symphony Hall, but Sander's Theater offered exceptional acoustics and an appropriate performance space for small-scale as well as symphonic works.

[99] "En prière," Blanche Marchesi, Steinert Hall, January 21, 1899; "Les berceaux," Myron L. Whitney, November 22, 1900; "Fleur jetée," Florence Hartmann, Chickering Hall, April 11, 1902; "Lydia," William Kittredge, Steinert Hall, February 11, 1904. American Soprano Julie Wyman, Sanders Theater, March 10, 1904. Like Byard, Wyman performed as part of a BSO program. Her solo contributions included a full set of Fauré *mélodies* that included "Rencontre," "Au cimetière" and "Les roses d'Ispahan," all performed "admirably," and Tchaikovski's recitative and aria "Adieu, forêts" from *Jeanne d'Arc*. The program also included Mozart's Third Symphony in E-flat major K. 543, Theodorde Akimenko's Lyric Poem op. 20, and Emil Chabrier's Overture to *Gwendoline*. BSO concert program, Season 23 (1903–1904), Sanders Theater (March 10, 1904).

"Les berceaux" (1879) had been popular in France since its premiere by the Société nationale in 1882, and over the years became one of Fauré's best-known *mélodies* in the United States.[100] The piece has been called one of Fauré's most "justly popular" songs, not only for its frequent inclusion on recital programs, but also for the wealth of discussion regarding its poetic and musical interest that it has inspired among scholars and music critics.[101] It was also the first of Fauré's *mélodies* known to have been recorded, for the first time as early as 1902 and several times following during the composer's lifetime.[102] The interest in this piece is due in part to the fact that it is arguably one of the composer's most pictorial musical settings: the maritime imagery in the poem of Sully-Prudhomme (1839–1907) is reflected in the rocking accompaniment, the sweeping melodic gestures, and an especially-wide vocal range compared to Fauré's other *mélodies*. Jean-Michel Nectoux has remarked on the "tragic expression" and the "gentle poignancy" of this and other pieces Fauré composed during this time, which mirrors the composer's self-proclaimed "crisis" that he expressed to his confidante of the time, Marie Clerc.[103] In this particular piece, Fauré's musical depiction of the distant cradles rocking at home as the sailors follow the lure of the sea on their large ships rocking on the waves, and the

[100] "Les berceaux" was published by Hamelle in 1882 along with "Notre amour" (c. 1879) and "Le secret" (1881) as Fauré's *Trois mélodies*, op. 23.

[101] See Vuillermoz, *Gabriel Fauré*, 71 and Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 53. Numerous modern scholars have discussed "Les berceaux" from a variety of perspectives; for example see Robert Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, esp. 53–54 and 254–55, Robert Gartside, *Interpreting the Songs of Gabriel Fauré* (Mt. Morris, NY: Leyerle Publications, 1996), 103–05, Carol Komball, *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature* Revised Edition (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corporation, 2005), 180, and Graham Johnson, *Gabriel Fauré: The Songs and Their Poets* (London: The Guildhall School of Music & Drama, and Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), esp. 130–32.

[102] "Les berceaux" was recorded at least times by 1920, by the following artists: Félia Litvinne, Ernest Van Dyck, Jeanne Marié de l'Isle, Suzanne Brohly, Albert Vaguet, and Maurice Sauvageot. Van Dyck's recording was made in 1902 by Pathé Records. See Richard Fairman in Alan Blyth (ed), *Song on Record* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 62.

[103] Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 76. The crisis was most likely the depression from which Fauré continued to suffer following his break-up from fiancée Marianne Viardot in late-1877. Fauré composed several notable *mélodies* during this period, including those of the *Poème d'un jour* (1878) ("Rencontre," "Toujours," and "Adieu") as well as "Après un rêve," "Nell," and "Sylvie," all composed in 1878.

unresolved dramatic action within the poem, creates an effect that was extremely appealing to American audiences, still very much in the throes of Romanticism.[104]

"Les berceaux" appeared on several important recitals in Boston during the first decade of the century, the first given by American baritone Myron L. Whitney in Steinert Hall on November 22, 1900.[105] Following his professional debut with the Handel and Haydn society during his senior year at Harvard (1894–95), Whitney's name regularly appeared on concert programs in the city; he later became a professor of voice at New England Conservatory. Whitney, the son of Boston's well-known bass, Myron W. Whitney Sr., was well on his way to a successful musical career of his own in Boston and New York by 1900. The "rare artistic merit" as reported in a review of Whitney's recital in Steinert Hall is credited in part to the singer's choice of program as well as the execution of the performance.[106] The quality of Whitney's voice and his admirable technique were especially striking in his ability to alter his musical style between a "full, flowing, and robust" aria from Verdi's *Don Carlos*, and the "sweetness and tenderness" of Fauré's "Les berceaux."[107]

Following Whitney's performance, other singers in Boston as well as those in Chicago and New York began to include "Les berceaux" on their recital programs, either as an individual

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[104] See Translation direction. Fauré's setting generally follows the natural rhythm of the text, although Robert Orledge has remarked on the "deliberately mis-stressed" phrasing and compares a similar effect within the songs "Le Voyageur" and "Fleur jetée" to "Les berceaux." See Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 54. The 12/8 meter approximates a barcarolle style that continues throughout the piece. Fauré had composed a song entitled "Barcarolle" in 1873, with text by Marc Monnier, published in 1877 as part of *Trois mélodies*, op. 7. Fauré uses the traditional 6/8 meter and through G-minor tonality evokes the mysterious spirit of the gondolier in Monnier's text. Fauré composed his first of thirteen barcarolles the same year. Beside the general use of compound duple meter and minor tonality, the two songs bear little resemblance to one another.

[105] Whitney was accompanied by pianist Henry M. Goodrich. "Of Rare Artistic Merit," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 23, 1900, 3.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid. Other works on this recital included a variety of German Lieder, and Italian and English art songs, although they are not discussed in similar detail.

work or with other *mélodies* by Fauré.[108] For instance, both Florence Hartmann and the French tenor Edmond Clément included "Les berceaux" on their Boston recitals, as previously discussed.[109] The availability of this piece in numerous American published editions, both as an individual work and as part of various collections of *mélodies* by Fauré and other French composers, surely contributed to its frequent inclusion on American recitals.[110]

It is well known today that Fauré's familiarity in America is strongly connected to the wide appeal of his *mélodies*. In Boston, the selection of particular *mélodies* for the recital programs of several noted singers reflects a specific popular growth at this time for Fauré in this city through this genre; over the course of the twentieth century, many other *mélodies* not as

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[108] I do not necessarily assert a direct connection between Whitney's performance of "Les berceaux" in Boston and the broader American popularity of the piece in the years that followed. "Les berceaux" was also heard on several performances outside of Boston around this time. For instance, in 1901 a recital by a "Mr. and Mrs. Henschel" of Chicago included the piece as part of a lengthy and quite diverse program of piano and vocal works. See "Music and the Drama: Vocal Recital by Mr. and Mrs. Henschel," *Chicago Tribune*, January 25, 1901, 7. .[108] The next year, And perhaps more notably, two singers in New York included "Les berceaux" as part of a set of Fauré *mélodies* as part of their individual recitals given the same week in November, 1903: Katharine Fisk performed an all-French program in Mendelssohn Hall that featured three pieces by Fauré ("Les berceaux," "Au cimetière," and "Clair de lune"). See "Mme. Fisk's Recital," *The New York Times*, November 22, 1903, 22; and a private performance by Lydia Eustis at the home of New York socialite Mrs. Henry F. Dimock also included a set of three Fauré *mélodies* ("Les berceaux," "Le secret," and "Après un rêve"), as part of a mixed-language program. See "Miss Eustis's Recital," *The New York Times*, November 22, 1903, 22.

[109] Edmond Clément, March 16, 1911 (Jordan Hall); in addition to "Les berceaux," the program included works by Bemberg, Massenet, Pessard, Bernard, Grieg, Weckerlin, Chadwick, Campbell, Coombs, and Saint-Saëns. The primary purpose of Clément's first visit to Boston was the performance of Massenet's *Manon Lescaut*, in which he played the role of the Chevalier des Grieux. See "Clement to sing in 'Manon': French Tenor Appears for First Time in Boston in Massenet's Opera," *Boston Daily Globe*, February 10, 1911, 2.

[110] The piece was published individually as well as in several collections by Oliver Ditson & Co. See Gabriel Fauré, "Les berceaux," trans. Isabella G Parker (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1904; reissued in 1913); Gabriel Fauré, "Les berceaux," trans. Isabella G. Parker, in *Modern French Songs*, ed. Philip Hale (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1904); Gabriel Fauré, "Les berceaux," trans. Isabella G. Parker, in *My Favorite French Songs* Vol. 1, selected by Emma Calvé (also includes "Nell" and "Les roses d'Ispahan" (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1916). The Boston Music Co. also published the piece in several collections. See Gabriel Fauré, "Les berceaux," trans. M. Louise Baum, in *Selections from the Repertoire of Mme. Marcella Sembrich*, ed. H. Clough-Leigher (Boston: Boston Music Co., 1908; "Les berceaux," trans. M. Louise Baum, in *Album of Songs by Composers of the Neo-French School*: *For Medium Voice and Piano Accompaniment*, ed. H. Clough-Leigher (Boston: Boston Music Co., 1911); Gabriel Fauré, "Les berceaux," trans. John Gould Fletcher, in *Fauré Six Songs* (also includes "Nell," "Les roses d'Ispahan," "Rêve d'amour," "Prison," and "Soir"), ed. Henry Clough-Leighter (Boston: Boston Music Co., 1915); and Gabriel Fauré, "The Cradles" ["Les berceaux"], trans. J. G. Fletcher, in *Three-Part Song for Women's Voices*, ed. Henry Clough Leighter (Boston: Boston Music Co., 1918). A smaller company, C. C. Birchard, also published the piece as Gabriel Fauré, "Les berceaux," in *Laurel Songs: [for] Unchanged Voices*, ed. M. Teresa Armitage (Boston: C. C. Birchard, 1914).

widely heard, or not heard at all during this era, were gradually adopted into the art song repertoire of American singers. Today, in addition to their general recognition as lovely pieces of music, Fauré's *mélodies* are frequently discussed in terms of their pedagogical value, and vocal students are often steered toward these pieces through private lessons, repertoire classes, and printed collections commonly in use.[111] The *mélodies* discussed in this chapter, and many others, appear regularly on student and professional recitals in this country today; additionally, the number of recordings of Fauré's *mélodies* issued by American artists (some new, others considered "classic" recordings, and at least one group presenting a completely new and "American" take on this repertoire), further underlines the continued interest in this music.[112]

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The performances discussed in this chapter represent a small portion of Boston recitals that included Fauré's works during this early period. The importance of the recital culture in Boston, as well as the growing interest in French music there, contributed to the regular exposure of local audiences to the music of Fauré and his colleagues through the performances of noted musicians (e.g., Loeffler, Fox, etc.) as well as those by local amateurs and students. Such recitals

[111] For instance, "Après un rêve" and "Chanson d'Amour" (as well as "Pie Jesu" from the Requiem) are included in Richard Walters, ed., *Standard Vocal Literature – An Introduction to Repertoire: Soprano* (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corp., 2005). The volume for mezzo soprano within the same series includes "Mandoline" and "Clair de lune"; see Richard Walters, ed., *Standard Vocal Literature – An Introduction to Repertoire: Mezzo-Soprano* (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corp., 2005). "Puisque j'ai mis ma lêvre," "Les berceaux," "Le secret," "Aurore," "Nocturne," and "En prière" appear in John Glenn Paton, ed., *Gateway to French Mélodies: an Anthology* (Van Nuys, CA: Alfred Publishing Company, 2012). Adam Webb discusses "Lydia" and "Nell" in terms of the pedagogical value of elements such as melodic style and range, as well as the simplicity of formal structure and "supportive accompaniment"; see Adam Webb, "Art Songs for Tenor: a Pedagogical Analysis of Art Songs for the Tenor Voice," (DMA diss., University of Iowa, 2012), esp. 108–09. Fauré's *mélodies* in general are included in Frank Daykin, *Encyclopedia of French Art Song: Fauré, Debussy, Ravel, Poulenc* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2013).

[112] Among the many American singers who have recorded Fauré's *mélodies* are Eileen Farrell (*Eileen Farrell Sings French and Italian Songs*, Columbia Records B0081JZQV0, LP, 1963), Kathleen Battle (*Kathleen Battle in Concert*, Deutsche Grammophon B000001GNP, CD, 1995), and Renée Fleming (*Night Songs*, Decca B000V6S3P2, CD, 2001). The Jazz Fauré Project has recorded Fauré's *mélodies* in jazz arrangement, favorably reviewed by Jean-Michel Nectoux. See *The Jazz Fauré Project: French Impressionism Meets American Jazz*, http://www.jazzfaure.com/ (accessed August 7, 2015); albums include *Au Bord de l'Eau,* CD Baby B000KP75GC, CD, 2006, and *By the River Bank*, Maison Clobert B005FYCDQU, CD, 2011.

contributed to the expansion of the performance repertoire, and offered regular opportunities for critical discussions of Fauré and modern French music in general**.** However, beyond the recital hall, performances of Fauré's large-scale choral and orchestral works were delivering his music to an even broader audience, as we will see in the following chapters.

Chapter 4

Early Performances of Fauré's Works in Boston and the Surrounding Area (1892–1925): *The Birth of Venus,* op. 29

Today, Fauré's reputation is perhaps most closely associated with his Requiem, although it was not introduced to American audiences as a concert piece until the 1930s. (As a sacred work, it was given as part of a Lenten service in Newton, Massachusetts, in 1930; additionally, a Boston newspaper article of 1948 refers to a liturgical performance of the work at the city's Old South Church as early as 1914, but as yet I have been unable to confirm with more secure evidence that this actually took place.[1]) Previous literature has discussed the celebrated rendition by the Boston Symphony Orchestra (BSO) under the direction of Nadia Boulanger, as guest conductor, in 1938, as the first important American performance of this work, in some cases overlooking an earlier performance at the beginning of the decade, given in Philadelphia by students of the Curtis Institute in 1931.[2] Several of Fauré's shorter choral works were performed in Boston much

[1] See "More Lenten Services," *Daily Boston Globe*, March 8, 1930, 6. In an article that advertises a performance of the Requiem at the same church during the Lenten season of 1948, the writer confidently states that the piece "…was virtually unknown in Boston when first performed by the Old South choir in the spring of 1914." See Bertha A. Peppeard, "Crowds Attending 'Crusade for Christ' at Tremont Temple," *Daily Boston Globe*, March 13, 1948, 6. Unfortunately the archives of the church at the Congregational Library in Boston do not record the names of every musical work performed there for the 1914 Lenten season, although there were certainly a number of special musical services that could conceivably have included the Requiem; similarly, while the Boston newspapers itemize by title some of the works performed at the church, in other cases the musical content of services is alluded to only in general terms.

[2] The concert was given in Philadelphia on April 19, 1931, as was referred to as the "first known concert performance of the Requiem in America." Curtis Institute, *Recital Programs 1930–31, Third Season of Chamber Music Concerts by Artist-Students*, April 19, 1931; a performance by the same ensemble was broadcast the following week. See John S. Daggett, "Concert Music Tops Radio List," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1931, A7. The students performed it again the following year at Carnegie Hall in New York on January 29, 1932. Michael Steinberg refers to this performance in his discussion of the Fauré Requiem in Michael Steinberg, *Choral Masterworks, A Listener's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 131–37. The Boston premiere of the Requiem as a concert piece was given by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, directed by Nadia Boulanger, in Symphony Hall on February 18, 1938. See "Boston's Orchestra Conducted by Woman," *The New York Times*, February 19, 1938, 18.

earlier, including *Le ruisseau*, op. 22, *Madrigal*, op. 35, and *Ave verum corpus*, op. 65, no 1.[3] In fact, *Madrigal* was performed twice in close succession by the Choral Art Society under the direction of Wallace Goodrich (1902 and 1903); this ensemble also gave the first two performances of *Le ruisseau* (1903 and 1906), which was later performed by the Musical Art Club Chorus in 1911 under the direction of Chalmers Clifton, and in 1922 by the New England Conservatory Women's Chorus.[4] Of Fauré's other choral works that are frequently performed today, I have not yet located any public performance in this country of Fauré's award-winning student work, the *Cantique de Jean Racine*, op. 11, before 1970, although an American edition was published by Broude Brothers in New York in 1952, and recordings of it were broadcast on radio programs as early as 1957.[5] This is surprising, given not only its early chronology within Fauré's oeuvre, but its enduring popularity today among professional, amateur, and student choral ensembles. However, even more surprising than the late addition of the *Cantique de Jean Racine* is the significant presence, decades earlier, of another choral work by Fauré that actually

[3] *Le ruisseau*, op. 22 (1881) is a setting of an anonymous text, for soprano and alto voices. Fauré dedicated this work to Pauline Roger, the director of a female choir in Paris. The *Madrigal*, op. 35 (1883) is a setting for SATB chorus, featuring a text by one of Fauré's preferred French poets, Armand Silvestre (1837–1901). For a brief discussion of these works, see Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 106–08. *Ave verum corpus*, op. 65, no. 1, is the first of two motets for female voices in this opus. Lucille Sisson (soprano) and Genevieve Sisson (alto) Sleeper Hall, NEC (January 25, 1902). I have not located evidence of any performance of the second motet of op. 65, *Tantum ergo*, and this appears to have been the sole performance of *Ave verum corpus* during this period.

[4] *Le ruisseau* was performed at least four times between 1903 and 1922: Choral Art Society, dir. Wallace Goodrich, Chickering Hall (March 30, 1903); Choral Art Society, dir. Wallace Goodrich, Jordan Hall (March 30, 1906); Musical Art Club Chorus, dir. Chalmers Clifton, Jordan Hall (March 1, 1911); New England Conservatory Women's Chorus, Jordan Hall (May 12, 1922). *Madrigal*, op. 35 was performed at least twice during this period: Choral Art Society, dir. Wallace Goodrich, Chickering Hall (April 30, 1902); Choral Art Society, dir. Wallace Goodrich, Jordan Hall (December 18, 1903).

[5] See Gabriel Fauré, *Cantique de Jean Racine* (New York: Broude Brothers Limited, 1952). The New York Camerata Singers performed the *Cantique de Jean Racine* under the direction of Abraham Kaplan, Philharmonic Hall (January 11, 1970). The diverse programs listed in the advertisements suggest that the radio broadcasts were most likely recordings rather than live performances. For example, see Edward Barry, "FM Listeners' Choice," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 27, 1957, F9; Fauré was the featured composer that week, and several radio programs included the *Cantique de Jean Racine*, as well as the Requiem, the Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, and the Second Piano Quintet. *The New York Times* published a review of a new recording of Fauré's choral works by the Chorus of Radio-Télévision Française and Orchestre des Champs-Elysées, dir. D. E. Inghelbrecht; the recording features the Requiem, as well as the *Cantique de Jean Racine*, op. 11, *Madrigal*, op. 35, and *Pavane*. op. 50. See "Some Comment in Brief," *The New York Times*, January 13, 1957, X16, and Gabriel Fauré, *Fauré Requiem and Choral Pieces*, Chorus of Radio-Télévision Française and Orchestre des Champs-Elysées, dir. D. E. Inghelbrecht, Ducretet-Thomson DTL 93083, LP, 1957.

reached its peak of popularity during the composer's lifetime, only to have fallen into a state of near neglect today: *The Birth of Venus* (*La Naissance de Vénus*, op. 29), a through-composed cantata, or "mythological ode" (*scène mythologique*) as it was published, for chorus, soloists, and accompaniment.[6] This work is rarely performed today; however, because it was *The Birth of Venus* that first developed a life of its own in the Boston area as early as 1902, with vastly different results in terms of Fauré's long-term American reception compared to other works, especially the Requiem, its curious reception is worthy of individual examination.[7] This chapter examines the early American reception of *The Birth of Venus*, highlighting its premiere at the Worcester Music Festival of 1902 and tracing its legacy through the next two decades. Private meeting notes from the festival archives and public newspaper coverage underline the importance of *Venus* at this particular event, while reviews of the work itself foretell its eventual neglect, and its passing into obscurity in a city that once knew the piece well.

La Naissance de Vénus (1882) is situated chronologically between the *Cantique de Jean Racine*, op. 11., which Fauré composed while a student at the École Neidermeyer in 1865, and the Requiem, op. 48, which he completed in 1900 through various stages of composition.[8] Fauré composed *Vénus* as a commission for the Société chorale d'amateurs at the request of Antonin Guillot de Sainbris, and it was this ensemble that gave the premiere performance the following

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[6] First published as Gabriel Fauré, *La Naissance de Vénus*, op. 29, Scène mythologique (Paris: Hamelle, 1883).

[7] The *Birth of Venus* was performed in a student concert at the New England Conservatory under the direction of Wallace Goodrich, April 9, 1902; the first public performance was given at the Worcester Music Festival, October 3, 1902, again under the direction of Goodrich.

[8] Fauré composed most of his choral works before 1900. In addition to *La Naissance de Vénus*, op. 29, the secular works include most notably the *Madrigal*, op. 35 (1883), *Le ruisseau*, op. 22 (1881), *Les djinns*, op. 12 (1875), and the choral setting of the *Pavane*, op. 50 (1891); sacred works include the motets *Ave Verum* and *Tantum Ergo*, of op. 65 (1894), and the popular *Cantique de Jean Racine*, op. 11 (1865). Works composed after 1900 include individual settings of *Tantum Ergo* (1904) and *Ave Maria*, op. 93 (1906). (This is a third setting of the "Tantum Ergo" text, following one for tenor solo, op. 55 (1893), and another for three treble soloists and chorus, as the second motet in the above-mentioned op. 65.) Among the choral works not published during Fauré's life is the motet *Super flumina Babylonis* See Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 10.

year at a private concert of the Société nationale de musique, with Fauré, César Franck, and M. Maton providing the accompaniment on three pianos.[9] This performance initiated an active performance life for *Vénus* in Europe, as it quickly gained popularity within Fauré's circle through numerous private performances in Paris and London. Its broader reception was stimulated by the first public performance in France at one of the popular Concerts Colonne (dir. Edouard Colonne) in 1895 with orchestral accompaniment prepared specifically for the event, and in England three years later, at the Leeds Festival, at which a chorus of four hundred voices, soloists, and a large orchestra performed under the direction of Fauré himself.[10] Fauré must have thought very highly of *Vénus*; he selected it for performance in 1913 at a high-profile concert given at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées in Paris, which also featured popular works of Saint-Saëns, d'Indy, Debussy, and Dukas.[11] Although *Vénus* has not enjoyed the same long-term recognition as *L'Après-midi d'un faune* and *L'Apprenti Sorcier*, which were both performed on that program, its presence amid works such as these suggests its potential as a stand-alone composition in the context of a large-scale public concert.

La Naissance de Vénus had been available in vocal score with a simplified piano accompaniment since its publication in Paris by Hamelle in 1883, but it was the English edition by Schirmer in 1900 as *The Birth of Venus* that facilitated performances in America by making it

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[9] Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 69.

[10] Concerts of contemporary music were given by Édouard Colonne's orchestra at the Théâtre du Châtelet beginning in 1873. In a brief discussion of *La Naissance de Vénus* Nectoux includes performances given at the residence of Frederick Brunning Maddison and his wife Adela (Hyde Park, 1898), as well as one given in Paris to which the Countess Greffuhle was invited by Fauré (Paris, 1899). See Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 107. In a further discussion of the concert at Leeds, Nectoux quotes Fauré's response to the performance: "…an 'excellent, 400-strong choir of a caliber I'd never dreamt of. I'm still astonished at the accuracy and expressive detail in their performance." See ibid., 282. Orledge includes a quotation from Fauré regarding this performance, which refers to the orchestra of one hundred players. See Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 69.

[11] The concert of modern French works was given at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées on April 2, 1913. In addition to Fauré's *La Naissance de Vénus*, the program included Saint-Saëns's *Phaeton*, d'Indy's *Wallenstein*, Debussy's *Après-midi d'un faun*, and Dukas's *L'apprenti sorcier.* This concert occurred not long after the premiere of Fauré's opera *Pénélope,* given at the same theater earlier that year.

more accessible to amateur choral societies, just as it had been intended for the Société chorale d'amateurs in Paris.[12] The thriving presence of choral music in this country since the inception of the Handel and Haydn Society in 1815 established a prime environment for *The Birth of Venus* in a musical culture that highly valued choral works such as Handel's *Messiah* and Mendelssohn's *Job*, and new works were constantly in demand. This performance marked the beginning of an unusual life for this composition in the Boston-area, which extended over the next two decades, only to disappear essentially from existence in the performance repertoire. While some scholars are aware of *Venus*, and it has been included in some studies of choral music (most notably, Carlo Caballero discusses it in his chapter on Fauré's choral works in the volume *Ninteenth-Century Choral Music* [2013]), it is by no means well-known by the general audience or even serious choral musicians today, despite its vivid entrance into the American performance culture in the early-twentieth century.[13] Almost as quickly as this work found its footing in America it faded nearly into obscurity, and is now almost entirely overlooked in favor of the Requiem, the *Cantique de Jean Racine*, and other popular works.

Vénus received its American public premiere as *The Birth of Venus* in 1902 at the Worcester Music Festival, in the most high-profile concert featuring a work by Fauré thus far, and one that predates the notable American premieres of Fauré's orchestral works at Symphony Hall by two years. The Worcester Music Festival was established in 1858 under the auspices of

[12] Gabriel Fauré, *The Birth of Venus*, op. 29, trans. Theodore Baker (New York: Schirmer, 1900). Both editions (Hamelle and Schirmer) were published as piano-vocal scores; the orchestral score has not been published. The only difference between the two editions is the language of the text; the music is identical in both vocal parts and the accompaniment. The Schirmer edition remains the only English edition of this work to date; a reprint of this edition was issued by Nadu Press in 2012.

[13] See Carlo Caballero, "Gabriel Fauré," in *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, ed. Donna M. di Grazia (New York: Routledge, 2013), 284–304.

the Worcester County Music Association, led by Edward Hamilton and Benjamin F. Baker.[14] While Boston and New York were in the process of developing into what would eventually become the primary centers of American musical culture, there was also a significant amount of musical activity in the cities of Worcester and Springfield, Massachusetts.[15] (See Chapter 2) Their relatively central location and their proximity to the surrounding states made these cities a logical place to hold concerts and develop a regular audience base. Worcester, located almost exactly halfway between Boston and Springfield, was particularly attractive to culture-seekers in New England; the city was thriving financially due to the industrial enterprises that were located there and the growing population of those actively pursuing careers in the mechanical fields. Community interest in the arts had been stimulated by the financial contributions of wealthy individuals over the years; however, it was the ongoing support of the Worcester County Mechanics' Association, established in 1842, that helped to foster cultural endeavors within the city, particularly through its funding of the construction of Mechanics Hall in 1857, a venue still revered today for its phenomenal acoustics, and its support of the Worcester Music Festival, established the following year.[16]

The annual festival was typically held over four days in October and featured a series of seven unique programs given in Mechanics Hall; each concert was preceded by a public rehearsal at a lower ticket cost.[17] Ticket prices in 1902 ranged between fifty cents and $2.50

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[14] For a history of the Worcester Music Festival beginning in 1797, see Raymond Morin, *The Worcester Music Festival, It's* [sic] *Background and History 1858–1976* (Worcester, MA: Commonwealth Press, 1976), 1–6. This is an expanded edition of Morin's original volume (1946) published through the Worcester County Musical Association.

[15] For a discussion of the early musical activities in Western Massachusetts see ibid., 7–12.

[16] Ibid., 1–6.

[17] The practice of offering two performances of the same program (one as a "public rehearsal" at a lower ticket price and the other as a formal performance) was later adopted by the Boston Symphony Orchestra as part of their Friday afternoon/Saturday evening concert schedule. Today, the Festival is held not over the course of four days, rather as a concert series that extends throughout the traditional concert season (September through May), but is committed to maintaining its long-standing tradition within New England's concert culture.

(approximately $14.00 to $71.00 today), and, coupled with the expenses of travel, room, and board, with the exception of those living in or very close to the city, the festival was quite expensive and thus largely associated with the upper-class elite.[18] It was considered an important post-summer social and cultural occasion, attended by noteworthy members of society who were as eager to be seen attending the festival as they were to hear the musical offerings. (Many of the newspaper and journal articles focus at least partly on the social elements of the festival, including the notable attendees, fashions, conversations overheard.[19]) From the beginning the repertoire was essentially that of a "pops" concert series, affording the audiences a chance to hear traditional and modern orchestral works, popular opera excerpts, art song selections, and chamber works performed by world-class soloists, and choral works performed by a massive four-hundred member amateur Worcester Music Festival chorus. The chorus, composed primarily of amateur singers from throughout New England, was especially well-known for its immense performances of traditional and new choral works; the large-scale performances in Worcester were given in the style of the Leeds Festival.[20]

The original goal of the festival was "to improve the 'taste of singers and listeners of sacred music' and to 'increase the knowledge of works by the great masters'."[21] This scope was

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[18] Ticket prices for the individual concerts were widely advertised in area newspapers and American music journals, and in the official bulletin published in August that year. See Charles M. Bent, *Bulletin, Worcester Music Festival 1902*, August 22, 1902, Worcester Music Festival Archives, Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[19] For example, see "New Honors Won by Participants in the Festival on Artists' Night," *Worcester Daily Spy*, October 4, 1902, 1, 5.

[20] It was the immense performance of *La Naissance de Vénus* at Leeds in 1898 that was approximated four years later in its American premiere as *The Birth of Venus* in Worcester.

[21] See "The Worcester Festival," *Local Legacies*, accessed May 7, 2013, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/legacies/MA/200003094.html. The name of this festival changed a number of times during its earliest years from the Worcester County Musical Convention (1863) to the Worcester County Musical Association (1877), finally settling on the Worcester Music Festival (1902). See Morin, *The Worcester Musical Festival*, passim. In keeping with the first portion of the original goal on a very broad scale, a resident Festival chorus was established, and was composed of approximately four hundred amateur members from the surrounding area. The festival orchestra first included a blend of amateur and professional performers, and was later drawn exclusively from the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

soon expanded to include both sacred and secular vocal works, instrumental music, and works not only by the great masters, but also by newer composers at home and abroad. The festival programming committee prided itself on including a number of novelty works in addition to the familiar "standard" works, carefully balanced to stimulate interest and ticket sales. It was at these festivals that the audiences first encountered many works that would otherwise be entirely unknown to them. With each passing year, a strong interest in the so-called "novelty" works developed among festival audiences and in many ways became as important to the success of the festival as the presence of the familiar classical works. For instance, Horatio Parker's cantata *Hora Novissima* (1893) was presented at the festival for the first time in 1898, and three more times in the following decade, adding this modern choral work by an American composer to the list of standard repertoire.[22] The festival also became an important vehicle for American premieres of music by modern European composers, and from the 1870s onward, a growing interest in French music is documented through the numerous works by French composers that were regularly included on these programs; the presence of a variety of selections by Saint-Saëns, Massenet, Guilmant, Chabrier, Rameau, and Franck reflects the increasing Francophile cultural interests actively promoted by Boston-area musicians and patrons during this era.[23] In fact, Franck's cantata *The Beatitudes* was performed on two consecutive years, 1900 and 1901, which led directly in to the American premiere of *The Birth of Venus* the following year.

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[22] For a brief discussion of the performance in 1899 see William Kerns, *Horatio Parker, 1863–1919: His Life, Music, and Ideas* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1990), 42. *Hora Novissima* was also performed at the Worcester Music Festival in 1900, 1902 (the same year as *The Birth of Venus*), and 1907. Programs are held in the Worcester Music Festival Archives, Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[23] The pieces by Saint-Saëns as printed in the Worcester Music Festival programs included the symphonic poems *Phaéton* (1884, 1888), *The Dance of Death* (1876, 1894), *Rouet d'Omphale* (1892, 1899), Concerto No. 2 (Piano) (1881), Concerto for Violoncello (1891), The Nineteenth Psalm (1888), *Bénédiction Nuptiale* (1892), *Samson and Delilah* (1893, 1894, 1897), Rondo Capriccioso (Violin) (1893), and Prelude (*The Deluge*) (1901); those by Massenet included Overture (*Phedre*) (1892 and 1901), *Vision Fugitive* (1892), *O Promise of a Joy Divine* (1892), and an aria from *Herodiade* (1901); Guilmant's Symphony for Organ and Orchestra was performed in 1882 and 1885. See "Repertoire of the Concerts," in Worcester Music Festival concert program, 1902, Seventh Concert (October 3, 1902), Worcester Music Festival Archives, Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts.

There was a great deal at stake for the very existence of the festival in 1902, thus the selection of Fauré's cantata for this particular year is particularly notable. Although the festival was well-advertised in the major American newspapers and was, by now, considered a New England tradition, the instability of profits in the years preceding caused understandable concern among the festival committee members. The financial results of the previous year's festival had been especially disappointing; the combination of increased ticket prices and the last-minute cancelation of a top-billing singer resulted in unexpectedly low attendance and a striking net loss of $2158.86 (approximately $62,000 today), a significant increase in the already troubling loss of $699.22 (approximately $20,300) in 1900, both following a profit of $346.86 (approximately $10,200) in 1899.[24] A further contributing factor in the decreased profits was the establishment of new music festivals in the northeast, such as the Maine Music Festival, which was held at the same time as the Worcester Music Festival and created competition for audience members as well as performing artists.[25] While the primary goal of the festival was not specifically to make a large profit, it was still not an appealing prospect to continue by making deficits. Not surprisingly, what was immediately feared to be a trend toward financial loss in Worcester led to extreme concerns regarding the future of the festival, and various members of the board seriously considered the possibility of discontinuing the event for the immediate years, or even permanently, if a reasonable solution to restore its success could not be found. These conversations were not concealed from the public, which was made very much aware of the

[24] Financial records for the festival (1896–1907) were maintained by George R. Bliss, Treasurer, in the *Record of Earnings and Expenses*, Worcester Music Festival Archives, Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[25] Other musical events in the Northeast, such as the Maine Music Festival (1897–1926), competed for audiences who traveled to the area to partake of the musical offerings and would be forced to choose between them. By positioning the Worcester Festival one week earlier, the goal was to restore the strong audience presence of earlier iterations of the event, and also to ensure that the high-demand performing artists would be available. The Maine Music Festival typically included two sets of concerts, one in Bangor and another in Portland. It was considered modeled after the National Peace Jubilee concerts in Boston (June 15, 1869), although the parallelisms between the musical content of the Worcester Music Festival and the Maine Music Festival and the similar scheduling as an annual event are notable. See "Maine Music Festival," *The Boston Journal*, September 15, 1897, 5.

special attention given to the festival that year through reports in *Musical America* and other publications in hopes of reinvigorating their interest in the festival. However, the urgent nature of this event is especially evident in the reports of area newspapers as the opening of the festival approached. An article printed on the front page of the *Worcester Sunday Spy* the day before the festival opened reiterates the importance of this year's success: "The question of supporting the Worcester Music Festival is now paramount. Whether the grand old institution is to survive or perish will be known when the receipts of next week's concerts are figured."[26] A direct appeal was made to local readers:

> There is a chance to make up for this by a steady demand for single tickets and all music lovers as well as every one who has the pride of the city at heart earnestly hope that next week will be the most successful, the brightest, most thoroughly satisfying in every way of any week in local festival history.[27]

The article stresses the importance of formal patronage as well as ticket sales to local residents, while promoting the consistently high-quality programs the festival committee creates, particularly its success in pleasing audiences of diverse musical tastes. The enormity of the event—the opportunity to hear members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in a much larger overall context, and closer to home for the potential local audience members, the imposing chorus of four hundred singers, and the world-class solo performers—are emphasized as significant points of interest to draw a large audience.[28]

Because the future of the festival depended almost entirely on the success of the 1902 event, the responsibility of designing a program and selecting performers with the greatest potential for a successful outcome was of the utmost importance. With this in mind, the program

[26] "Worcester's Festival in Its Critical Stage," *Worcester Daily Spy*, September 28, 1902, 1.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

committee selected well-known works such as Beethoven's *Leonore* No. 3 overture; Wagner overtures; symphonies by Franck, Saint-Saëns, and Tchaikovsky, Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, Horatio Parker's oratorio *Hora Novissima*, which had already been performed a number of times in the United States and Europe, and Fauré's *The Birth of Venus* in its American public premiere.[29] It was committee member Arthur J. Bassett who recommended *Venus* for the festival following a performance at a private concert given by New England Conservatory students in April that year under the directorship of Wallace Goodrich; Bassett had served as accompanist.[30] Given the tense circumstances surrounding the 1902 festival, it was a bold decision to select an unknown piece by a composer such as Fauré, whose name was perhaps not as instantly familiar to the mainstream audience who would travel to the area for the festival as Saint-Saëns or Franck. As one critic asserted in his discussion of the financial burden this particular event faced following the previous year's deficit, "Musicians might journey from New York and Boston to hear the first performance in America of the 'Beatitudes,' but the people would be far better pleased to hear Melba sing the Mad Song from 'Lucia.'"[31] The writer is referring to Franck's cantata, first performed in the U.S. at the 1900 festival, and again the following year, perhaps in a thinly-veiled reference to the inclusion of Fauré's cantata this year. Nevertheless, the committee voted on April 24, 1902 to include *Venus* on the festival program, and authorized the purchase of four hundred copies of the vocal score the same day.[32] The festival committee

[29] Parker was Professor of Music Theory at Yale at the time of this festival; his musical works were considered a significant contribution to the developing American school of composition, and the cantata *Hora Novissima* had inspired particular interest in this country since its premiere in New York in 1893.

[30] "Unique in Character: Recital at N. E. Conservatory of Music," *Boston Daily Globe*, April 10, 1902, 3.

[31] R. R. G., "Worcester Music Festival, Brilliant Finale of a Week of Music,"*Boston Evening Transcript*, October 4, 1902, 24. He is referring to the Australian soprano Dame Nellie Melba, whose successful performances in Europe and America associated her with the "Mad Scene" from *Lucia di Lammermoor*.

[32] From the Worcester Music Festival meeting notes from April 24, 1902: "Voted: That 'The Birth of Venus' by Gabriel Fauré reported by the Program Committee be performed at the festival of 1902." The follow-up entry reads, "Voted: That the Chairman of the Executive Committee be authorized to purchase 400 copies of Gabriel Fauré's 'Birth of Venus.'" Worcester Music Festival Archives, Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts.

released its public bulletin announcing the highlights of the upcoming program, including a specific reference to "Faure's [sic] beautiful work, 'The Birth of Venus,' which will receive its first public performance in America upon this occasion";[33] additionally, it explains a significant change made in the festival procedures, the dividing of conducting tasks between two conductors for the first time to relieve the intensity of conducting marathon rehearsals and concerts over four days.[34] (Wallace Goodrich was elected to conduct the choral works, and Franz Kneisl for the orchestral works)

As preparations for the event progressed throughout the summer, updates appeared regularly in American newspapers and journals regarding the musical selections, the soloists who would appear, and the general sense of nervous anticipation regarding the success of the event. The fact that *Venus* would be heard in its public American premiere meant that particular attention was given to it in the hope of sparking the readers' interest in this "interesting novelty" even before the start of the festival; the added significance of Goodrich's first appearance as conductor at the festival, and the excitement regarding the appearance of four popular soloists: American singers, soprano Suzanne Adams, contralto Gertrude May Stein, tenor George Hamlin, and the visiting Italian bass Giuseppe Campanari, who were engaged to perform in *Venus* and other select works on the festival, contributed to the hearty publicity surrounding this work. Adams and Campanari were of particular interest, and *The Worcester Daily Spy* printed individual feature stories that summer on both singers, whose names were instantly connected to *Venus* through this publicity.[35] While this type of celebrity status could certainly inspire curiosity in the piece, others sought to promote Fauré's music for its own attributes. For instance, a writer

[33] Worcester Music Festival, Public Bulletin (1902), Worcester Music Festival Archives, Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[34] Ibid.

[35] See "Out and About: Suzanne Adams," *The Worcester Spy*, July 9, 1902, 15; and "Out and About: Giuseppe Campanari," *The Worcester Spy*, August 9, 1902, 7.

for the *Springfield Sunday Republican* describes the music of *Venus*, using the performance given at the New England Conservatory as a point of reference, and offers a tempered assessment of the potential for its success at the festival later that year:

> The workmanship shown in the composition has resulted in excellent music, full of pretty episodes and light and shade, while austerity prevails over any communicative emotion. The pupils sang at the presentation in Boston, and it is a trifle hard to judge by what they made of it just what impression the work would convey to a festival audience as sung by the more mature festival chorus and soloists. The chances are that it will appeal strongly to musicians. It is absolutely modern and represents the French school, although Faure [sic] approaches the German symphonic school.[36]

While it is clear that the author was not necessarily convinced by the student performance of *Venus* he expresses hope for its success in the context of the festival. His careful phrasing in the final sentence addresses readers who associate their individual tastes with Wagner and other widely popular German composers, as well as those who follow the more modern trends, and specifically the music of French composers, such as Fauré. While many concert-goers would have certainly encountered Fauré's music by this time, especially those in the Boston area, the author makes a concerted effort to acquaint his readers with the composer himself, offering significant biographical information, including his awards and honors, his position at the Madeleine church and his standing as "the leading organist of France," and his close association with Saint-Saëns, a name also regularly present on concert and recital programs in the Boston area at this time.[37] The significance of these points would have been familiar to those well-versed in the world of modern French music, and the author's implication that anyone who considers

[36] "'The Birth of Venus,' by Faure, to be Given at Worcester," *Springfield Sunday Republican*, June 1, 1902, 15.

Regarding Fauré's approach to the Germanic school, Robert Orledge has observed a similarity in harmonic language between this particular piece and that of Wagner, specifically *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. See Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 69.

[37] The BSO had performed works by Saint-Saëns since the earliest days of the ensemble and frequently included at least one symphony, concerto, or other large work during the regular concert season.

himself a musician should certainly enjoy *Venus* further suggests its potential for a positive reception.[38]

The Birth of Venus was scheduled for October 3, the final concert of the festival; advertised as an "Artists' Night," this concert held the highest individual ticket price of the festival series at $2.50 (approximately $71.00 today) compared to the other concert tickets ranging between $1.00 and $2.00 (approximately $28.00 and $58.00), and the public rehearsal tickets at $.50 (approximately $14.00) each.[39] *Venus* was performed along with Berlioz's *Roman Carnival* Overture, arias by Verdi, Tchaikovsky, Puccini, Strauss, and Stern, a portion of Rubinstein's *Hungarian Vine* ballet, and Wagner's *Tannhäuser* Overture.[40] This eclectic blend of new and familiar works promised an exciting conclusion to the festival, although the positioning of any new work such as *Venus* this late in the event could either work to its benefit, or it could be detrimental to its preliminary reception. One the one hand, there was the overall excitement and energy leading to the culmination of the event, especially when the program featured arias performed by the superb soloists also engaged for *Venus*; on the other hand, the fatigued performers were perhaps no longer at their best, and though many committed audience members did attend all seven concerts, others departed early. A point that is often raised in discussions of the Worcester Music Festival and other similar events is that to have so many concerts over four days is "artistically abnormal," although very typical of a festival of this sort.[41] Nevertheless, although Mechanics Hall was not filled to capacity for that final concert, as is observed in the

[38] "'The Birth of Venus,' by Faure, to Be Given at Worcester."

[39] Bent, Bulletin, Worcester Music Festival 1902.

[40] Worcester Music Festival concert program, 1902, Seventh Concert (October 3, 1902), 11.

[41] See "Music Festival Ended," *The New York Times*, October 4, 1902, 8. Many concert-weary audience members who had traveled from distant cities to attend the festival possibly departed for home before the final concert, which would have contributed to the lower attendance rate. The concerts were generally quite lengthy, and the audiences were likely exhausted by the grandness of the overall experience by the end of the festival, something that is evident in newspaper reports that assert that "seven concerts in four days are too many." (See ibid.)

review the following day, there was certainly a hearty and enthusiastic audience for this especially anticipated "Artists' Night," an event not to be missed. In the case of *Venus*, the superb soloists and an imposing chorus of four-hundred singers, and the full orchestral accompaniment all promised an effect similar to the performance observed at the Leeds Festival in 1898;[42] yet, the performance at Worcester was met with mixed reviews. On the front page of the *Worcester Daily Spy*, the subheading headline announces, "Faure's 'The Birth of Venus' Well Conducted," although the author expresses a general disappointment in the cantata as well as the performance of it:

> Faure's "Birth of Venus" was the only part of the program which did not surpass previous efforts. It was by no means poorly given but the chorus sang with entirely too much fear of being heard and seemed to hesitate in several places. This, after the magnificent work in the "Hora Novissima" was rather disappointing. The artists, too, were not at their best in "The Birth of Venus." Even Campanari was not so familiar with his part as to escape unscathed. Once he substituted one word for another which slightly disconcerted him. Mme. Stein's solo, though sung well, was not the sort that stirs an audience.[43]

In another review of this concert, H. E. Krehbiel remarks on the consistently inadequate rehearsal time at the festivals in general, particularly regarding the preparation of the chorus, although he considers the talented soloists to be largely at fault in this case.[44] Yet Krehbiel takes his criticism a step further and asserts that *The Birth of Venus* was not merely performed poorly, but the composition itself is "inconsequential" and stood as the notable exception in an otherwise well-designed program.[45] Unfortunately, this is an assessment that would be reiterated to varying degrees over the next several years. However, the critic R. R. Gardner presents a far more

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[42] David Ewen comments on the fondness of American audiences during this period for "mammoth orchestras and Gargantuan choruses." See Ewen, *Music Comes to America*, 9.

[43] See "New Honors Won by Participants in the Festival on Artists' Night," 1.

[44] H. E. Krehbiel, "The Worcester Festival in America," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 43, no. 717 (November 1, 1902): 748–49.

[45] Ibid., 749.

positive response to the composition, and actively applauds the music, if not the performance itself. He suggests, "Fauré's 'Birth of Venus' is evidently a gem of charming, graceful melody, and exquisite orchestration. It is not, however, for the Worcester chorus, which is far too large and not yet competent, to do work necessary for such a composition.[46] Philip Hale agrees, and his review in *The Boston Morning Journal* offers a similar response to *Venus* and elucidates this point: "The characteristics that make [Fauré] conspicuous among modern composers are found in this 'Birth of Venus,' which is a work for a small hall, a small and carefully chosen band of singers, a small and fresh orchestra, and an audience of friends."[47] It is possible that he was unaware of Fauré's original intentions for this cantata as a large-scale performance work, and he does not mention the Leeds Festival performance; however, considering how many critics, including Hale, often discussed Fauré's music in the context of "salon" style, it is not especially surprising to read this prescription for performance, which cites the very elements often associated with a salon concert. (Hale mentions the performance at NEC the preceding season, but it is unclear whether he attended; he does not offer it as a point of comparison in performance style or quality.) Overall, he deems the Worcester performance "not interesting," commenting specifically on the "perfunctory" baritone solo, the moments of inaccuracy that made the music sound unrehearsed, and the fact that both the choral ensemble and the orchestra generally ignored the nuances of the piece. The last point is especially important to Hale, as he refers to Fauré as "pre-eminently a man of nuances," and, likening him to Jean-Antoine Watteau, a "painter in tints and demi tints."[48] Although he considers the performance unsatisfactory, he seems to find the composer's musical style of "gentle melancholy" and "well-bred intensity"

[46] R. R. G., "Worcester Music Festival."

[47] Philip Hale, "Artists' Night, the Future of Worcester Festivals," *Boston Morning Journal*, October 4, 1902, 5.

[48] Ibid.

fitting for the text, which he describes as "a pleasant glimpse of Paganism."[49] (Hale's approval of the text conflicts with later discussions, including that of Jean-Michel Nectoux, who comments specifically on the weakness of the text as a reason for the lack of success of *La naissance de Vénus*.[50]) Regardless of the disagreement among critics over the quality of the performance on that particular evening and the value of the music itself, the audience evidently enjoyed it very much, and "…began to applaud before the chorus had finished singing 'The Birth of Venus.' They liked it so well that they could not wait."[51]

A review of the complete festival was published on October 4 and the event was deemed a "social and artistic success."[52] However, despite everyone's best efforts, the deficit following the 1902 festival actually exceeded that of the previous year, to the total amount of $2330.67 (approximately $65,000 today), nearly $200 ($5,590) more than the 1901 figure that had sparked such concern.[53] Krehbiel, who was generally pleased with the overall effect of the festival, also paints a rather grim picture of its future:

> The skill and zeal of the young conductors resulted in excellent artistic achievements; but atrociously bad weather, coupled with a public apathy, due I fear largely to the fact that no great and popular 'stars' had been engaged for the solo parts, wrought financial loss, and there was much doleful talk during the week of a suspension of the festivals unless some of its wealthy friends should provide it with an ample endowment, so that financial matters might never again disturb the minds of the managers.[54]

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[49] Hale describes the atmosphere of Collin's text: "The earth was young and innocent. Beauty was worshiped [sic] openly; there was no simpering prudery; love was a delight without mystery or concealment; there was no abiding dread of death. Ah, the world went very well then." Ibid.

[50] See Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 107.

[51] See "New Honors Won by Participants in the Festival on Artists' Night," 5. While the general excitement at the end of the lengthy festival might certainly have contributed to this response, the implication is that the audience's enthusiasm was genuine.

[52] Ibid.

[53] See *Record of Earnings and Expenses*, Worcester Musical Festival.

[54] Krehbiel, "The Worcester Festival in America."

(Note: Krehbiel's statement concerning the lack of popular stars conflicts with other articles in the newspapers, as previously discussed.) Considering the genuine possibility of discontinuing the festival if the 1902 event were not entirely successful in financial terms, and in spite of the long-range concerns for continued funding, it might well be considered astonishing that the 1902 Worcester Music Festival was deemed enough of an "artistic and social success" by those closely involved to warrant its continuation the following year. In the post-festival report issued that December, questions are raised concerning where the fault lies in the ongoing "failure" of the festival (i.e., the administration, the performers engaged, or the public), and the recommendation of President Charles Bent is that they should appeal to private donors to provide funding for the following year, and that a festival should not be arranged until such funding could be secured.[55] This "experiment," as it is called in the report, was evidently a success; the festival proceeded according to tradition in 1903, although it would not see a profit again until 1905, in the amount of $91.89 (approximately $2,550), a number that gradually increased in the years that followed.[56] Today, the Worcester Music Festival remains active as the oldest continuously-running music festival in America, and although the concerts are now distributed throughout a full concert season, the concept of the Worcester Music Festival remains a part of New England's musical tradition.[57]

The general success of Fauré's piece as perceived by the festival's audience did not guarantee its immediate or lasting place within the American choral repertoire, although the Worcester Music Festival of 1902 did offer a continuous contribution at least to the short-term legacy of *The Birth of Venus* among choruses in New England and beyond. The four hundred

[55] Charles M. Bent, President, *Post-Festival Report, Worcester County Musical Association*, December 4, 1902, Worcester Music Festival Archives, Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[56] See *Record of Earnings and Expenses*.

[57] At the time of this writing the Worcester Music Festival is in its 156th season. http://www.musicworcester.org/ (accessed August 26, 2015).

copies purchased in 1902 were loaned to a number of ensembles of various sizes over the next two decades, including the New England Conservatory, the Fitchburg Choral Society, the Oratorio Society of Newton, the Manchester Choral Society, the Keene Chorus Club, Massachusetts Institute of Arts & Sciences, and beyond New England, the Sioux City Choral Society and the Chautauqua Institution.[58] In fact, between 1902 and 1924 *The Birth of Venus* was one of the most frequently loaned works in the Worcester Music Festival library, second only to Parker's *Hora Novissima*. Further research will be necessary to determine how many of the above-named ensembles who rented copies of *The Birth of Venus* from the Worcester Music Festival library during that era actually performed it in concert.[59] Today, the Worcester library no longer holds any copies of Fauré's cantata; they were most likely divided and either sold or donated to any number of American libraries, although no record of such a transaction is held in the Worcester Music Festival Archives. This might be viewed as a sort of physical representation of the American existence of *The Birth of Venus*: despite its rather energetic entrance onto the performance scene in the Boston area, it has been largely forgotten in favor of the Fauré Requiem, which has become firmly rooted in the repertoire of American choral ensembles.

Despite its position in the high-profile Worcester Music Festival and its subsequent localized interest among choral ensembles, *The Birth of Venus* struggled to find any place on the concert programs of American choral ensembles, and it was mostly through the continued efforts of Wallace Goodrich that the piece was heard by any other American audiences. (Goodrich's broader interest in Fauré's choral music is evident in that he also conducted *Le ruisseau*, op. 22, with the Choral Art Society on at least two occasions after the premiere of *The Birth of Venus*, as

[58] Luther M. Lovell, *Librarian's Records*, Worcester Music Festival Archives, Mechanics Halls, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[59] An advertisement in the *Fitchburg Sentinel* suggests that *Venus* was likely performed by the Fitchburg Choral Society during the 1923–24 season. See *Fitchburg Sentinel*, October 23, 1923, 4.

previously discussed.) I have located two instances in which *Venus* was performed either in its entirety, or in extract, and one performance that was planned, but never given. In 1905, Goodrich had planned to include it on the Cecilia Society's newly-reinstituted "wage-earners" concerts that year.[60] This would have been the first performance of *Venus* by the ensemble; however, for reasons I have been unable to ascertain, it did not appear on that series despite advertisements that included it on the program list.[61] Three years later, Goodrich directed the Cecilia Society in a performance of *Venus* given in Jordan Hall, where it had first been performed by NEC students in 1902.[62] The concert, which stood as the conclusion to the season for the Cecilia Society, was originally scheduled to be given at Symphony Hall; however, Jordan Hall was deemed a better fit to showcase the abilities of the ensemble.[63] Henry Taylor Parker reviewed the concert for the *Boston Evening Transcript* and, although quite fond of Fauré's music in general his assessment of this one work, which he calls "Fauré's disappointing choral piece," suggests reasons for the failure of *The Birth of Venus* to grow in popularity in the area. Although he places much of the blame on Goodrich's rather stiff conducting style, which yielded a "plodding" effect by the chorus and orchestra, Parker issues this damning statement regarding Fauré's composition itself:

> …there is this dryness, this sense of evaporation in parts of "The Birth of Venus," and the moment in the music when the goddess emerges from the sea and the orchestra speaks the sudden ecstasy of her new-born beauty, seemed singularly pale and thin…Now with Venus upspringing from the foam, [Fauré] is as cool as the spray itself. His Aphrodite—it is easy to suspect—was "born tired."[64]

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[60] "Musical Matters, Wage-Earners Concerts," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 19, 1905, 38.

[61] Ibid.

[62] See "Unique in Character: Recital at the N. E. Conservatory of Music," *Boston Daily Globe*, April 10, 1902, 3.

[63] "Cecilia Society Ends Season Brilliantly," *The Boston Journal*, April 1, 1908, 5.

[64] H. T. P. "Music and Drama: The Cecilia's Concert of Short Pieces," *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 1, 1908, 19.

Parker is certainly not alone in his displeasure with this work. Even Jean-Michel Nectoux, Fauré's primary biographer, suggests, "Fauré probably had Collin's text imposed on him; certainly he does not seem to have been inspired by its wealth of platitudes."[65] While he observes the merits of the instrumental introduction, which he calls "undoubtedly one of Fauré's finest orchestral passages," Nectoux asserts, "... the level of inspiration falls sharply with the appearance of Neptune who, by words alone, provokes the birth of Venus form the spray, and the banality of his bass monologue is unfortunately surpassed in the interminable final chorus, 'Salut à toi, déesse blonde.'"[66] Nectoux's assessment of the cantata, made decades later after those of both Parker and Krehbiel, echoes the overall assessment of his predecessors.

The Cecilia performance of 1908 marks not the beginning of a new choral tradition in Boston with Fauré's music at the center, but rather a long-term neglect of *The Birth of Venus* that in some ways seems to have resulted from this performance. Fifteen years passed before any portion of the piece was included on an advertised concert in Boston, and then only as an excerpt. "Hail, Goddess Ascending" was performed by the famed German soprano Frieda Hempel as part of a concert given by the Harvard Glee Club in Symphony Hall on April 5, 1923.[67] Advertised widely as the Glee Club's last concert of the season, the performance was well-attended due to the combination of the notable venue, the renowned guest soloist, and the continuous popularity of the ensemble. The concert was considered "distinctly successful," and Hempel's performance in particular deemed "ever a delight."[68] However, of the many pieces complimented in concert review, Fauré's piece was one of the few on the program not mentioned

[65] Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 107.

[66] Ibid.

[67] "Music and Musicians: Programs of the Week," *Boston Daily Globe,* April 1, 1923, 53. Frieda Hempel was a frequent soloist with the all-male Harvard Glee Club and was well-known among Boston's audiences throughout the 1920s.

[68] A. B. D. "Glee Club Distinctly Successful in Concert," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 7, 1923.

by name. It certainly did not emerge as a notable selection on this concert, and was not included by Hempel on her performances with the Glee Club in the following years. In fact, this was the last-known inclusion of any portion of *The Birth of Venus* on a high-profile musical event in the city.

The question of programming this work is one to be considered in the discussion of why *The Birth of Venus* has not been widely adopted into the choral literature in this country, or elsewhere, for that matter. The primary practical concern is the duration of the piece; at approximately twenty-four minutes in length, *Venus* falls somewhere between the large-scale sacred works (e.g., requiems, Te Deum settings, masses, etc.) on one end of the spectrum, and the shorter, but substantial in length, free-standing secular works, such as Brahms's *Nänie* and *Schicksalslied*, or even Fauré's own *Madrigal* or *Les Djinns*. Assuming an average length of two sets of forty-five minutes each, with an intermission, *Venus* is not quite long enough to fill an entire half of a traditional concert program as a large-scale sacred work would be, and is perhaps too long to pair easily with other works in a coherent way. The Worcester Music Festival program underlines this point through its inclusion of *Venus* on the first half of an eclectic program that also included opera overtures and several arias. In that case, *Venus* was used to showcase in a different context the solo singers on a carefully-designed program for the "Artists' Night" concert. However, the question of programming is a small obstacle; arguments could certainly be made for creative programming of this work, perhaps on a themed program of mythological texts or music of the sea. The main challenge with this work is that it has simply been neglected for so long that it does not exist in the field of vision of choral directors, singers, and audiences. It is occasionally performed today, and there have been two commercial

recordings made since 2000.[69] Additionally, a reprint of Schirmer's English edition from 1900 was issued by Nabu Press in 2012.[70] It is not beyond the realm of possibility that there is hope for a renaissance, a true "rebirth" of *The Birth of Venus* in the coming years.

[69] Two recordings of *La Naissance de Vénus* include Gabriel Fauré, *Fauré: Requiem, La naissance de Vénus, Cantique de Jean Racine*, Cantillation, with the Sinfonia Australis, dir. Antony Walker, ABC 272045-2, CD, 2000; and Gabriel Fauré, *Requiem, La naissance de Vénus, Pavane*, City of Birmingham Symphony Chorus, with the BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, dir. Yan Pascal Tortelier, Chandos CHAN 10113, CD, 2003. The Sinfonia Australis's recording of the orchestral introduction has also been included on its own as "*La Naissance de Vénus*" on at least two compilation albums: Gabriel Fauré, *In Paradise: The Timeless Music of Fauré*, Sinfonia Australis, dir. Antony Walker, ABC Classics ABC4765328, CD, 2006; and Gabriel Fauré et al., *The Perfect Evening: Recipes and Music, Exquisite French Cuisine and Romantic Music for Dining*, Sinfonia Australis, dir. Antony Walker, ABC Classics ABC4764027, CD, 2010.

[70] Gabriel Fauré, *The Birth of Venus*: Mythological Ode for Soli, Chorus and Orchestra, op. 29 (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2012).

Chapter 5

The Boston Symphony Orchestra and Fauré (1904–1924)

The Boston Symphony Orchestra (BSO) was the most important organization for the dissemination and popularization of Fauré's orchestral works in the United States during this period.[1] While the activities surrounding the early performances of *The Birth of Venus* largely reflect the interest of one choral director, Wallace Goodrich, in this particular large-scale work, Fauré's orchestral music found a more lasting presence in the repertoire of the BSO through the efforts of several conductors. Decades before its historic performance of the *Requiem* directed by Nadia Boulanger in February 1938, it performed several works by Fauré under Wilhelm Gericke, Max Fiedler, Pierre Monteux, Henri Rabaud, and during one notable season, visiting conductor Vincent d'Indy. Because Fauré tended to favor small-scale orchestral genres and did not publish any full-length symphonies or solo concerti, he is not widely known as a composer of large-scale orchestral works; instead, it is through several pieces from the middle part of his career that Fauré gained any recognition among orchestral audiences. Fauré composed several suites, which he extracted from his incidental music for the plays *Pelléas et Mélisande*, *Shylock*, and *Caligula***,** and also the prelude to his only complete opera, *Pénélope*. Of these works, only the *Caligula* music was not performed in Boston during this period. The others were performed at least once,

[1] The Boston Symphony Orchestra followed a rigorous performing schedule that extended beyond its twice-weekly concerts at Symphony Hall (a public rehearsal on Friday afternoon and a formal concert on Saturday evening). The players also traveled on what was known as the BSO's "Southern Tour" performing each month in Philadelphia (Academy of Music), Washington (National Theater), Baltimore (Lyric Theater), New York (Carnegie Hall), and Brooklyn (Academy of Music), approximately in that order. The BSO also performed individual concerts known as the "Ellis Course" in the western-Massachusetts cities of Haverhill (Colonial Theater), Springfield (City Auditorium), Worcester (Mechanics Hall), Lowell (Strand Theater), Lawrence (Colonial Theater), and Northampton (John M. Green Hall). The programs generally mirrored those performed in Boston, although in some cases the program was altered for the touring concerts. For a history of the Boston Symphony Orchestra during this era, see M. A. De Wolfe Howe and John N. Burk, *The Boston Symphony Orchestra, 1881-1931* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931).

and in the case of the Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, numerous times over the span of two decades, and became far better known more as stand-alone concert pieces than as functional stage music.

Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80

The play *Pelléas et Mélisande* by symbolist author Maurice Maeterlinck (1862–1949), inspired several musical settings: in addition to Fauré's incidental music and another set by Jean Sibelius, there is an overture by Cyril Scott, a symphonic poem by Arnold Schoenberg, and of course, an opera by Debussy.[2] Today, the title most likely brings to mind Debussy's opera, which gained a steady popularity in the U.S. over the years following its premiere in New York in 1908. In early discussions, comparisons were naturally made between the two contemporary, yet distinctly varied, French interpretations of Maeterlinck's drama; however, while Debussy's opera became far better known to mainstream audiences in the long run, it was actually Fauré's *Pelléas* music with which American audiences first became acquainted, in both its original context, and as an orchestral suite. (Debussy did not admire in Fauré's music for this play, especially when compared to his own setting.[3]) In fact, this music was heard in Boston multiple times between 1902 and 1925 and was probably Fauré's composition the most familiar to local audiences during that period; the BSO had even included it in two consecutive seasons, its first performance in December 1904, and a year later in a performance conducted by Vincent d'Indy on his first American tour. Additional performances were given in Boston the following years by the BSO as well as by the Boston Opera House Orchestra. (See Appendix 3.)

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[2] Claude Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande* (composed between 1893 and 1902). Gabriel Fauré, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80 (incidental music, 1898; suite 1900). Jean Sibelius, *Pelléas och Mélisande* (incidental music, 1904–05; suite, 1905). Arnold Schoenberg, *Pelleas und Melisande*, op. 5 (symphonic poem, 1902–03). Cyril Scott, Overture to *Pelleas and Melisande*, op. 5 (ca. 1912). See Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 124. In a review of a New York Philharmonic performance of Fauré's Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande* in 2005, the critic refers to Maeterlinck's play as one that "attracted composers like flies to flypaper." See Bernard Holland, "Sorrowful Soliloquies from a Versatile American Voice," *The New York Times*, January 21, 2005, B4. Nectoux observes that Gabriel Fabre is often mistaken for Fauré in discussions of Maeterlinck's *Pelléas et Mélisande.* See Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 149.

[3] See ibid., 150.

Fauré had composed his incidental music in 1898 at the request of popular English actress Beatrice Stella Tanner (1865–1940) (known as Mrs. Patrick Campbell) for her London production of the play; this replaced an existing set composed by the similarly named Gabriel Fabre (1858–1921) for the Paris premiere five years earlier, and was used for American stagings of Maeterlinck's play beginning in 1902.[4] The original score includes seventeen movements, which Fauré, occupied with other responsibilities to the Conservatoire, engaged his student Charles Koechlin to orchestrate; Fauré conducted the premiere in London himself.[5] Nectoux and Orledge have outlined the somewhat complicated nature of the various stages of revisions and publications of the *Pelléas* music, including several transcriptions and adaptations, which I will not consider here.[6] Fauré extracted three movements from the original music for the 1898 production of the play, "Prélude" (*Quasi Adagio*), "Fileuse" (*Andantino quasi Allegretto*, "Spinning Girl"), and "La mort de Mélisande" ("the Death of Mélisande"), and reworked Koechlin's orchestration.[7] In 1909 he added a pre-existing work (the "Sicilienne") to complete

[4] Regarding Gabriel Fabre's original score, Nectoux observes that this composer is often mistaken for Fauré in discussions of Maeterlinck's play. See Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 149. The London premiere with Fauré's music was given at the Prince of Wales' Theatre, with an English translation by historian and author John William Mackail (1859–1945). Maeterlinck very little personal interest in music in general (although he is known to have disliked Debussy's music), and his response to Fauré's music for *Pelléas* is unknown, as Nectoux explains in ibid., 160. Clara Clemens (daughter of Samuel Clemens [Mark Twain]) makes similar remarks regarding Maeterlinck's musical tastes in her discussion of one particular performance of the play. See Clara Clemens, *My Husband, Gabrilowitsch* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1938), 187–88. The playwright's mistress and future wife, however, commented favorably on Fauré's "wonderful, other-worldly atmosphere" in his setting. See Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 160.

[5] Fauré was occupied at the time with the composition of two flute pieces commissioned by the Conservatoire for the purpose of examinations. He revised the *Pelléas* suite for its premiere in Paris at a concert by the Orchestre Lamoureux; this version was also performed the following year in London at a Promenade Concert (directed by H. J. Wood). Further revisions were made by Fauré and others for a variety of performances in the years that followed. Orledge lists nineteen movements as they would have appeared in the context of the play, including an indication that two are missing. See Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, 126.

[6] For a discussion of the various stages of work on the *Pelléas* music, see ibid., 124–28, and Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 149–62.

[7] The orchestral score published by Hamelle specifies 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, harp(s), and strings. Published as Gabriel Fauré, *Suite d'orchestre*, op. 80 (Paris: Hamelle, 1901). An American edition was published by Dover nearly one hundred years later, along with the orchestral arrangement of Fauré's *Pavane*. See Gabriel Fauré, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80, and *Pavane*, op. 50 (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2000).

the four-movement structure of the suite as it is usually performed today.[8] A sense of musical unity is achieved by the use of a lilting triple meter in each movement, and an overall pensive style that evokes the haunting, melancholy atmosphere of Maeterlinck's play.[9]

Two years before the premiere of the suite, American audiences first heard Fauré's *Pelléas* music in Campbell's production of the play at the Victoria Theater in New York in January 1902, and at the Boston Theater in April.[10] These performances featured Campbell as Mélisande, the role she had performed in London four years earlier; her appearance was greatly anticipated in the U.S. and all of her performances were well-attended and earned high praise in the reviews that followed. Maeterlinck's play itself was not especially well-received, being described as "peculiar," "feeble," a "problem play," a "dismal failure," and "better fitted for the library than for the stage."[11] Despite the question of the play's intrinsic value, Fauré's music was described by critics in positive terms: "Music, and good, mysterious music, too, is liberally used to put the auditor in the proper frame of mind for witnessing the drama."[12] In that context, Fauré's music clearly fulfilled its responsibilities as incidental music and was, in fact, considered

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[8] Orledge and Nectoux identify the "Sicilienne" as a work from 1893; Nectoux suggests it was possibly intended for a revival that year of Molière's play *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, which did not take place. See Orledge, 124, and Nectoux, 147.

[9] While the four movements are in triple meter, their differing qualities yield a diverse yet atmospheric set well-suited to evoke the overall effect of Maeterlinck's play: the "Prélude" is in G major and features definitive harmonies and frequently homophonic texture in the strings, combined with Fauré's subtle use of chromaticism. "Fileuse" features a running triplet line in the first violin, which creates a perpetual forward motion associated with a "spinning song," beneath relatively slow-moving music in the other parts. "Sicilienne" (*Allegretto molto moderato*) is in 6/8 and features the most song-like music of the suite, presenting flowing solo lines in the woodwinds, accompanied by harp arpeggios and pizzicato strings. "La mort de Mélisande" is in 3/4, and is essentially in G-dorian, although Fauré obscures any clear modal or tonal sense through his use of chromaticism. The double-dotting throughout the movement yields a rather heavy quality, befitting the subject matter. The movement ends with a rising line in the solo flute, leaving the suite with a somewhat inconclusive effect.

[10] Campbell's engagement in Boston included performances of the following plays, all given within the week of April 7: "Magda," "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," "Beyond Human Power," "The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith," "Mariana," and "The Happy Hypocrite." See "Comes to Boston in April," *Boston Daily Globe*, January 29, 1902, 2.

[11] See "Maeterlinck's Problem Play: Mrs. Patrick Campbell in a Mixture of Romance and Realism," *The New York Times*, January 29, 1902, 8; and "Pelleas and Melisande: Mrs. Patrick Campbell Introduces Maeterlinck's Peculiar Play to a Boston Audience," *Boston Daily Globe*, April 13, 1902, 4.

[12] See "Maeterlinck's Problem Play."

the redeeming element of the production; its positive reception as incidental music, particularly in Boston, paved the way for a successful introduction of the suite two years later. Eventually, the suite fared even more successfully as an independent concert work, without the perceived hindrance of the stage drama. Yet, the first time it was heard in Symphony Hall, it was not a universal success, and the absence of the dramatic context was actually missed by one critic.

The BSO first performed the suite on December 16–17, 1904 under the direction of Wilhelm Gericke.[13] (As was the case of *The Birth of Venus*, a performance of the suite had been given at NEC earlier that year.[14]) The program also included Mozart's Symphony in C major, no. 34, Wagner's *Flying Dutchman* overture, and Rachmaninoff's Concerto in F-sharp minor, op. 1, featuring noted pianist Carlo Buonamici.[15] The pieces by Fauré and Rachmaninoff were positioned between the familiar Mozart and Wagner works, and were billed as "first" performances, adding the desirable element of novelty to the concert. Philip Hale produced—wrote the program notes, which, for *Pelléas*, featured a biographical sketch of Fauré, a summary of Maeterlinck's play, and a brief description of the music.[16] The performance included the three-movement structure of the suite: the Prelude, the Fileuse ("Spinning Woman"), and La Mort de Mélisande (titled "Molto Adagio" in the program); the BSO retained this three-movement structure for subsequent performances, even after Fauré added the "Sicilienne" to the suite in 1909.

Although the concert was considered an overall success, *Pelléas* was not met with instant approval among critics. In fact, two reviews of the concert contrast significantly with respect to the suite, one praising its diverse musical qualities from one movement to the next, and the other

[13] BSO concert program, Season 24 (1904–1905), Week 8.
[14] Ibid. 508.
[15] Ibid., 498.
[16] Ibid., 508–14.

seeming to question its value as a stand-alone piece. A review published in the *Boston Daily Globe* is quite favorable, as the anonymous critic enumerates the virtues of each movement, referring to the prelude's "mysterious, plaintive air," the "spinning melody of ["Fileuse"], so unlike the spinning music of 'The Flying Dutchman,'" and the "somber" third movement.[17] He is especially taken with the first and second movements: "Beautiful phrases by the horn in the first part and the whirring figures by the lighter strings in the second movement are worthy of particular commendation."[18] However, another critic for *The Boston Journal* offers a mixed review, and is clearly less than satisfied with Fauré's suite:

> Maeterlinck's "Pelleas and Melisande" is on an almost unbroken level of gloom and dusk, and the Faure music, written for Mrs. Patrick Campbell's production of the play, is admirably in keeping. In the first movement is the haunting suggestion of night in some wierd [sic] garden full of exotic madness always repressed. And in the part depicting Melisande's passing there is much beauty, but it is the beauty of a classically cold and dead face. Such music cannot be attractive when played from the concert stage, nor was this the intent of this. Heard with the drama in the theater it must be highly effective.[19]

This review is actually in keeping to some extent with comments made about the play in 1902, although in reverse. The earlier reviews essentially denounce Maeterlinck's play and maintain that Fauré's music is one of its few redeeming qualities; here, the critic is clearly not convinced that the suite is suitable on its own for a concert performance. Unlike the first critic of the BSO concert, this writer does not highlight particular musical elements or moments during the performance; his commentary is more of a general impression of atmosphere and mood, and the element of stage drama that he perceives as missing. Though familiar with the play itself, and complimentary in tone regarding Fauré's efforts in matching the music to the dramatic

[17] "Musical Matters," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 18, 1904, 41.
[18] Ibid.
[19] "Eighth Concert an Interesting One," *The Boston Journal*, December 19, 1904, 6.

atmosphere, the critic had not attended a performance of the play with Fauré's music in place, and thus was making an educated assumption that the music and the drama would be mutually reliant. However, despite his obvious reservations, the fact that the critic blames the context rather than the music underlines his approval of the composer's efforts, even if this does not offer hope for the future success of the *Pelléas* suite as a concert piece. Nevertheless, although the suite was not a universal success during this first concert, and was not performed on any of the ensemble's touring programs that season, it was heard again almost exactly one year later on an especially high-profile BSO concert program featuring visiting conductor Vincent d'Indy.

D'Indy was engaged as a guest conductor of the BSO in December 1905 as part of his activities in the United States that year, which included performances in solo recital and chamber concerts, in addition to conducting appearances, and a lecture at Harvard.[20] At this time d'Indy was one of the directors of the Schola Cantorum in Paris (along with Charles Bordes and Alexandre Guilmant) as well as a conductor and composer of recognition. His reputation in America was developing, and a number of his works had already appeared on Boston's formal concert programs since as early as 1898.[21] During his American tour, performances of his own works included two well-publicized chamber-music concerts at Potter Hall, given by the Hoffman Quartet and the Kneisel Quartet, and a third given by the Longy Club. The latter presented an all-d'Indy program and featured the composer as the director of one work and a performer on two others.[22] However, one of his most important appearances while on tour was as

[20] D'Indy arrived in the U.S. on November 21, 1905 and spent several weeks performing in northern venues. For an overview of his tour see "Music and Music Makers," *The New York Times*, December 17, 1905, 1.

[21] For instance, d'Indy's Piano Quartet in A minor, op. 7, was performed by members of the Ysaÿe Quartet at the Boston Music Hall on April 16, 1898. See "Music and Musicians," *Boston Daily Globe*, April 17, 1898, 17.

[22] The Hoffman Quartet performed d'Indy's Piano Quartet, op. 7, on November 28, 1905; the Kneisel Quartet performed his Quartet in E major, op. 45, on December 5, 1905; and the Longy Club performed *Chansons et Danses* Op. 50, and *Fantaisie sur des Thèmes populaires français*, op. 31, on December 11, 1905. All three concerts took place in Potter Hall. See BSO concert program, Season 25 (1905–1906), Week 7, 441, 446, and 525.

the guest director of the BSO, an engagement arranged by Loeffler, who remained well-connected to the ensemble two years after his own departure as violinist, and well-known by now as a champion of modern French music.[23] D'Indy's concert program was entirely French, including two of his own works, the Second Symphony, op. 57, and the *Istar* Symphonic Variations, op. 42. The other works on the program were Fauré's Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Franck's "Psyché et Eros" (from *Psyché*, Poème symphonique), and Dukas's *L'Apprenti Sorcier*.[24] Fauré's suite was placed between d'Indy's works.

Boston audiences greatly anticipated d'Indy's appearance at the Symphony concerts and were not disappointed, according to Henry Taylor Parker's lengthy review of the Friday afternoon performance.[25] A fair amount of the article is devoted to a physical description of d'Indy and the personality he conveyed to the audience, rather than the music, although Parker does assert that, "…[d'Indy] was best as a conductor of music not his own."[26] This statement encompasses the Fauré work, which Parker describes as, "…rather monotonous in tone; but there is not the strange, inexplicable undercurrent of dread in it that runs through Maeterlinck's drama."[27] Certainly, this is not a glowing review, although it does not accord with the statement that the music mirrors the play's "almost unbroken level of gloom and dusk" following the 1904 performance, as previously discussed. D'Indy conducted the same program in the following week in New York, and the overall response to the musical selections was even less favorable. Audiences in both cities were being exposed to modern French music on an unprecedented level, a fact that was not appreciated in New York to the degree it was in Boston, and in some cases,

[23] For a brief overview of Loeffler's involvement with d'Indy's American engagement see Knight, *Charles Martin Loeffler*, 155–56.

[24] BSO concert program, Season 25 (1905–1906), Week 7, 465.

[25] Henry Taylor Parker, "In the World of Music: D'Indy Conducts at the Symphony Concert," *Boston Evening Transcript*, December 2, 1905, 4.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

not at all. The extreme displeasure among New York audiences is emphasized by an article printed in *The New York Times* upon d'Indy's return to France, which presents numerous reviews, purposefully extracted from a variety of American newspapers—including those in Boston—that suggest a universally negative response to d'Indy and the modern French school.[28] To be sure, the presence of an anti-French agenda is clear, and results in an incomplete and somewhat artificial critical response, at least in regard to the musical values in Boston. Two days later, a letter to the editor submitted in response to the article reveals not only the disappointment in the BSO concert, as expressed by one individual on the behalf of all New Yorkers who were present, but also reflects the development of a rather extreme divergence in aesthetics at that point between New York and Boston:

> The concertgoers of New York have just passed through a most distressing period that they ought to have been spared. It is an imposition on long-suffering good nature that the subscribers to the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Kneisel Quartet should have to listen to the strained and affected wanderings of the French composers headed by M. d'Indy. Nobody wanted this alleged music, and nobody seemed to like it when they heard it. Why cannot these splendid players give us the real music that we like? I think *The Times* has been altogether too lenient in criticising this crazy stuff; it ought to have been shown up much more strongly. I for one want to make a protest.[29]

The headline reads, "Doesn't Like d'Indy," although perhaps more accurate would be, "Doesn't Like French Music." The author, signed simply "G," was probably in good company with his fellow New York audience members who were used to the more traditional German repertoire performed by the earliest iterations of the New York Philharmonic and the Metropolitan Opera. While musicians such as Edgard Varèse and Walter Damrosch would do much to bring French or French-influenced works to their New York audiences in the years to come, in 1905 a vocal

[28] "Music and Music Makers," *The New York Times*, December 17, 1905, 1.
[29] "Doesn't Like d'Indy," *The New York Times*, December 19, 1905, 8.

resistance to this repertoire was still quite present in the city. This attitude would begin to change just three years later with the American premiere of Debussy's opera *Pelléas et Mélisande* in New York in 1908, a work that eventually earned a permanent place in the operatic repertoire of this country, displacing some of the question of the overall value of the modern French composers beyond the Boston audiences.[30]

Given the eventual popularity of Debussy's opera, its scale, and the composer's quickly-growing popularity among mainstream audiences here and abroad, it is not surprising that the opera has almost universally overshadowed Fauré's *Pelléas* suite. As the familiarity with Debussy's setting continued to grow in the United States, the two works were naturally subjected to comparisons of quality and style. In 1912, the ten-year-anniversary performance of Maeterlinck's play in Boston offered a convenient opportunity for such a comparison, because the actress in the role of Pelléas (Maeterlinck's wife, Georgette Leblanc-Maeterlinck) had recently performed in the same role in Debussy's opera at the Boston Opera House.[31] It is interesting to note that, while the opera had been popular in the United States for several years and remained in the active repertoire of the Boston Opera House, this production of Maeterlinck's play, staged in the same venue with the same sets as Debussy's opera, retained Fauré's original incidental music.[32] Mme. Maeterlinck's performance earned a lukewarm review, not unlike her Boston performances in Debussy's opera, but the play in general was considered

[30] Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* had its American premiere at the Manhattan Opera House on February 19, 1908. An article in *The New York Times* before this performance cautions that it took four years for the opera to become a part of the repertoire at the Opéra Comique in Paris. (See "Bone for Critics in Next New Opera," *The New York Times*, February 10, 1908, 9.) A lengthy review of the premiere calls the music "strange" but makes allowances for certain weak passages in the score, and offers cautious hope for its future success. See "First Hearing Here of Debussy's Opera," *The New York Times*, February 20, 1908, 7.

[31] "Mme. Maeterlinck Appears in Play," *Boston Morning Journal*, January 31, 1912, 5.

[32] It is useful to remember that the playwright's wife, Mme. Maeterlinck, is known to have responded favorably to Fauré's incidental music (see Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 160), though whether she had any input regarding the music to appear in this production is unknown.

successful as much because of the incidental music as the efforts of the balance of the cast.[33] A review of this production offers a comparison between Fauré's music and that of Debussy's opera: "…to many it must have seemed far more entertaining and expressive than the music of Debussy. It is melancholy music, with bittersweet melodies that match the tragedy but barely touch the mysticism of the play."[34] With respect to the audience reception, Fauré's work seems to emerge as the victor in this instance; the critic's assertion of the lack of mystical quality in the music is tempered through his suggestion that, "It is this pathetic, patent, intelligible side of 'Pelleas' that Faure has set to music, and not the psychopathic phases described by Debussy's drifty, delirious music."[35] Fauré's comparable success in his approach to *Pelléas* is credited to the relatively straightforward music that matches the simplicity of the story, at least from the perspective of an audience interested in the surface-level plot rather than Maeterlinck's symbolism. In comparing Fauré's *Pelléas* music to his own, Debussy himself vividly articulated this point in negative terms: "…I don't see there can be any confusion between the two scores, at least not in the matter of intellectual weight. In any case Fauré is the mouthpiece of a group of snobs and imbeciles who will have nothing whatever to do with the other *Pelléas*."[36]

To be sure, it was Debussy's opera that became the more familiar *Pelléas* setting among American audiences in the long run; however, Fauré's suite certainly did not vanish from the concert stage, nor from performances of the play, particularly in Boston. In early 1911 Boston audiences heard Fauré's *Pelléas* suite twice, including one in a performance given by the Boston Opera House Orchestra (directed by Andre Caplet) as part of "An Hour of French Music."[37] The

[33] Ibid.
[34] See "Mme. Maeterlinck Appears in Play."
[35] Ibid.
[36] Quoted in Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 150.
[37] The concert was by invitation only, with its audience composed of subscribers to the Boston Opera House. Other works included "Habanera" (Raoul Laparra), "Le Deluge" (Saint-Saëns), "L'Arlesienne" (Bizet), *The*

other performance that year of *Pelléas* was given by the BSO, under the direction of Max Fiedler, this time in a mostly German program that also featured Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, the overture to Karl Goldmark's *Sakuntala*, op. 13, and the Boston premiere of Richard Strauss's tone-poem, *Macbeth*, op. 23.[38] In a review of this concert the *Pelléas* suite received its most positive and simple appraisal yet: "Faure's exquisite music of poetry and tragedy was played by the orchestra with fine appreciation."[39] The following year, between the Boston Opera House production of Debussy's *Pelléas*, and the ten-year anniversary of Maeterlinck's play in the city, also performed there, Caplet once again conducted the Boston Opera House orchestra in the suite, this time as part of a lighter program that also included d'Indy's *Lied* for cello and orchestra, and excerpts from *La Bohème.*[40] Though the performance in general was appreciated, *Pelléas* did not receive more than a passing mention on that occasion.[41] While the larger events on either side of the concert (i.e., the opera and the play) possibly overshadowed it, perhaps it also took the contrast of a weighty German program by the BSO the previous year to bring to light the attributes of Fauré's piece that had not been fully appreciated in its earlier performances, a contrast not present here.

Unfortunately, a similar contrast in program in some ways hindered the reception of the suite in a performance given by the BSO in November 1923, under the direction of French

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Children's Corner (Debussy), and "Marche Joyeuse" (Charbrier). Considered "at its best" with Caplet as the director, the Orchestra gave a performance that was called "a very pleasant diversion." See "Invitation Concert at Boston Opera House," *Boston Morning Journal*, March 1, 1911, 7. It is worth noting that Maeterlinck won the Nobel Prize in Literature that year.

[38] This program was given on March 17 and 18, 1911. See BSO concert program, Season 30 (1910–1911), Week 19, 1414–23.

[39] "Strauss' Macbeth," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 18, 1911, 9.

[40] Debussy's opera was performed at the Boston Opera House four times in January 1912; on January 30 Maeterlinck's play was staged there in French for the first time in Boston. Maeterlinck's wife Georgette played the role of Mélisande in both productions. "Pelleas is Acted," *Boston Daily Globe*, January 31, 1912, 4. A review of Caplet's performance refers to Fauré's incidental music, although it was most likely the suite that was performed. "Boston Sunday Opera," *Boston Daily Globe*, January 22, 1912, 13.

[41] Ibid.

conductor Pierre Monteux.[42] The program was truly an international one, beginning with Mahler's First Symphony, which encompassed the entire first half of the concert. The second half began with Ralph Vaughan Williams's *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*, followed by Fauré's *Pelléas* and Borodin's "Polovtsian Dances" from *Prince Igor*. Monteux's conducting earned an enthusiastic response; the Frenchman's ability to convey the spirit of the "very 'Teutonic' music" of Mahler was of particular interest.[43] By comparison, his performance of the *Pelléas* suite, and even his basic presentation of it, was not considered to have met the same standards. One factor that seems to have contributed to this reception is that Monteux made a significant change to the order of the *Pelléas* movements; he began with the "Mort de Mélisande" followed by the "Prelude" and concluding with the "Fileuse," an alteration that proved unpopular: "Mr. Monteux did Faure no service yesterday by shifting the order of the movements in the suite and playing first the music for the death of Melisande, next the prelude to the play, and last the spinning music from act 2."[44] According to the order of movements given in the printed program, the suite was originally set to begin with the representation of Mélisande's death and to conclude with the "Prélude"; the "Fileuse" was to remain in its central position in the suite.[45] The critic suggests that the decision to close with the "Fileuse" was a

[42] BSO, Symphony Hall, November 23–24, 1923. BSO concert program, Season 43 (1923–1924), Week 6, 349, 370–86. The BSO performed also performed the *Pelléas* suite on December 6, 1923 as part of its nine concerts in the Sanders Theater series. *Pelléas* and the Borodin selection were included in a different program for this concert, which also featured works of Brahms, Paine, and Weber. BSO concert program, Sanders Theater, Season 43 (1923–1924), 3.

[43] "New Music Heard at Symphony Concert," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 24, 1923, 11.

[44] Ibid.

[45] BSO concert program, Season 43 (1923–1924), Week 6, 349; an advertisement in the prior week's program lists the order of movements in their traditional order. See BSO concert program, Season 43 (1923–1924), Week 5, 331.

probably a "last-minute inspiration," given the mismatch between the printed program details and the actual performance.[46] He comments unfavorably on the new ordering, as performed:

> The emotional climax of the suite is plainly the beautiful and imaginative measures suggesting the death of Melisande [sic]. The prelude to the play is an inferior piece in the same mood; the spinning music is pallid aand [sic] ineffective. After Wagner's "Flying Dutchman" and Mendelssohn, "spinning songs" are hard to make effective.[47]

(It should be noted that the following month, the "Fileuse" was heard again, but in an arrangement for cello and piano on the recital of Georges Miquelle; at least one critic considered it more successful in that configuration than in the orchestral version.[48]) There appears to be no documentation that explains the change of order in the suite. It is not necessarily surprising that Monteux would decide not to close with Mélisande's death music considering that, out of the context of the play, an audience might not enjoy such a miserable conclusion to a musical work. For some, "Le mort de Mélisande" has enough emotional power to make one entirely forget the lovely, if somewhat melancholy, "Prelude" and "Fileuse" before it. Embracing the quality of the final movement, the author suggests that it might have been better to perform "Le mort de Mélisande" as a stand-alone concert piece, and that the audience would have been "genuinely impressed with the dignity and beauty of it."[49] As an aside, he even proposes the inclusion of Schoenberg's symphonic poem *Pelléas* on a BSO concert as a novelty given the ongoing popularity of Maeterlinck's play as represented through music.[50]

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[46] Hale's program notes do not acknowledge that the printed program order had already been altered from the original structure ("Prélude," "Fileuse," and "Le mort de Mélisande").

[47] "New Music Heard at Symphony Concert."

[48] "Pizzetti Sonata Wins Applause: Miquelle Recital Offers Novel Program," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 19, 1923, 7.

[49] "New Music Heard at Symphony Concert."

[50] See ibid. and fn2.

The *Pelléas* suite was performed for Boston audiences on at least ten individual concerts between 1904 and 1924, including eight performances by the BSO, and two by the Boston Opera House Orchestra. Additionally, the People's Symphony Orchestra (directed by Emil Mollenhauer) performed it in March 1925, suggesting its ongoing familiarity and interest to performers as well as audiences.[51] Other modern French orchestral works were heard in multiple performances in Boston during this era, including one-movement pieces such as Debussy's *Après-midi d'un faune* (given by the BSO on at least seven concerts since its American premiere by the Boston Orchestral Club in 1902), and Dukas's *L'Apprenti Sorcier* (also given seven times, following its premiere in Chicago in 1899).[52] Large-scale compositions were not always performed with such frequency due to their relative length, although some, such as Saint-Saëns's Symphony in C minor, no. 3, like Fauré's *Pelléas* suite, became quite popular with Boston audiences. (The Saint-Saëns symphony was given at least six times since its first performance by the BSO in 1901, including a special concert in 1906, featuring the composer as the organist.[53])

Considering the number of performances of Fauré's *Pelléas* music over the years, and especially those given by the BSO during this period, it is curious that the suite was not included on Serge Koussevitzky's program for the memorial concert following Fauré's death in 1924, although he conducted it and even made a recording with the BSO in 1940, and again in 1945 at a live performance at Symphony Hall. In the decades that followed, the suite was performed by the orchestra under the direction of various resident and visiting conductors over the years, reaching its peak in the 1960s with several notable performances including a performance conducted by Aaron Copland with the BSO at Tanglewood in 1968, and later that year, a

[51] Born in Brooklyn, NY, Emil Mollenhauer (1855–1927) was the principal violinist of the BSO (1884–88), and later conducted various amateur ensembles in Boston.

[52] See Boston Symphony Orchestra, Performance History Search, http://archives.bso.org/, accessed August 9, 2015.

[53] See ibid.

memorial concert for the former BSO conductor Charles Munch (1891–1968), who had requested that work himself;[54] it had also been incorporated into George Balanchine's abstract ballet *Jewels* in 1967, along with portions of Fauré's Suite *Shylock*, op. 57. A recording of the suite, along with several other works by Fauré, was made under the direction of Seiji Ozawa and released in 1990, further underlining the BSO's ongoing recognition of this work and of Fauré's music in general, and the implied mainstream appeal of both.[55] Although it is not as overtly in demand as a concert piece today, and Maeterlinck's play has long gone out of fashion, Fauré's *Pelléas* music is still heard on American concert programs (in addition to the BSO, the New York Philharmonic, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the Los Angeles Philharmonic, among others), radio broadcasts across the country, in transcribed excerpts for solo performers, and in performances of *Jewels*.[56] Unlike *The Birth of Venus*, Fauré's *Pelléas* was not destined to fall into a state of neglect in the U.S., rather growing deep roots from the seeds that had first been planted by the BSO.

Suite *Shylock*, op. 59, and Prelude to *Pénélope*

The BSO's 1918–1919 season is significant in that the ensemble gave the American premieres of two works by Fauré under the direction of French composer and conductor Henri Rabaud (1873–1949). The Suite *Shylock*, op. 57, and the Prelude to the opera *Pénélope*, were given in February and March, respectively, as part of Rabaud's efforts to introduce new French works to American audiences during his one season with the ensemble.[57] Considering the number of times

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[54] Michael Steinberg, "Copland Tanglewood Conductor," *Boston Globe*, August 26, 1968, 19; "Boston Symphony Music a Tribute to Munch," *Boston Globe*, November 10, 1968, 88A. Munch was the conductor of the BSO from 1949 through 1962.

[55] Gabriel Fauré, *Fauré: Pelléas et Mélisande; Dolly; Après un rêve; Pavane; Elégie*, Boston Symphony Orchestra, directed by Seiji Ozawa, Deutsche Grammophon, CD, B000001G8P, 1990.

[56] *Jewels* (1967). See Chapter 8 for a brief discussion of this ballet.

[57] Rabaud led the BSO for one season only (1918–19), following the arrest and deportation of Karl Muck; he later succeeded Fauré as the Director of the Conservatoire (1922–41).

Pelléas had been performed in Boston, the comparatively late introduction of these other orchestral works is perhaps surprising, although the most recent performance of the suite had been by the Boston Opera House Orchestra in 1912 under the direction of André Caplet. (Karl Muck did not include *Pelléas* or any other work by Fauré on his BSO programs since his return to Boston that year.) And while *Pénélope* was still relatively new (Fauré completed the opera in 1912, and it was premiered in France the following year) the *Shylock* suite had been around since 1890, predating the *Pelléas* music by eight years.

Fauré had composed *Shylock* as incidental music for Edmond Haraucourt's adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*; the play was first produced at the Théâtre de l'Odéon in Paris in 1889 and had a successful run of performances there, although Fauré's score did not garner much interest, even after he extracted and expanded select movements and presented them as a suite at the Société nationale the following year.[58] Since Haraucourt's play was not staged in Boston local audiences had never heard *Shylock* in its original context as they had with *Pelléas*, although in this case the absence of an existing reception in some ways worked to its benefit for its first performances by the BSO, on tour in Philadelphia and New York, and then in Boston.[59] Rabaud selected *Shylock* for a weighty program of mostly French music that also included

[58] *Shylock* is a French adaptation of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, written by French playwright Edmond Haraucourt (1856–1941). The play was performed a total of fifty-six times during that first run, with Fauré's incidental music. For a discussion of the reception of Fauré's *Shylock* music in Paris, see Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 145–47.

[59] BSO concert program, Trip Series, Season 38 (1918–1919), Week 4, Academy of Music, Philadelphia, (February 5, 1919), 5. The first concert was given at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia on February 5, 1919 and featured Sergei Rachmaninoff as the soloist of his Piano Concerto No. 2 in C minor, Op. 18. The concert program once again included Franck's Prelude to *Psyché*, Saint-Saëns's *Phaëton*¸ followed by Fauré's *Shylock*. The concert concluded with Weber's Overture to *Euryanthe*. (It was common at this time for the BSO concerts to conclude with an overture or prelude.) A review of the concert in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* not surprisingly focuses on Rachmaninoff's performance, which drew an especially large audience for the event. "Boston Symphony," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 6, 1919, 10. Rachmaninoff had performed the same concerto with the BSO in Philadelphia ten years earlier. However, a brief reference to Fauré's suite highlights the "delicacy" of the BSO's playing on this work, which, along with "clarity," is an element commonly associated with the BSO during the leadership of the French directors Rabaud and then Monteux.

Franck's Orchestral Suite from *Psyché*, Chabrier's prelude to Act II of *Gwendoline*, and Berlioz's overture to *Le Carnaval Romain*, op. 9; the only non-French work on this concert was Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in E minor, op. 64.[60]

The *Shylock* suite is composed of six movements ("Chanson," "Entr'acte," "Madrigal," "Epithalme," "Nocturne," and "Final"), scored for a small orchestra in various configurations; the "Chanson" and "Madrigal" feature a tenor soloist.[61] The instrumentation of the "Entr'acte," "Epithalme," "Nocturne," and "Final" make these especially suitable for an orchestral concert program, and the suite may very well be performed as a four-movement structure in the absence of a tenor soloist, as it was done in Philadelphia and New York; however, the Boston premiere featured *Shylock* in its entirety, with popular American tenor Arthur Hackett on the two vocal movements.[62] While Philip Hale's program notes offer a basic description of each movement, in some cases highlighting Fauré's use of themes, instruments, and the general character of the music, he gives particular attention to the "Final," remarking on what he considers Fauré's ingenious treatment of the thematic material, and the light, joyous, and vigorous quality of the music.[63] However, a review for the *Boston Daily Globe* differs from Hale's assessment and the *Shylock* music is presented in somewhat pale terms, which is especially noticeable amid the vastly more descriptive responses (both positive and negative in tone) to the other works on the

[60] See BSO concert program, Season 38 (1918–1919), Week 14, 717.

[61] The instrumentation is as follows: I. "Chanson" (Allegro moderato): flute, clarinet, horn, string, harps (2), and tenor voice; II. "Entr'acte" (Andante moderato, Allegretto): flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, strings, harps (2) and kettledrums; III. "Madrigal" (Allegretto): clarinets, bassoons, horn, strings, harp, and tenor voice; IV. "Epithalme" (Adagio): flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, strings, harps (2) and kettledrums; V. "Nocturne" (Andante molto moderato): strings only; VI. "Final" (Allegretto vivo): flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, strings, harp (1), kettledrums, and triangle. See *Shylock*, op. 57 (Paris: J. Hamelle, 1897). Léon Boëllmann made a four-hand piano transcription of *Shylock*, published by Hamelle ca. 1891.

[62] Arthur Hackett (1884–1960) was in high demand at this time, his name frequently appearing in *Musical America*, the *Musical Courier*, and other American publications since the early-twentieth century. He was later the Head of the Voice Department at the University of Michigan, School of Music.

[63] See BSO concert program, Season 38 (1918–1919), Week 14, 763.

program.[64] The anonymous critic, whose familiarity with modern French music is quite evident in this review, offers a detailed commentary on each composition as well as the solo performers (Hackett, and violinist Fredrick Fradkin in the Mendelssohn). He applauds Rabaud for reviving Franck's *Psyché* suite for the first time in thirteen years, but presents two diametrically-opposed assessments of other works, calling Chabrier's prelude to Act II of *Gwendoline* "lacking in dramatic verity, musical worth, or other merit," and Berlioz's overture to *Le Carnaval Romain* a "surpassingly brilliant performance […] a performance which it is not easy to imagine any of the orchestras which have visited Boston doing in a manner to be compared with it."[65] Between these two near-extremes of review lies a fairly neutral assessment of Fauré's *Shylock*:

> It is chiefly some incidental reason that would bring to concert performance Faure's suite from his stage music to Haraucourt's comedy, "Shylock" […] Accompanying or dividing their scenes in the comedy, these six numbers no doubt would well serve their purpose.[66]

It is not difficult to interpret this delicate statement as carrying the implication that Fauré's suite does not quite stand alone as a concert work, an assessment not dissimilar to some criticism of *Pelléas*.[67] However, this critic also balances his valuation of *Shylock* with compliments toward Fauré's talents in the song genre. In fact, he seems to draw a connection between Fauré's *mélodies* and the two tenor movements of the *Shylock* suite, through Hackett's interpretation:

> Faure's gift was never more happily shown than in the charm, poetic beauty and wide emotional range or his songs. Arthur Hackett treated the incidental music for a tenor behind the scenes in 1. Chanson, and 3. Madrigal, with excellent taste, not making of it more than the fanciful sentiment of the texts warranted and

[64] "Orchestra Plays Franck's 'Psyche'," *Boston Daily Globe*, February 15, 1919, 2.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] See earlier discussion and "New Music Heard at Symphony Concert," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 24, 1923, 11.

> giving voice with opulence where it was required, as in the one climax in the eighth line of the Chanson.[68]

It is interesting to note that, while Hackett was a featured artist on this concert program, he performed his part in the Fauré suite off-stage (as indicated in the score), in this way removing the potential focus from himself. Nevertheless, it is these two movements and Hackett's interpretation of them that the critic mentions in any detail; this begs the question, if they had not been performed, would the performance of *Shylock* have received any notice at all?

Of the other concerts on this BSO series that included *Shylock* (in its four-movement instrumental structure) the response to the performance in Carnegie Hall the previous week is of particular interest. Considering the fairly unenthusiastic response earlier New York audiences had to modern French music, and the ongoing interest in a Germano-centric concert culture there, it is interesting that this performance was actually well-received *because* of its French inclusions under the direction of a native-French conductor. This fact even worked against the response to the interpretation of the Brahms symphony, the performance of which was described as "drab."[69] According to critic James Gibbons Huneker, "Perhaps it was a Gallic reading; it certainly sounded euphonious, and the transparency of the orchestral voices was so marked that we could not always hear the original Brahms."[70] Huneker comments specifically on Rabaud's use of a narrow range of dynamics, which resulted in "emotionless" playing, and the conductor's "delicacy and clarity" that dominated his interpretation.[71] However, these same qualities, often observed in French music of this period, served the French selections well, as suggested by Huneker's remark that the performances of the Fauré, Saint-Saëns, and Berlioz "atoned" for the

[68] "Orchestra Plays Franck's 'Psyche.'"
[69] James Gibbons Huneker, "Music," *The New York Times*, February 9, 1919, 20.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.

performance of the Brahms.[72] He attributes the mixed quality he perceives in this concert performance to Rabaud's program selections as well as his directorship. Although he responds well to the conductor's overall interpretation of the French music, and comments favorably on his selection of pieces by Berlioz and Saint-Saëns, he refers to Fauré's *Shylock* in bland terms, calling it "innocuous," and "well-scored, vapid music."[73] His commentary on Fauré's suite may be interpreted as an immediate statement of opinion by this particular critic about this specific composition, or perhaps it is a broader statement on Fauré's music in general; he is not known to have taken an active interest in Fauré, although his response to French music had expanded over the years. Regardless, Huneker's review does not sparkle with the hope of a repeat performance of *Shylock* in New York. Faring much better were Berlioz's *Carnaval Romain* and Saint-Saëns's *Phaëton*, which Huneker describes as "brilliant" and as "the high-water mark of the matinee," respectively.[74] This overall positive response to the French selections in New York at this point is useful to note, as it underlines the broadening of New York's interest beyond the Austro-German tradition, a response that is a world apart from that city's reaction to the concert directed by d'Indy in 1905.[75]

One month after the BSO's performance of *Shylock*, Rabaud directed the Prelude to *Pénélope*. Fauré had begun the composition of this opera in three acts in 1907 at the age of sixty-two, following a casual meeting with soprano Lucienne Bréval, who put Fauré in touch with

[72] Ibid.

[73] He refers similarly to Haraucourt, the author of *Shylock*, recalling the play's reception Paris: "At the time the Paris boulevard press irreverently referred to him as 'Monsieur Haricot,' in a word, the precious bean dear to New England." Ibid.

[74] As Huneker suggests, "He would not be Henri Rabaud and the composer of 'Marouf' [sic] if his program selections were uniformly colorless." Ibid.

[75] See "Doesn't Like d'Indy," and previous discussion.

playwright and librettist René Fauchois.[76] The opera (dedicated to Saint-Saëns) was published in 1913 and was staged in Monte Carlo and Paris that year; it was formally brought into the repertoire of the Opéra-Comique in January 1919, a fact that might account in part for Rabaud's selection of the prelude in Boston two months later.[77] Americans had been aware of *Pénélope* since 1912, through an enthusiastic article published in *The New York Times* as Fauré completed the opera; however, the prelude was the only portion audiences actually heard in the U.S. until the American premiere of *Pénélope* in 1945 in an unstaged concert performance at the Fauré Festival at Harvard.[78]

The BSO performed the prelude at Symphony Hall on March 28–29, 1919, on a program that also included Beethoven's Fifth Piano Concerto (featuring Harold Bauer), the "Grand Fête at the Capulet's House" from Berlioz's *Romeo and Juliet* Symphony, op. 17, and Edward Burlingame Hill's *Stevensonia* Suite, a set of four orchestral movements completed in 1917.[79] It was a well-publicized event, featuring two new works for Boston audiences—Fauré's prelude,

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[76] Considering Fauré's overall status as a "late-bloomer" it is not necessarily shocking that the composer contributed his only work in this genre this late in his life, although why he chose to do so at this point certainly comes to mind. Fauré, in mid-sixties, had recently begun his directorship at the Conservatoire, and was not in a hurry to complete *Pénélope*. He took his time, experimenting with themes, considering the dramatic impact of the music, and generally approaching the composition as an artist approaches a painting. Fauré describes his approach in a letter to his wife, quoted in Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 313–14. Fauré composed another large-scale stage work, *Prométhée*, years before *Pénélope*; however, the spoken portions of *Prométhée* remove this work from consideration in this genre.

For a brief discussion of the origins of *Pénélope* see Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 313–14.

[77] It was also discussed in American newspapers around that time that Fauré, at nearly seventy-four years of age, was completing a commission for Albert I, Prince of Monaco, music for the divertissement *Masques et bergamasques*, op. 112 (1919), to be performed at Monte Carlo. This collection includes a number of Fauré's existing vocal and instrumental works, including three extracts (Overture, Menuet, and Gavotte) from the symphony on which he worked in 1869, his *Madrigal* Op. 35 for chorus and orchestra (1889), two *mélodies* for tenor and orchestra ("Le plus doux chemin" from op. 87 [1904] and "Clair de lune" from op. 46 [1887]), the *Pavane*, op. 50 (1887), and one new composition, a *Pastorale*. For a discussion of this work see Nectoux, 336–39.

[78] "Music Here and There," *The New York Times*, March 31, 1912, X7. The premiere was given at Monte Carlo almost exactly one year later, on March 4, 1913.

[79] Though somewhat coincidental, it is interesting to note that this concert blends two works by notable French composers, another by E. B. Hill, an advocate of Fauré's music in Boston, the performance by Harold Bauer, one of Fauré's most frequent programmers in Boston, and the BSO directorship of Henri Rabaud, Fauré's successor as director of the Conservatoire.

and Hill's suite. The concert began with the prelude, which had been advertised as the "first time in Boston," and offered the audience an immediate novelty to incite their interest.[80] Bauer's appearance as the soloist for the Beethoven concerto was certain to draw a large audience, and the inclusion of even one instrumental movement from *Pénélope* was an additional attraction for Boston's opera aficionados and others curious about his approach to the genre. However, in a review of the concert in the *Boston Daily Globe* Fauré's music is described in a tone of disappointment: "Faure's prelude to his lyric poem, 'Penelope,' [sic] played yesterday by Mr Rabaud for the first time in Boston, again shows a composer less happy in the orchestral treatment of his subject than in the exquisite miniatures of many of his songs."[81] This suggestion that Fauré's strength was as a composer of *mélodies* echoes similar remarks made in connection to his other orchestral works, including the recent performance of *Shylock* and the assertion that, "Faure's gift was never more happily shown than in the charm, poetic beauty and wide emotional range of his songs."[82] To be sure, many of Fauré's *mélodies* were familiar to local audiences by now, through recital performances and publications in various American editions, and were heard far more often than his orchestral music. Regardless, the BSO's fine performance was appreciated once again for its approach to a French composition, and Rabaud's conducting in particular was said to be "with imagination, taste and authority."[83]

It is worthy of note that Rabaud's selection of two unfamiliar works by Fauré for the BSO that year happened to coincide with the fact that Fauré was approaching his retirement as director of the Conservatoire, a position Rabaud took in 1920. However, by the time he

[80] It was a common practice by the BSO to include a prelude or overture on the concert programs, although it was typically a well-established work by Beethoven or Wagner, and most commonly placed at the close of the concert.

[81] "Hill's Music Grasps Spirit of Childhood," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 29, 1919, 2.

[82] See above discussion of *Shylock*, "Orchestra Plays Franck's 'Psyche'," *Boston Daily Globe*, February 15, 1919, 2, and Huneker, "Music."

[83] See "Hill's Music Grasps Spirit of Childhood."

introduced *Shylock* and the *Pénélope* prelude to the U.S., his interest and involvement in Fauré's music had long been in place (he had even orchestrated Fauré's suite, *Dolly*, op. 56, in 1906), and these compositions fit in well with his efforts to bring new musical works to his audiences.[84] Although neither resulted in the same level of performance activity in Boston that *Pelléas* had inspired after its premiere, some noteworthy performances eventually followed, including Nadia Boulanger's performance of *Shylock* in her New York conducting debut in 1939, and again at the Fauré Festival at Harvard in 1945, where she also conducted the premiere concert performance of *Pénélope* in its entirety.[85] At that point, it had been more than two decades since Boston audiences had heard the prelude, performed by the BSO at the memorial concert program in honor of Fauré in December 1924, under the direction of Serge Koussevitzky (1874–1951).

"A Concert in Memory of Gabriel Fauré" (December 5–6, 1924)

Fauré's death on November 4, 1924 occurred at a pivotal juncture in Boston's cultural sphere. Isabella Stewart Gardner, patroness of the arts and one of Fauré's Boston admirers, had died in July of that year; John Singer Sargent died the following April; and Georges Longy retired to France in 1925. However, Philip Hale continued to be a significant presence in Boston's musical scene, and Charles Loeffler, though retired from performing, continued to teach and compose in the city. One of the most significant shifts occurred with the arrival of Koussevitzky in Boston, whose twenty-five year tenure as director of the BSO (1924–49) continued to shape the development of Boston's musical soundscape, in many ways maintaining the Francophile trajectory that had begun decades earlier. At the time of his death, Fauré's name was fresh in the minds of some American readers, as Copland had published his article "Gabriel Fauré, A

[84] As one advertisement for this particular concert enthuses, "Mr Rabaud continues to find novelties for the Symphony concerts." See "Music and Musicians," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 16, 1919, 43.

[85] For a review of Boulanger's New York premiere with the New York Philharmonic on February 11, 1939 see "Nadia Boulanger: A Brilliant Debut," *The New York Times*, February 12, 1939, 44.

Neglected Master" in *The Musical Quarterly* just a few weeks earlier.[86] His death was widely reported in major American newspapers, and although some of the biographical information is incorrect in several instances, the reports of Fauré's state funeral and burial, described as "…the most impressive public demonstration since Anatole France's burial…" underlines his importance and position in France, which was valued enough to have been granted the same honor as Victor Hugo in 1885 and Louis Pasteur ten years later.[87]

Fauré was not the first notable French composer to have died in the early part of the century, and certainly not even the most frequently performed in the United States; Debussy and Saint-Saëns, whose works had long been a part of the standard repertoire of the BSO, had both died not long before. However, it was Fauré who inspired an elaborate memorial concert in Boston shortly after his death.[88] The concert was entitled simply "To the Memory of Gabriel Fauré" and was conducted by Koussevitzky, in the first year of his BSO tenure.[89] Renowned as a conductor and contrabassist in Rome, London, and Paris, Koussevitzky was well-known not only for his interpretative talents, but also for his diverse and innovative programming of new music alongside traditional compositions.[90] While he regularly included selections from a variety of

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[86] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master."

[87] The most common error is the reporting of Fauré's age at the time of his death. He is referred to as being seventy-one years of age in at least two cases, and as an octogenarian in another. Fauré was in fact seventy-nine, thus the latter designation, reported by the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, is closer to the truth, although he did not quite make it to that status along with Claude Monet, Georges Clemenceau, and the other notable French figures with whom Fauré is listed. See "Faure, Famous Paris Composer, Buried in State," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 9, 1924, 10. The Nobel Prize winner Anatole France had died on October 12, 1924 and was similarly honored with a state funeral.

[88] Debussy's death on March 25, 1918 occurred toward the close of the regular BSO season, which possibly hindered a memorial concert. However, the composer's obituary published in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* remarks, "His earnest disciples have been less fervid and vocal in the last five or six years." See "Claude Debussy is Dead in Paris," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 27, 1918, 15.

[89] As of 1924 Koussevitzky was still a fixture in Paris through his biannual concert series at the Opéra that lasted until 1928. For a discussion of his early days with the BSO see De Wolfe Howe and Burk, *The Boston Symphony Orchestra 1881–1931*, 152–72.

[90] Koussevitzky was highly successful in introducing conservative audiences to works from his native Russia as well as modern compositions from their own lands. For a discussion of the notable place of Koussevitzky's concerts in the social lives of Paris and other European and Russian cities see Arthur Lourié, *Sergei*

countries outside the Austro-German tradition, including his native Russia, the prevalence of modern French repertoire on his concert programs suggests that he had a particular interest in promoting the music of those composers. Biographer Arthur Lourié has observed Koussevitzky's "long-existing attachment to and love for French culture" and his efforts to introduce the music of young French composers while he was still in Paris.[91] This continued in Boston, where he did much to reinvigorate interest in the BSO concerts through his expanding repertoire, including the American premieres of several French works during his first season.[92] Over the years, in addition to Fauré, Debussy, and Ravel, rising composers such as Arthur Honegger, Jacques Ibert, Maurice Jaubert, Olivier Messiaen, André Jolivet, and others featured prominently on his programs.[93] In addition to the individual selections, Koussevitzky's devotion to French composers is observable in the concerts he staged in honor of individual composers shortly after their death—Fauré's memorial concert was the first of such notable events; other such concerts celebrated the life and music of Albert Roussel in 1937 and Ravel in early 1938.[94] Koussevitzky was the first conductor of the BSO to engage in this kind of formal public memorial activity.

Koussevitzky (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931), 186–92. For a discussion of his first years with the BSO and building the repertoire of that ensemble, see ibid., 207–16.

[91] Ibid., 205 and 214.

[92] For example, Koussevitzky conducted the American premieres of four French works during his first season as director of the BSO (1924–25): Arthur Honegger, *Pacific 231*, Henri-Joseph Rigel, Symphony in D, Albert Roussel, Symphony in B-flat, Alexis-Roland Manuel, Sinfonia *from Isabel et Pantalon*, (October 31, 1924); See "American Premieres: the 1920s," *Boston Symphony Orchestra*, accessed April 23, 2015, http://www.bso.org/brands/bso/about-us/historyarchives/archival-collection/american-premieres-at-the-bso/american-premieres-the-1920s.aspx.

[93] See "American Premieres: the 1930s," in ibid., accessed April 23, 2105, http://www.bso.org/brands/bso/about-us/historyarchives/archival-collection/american-premieres-at-the-bso/american-premieres-the-1930s.aspx, and "American Premieres: the 1940s," in ibid., accessed April 23, 2015, http://www.bso.org/brands/bso/about-us/historyarchives/archival-collection/american-premieres-at-the-bso/american-premieres-the-1940s.aspx.

[94] Roussel's Symphony No. 3 in G Minor was performed on the BSO concert, November 4, 1937. While not a full-scale memorial event as Fauré's concert had been, there was a memorial biography included in the program. BSO concert program, Season 57 (1937–1938), Week 4, 7–9. A similar biography was made for Ravel the month after his death, along with an announcement for a concert dedicated to him in late-January 1938. See ibid., 579–80. The Ravel concert was more in keeping with the Fauré memorial and was similarly titled "In Memory of

The memorial concert in honor of Fauré was originally set to begin with the *Funeral Symphony* by Pietro Antonio Locatelli, followed by Fauré's *Pénélope* prelude, his *Élégie*, the orchestrated version of Ravel's "Alborada del Gracioso" from *Miroirs*, and Scriabin's Third Symphony ("The Divine Poem") to conclude the concert.[95] However, Koussevitzky altered the selections that had been advertised, and with the exception of the two Fauré pieces, the program that was actually given was vastly different.[96] It was a logical choice to begin with a work by the composer-of-honor, and accordingly, Koussevitzky opted to lead with Fauré's *Pénélope* prelude, followed by his *Élégie*, as originally planned; the latter created a mournful, funeral atmosphere emphasized by the solo cello (performed by Jean Bedetti, who also recorded the *Élégie* with Koussevitzky in 1930).[97] A significant change in repertoire, in addition to omitting the Locatelli piece, was the replacement of the Scriabin and Ravel works, the former, which would have had its American premiere at this event, and the latter, which had yet to be performed by the BSO.[98] He opted to replace the Scriabin with Beethoven's familiar *Eroica* Symphony, and use selections from Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé* ("Nocturne," "Interlude," and "Danse Guerrière") in place of the composer's less familiar "Alborada del Gracioso." A reviewer for the *Boston Daily Globe* cited a possible reason for the change in programming as a simple lack of sufficient rehearsals of the newer works, particularly the Scriabin, although the specific inclusion of the *Eroica* might have been a thoughtful artistic decision on Koussevitzky's part. The symphony was already a favorite among Boston audiences, and while the mood of the second movement ("Funeral March") is

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Maurice Ravel," although two different programs were given on Friday and Saturday, each featuring three pieces by Ravel. See ibid., 619.

[95] BSO concert program, Season 44 (1924–1925), Week 7, 487.

[96] Ibid., 509.

[97] Gabriel Fauré, *Élégie*, op. 24, Boston Symphony Orchestra, dir. Serge Koussevitzky, with Jean Bedetti, cello, RCA Victor 14577, LP, 1930. Other French works recorded around this time include Debussy, *La mer*; Ravel, *Daphnis et Chloé* Suite 2; Satie-Debussy, *Gymnopédie* No. 1; and Debussy-Ravel, *Danse* (all recorded between 1928 and 1930). Koussevitzky later recorded the Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande* for RCA Victor in 1940. See fn114.

[98] The Boston Orchestral Club, led by Georges Longy, had performed the orchestral arrangement of *Miroirs* in 1921.

certainly in keeping with the overall memorial event (one reviewer commented that the audience heard a second "elegy" in this piece), the broader heroic musical elements suitably celebrate Fauré's life.[99]

Regarding the alteration of the selections by Ravel, the overall mood of his "Alborada del Gracioso" (The Jester's Aubade), originally intended for the concert, would not have been in keeping with the solemn atmosphere of a memorial; however, the inclusion of an *aubade* (i.e., music performed at dawn in honor of an army officer) in general would have been fitting, given Fauré's service to the French Army during the Franco-Prussian War, as well as his status as Grand Croix, the highest ranking of the Légion d'honneur, which he was awarded in 1921. (Hale's program notes, composed before Koussevitzky altered his original selections, include a brief discussion of the *aubade* genre, identifying its military symbolism.[100] Although he does not make a direct connection between Fauré and the *aubade*, his notes do refer to both his military service and his Grand Croix rank.) Regarding's Koussevitzky's decision to alter his original program, there are two possible rationales: 1) this would have been the first performance by the BSO of the "Alborada del Gracioso," and the novelty of the piece could have pulled the focus from Fauré; or 2) it is possible that Koussevitzky opted to remove it from the program because of the "jester" character and the fairly inelegant style of the music, particularly in the beginning. However, rather than removing Ravel's name entirely from the program, by including the selections from *Daphnis et Chloé* Koussevitzky offered the audience an opportunity to observe a direct musical connection between Fauré and Ravel, his "most famous pupil."[101] A reviewer of this concert observes that the particular extracts (the "Nocturne," "Interlude," and "Danse

[99] "Music and Musicians," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 7, 1924, 45. Beethoven's Eroica had been performed frequently in Boston since its premiere by the Musical Fund Society (directed by G. J. Webb) in 1851. See BSO concert program, Season 44 (1924–1925), Week 7, 561.

[100] Ibid., 542.

[101] P. R., "Fauré Honored at Symphony Concert."

Guerrière") most immediately demonstrate Fauré's influence on Ravel.[102] He remarks, "Ravel is an ironist, and a better colorist than his teacher. His harmonies are more daring, though no more original and personal than those of Fauré. But how akin in tone their works are!"[103]

The memorial concert was a carefully crafted event, and was exclusive to the Boston audiences; none of these works was performed on any of the Southern tour concerts that season.[104] As reported in the *Boston Daily Globe* following the Friday concert:

> Faure's music is the work of a man with subtle taste, the most musical skill, an aristocrat by temperament. How few composers between 1870 and the present day have in their works shown…the habitual understatement, the shunning of all that could be deemed exuberance that distinguish the work of Gabriel Faure.[105]

The critic offers one bit of aesthetic criticism in his explanation of Fauré as a misunderstood composer: "There is a certain monotony in his rhythms and grayness in his tone color which for many obscures the real genius of Fauré."[106] He specifically comments on the selections included on the memorial program, remarking on the "dreary" mood of the *Pénélope* prelude and the similarly somber quality of the *Élégie*.[107] A reviewer of the Saturday evening concert compliments the young conductor for his consistency and unity in the interpretation of all four musical works, asserting that "Koussevitzky has not hitherto so perfectly kept the unity of mood and tone which used to characterize many of Dr. Muck's programs."[108]

Hale's program notes for the concert provide a snapshot of Boston's exposure to Fauré at the time of his death. In addition to details of his musical style and particular works, and a list of

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[102] In concept, the "Danse Guerrière" (dance of battle) could be considered a fitting substitute for the "Alborada del Gracioso."

[103] Ibid.

[104] Beethoven's Fifth Symphony was featured this season; the Fauré memorial concert was the only performance of the Eroica.

[105] P. R., "Faure Honored at Symphony Concert."

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

[108] "Music and Musicians," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 7, 1924, 45.

notable performances in the city, he also offers his readers the most extensive biographical information about the composer thus far, providing a chronology of Fauré's personal life, including intimate details of his childhood, specific concerts he attended as a young man that might have influenced him as a composer, and his professional appointments and awards.[109] Hale's list of Fauré's compositions is lengthy, if not exhaustive; in some cases he also includes the details of first performances in both Paris and Boston, giving the names of the most renowned musicians (e.g., Loeffler, Fox, and Gebhard, among others). He even includes works by Fauré that were not published, such as the Violin Concerto, op. 14 (1878), as well as those he identifies as mistakenly attributed to Fauré, including the opera *L'organiste*.[110] Hale takes this opportunity to address the somewhat common problem of Fauré's "mistaken identity" in America, particularly the confusion between Fauré and Jean-Baptiste Faure, French baritone and composer of the song "Les Rameaux" (The Palms"), often attributed to Fauré. Hale concludes with a list of recent criticism on Fauré's work, three by French authors and two by Americans, all published between 1919 and 1924.[111] Hale's ongoing partnership with the BSO contributed

[109] Hale lists several concerts that Fauré had attended in Germany in the 1870s, including Samson and Delilah (Weimar, 1877), music dramas by Wagner (Cologne, 1878 and Munich, 1879).Whether Hale is implying any possible influence on the composer not entirely clear. Regarding Fauré's childhood, Hale refers to his father's modest income as a teacher as a normal school in Foix, and young Fauré's subsequent financial scholarship to the Niedermeyer school. BSO concert program, Season 44 (1924–1925), Week 7, 512–16.

[110] Ibid., 516–20. Fauré is listed as the composer of the opera in two contemporary music encyclopedia sources: Riemann (1922) and Pratt (1924). Hale asserts that *L'organiste* was composed by another person with the same surname; although he does not include the full name, he does not suggest that the true composer was Jean-Baptiste Faure, whose work he knew.

[111] André Coeuroy, *La Musique Française Moderne*, (Paris: Delagrave, 1922); Émile Vuillermoz, *Musiques d'aujourdhui* (1923); G. Jean-Aubry, *French Music of To-Day* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.,1919); Edward Burlingame Hill, *Modern French Music* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924); and Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master."

greatly to the education of Boston audiences, and in the case of Fauré his fondness for the composer and his music is clearly reflected in his notes for the memorial concert program.[112]

In some ways, the concert "In Memory of Gabriel Fauré" serves as a gateway for a new era of performances of Fauré's music in a society that was rapidly changing in the wake of the First World War. Over the next two decades, through the continued efforts of Koussevitzky and later Nadia Boulanger and other important musical figures in Boston, Fauré's music had a strong presence in the city, not only through the traditional live-performance format, but also through the newly-established media format of radio transmission and the continued development of audio recordings.[113] In fact, two of Koussevitzky's historic recordings with the Boston Symphony Orchestra for RCA Victor include Fauré's *Élégie* (1930), as previously mentioned, and the Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1940).[114] These and many other works I have discussed here and in the previous two chapters have maintained or even increased their popularity over the years; for instance, in addition to the *Élégie*, the First Violin Sonata, op. 13, and the *Berceuse*¸ op. 16, continue to appear frequently on American recitals and have been recorded by numerous artists, and certainly the *mélodies* and solo piano works as a whole have been invaluable to the recitalist.[115] Others, such as *The Birth of Venus*, have fallen into a state of near neglect despite

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[112] See chapter 6 for a discussion of Hale's program notes for the earlier BSO performances of Fauré's music, and his other extensive writings on Fauré.

[113] Among the earliest American radio broadcasts to include a work by Fauré ("Après un rêve") was a recital by soprano Edith Bennett with Marie Peyer, piano. WJZ, Newark, NJ, April 19, 1922. See "Today's Radio Program," *The New York Times*, April 19, 1922, 28

[114] Gabriel Fauré, *Pelléas et Mélisande: Suite from the Incidental Music to Maeterlinck's drama, op. 80: Prélude, Fileuse, Sicilienne*, Boston Symphony Orchestra, dir. Serge Koussevitzky, RCA Victor LCT-1152, LP, 1940.

[115] Among the many noted musicians to record the *Élégie*, op. 24 (after Jean Bedetti) are Pablo Casals, cello, with the Orchestre des concerts Lamoureux (Philips, 1956; released on Archipel, B0045OC8XE, CD, 2010), and Samuel H. Mayes, cello, with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, dir. Erich Leinsdorf (RCA Victor LSC-2703, LP, 1964). Recordings of the First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13, were made by Jascha Heifetz, violin, with Brooks Smith, piano (1957; see Chapter 3 fn25), and Pinchas Zukerman, violin, with Marc Neikrug, piano (CBS Masterworks, M 35179, LP, 1980); Notable recordings of the *Berceuse*, op. 16, include those by Anne-Sophie Mutter, violin, with the Wiener Philharmoniker (Deutsche Grammophon, LC0173, CD, 1995), and Itzhak Perlman,

the early efforts to establish them within the American concert repertoire. And still other works that were almost entirely overlooked during Fauré's lifetime have emerged from the composer's oeuvre to find their place within the canon. The Requiem, for instance, has been notably absent from the present study thus far because of its relatively late introduction to American audiences; and yet, today Fauré's name is almost synonymous with this work among mainstream audiences.

While the tangible experience of hearing Fauré's music played by the BSO and other ensembles and individual performers who favored him greatly stimulated interest during this period, it was also the writings of some of Boston's noted critics beyond the concert reviews that ensured that Bostonians were well educated about this composer while he was still living. The following chapter examines in more detail several of these critics who made especially important contributions to Fauré's early reception in the U.S.

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violin, with Samuel Sanders, piano (EMI Classics, CDC 554882, CD, 1994). This selection represents a very small number of recordings of Fauré's music available to twentieth-century American consumers, and does not include recordings of other chambers works, and the numerous collections of *mélodies* and solo piano works.

Chapter 6

Promoting French Values in Boston: Fauré in the Writings of Philip Hale, Henry Taylor Parker, and Edward Burlingame Hill, ca. 1900–1925

By the time Fauré's music was being performed with any regularity in the United States, New York and Boston each had a thriving circle of music critics, running parallel to one another in many ways. The members of the so-called "Old Guard"—Henry Krehbiel, William Henderson, Henry Finck, and James Huneker in New York, and William Apthorp, Louis C. Elson, Philip Hale, and Henry Taylor Parker in Boston—possessed a particular individual style that their readers came to expect, as well as an identifiable personal musical interest that emerged through his reviews.[1] Here I extend the group of widely-acknowledged Boston critics to include Edward Burlingame Hill, who made contributions to the newspapers but also published a number of more extended critical works relevant to the present study. While Apthorp and Elson had provided a significant amount of criticism within Boston's post-Dwight musical culture, and Elson certainly contributed to the growing general interest in Parisian studies for young American musicians, as discussed in Chapter 2, it was Hale, Parker, and Hill who actively and consistently promoted French composers and their music to Boston readers throughout their careers, and all three frequently held up Fauré as a prime example of the virtues of French music, in a city in which Francophilia was on the rise. In this chapter I argue that these three critics played a central role in defining and promoting the values of French music, and Fauré's in particular, for American audiences. All three men—Philip Hale most vociferously—advocated

[1] Fred Everett Maus, et al. "Criticism," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40589pg2 (accessed June 3, 2013). Karrin Ford has examined the criticism of the "Old Guard" critics of Boston pertaining to women composers. See Ford, "Diverging Currents: Women Composers, Musical Institutions, and the Criticism of the "Old Guard" in *fin de siècle* Boston."

for French music not only on its own merits, but also as an alternative and even a corrective to a tradition of Germanic composition that they perceived to be in a state of decline.

Philip Hale (1854–1934)

Philip Hale bridged the gap between the Old Guard critics and the generation that followed; his prominence within the profession quickly became established and he eventually came to be known as the "dean of all Boston music critics."[2] As one of the younger generation it was somewhat natural for him to go against the tide of the past and traditional ideals, particularly the well-established critical opinion that placed the works of the great Austro-German composers above all other music, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Following his graduation from Yale in 1876 Hale settled in Albany, New York, where he passed the bar examination in 1880. Despite his solid legal background Hale, who had also studied organ performance, pursued his musical career as an organist, choir director, and music critic for a variety of newspapers.[3] From 1882 through 1885 he studied music in Dresden, Berlin, and Munich, but it was his time spent in Paris, where he studied organ and composition with Alexandre Guilmant, which made the most lasting impression and set Hale on the Francophile path he would follow throughout his life.[4] He returned to Albany in 1887, where he remained for two years before finally settling in Boston in 1889. In addition to his job as choir master and organist at a church in Roxbury, Hale took positions as a music critic for *The Boston Post* (1890–91) and *The Boston Journal* (1891–1903), and was later the primary music critic for the

[2] "Music," *The Oregonian*, February 17, 1918, 46.

[3] Jean Ann Boyd, "Philip Hale, American Music Critic, Boston, 1889–1933" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1985).

[4] Ibid. Boyd's dissertation examines Hale's role in Boston criticism and his thoughts on particular genres, especially program music and the late nineteenth-century symphony. She also includes in her discussion Hale's strong interest in French music, which pervades his writings from as early as the late-1890s. A discussion of Hale's contributions to the early understanding of French Impressionism is of interest for the present study in a general sense, but Fauré is not normally associated with musical Impressionism.

Boston Herald (1903–34); he was also editor of the journals *Musical Record* (1897–1901) and *Musical World* (1901–02). However, he is probably best-known as the author of exceptionally lengthy program notes for the Boston Symphony Orchestra for more than three decades (1901–33).[5] A recent study by Jon Ceander Mitchell examines Hale's central role in Boston's changing musical world during this period.[6]

Throughout his career Hale's writings often present a strong French focus, informing his readers in the still-developing musical culture of Boston of significant details about French composers and their music, and providing invaluable information about the history of the works, including their origins, revisions, first performances, and notable figures associated with them. His promotion of the modern French school was in direct opposition to the work of many of his American colleagues, especially those in the Germano-centric New York, and certainly the majority of his predecessors in Boston, who extolled the value of German music in their writings, favoring above all Richard Wagner.[7] Hale openly objected to fanatical advocacy for any one composer and found the nearly universal and indiscriminate worship of Wagner's music in Boston to be especially egregious.[8] Many of Hale's writings emphasize the value of French music, especially the compositions of the lesser-known modern composers—Fauré included—over German music. In one of his early articles Hale conveys his thoughts on the prevalence of German art-song repertoire in recital programs, and then compares German to French songs:

> But what charming songs there are by Gounod, Godard, Lalo, Massenet, César Franck, Duparc, Chausson, de Bréville,

[5] Philip Hale and John N. Burk, *Philip Hale's Boston Symphony Programme Notes; Historical, Critical, and Descriptive Comment on Music and Composers* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1935).

[6] Jon Ceander Mitchell, *Trans-Atlantic Passages: Philip Hale on the Boston Symphony Orchestra, 1889–1933* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[7] Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*, 123.

[8] Boyd discusses the informal anti-Wagner movement by Hale's predecessor, John Sullivan Dwight, and Hale's continuation of this line of thought. See Boyd, *Philip Hale, American Music Critic*, 79–103, esp. 84.

> Debussy—and perhaps, greatest of all, Gabriel Fauré, whose "Claire de Lune," [sic] or "Roses of Ispahan" is worth a wilderness of songs by modern German composers, and is equaled only by Schumann and Schubert at their best.[9]

Hale often includes Fauré as a standard by which to measure the value of modern French music, although he also admired Debussy, Saint-Saëns, and d'Indy. In fact, Hale was among the first American writers to assert the value of Debussy's music, addressing the composer's early reception and his innovative musical style that he considered often misunderstood by early audiences and critics. In Hale's straightforward assessment, "Debussy suffered at the hands of the ultraorthodox and the snobs of music."[10] One finds similar defense of other French composers (Honegger, in later years[11]), as well as forthright statements on controversial musical topics, throughout Hale's writings, which were widely quoted in newspapers throughout the country.[12]

The esteemed Hale inspired through his writings high levels of respect, trust, and in the case of those being reviewed, a healthy level of intimidation. Composers and performers were known to refer to Hale as "Philip the Great," "Philip the Terrible," and in the more comical words of Charles Ives, "Auntie Hale."[13] As overtly in favor of French music as Hale was, he was equally outspoken against German music, especially the operas of Wagner, the symphonies of Mahler, and program music in general. The latter he found especially problematic because of

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[9] Philip Hale, "Music and Musicians," *Boston Sunday Journal*, November 11, 1900, 1, 3.

[10] Quoted in Grant, *Maestros of the Pen*, 79.

[11] Boyd suggests that Boston audiences had grown accustomed to Honegger's musical idiom through Hale's efforts. He was confused by Honegger's music at first, but then grew to respect it. Hale wrote program notes for *Pacific 231*, *Rugby*, and Honegger's first symphony; the latter, which was commissioned by the BSO in 1931, was considered the best by Hale. See Boyd, *Philip Hale, American Music Critic*, 219–20.

[12] For example, an article that identifies Hale as "the dean of all Boston music critics" includes his positive commentary on tenor Roland Hayes, one of the first widely acknowledged African-American classical singers. See "Music," *The Oregonian*, February 17, 1918, 46. It should be noted that Joseph Horowitz has addressed Hale's apparent derogatory statements in 1910 regarding the qualities of "negro music" and referring to Dvořák as a "negrophile" whose influence was still felt in America. See, "Music: New World Symphony and Discord in the Gilded Age," *The Chronicle Review* 54, no. 20, (January, 2008): B21.

[13] Grant, *Maestros of the Pen*, 78.

what he considered the limitations of instrumental music in its expressive/descriptive abilities.[14] However, it should be noted that he allowed Loeffler's and Tchaikovsky's program music as exceptions, a prejudice that Jean Ann Boyd acknowledges, and in Loeffler's case attributes to the composer's French Impressionistic leanings.[15]

Hale was certainly aware of the influence he held over American audiences; nevertheless, he cautioned readers to trust their own ears as they listen to music, and not to be so easily swayed by the opinions of others they believe to be more knowledgeable:

> Every hearer is or should be a critic. He should not be merely a chronic fault-finder, nor, on the other hand, should he be indiscriminate in his thankfulness for all music heard…The judgment of the hearer is often influenced by the suggestion or the confirmation of a neighbor; He may reason thus: 'At the time I liked the symphony and I applauded. But I see that Mr. Boanerges disapproved of the instrumentation and Mrs. Hypen told me I was mistaken.' But surely this hearer should have held fast to his opinion, if there was no other evidence brought to bear against it than the solemn thundering of the said critic and the idle chatter or a woman who attends a concert as a society function.[16]

Of course, as a well-respected professional music critic Hale falls into a different category from the examples he cites. However, the general point of his essay is valid, and the observation that one's personal response to a musical work can be altered by the opinions of others speaks to the remarkable power of a critic's pen, particularly when promoting certain works, composers, or trends in music, as Hale did through his Franco-centric writings.

Hale developed his advocacy for modern French composers beyond the constraints of short newspaper articles in two notable volumes published in Boston within four years of each other. In addition to his volume *Modern French Songs* (see Appendix 2), he made an important

[14] Boyd, *Philip Hale, American Music Critic*, 77.
[15] Ibid., 44–45.
[16] Quoted in ibid., 24.

contribution to the American awareness of Fauré in his work for the encyclopedia *Famous Composers and Their Works*, first published in 1891 and then issued in a revised edition in 1900.[17] Hale edited the first volume of the new edition, which focuses on composer biographies and select historical topics; approximately half of the volume is dedicated to French composers who were not addressed in the 1891 edition, including Fauré. Hale wrote these sections himself incorporating the existing biographical sketches by French scholars and, in some cases, information provided by the composers.[18] The chapter on Fauré is especially notable because it features the most detailed information on both the life and works of the composer that had yet been presented to American readers.[19] For the section on Fauré's life, Hale provides an adapted translation of Hugues Imbert's biography of Fauré, through which the reader learns of the composer's childhood, his early musical experiences, and his later close association with Saint-Saëns, and is even offered a rather poetic description of Fauré's physical appearance, to accompany the featured photograph and several sketches of the composer.[20] Although Hale's fairly expansive discussion of Fauré's compositional output (as of 1900) highlights several instrumental pieces, such as the Violin Sonata, op. 13, it is made clear to the reader that Fauré's *mélodies* are the most significant of his works; Hale notes that they are especially appreciated by amateur singers, an important point considering the broad readership to which *Famous*

[17] See Paine, Thomas, and Klauser, eds., *Famous Composers and Their Works*; and Philip Hale and Louis Elson, eds., *Famous Composers and Their Works*, vols. 1–2 (Boston: J. B. Millet Co., 1900).

[18] Hale's sources included biographical sketches of Hugues Imbert, Geroges Servières, H. de Curzon, and André Martinet. Louis Elson edited the second volume, which features topics of theory, philosophy, health, and musicianship, as well as a pronunciation dictionary that the general reader would find useful.

[19] *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the important British reference work, was widely used by Americans from its first publication in four volumes between 1878 and 1889 as *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. However, an entry on Fauré was not included until the second edition, which appeared in1906. The article, written by Adolphe Jullien, includes the composer's biography through his appointment as director of the Conservatoire, and descriptions of his individual works to date. The third and fourth editions (1927 and 1940) feature an expanded version of the original article, revised by Marc Pincherle; in the fifth edition (1954) Eric Blom moves beyond the basic content and concludes the Fauré article with a comprehensive table of the composer's works.

[20] The chapter includes three well-known portrait sketches of Fauré by American artist John Singer Sargent, a friend of the composer.

Composers and Their Works is addressed. This point is underlined by the choice of two *mélodies* "Au cimetière" and "Clair de lune" to represent Fauré in the supporting anthology of scores, *Famous Composers and Their Music*, published by the same company the following year.[21] Hale's edition *Modern French Songs* (1904) continues his advocacy for Fauré as a composer of *mélodies*, this time including "Les roses d'Ispahan" and "Les berceaux" in addition to "Clair de lune."[22]

While Hale's newspaper criticism, encyclopedia articles, and editions were certainly important in educating his readers, it was probably the program notes that he wrote for the Boston Symphony Orchestra that reached the widest audience and enjoyed the highest profile, and here too he advanced the cause of Fauré and other modern French composers.[23] Hale's BSO notes, which have been described as "scholarly, witty, and ample," became a notable source of scholarship and opinion on which American readers and audiences grew to rely.[24] The individual programs were instant collector's items and bound copies of the annual collections were available for purchase to become a permanent part of an aficionado's personal library. Through these notes many of Boston's residents first learned about composers and music to which they might otherwise not have been exposed. Far exceeding the level of his American predecessors in

[21] *Famous Composers and Their Music* 16 vols. (Boston: J. B. Millet Co., 1901). This large collection of repertoire for at-home or general amateur musical performance was available to the general public by subscription. Volume 15 includes Fauré's "Au cimetière" and "Clair de lune."

[22] Philip Hale, ed., *Modern French Songs* vol. 1 (Boston: Oliver Ditson, Co., 1904).

[23] Hale was the primary writer of program notes for the BSO during this period, with few exceptions; Edward Burlingame Hill, for instance, furnished the notes for his own compositions.

[24] Wayne D. Shirley, "Philip Hale" in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1986), 307. The BSO gradually established its repertoire over the years, with some works appearing on multiple programs within one season, or on subsequent seasons. When a work was replayed, Hale typically reissued the same set of notes, with a small number of alterations or updated material. Hale's program notes had few detractors, but the celebrated figure of American journalism and letters H. L. Mencken stands out as a vivid exception, writing on one occasion: 'Philip Hale? His gigantic annotations scarcely belong to criticism at all; they are musical talmudism. Beside, they are buried in the program books of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and might well be inscribed on the walls of Baalbec' (H. L. Mencken, *A Book of Prefaces*, 3rd edition (New York: Knopf, 1920), 177; also quoted in Grant, *Maestros of the Pen*, 75). Mencken is referring to the Talmud Yerushalmi, a collection of Jewish writing generally considered difficult to understand, even by those knowledgeable in the topics of Rabbinic Judaism.

scholarly diligence and critical acumen, according to one scholar, Hale set the standard for all writers of program notes to follow.[25] As Mark Grant has written, "Philip Hale did not invent the program note—he developed it and perfected it; he was the J.S. Bach of program annotators."[26]

The BSO audience members were drawn from a wide range of social groupings within Boston society, and many people regularly attended the Friday afternoon or Saturday evening performances.[27] American women in particular attended both recitals and symphony concerts as part of their social recreation, thus there was likely some overlap between these audiences. The level of musical knowledge varied greatly; many BSO subscribers had some degree of musical education and performance experience and were able to take advantage of the study scores that were available for perusal at the Boston Public Library.[28] However, most concert-goers had a more casual interest in music and relied on Hale's program notes as their primary source of information and education on musical topics. He included details of composers' biographies, notable compositions, and, when possible, information on the first known Boston performances of works on the program. In this way Hale offered his readers a context beyond the grandeur of Symphony Hall, and one that connected these large-scale performances to the more intimate and cultivated setting of recital and chamber music venues. Both the notes on individual programs, and the "Entr'Act" essays in which he addressed broader musical topics not necessarily directly relevant to the program in question, were an indispensable source of knowledge to American

[25] Grant, *Maestros of the Pen*, 76.

[26] Ibid., 75.

[27] The Friday afternoon concerts had a lower ticket price and were generally billed as "rehearsals." Reviews of the Friday concerts served in some ways as advertisements for the Saturday evening performances; the latter were widely attended by members of the Boston's social elite, for whom these concerts were a significant part of their weekly entertainment and social activity.

[28] Beginning in the 1919–20 season, the BSO programs included this statement: "The works to be played at these concerts may be seen in the Allen A. Brown Music Collection of the Boston Public Library one week before the concert."

readers. Beyond those attending BSO concerts, music lovers across the country were able to purchase the bound compilations of Hale's notes that were published annually.[29]

By the time the BSO began to perform Fauré's orchestral works in 1904, Boston audiences were familiar with his name and his music partly through Hale's concert reviews and his other writings on modern French music. However, it was his program notes for the BSO performances that probably reached the largest audience of readers during this period. As the exclusive writer of these notes, Hale had full control over the content, including the description of an individual composition, its performance history, the composer's relationship to his musical world and his contemporaries, and even the minute details about his personal life and the information Hale chose to include or omit in a biographical sketch. Indeed, for the first performances of Fauré's *Shylock* suite and the prelude to *Pénélope* in 1919, and a later performance of *Pelléas*, he omitted Fauré's biography entirely, focusing primarily on the musical elements and their connection to the associated dramatic narrative (much of which has been highlighted in the previous chapter). This perhaps suggests an assumption of familiarity with Fauré in Boston by that time; nevertheless, this omission represents a significant departure from the content presented in the program notes used for performances of *Pelléas* beginning with that first performance in 1904. A brief consideration of these notes, including the alterations made for subsequent performances of the *Pelléas* suite over the years, and the more comprehensive set

[29] It is interesting to note that in the selection of Hale's notes edited by Philip Burk in 1935, the French constituency is extremely well represented, with notes for works by Saint-Saëns, Franck, d'Indy, Debussy and others; Fauré is not one of the composers the editor has chosen, however, despite the signficance of Hale's notes on the composer as discussed below (see Hale and Burk, *Philip Hale's Boston Symphony Programme Notes*). Burk includes Hale's notes for the following French works: Berlioz, *Symphony Fantastique*, and Overture, *The Roman Carnival*; Debussy, *Prélude à l'Après-Midi d'un Faune*, *Nocturnes*, *La Mer*, and *Ibéria*: "Images" for Orchestra, No. 2; Franck, Symphony in D minor; Honegger, *Pacific 231*; d'Indy, Symphony No. 2, and *Istar*, Symphonic Variations; Ravel, *Ma Mère l'Oye*: Five Children's Pieces, *Daphnis et Chloé*, Ballet (Second Series), and *Bolero*; Saint-Saëns, Symphony No. 3.

prepared for the memorial concert in 1924, offers invaluable insight into Hale's perspective on Fauré over the span of two decades.

For each of the BSO performances of *Pelléas* given between 1904 and 1923, Hale used nearly the same text for his program notes on the composition, and made minimal changes to the first set in order to update Fauré's biography and the performance history, when these elements were included. The biographical sketch from 1904 is fairly substantial in regard to his professional life; Hale refers to Fauré's first positions in Rennes and Paris, his Prix-Chartier award for chamber music, and his appointment as professor of counterpoint and fugue at the Conservatoire in 1896.[30] Additionally, he provides more intimate details of the composer's personal life, including his childhood, his early music education and influences, including his time at the École Niedermeyer, his military service, and, later, his marriage to the daughter of the famous sculptor Emmanuel Fremiet.[31] Within a relatively compact space, Hale is effective in painting an image of Fauré that offers the reader a more complete image of the person behind the music. Small but important updates were made the following year for d'Indy's guest appearance to include additional key information regarding Fauré's recent appointment as director of the Conservatoire, as well as a reference to the BSO's performance of the *Pelléas* suite the previous year.[32] Hale also takes the opportunity to draw a connection between Fauré and d'Indy in his biography of the latter, highlighting their work as co-founders of the Société Nationale de Musique—"a society that has been of the utmost service to music in France by reviving interest in symphonic and chamber works"—along with Franck, Saint-Saëns, de Castillon, Chausson,

[30] BSO concert program, Season 24 (1904–1905), Week 8, 506–08.
[31] Ibid.
[32] BSO concert program, Season 25 (1905–1906), Week 7, 490–92.

and Duparc.[33] For the performance in 1911 Hale returns essentially to his original set of notes, although he updates the performance history of *Pelléas* to include all public performances in Boston to date; his notes are otherwise identical, including the assessment of Fauré's *mélodies* as the composer's most representative genre.[34] In 1923, for the last performance of *Pelléas* by the BSO while Fauré was still living, Hale omits his biography, as he had done four years earlier for *Shylock* and *Pénélope*, although in this case he also leaves out Fauré's works list.[35] This was at least in part a practical decision, as Hale's attention for that program was focused on Mahler's First Symphony and Vaughan Williams's *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*, both performed for the first time by the BSO. However, this also underlines the fact that by that time Fauré was a familiar name to local audiences, and a comprehensive representation of this composer was no longer necessary to the same extent as it was twenty years earlier.

Without question, Hale's interest in Fauré remained strong; even for the notes on *Pénélope*, from which he excludes the composer's biography, he provides a colorful account of the events that led to the composition of the opera, namely, the dinner party in Monte Carlo at which Fauré was first approached by the city's opera house director Raoul Gunsbourg.[36] He describes Fauré's cordial dinner conversation with soprano Lucienne Bréval, seated beside him, and her introduction of him to René Fauchois, who eventually provided the libretto for *Pénélope*.[37] Hale includes the intriguing information that, at the time of their first meeting, Fauchois did not actually have a libretto for Fauré, and merely improvised as they spoke. He

[33] Hale compiled his biographical sketch of d'Indy using information provided by him. Ibid., 478, 480.
[34] BSO concert program, Season 30 (1910–1911), Week 19, 1414–23.
[35] BSO concert program, Season 43 (1923–1924), Week 6, 370–86.
[36] BSO concert program, Season 38 (1918–1919), Week 19, 1016.
[37] Hale quotes Fauré, in English, "I should be obliged to have an interpreter like my amiable neighbor." See ibid. Fauré and Bréval maintained correspondence over the years; a collection of their letters between 1911 and 1924 is held in 24 lettres de Gabriel Fauré à Lucienne Bréval, 1911-1924, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, NLA-384.

writes, "Fauré was delighted, and soon the two signed a contract with Heugel, the publisher."[38] By that point this encounter was a well-documented story, and while Hale does not cite his source for this anecdote, it was reported in a number of contemporary sources, the details varying slightly depending on the raconteur.[39] The humor of the anecdote as told by Hale was clearly intended to delight his readers, and it paints Fauré as the amiable, approachable person that he was, and endows him with instant likability.

While the above anecdote offers perspective on the lighter side of Fauré, one of the qualities Hale had long identified with this composer through his music leads in the opposite direction. The theme of *melancholy* is present in his writings on Fauré from at least as early as 1904. For instance, returning to his first program notes on the *Pelléas* suite, he suggests, "[The 'Prelude'] is charged with the pensive, twilight melancholy that characterizes so much of Fauré's music."[40] Here, he refers specifically to the instrumentation and Fauré's use of themes to illustrate this quality in *Pelléas*; while Maeterlinck's play unquestionably calls for this atmosphere, a point that Hale underlines through his inclusion of relevant portions of the text, he

[38] BSO concert program, Season 38 (1918–1919), Week 19, 1016.

[39] For a discussion of this meeting see Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 313. Charles Koechlin's article in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* in 1913 does not mention this dinner-party conversation, although he refers obliquely, with some scorn, to the fact that an instrumental composer is often asked when he will compose an opera. "On aime a demander aux symphonists: 'Quant donc ferez-vous un opéra' et c'est avec l'aire de dire: 'Quand écrivez-vous donc une oeuvre qui comte?' O prestige du théâter! Mélodies, amusement facile; sonates, laborieux ennui; voilà l'opinion courante. Hiérarchie absurd, car une seule ligne du *Parfum impérissable* vaut toute la masse pesante des operas véristes. Jugement de béotien, que de juger d'après les dimensions absolues; pour que M. Fauré soit un grand artiste , il suffit de *Clair de Lune* ou d'*Arpège*." [We like to ask the symphonists, "When will you do an opera," and it is with the air of saying, "When will you write a work that counts?" Oh, prestige of the theater! Songs, easy fun; sonatas, laborious boredom. This is the current view. Absurd hierarchy, because a single line of *The imperishable fragrance* is worth all the heavy mass of the verismo operas. Judgment of the philistine, to judge from the absolute dimensions. For M. Fauré to be a great artist, "Clair de lune" or "L'Arpège" is enough.] Charles Koechlin, "Chronique Musicale," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (July 1913): 77–81.

[40] Ibid., 503.

extends this association to the *mélodies* as well, as seen in his other writings.[41] For instance, in his preface to *Modern French Songs*, published the same year, he argues:

> To Gabriel Fauré poetry suggests emotions felt only vaguely or imperfectly even by rare poets. There is a sad, melancholy voluptuousness, never positively sensuous; the plaint is never pessimistic; the charm is indefinable.[42]

Although many of Hale's writings on modern French composers invoke this element, this is a quality that he seems to identify with Fauré in particular. He describes the uniqueness of Fauré's particular brand of melancholy in comparison to similar elements to the in the music of Duparc and Chausson, and even those of Schubert and Tchaikovsky, and goes to great pains to describe what he means in poetic terms:

> [Fauré's] melancholy is not the melancholy of an autumnal sunset; it is not the depression invoked by a burgeoning spring noon; it is not the thought of one saddened by the white death of the year….Nor is the melancholy of Fauré that described by Marguerite d'Angoulême, a noble dame, as the ennui known to every one well born….in Fauré's music there is no suggestion of 'too daily life'; the men and women are creatures of the twilights; to him the West as well as the East is exotic; his country is No Man's land.[43]

Hale's reference to Fauré's "pensive, twilight melancholy" in the *Pelléas* notes, written the same year as *Modern French Songs*, may suggest that these descriptive characteristics were simply on his mind and at the ready for describing Fauré's music. However, given the importance he places on the overall concept of melancholy in Fauré's *mélodies*, Hale's use of the same term in the context of this orchestral suite is worthy of note.

In addressing the element of melancholy in a broad sense, Hale's comparison of Fauré to Chausson and Duparc is useful to his readers, many who would have been familiar with their

[41] For instance, in his discussion of the final movement, "Mort de Mélisande," Hale includes Maeterlinck's text from Mélisande's death scene. See BSO concert program, Season 24 (1904–1905), Week 7, 505–06.

[42] Hale, ed., *Modern French Songs*, xiv.

[43] Ibid., xv.

music, particularly their *mélodies*, by then. (Hale even included selections by these composers alongside those of Fauré in *Modern French Songs*.[44]) However, the comparison he draws between Fauré and Debussy, specifically in relation to their respective settings of *Pelléas*, is more important in the long term. Although Debussy's opera had yet to be staged in the U.S. as of 1904, Hale's *Pelléas* notes offer a prime opportunity to address his perspective on the two settings by these French contemporaries. In articulating the style of Fauré's setting and its connection to his nature, Hale invokes the words of composer Alfred Bruneau, who wrote about Debussy's new opera, and adapts his assessment to encompass Fauré:

> '…the idea of fatality, of death, on which all the pieces of Maeterlinck are based, the atmosphere of sorrowful legend which entraps them as in a great veil of crape, that which is distant and enigmatical in them, their vague personages, poor kings, poor people, poor inhabitants of unnamed lands whom fate leads by the hand in the mist of the irreparable, the resigned, naïve, gentle, or solemn conversation of these passive unfortunates—all this suited in a most exact manner the temperament of Claude Debussy.' One might add 'and that of Gabriel Fauré.'[45]

To draw a parallel between the personalities or temperaments of Fauré and Debussy is perhaps surprising, given the numerous divergences observable in their respective biographies. However, Hale's choice to include this quotation was clever, as he was he able to associate Fauré instantly with this younger and more readily-recognizable contemporary in the thought-provoking context of a substantial musical work that most American audiences, including his readers, had not yet even heard.

Hale's writings throughout Fauré's life offer a perspective on the critic's own familiarity with and appreciation of this composer, as well as the information that he wanted his readers to have about him. However, these things are the most elegantly synthesized, in terms of his

[44] Ernest Chausson, "Le morts," in ibid., 52–55, and Henri Duparc, "Extase" and "Soupir," in ibid., 105–11.
[45] Ibid.

biographical sketch, in the BSO notes he prepared for the "Concert In Memory of Gabriel Fauré" (directed by Koussevitzky) in 1924. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of this concert.) Hale's notes on Fauré's works performed on that concert (the *Pénélope* prelude and the *Elégie*) are not of particular interest in regard to offering new insight into elements of the composer's musical style. For *Pénélope* he simply reproduces exactly his text from 1919, still focusing largely on the dramatic context, and for the *Élégie* provides only minimal information, including the date of publication (1883) and the fact that Fauré later orchestrated the original pianoforte accompaniment.[46] However, the biographical material is extensive, as is the works lists, a nearly exhaustive representation of Fauré's oeuvre, including information about first performances when possible; in the interest of completeness Hale even includes the String Quartet in Fauré's works list, although it had yet to be published.[47] Expanding on the biographical sketch from his earlier *Pelléas* notes, Hale provides a more inclusive list of Fauré's achievements, notably the national celebration in the composer's honor (Hale refers to this as Fauré's Jubilee) at the Sorbonne in 1922, and his decoration as Grand Croix of the Legion d'honneur. He also includes details of Fauré's writings as a music critic, namely his work for *Le Figaro*, and, more recently, his preface to Émile Vuillermoz's book *Musiques d'Aujourd'hui.*[48] Although his descriptions of the music performed that night are relatively minimal, he refers to *Pénélope* as "…an opera which his friends think will give him enduring fame," although he maintains, "…it is not improbable that [Fauré's] fame will rest on his songs and some of his chamber music."[49] Indeed, Hale includes parenthetical comments about some of the *mélodies* and chamber music, signaling his own deep interest in these compositions. In some cases he offers additional information about

[46] BSO concert program, Season 44 (*1924–1925*, Week 7, 524–42.

[47] Hale identifies Fauré's recent compositions as "Quintet (1921), Nocturne (1922), Pianoforte Trio (1923), and a String Quartet." See ibid., 520.

[48] Émile Vuillermoz, *Musiques d'Aujourd'hui* (Paris: Crès, 1923).

[49] Ibid., 511.

a work, such as the fact that Fauré orchestrated some of the pieces from his song cycle *Mirages* (1919); for others, he offers a statement of judgment, such as his remark that the *mélodie* "Nell" is "not characteristically Fauréesque."[50] Many of the compositions he names had been heard in Boston, Paris, and London for decades, as Hale observes, and would have been familiar to his readers.

In a style not far removed from his early newspaper articles, Hale begins the memorial concert notes with a vivid anecdote about Ravel's exclusion in 1905 from the Prix de Rome competition, the resulting "revolt in the artistic world of Paris," and Fauré's subsequent appointment as Director of the Conservatoire that year.[51] He follows this with two select quotations by Vuillermoz and Copland:

> To love and understand Fauré constitutes a privilege from which it is difficult not to derive a sort of innocent pride. It is the mark of a subtle ear, the flattering indication of a refined sensibility.
>
> –Émile Vuillermoz[52]

> The world at large has particular need of Gabriel Fauré to-day; need of his calm, his naturalness, his restraint, his optimism; need, above all, of the musician and his great art. 'Là, où tout n'est qu'ordre et beauté, Luxe, calme, et volupté.'
>
> –Aaron Copland[53]

It is a bold introduction, and one that captures the spirit of Fauré immediately. Through Hale's mention of the Ravel affair on one side, and the inclusion of the two deeply reverent quotations, from France and America respectively, on the other, Hale presents Fauré as a figure sometimes associated with controversy earlier in his career, but esteemed by the end of it, and on both sides

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[50] Ibid., 520.

[51] Hale explains, "[Ravel's] music had disconcerted the grave and reverend seniors [of the Institute.]" Ibid., 511.

[52] Quoted in ibid., 511.

[53] Quoted in ibid. Copland has included the closing couplet from Charles Baudelaire's *L'Invitation au voyage*. [There all is order and beauty, Luxury, peace, and pleasure.]

of the Atlantic; he thus implicitly links Fauré to notions of progress, the younger generation, and the future. (In the latter vein Hale includes a list of recent studies of Fauré's music, including works by the French authors André Coeuroy, Émile Vuillermoz, and G. Jean-Aubry, and by Americans Edward Burlingame Hill and Aaron Copland.[54]) Hale also describes in detail Fauré's state funeral and associated ceremonies, which were attended by the President and other government officials, among other notable figures. That the composer was honored in this way on such a large scale in his own country emphasizes the role of the BSO's memorial concert as a fitting tribute for him, in a city in which a strong connection to French culture and music, including that of Fauré, had existed for some time.

It was similarly fitting that Hale, one of the earliest advocates of Fauré among American critics, was the one to honor him in writing through these notes, which had played such a role in educating his mainstream audience about this composer over the past twenty years. This was the last new set of program notes he produced for a BSO performance of Fauré's music; only one more program during Hale's tenure included a composition by Fauré (the *Élégie*, in 1929), and for those notes, only minor changes were made to include a mention of the memorial concert, and a list of the BSO's performances of Fauré's music since 1904.[55] Hale's legacy remains present in later BSO notes; his successor, John N. Burk, who had served as his assistant, adapted the content of Hale's writings and greatly expanded upon them for his own contributions, a fact that is particularly evident in his *Pelléas* notes from 1939, five years after Hale's death.[56] This falls beyond the scope of the present discussion; however, I plan to pursue the topic of Fauré as represented in the BSO notes after Hale in my future research.

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[54] In addition to the above-listed works by Vuillermoz and Copland, Hale includes: Coeuroy, *La Musique Française Moderne*; Jean-Aubry, *French Music of To-Day*; and Hill, *Modern French Music*. (See Chapter 5 fn111)

[55] BSO concert program, Season 48 (1928–1929), Week 23, 1882, 1884.

[56] For a discussion of Hale's final years, including Burk's role as assistant, see Mitchell, *Trans-Atlantic Passages*, 173.

Henry Taylor Parker (1867–1934)

Another powerful critic on the Boston performing arts scene was Henry Taylor Parker, who was included in Harvard University's list (1935) of "authors and critics on the staffs of our leading journals whose artistic judgment and convincing writing have had a marked influence upon public taste."[57] Parker's background was primarily in literature, but he became well known as a critic of both theater and music. Although in some ways he was more tolerant than many of his fellow Boston critics, "H. T. P.," as he typically signed his newspaper articles, was considered so fearsome that to many his initials stood for "Hard to Please," or, perhaps more colorfully, "Hell to Pay."[58] Nevertheless, through his years of deep personal investment in the performances he reviewed Parker held a great deal of power over the musical and dramatic arts culture in Boston and commanded as much respect as Hale.

Throughout his career Parker wrote primarily for the *Boston Evening Transcript*, covering the most important dramatic and musical performances in the city. While he had assistants, and occasional outside contributors also wrote for the *Transcript*, Parker generally reviewed the most notable performances, including the weekly concerts by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and chamber music concerts by well-known Boston musicians and those on tour from Europe. A biography by David McCord published a year after Parker's death paints the picture of the formidable critic as one who devoted the majority of his energy to attending performances and writing extensively about them for publication the next day.[59] McCord, who knew Parker personally, offers many colorful anecdotes about him in vivid detail; his colleagues rightfully feared his frequent outbursts and intolerance of poor grammar and editing procedures.

[57] Spalding, *Music at Harvard*, 220.
[58] Grant, *Maestros of the Pen*, 96.
[59] McCord, *H. T. P.: Portrait of a Critic*.

McCord also describes Parker's fiery interactions with Boston's elite, including the venerable Isabella Stewart Gardner among others. And yet Parker also had a softer side when it came to experiencing the music or the drama itself. While he actively avoided interacting with the performers, departing immediately after the conclusion of an event, Parker became intimately involved with the performances.[60] He did not experience these events casually, but rather reacted with great sensitivity in the moment, which is often evident in the reviews that he composed.

Unlike Hale, Parker was not musically educated, having majored in literary studies at Harvard.[61] He relied instead on his own personal aesthetics, developed largely during numerous European voyages.[62] Parker preferred to remain in his comfort zone, relying on his instincts regarding performance style and quality, and often placing his focus on a broader topic pertaining to the performance. For instance, he obliquely mentions "the poetry of sound" in Fauré's *Le Ruisseau*, op. 22, a work for two women's voices and accompaniment, in the context of a lengthy discussion of the merits of unaccompanied vocal music.[63] However, while his reviews lack the technical details that would be included by Hale or other musician-critics, he knew enough musical terminology to inform his concert reviews, and they are intuitively informative and equally descriptive, replete with colorful descriptions that bring to life the music, through his observations of the performers' successes or failures. Some have likened Parker's writing style to that of e.e. cummings's prose—expansive and poetic, with

[60] Ibid., 14–15.

[61] Parker attended Harvard (1886–89), although he is said to have been dissatisfied with the course offerings in theater and literature. See *Harvard Alumni Directory 1919* (Cambridge: Harvard Alumni Association, 1919): 51; and Gerald Bordman and Thomas S. Hischak, "Parker, Henry Taylor," in *The Oxford Companion to American Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): 242.

[62] Parker published his thoughts on conductors and performers in his book *Eighth Notes: Voices and Figures of Music and the Dance* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, Inc., 1922).

[63] H. T. P., "In the World of Music," *Boston Daily Transcript*, March 31, 1906, 18. *Le Ruisseau* was performed by the Choral Arts Society (conducted by Wallace Goodrich) on a program composed mostly of *a cappella* pieces.

extraordinarily lengthy sentences through which the reader must work in order to understand his meaning.[64]

Parker made his home in Boston, but he was a well-seasoned traveler, feeling equally comfortable in London, Paris, or Berlin.[65] His familiarity with European cultural developments led him to pronounced opinions on the importance of different national schools of musical composition. For instance, in his volume *Eighth Notes* (1922) Parker asserts, "The tradition that music is a German art—or manufacture—is dead."[66] He thought about the development away from exclusively Teutonic leanings of American audiences through their increasing exposure to French, Russian, and Italian music, and on the role played in this by the German conductor Karl Muck and his work with the Boston Symphony Orchestra.[67] Parker himself was well acquainted with French music from his time spent in Paris and London, where music of Saint-Saëns, Fauré, d'Indy, and others was frequently programmed on concerts and recitals. By the time Parker began writing for the *Boston Evening Transcript* in 1905, Fauré's music had already been heard on a number of high-profile concerts in the Boston area, including the 1902 performance of *Birth of Venus* at the Worcester Music Festival, as well as many chamber music and song recitals. Two reviews serve as an example of Parker's views on French music, and in particular his approach to Fauré.

Parker reviewed d'Indy's appearance at the BSO in 1905, which included the second performance by the ensemble of Fauré's *Pelléas* suite.[68] The article takes up most of the newspaper page on which it appears, although Parker says very little about the individual

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[64] Grant, *Maestros of the Pen*, 96.

[65] McCord describes how others would mistake Parker for a local, or at least a genuine European when abroad. See McCord, *H. T. P.: Portrait of a Critic*, 22–23.

[66] Parker, *Eighth Notes*.

[67] Ibid., 9–14.

[68] Parker, "In the World of Music, D'Indy Conducts at the Symphony Concert."

musical works. He focuses rather on the negative aspects of d'Indy's physical appearance, demeanor, and style of conducting, although, in the end, he found that d'Indy succeeded more than once in his expressive endeavors. However, through careful reading several notable statements emerge regarding Parker's thoughts on French music in general, and about Fauré's characteristic style of composition. His view of the latter we might infer from his description of d'Indy's conducting of the suite, and which aspects of d'Indy's conducting style are well suited to the music. In his discussion of the French works on the program (by Franck, Fauré, Dukas, and d'Indy himself), Parker compliments d'Indy's "mastery of climax" and his "feeling for fine and undulating texture of tone," likening his conducting style to that of Richard Strauss (an interesting choice, perhaps, considering the German lineage of the latter).[69] Parker thought d'Indy could have benefitted from more flexibility at times, which was especially evident in the *Pelléas* suite:

> Once and again, especially with Fauré, [d'Indy's conducting] seemed to be trying to inflate the mood and contents of the music when the composer would keep them of a more subdued and smaller, but not less piercing, intensity.[70]

This remark suggests a typical view of Fauré as a composer of understatement, with a restrained surface tending to mask deep underlying passion. He goes on to remark that in general d'Indy is "for the advance of music as the mirror of thought and ideas, their relation, contrast and contest."[71] However, he questions, especially in the context of French music, the amount of intellectualism d'Indy seems to put into both his conducting and his compositional style, asking, "How far can he make music intellectual expression?"[72] One wonders if this perhaps reveals an assumption on Parker's part, reflecting in turn a broader American attitude of time, that the

[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

French style is steeped in sensuality, rather than the more abstract conceptualism associated with the German symphonic tradition.

Parker was by no means an uncritical admirer of Fauré's music. As we saw in Chapter 4, in his review of the Choral Art Society's performance of *The Birth of Venus* he openly rebukes "Fauré's disappointing choral piece."[73] Although he places much of the blame on Goodrich's conducting, Parker's disappointment in the composition itself reflects his high expectations of Fauré. He knew the composer's music well enough to acknowledge that "Fauré's characteristic qualities do not always bear well the larger forms of music, even if the particular form be no more than an ode."[74] He reveals his intimate familiarity with the majority of Fauré's oeuvre and his deep respect particularly for his *mélodies* and chamber works:

> They bloom with a delicate and exotic beauty in his songs and piano pieces, for example. But in some of his larger and longer music the bloom withers into dryness and the exotic perfume and suggestion evaporate. Though he has written a symphony, though he is working on an opera, though his quartet and his quintet often praise him, his characteristic perfections go in little things.[75]

In this way Parker maintains his positive assessment of Fauré's music in general while offering a clear explanation for why *Venus* was unsatisfying for him.

Among Parker's most ambitious and interesting articles about modern French music is a report on the reforms instituted at the Conservatoire under Fauré's guidance, published in the *Transcript* in 1907, two years after Fauré's appointment as director.[76] It is notable that Parker should be the one to take on this task, considering he had not studied music formally and did not

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[73] H. T. P., "Music and Drama, the Cecilia's Concert of Short Pieces," *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 1, 1908, 19.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] H. T. P., "A Musical Overturn," *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 31, 1907, 15. Parker wrote this article during his summer visit to Paris.

hold an academic position at any of Boston's music schools, facts that set him apart from other music critics in the city. If this article had been written a year later, Edward Burlingame Hill, who was appointed to the Harvard music department faculty in 1908, might well have been assigned this piece; Hill had studied in Paris, was on his way to becoming a significant figure in the musical academic scene in Boston, and also contributed occasionally to the *Transcript* (I will return to a fuller consideration of Hill later in this chapter). Parker's extensive article provides a history of the Conservatoire, including its decline within the confines of "tradition," Fauré's appointment as director of the school, and the changes that he enacted within the curriculum.[77] Parker remarks on the long-awaited reform:

> Outside France, foreigners still accounted the Conservatory the most celebrated school of music and acting in the world. In Paris most of these that sincerely cultivated either art knew how hollow in any respects was its prestige.[78]

Parker enumerates both the virtues and the drawbacks of the established Conservatoire teaching methods and outcomes. He remarks specifically on the continuity of the tradition of French lyric opera as produced by the school, although he reports on the mediocrity and artificiality stemming from the acting classes. He refers to the "lifeless formalism" and "sham classics" of the composition students, seemingly in imitation of Cherubini; the "dry technical precision" of the instrumentalists, and the outdated vocal instruction, reliant on an old-fashioned style associated with Meyerbeer.[79] As Parker states, "Individuality and innovation were things to discourage."[80]

The article represents a different style of reporting than that which Parker normally adopted. Rather than his typical approach, which was to present an essay in the form of an

[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid. Parker is referring specifically to musical composition, but the sentiment certainly transmits to the other disciplines.

opinion piece, Parker's outward goal in writing this article is to present a factual account of the history and evolution of the Conservatoire to his American readers, although he does not write entirely without bias. He describes the severe reaction of the traditional teachers and the older members of the public audiences, particularly regarding the programs designed by Georges Marty (1860–1908), who included more "modern" works than audiences were used to hearing. However, Parker remarks on the success of the Lamoureux concerts, which often featured the works of Fauré, d'Indy, Debussy, and other "newer" French composers. These concerts, as well as the success of the new Schola Cantorum, served as a catalyst for the Conservatoire reform that some felt were long overdue. The same detractors of the "new" French composers were those who objected to Fauré's appointment.

Parker describes aspects of the Conservatoire's "tradition," painting them in a heavy, outdated, negative light. He describes the mocking of old-school Parisians clinging to the stasis of tradition, including the officials at the Conservatoire as well as the general public resistant to change:

> Thus the Conservatory stood still, lived upon its past, and nourished its children upon the very thin, very blue and very watery milk of 'the tradition.' Meanwhile the world outside it was not standing still either in the art of music or in the arts of the theater. With each year, indeed, it was leaving the Conservatory farther behind and was mocking more and more in work and in practice at 'the tradition' and the hollow prestige built upon that ancient foundation.[81]

Parker credits Fauré with enacting the long-awaited changes, "… the 'reform of the Conservatory,' long agitated, long demanded, but never really undertaken, practically began two years ago when Gabriel Fauré, the composer, became its director."[82] He frames much of his

[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.

discussion of Fauré's reforms in the context of musical intelligence, curiosity, and appreciation. He presents these concepts under the umbrella of newness and innovation, remarking in turn on the new methods of teaching, the new standards of performance, and the new style among the newly-appointed professors in the Conservatoire. Parker elaborates on the developing taste that was observable among the students, particularly regarding their selections of examination pieces that reflected the overall reform in the school, and that highlighted the changes that had been present within the performing groups outside the Conservatoire for some time, namely the Colonne and Lamoureux concerts. Parker suggests, "M. Fauré stood for many things that the 'tradition' had long opposed. He was indeed one of those 'new' composers at whom the Conservatory had sneered."[83] Fauré's appointment marked the first time in the history of the Conservatoire that one who did not continue the school's well-established path was put in control. As Parker observes, "The director practically controlled the Conservatory, prescribed its methods and shaped its spirits…"[84] Parker's dialectic opposes the concepts of tradition and innovation, which likely spoke to a wide-ranging readership in Boston, a city built on the former. However, during the first years of the new century, while many of the older citizens prided themselves on adhering to tradition, the members of the younger generation were interested in progress and the new concept of modernism that had been emerging in European cities. In this context one may perhaps read an underlying implication in Parker's account that fashionable Bostonians would surely wish to follow in the footsteps of the Parisians they sought to emulate in their own cultural development, leaning toward similar new standards and a new appreciation of music in their city, and moving past the existing repertoire and toward the new generation of modern French works so recently encouraged by the Conservatoire reforms.

[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

The general tone of Parker's discussion is very much in favor of Fauré and Marty; he gives credit to these men for propelling the Conservatoire into a new era. With all his discussion of innovation versus tradition in the Conservatoire, one notable omission on Parker's part is any mention at all of Fauré's age—he was sixty years old when his tenure as director began. It is unlikely that Parker was unaware of Fauré's age; he had spent considerable time in Paris and likely attended performances by Fauré. His decision to not include Fauré's age simply allows Fauré to be considered without distraction in the context of innovation and progress, which are not often associated with older figures in society.

Edward Burlingame Hill (1872–1960)

As early as 1906 Edward Burlingame Hill acknowledged Boston's interest of modern French music.[85] The American composer, music educator, and critic had encountered Fauré's music through his own teachers, and first became acquainted with the composer on a personal level during his time spent in Paris. He became a strong advocate for Fauré's music in Boston, along with Charles Martin Loeffler, and was also among Fauré's "American admirers" who sent the composer a gift of 2,000 francs in 1921 as financial assistance following his retirement from the Conservatoire.[86] In his 1924 monograph *Modern French Music*, though Hill considered Fauré's music as being still in need of promotion within the United States, he acknowledges the composer's rapid ascent to prominence within his native musical culture:

> Once launched in Parisian musical circles, Fauré had no difficulty in obtaining recognition. None of the vicissitudes which so disheartened Chabrier barred his progress. The indefinable charm

[85] E. B. Hill, "Une opinion Américaine sure Maurice Ravel," *Le Mercure musical* 2 (1906): 307. Excerpts reprinted in Knight, "Boston's 'French Connection'," in *Music and Culture in America 1861–1918*, ed. Michael Saffle, 1–18.

[86] Others included John Singer Sargent, Charles Loeffler, and Fanny Mason. Nectoux and Knight both describe the circumstances of financial crisis that affected Fauré and many others in France at this time. Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 425; Knight, *Charles Martin Loeffler*, 204.

> of his music, the suavity and grace of his personality caused his reputation to spread as if by magic without effort toward self-advertisement.[87]

Hill's position in Boston was very much centered in the academic musical community. He was born in Cambridge, where his grandfather had been the president of Harvard, and his father a professor of chemistry there.[88] Hill pursued his education at Harvard, where he studied music with John Knowles Paine, and at the New England Conservatory with George Chadwick.[89] As a composer he is often grouped together with Chadwick, Arthur Foote, Edward McDowell, Amy Beach, and Horatio Parker as a secondary member of the so-called "Second New England School," of which Paine is regarded as the patriarch.[90] Following his graduation in 1894 Hill continued his studies in piano and orchestration in Boston and New York with a number of notable instructors, including B. J. Lang, George Whitefield Chadwick, Frederic Field Bullard, Ludovic Breitner, and Arthur Whiting; the latter two had a significant influence over Hill's burgeoning interest in French music. Breitner, who had been an active concert pianist in Paris in the last decades of the nineteenth century, had introduced Hill to the piano works of modern French composers; Whiting, who had a keen interest in the music of these composers, especially Debussy and Ravel, had likely encouraged Hill to pursue additional studies in Paris.[91] Hill's friendship with Loeffler and other Boston musicians who had studied in Paris, and whose own musical tastes reflected the French idiom, also likely contributed to his decision to study

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[87] Hill, *Modern French Music*, 83.

[88] The article on Hill in Grove also refers to his father as a singer of Lieder, although it is unclear at what level, if any, he achieved any musical notice. Charles H. Kaufman, "Hill, Edward Burlingame," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13026 (accessed August 7, 2013).

[89] Linda L. Tyler, *Edward Burlingame Hill: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 2–10.

[90] John Warthen Struble, *The History of American Classical Music: MacDowell through Minimalism* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1995), 22–46, and 83–84.

[91] Tyler, *Edward Burlingame Hill*, 5–6.

abroad.[92] Hill studied with Charles-Marie Widor at the Paris Conservatoire for just one summer (1898), but his time spent there greatly influenced his compositional style and, in general, the musical ideals that he retained throughout his career and that he promoted to his students and to readers of his criticism.

Much of Hill's time between his return from Paris in 1898 and his appointment as professor of music at Harvard in 1908 was occupied by his composing, teaching private piano and theory lessons in Boston, and writing concert reviews for the *Boston Evening Transcript* (though as we have seen, H. T. Parker was the primary reviewer for that paper). Even Hill's earliest articles for the *Transcript* demonstrate his personal interest in French music, as well as his extensive knowledge of it. As a composer, Hill's style embodies elements of wit and refinement, often associated with French musical style of this era, as well as a more individual American strain. Philip Hale included Hill among those whom he considered representative of the best that Americans were achieving in the arts at that time, along with Loeffler, Foote, and Deems Taylor, composers Hale associated with tradition, taste, technical skill, and "a suggestion at least of individuality."[93]

Upon his appointment at Harvard in 1908, Hill taught courses in orchestration and music history. His students would later include Virgil Thomson, Elliott Carter, and Leonard Bernstein, among others, creating a significant bond with the next generation.[94] While composers such as Thomson and Carter would forge their own direct links with the French tradition through study

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[92] Ibid.

[93] Hale was responding to reviews of Nicolas Slonimsky's programs of American works performed in Havana, Paris, and Berlin in 1931 and 1932, programs that Hale thought unrepresentative of American music, and against which he offers his own list of what he believes to be the defining attributes of the best American concert music of the time. Philip Hale, "Mr. Slonimsky in Paris," *Boston Herald*, July 7, 1931, 14. Also quoted in Kyle Gann, *American Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 34.

[94] Tyler, *Edward Burlingame Hill*, 10.

in Paris, most notably with Nadia Boulanger, Hill's teaching surely sowed the seeds of a French affinity, or at least encouraged it. As one of the prominent members of Harvard's music faculty, Hill imparted his interest in French and Russian music, favoring them particularly over the German composers, to his students and colleagues throughout his tenure.[95] His courses in orchestration frequently drew on the works of French composers, and from 1910–11 onward, Hill regularly offered a course that explored in broader stylistic terms d'Indy, Fauré, and Debussy. Hill's course, intended primarily for graduate students, is described in the Harvard course catalogue[96]:

> This course aims to show the sources which have influenced the individual styles of D'Indy, Fauré, and Debussy to touch upon the work of Chabrier, Charpentier, Dukas, and Ravel, and to indicate the specific characteristics of the modern French idiom in comparison with that of other countries.[97]

Hill placed the weight of the course on the composers considered the most important in the development of French music at this time, although in many of his later published writings, Hill brings others to the forefront of his discussion.[98] I will discuss Hill's views of French music in greater detail presently, but in essence he regarded it as embodying charm, grace, elegance, and sentiment—elements of style frequently associated with Fauré and many of his French contemporaries.[99] Hill frequently gave lectures outside of the university, appearing as a guest lecturer or advising others at Boston-area institutions, such as the Lowell Institute, and at European institutions, such as the Universities of Strasbourg and Lyon.[100] It is from these lectures that Hill drew the material for *Modern French Music* and for his many articles, which

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[95] Ibid., 9–11.

[96] Although intended primarily for graduate students, Walter Piston took this course during his third year at Harvard.

[97] Harvard University, *Harvard University Catalogue 1922–1923*, 57.

[98] For a brief discussion of Hill's course, see Tyler, *Edward Burlingame Hill*, 9–10.

[99] Edward Burlingame Hill, "Gabriel Fauré's Piano Music," *The Musician* 16, no. 8 (1911): 511, 561.

[100] Hill, *Modern French Music*, vii.

were published in significant music journals including *The Etude*, *The Musician*, *Modern Music*, and *The Musical Quarterly*. As previously noted, Hill also furnished the program notes for his own works when these were performed by the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

Several honors, such as his election to the International Jury for Musical Composition at the Olympic Games in Paris (1924) and his decoration as Chevalier of the Légion d'honneur in 1936, attest to Hill's contributions to the understanding of French culture and to his recognition in France as a notable figure in advancing modern French music.[101] While not often considered among the group of the most prominent Boston music critics, Hill's contributions to the discussion of French music in general, and his specific discussions of Fauré and his contemporaries, in Boston, are highly significant.

Hill articulated his thoughts on the discipline of music criticism in an article about Maurice Ravel, published in 1927:

> Musical criticism in particular, perhaps owing to the co-existence of dissimilar styles and the divergence of esthetic aims, has shown itself to be markedly febrile and unstable. Frequently a judgment is launched which, apparently, bears the hall-mark of immortality. A few years elapse; new conditions arise which threaten the validity of the infallible opinion of yesterday. Mistaken dicta crumble from the basis of truth, and even the central assertion must be modified in the light of a fresh viewpoint, if it is to survive. Thus, the history of musical criticism is that of a series of phoenixes arising from the ashes of analytic disaster. During periods of innovation such processes are many times repeated.[102]

Here, Hill paints a general picture of the music critic's necessary response to the naturally changing musical tastes of society. However, while Philip Hale's opinions regarding certain

[101] Appointments to the Légion d'honneur are awarded to those who have made notable contributions to the honor of France through the arts, literature, science, or military activities. While a number of Americans have been made honorary members of the order since its inception in 1802, it is fairly uncommon and is considered an especially high diplomatic honor.

[102] Edward Burlingame Hill, "Maurice Ravel," *The Musical Quarterly* 13 (January 1927): 130–46.

composers or styles of music changed drastically in some ways over the years, Hill's own views remained relatively static. Although his statements of opinion are shaped and refined across his writings, the general content remains in most cases relatively unchanged. That is not to say Hill did not develop as a music critic; rather, he articulated in greater depth and detail his earliest thoughts on music, and this is certainly true of his views on Fauré and his contemporaries. That said, some of his assessments of Fauré's musical style do change notably between his earliest writings and his later ones.

Some of the earliest examples of Hill's critical writings appear in the *Boston Evening Transcript* in the years just before his appointment at Harvard in 1908. While H. T. Parker was the primary critic of drama and music at this time, Hill often reviewed concerts that featured modern French music, including both familiar and unfamiliar composers.[103] A common theme in Hill's reviews is the frequent drawing of comparisons between the French composers and the more familiar Germans so often featured on the concert programs of Boston and New York. While his focus is often placed on the performer's interpretation of the national styles as much as the compositions themselves, Hill carefully identifies specific elements within the music that contribute to its unique sound. But he is a demanding critic, and his opinion is almost never entirely positive: he frequently expresses disappointment in the music, the composer, or even the performer for having chosen to program that work in the first place.

A number of Hill's early articles in the *Boston Evening Transcript* demonstrate his perspective on modern French music, and specifically on Fauré, during this era. They establish Hill's broad knowledge of Fauré's musical works, his understanding of what he considers the

[103] It is unclear whether Parker was solely responsible for assigning work to Hill and other contributors, or whether assignments were given "per request." Parker is said to have kept the "important" assignments (for example, the BSO concerts) for himself, and then passed along the others to his associates accordingly. See McCord, *H.T.P: Portrait of a Critic*, 9.

proper interpretation of Fauré's music, and begin to identify the elements of musical style at various points of Fauré's compositional work, a topic on which Hill elaborates in his scholarly articles that followed. These later articles likely influenced other writers; Aaron Copland for instance, in his 1924 article on Fauré, retains in many ways the designations Hill established years earlier.[104]

Two reviews published within weeks of each other, both covering concerts by the renowned pianist Félix Fox, serve as an example. In the first case, Fox performed in Steinert Hall on November 20, 1906, with members of the Hoffman Quartet as guest artists.[105] The program included Brahms's Piano Quintet, op. 34, the first movement of Glazunov's Second Piano Sonata, op. 75, d'Indy's Piano Quartet, op. 7, and two works by Fauré, the Romance, op. 17 no. 3 and the Fourth Impromptu.[106] According to Hill:

> Mr. Fox has an established reputation as a producer of worthy novelties in modern piano music, especially of the French school. His activity is doubly praiseworthy as pianists are lamentably prone to follow well-worn paths in programme making; also the public at large is still unaware of the significance of much modern French piano music.[107]

Promoting the trend of "novelties," Hill compliments Fox for not following this "well-worn path" and for including French works, although in the case of the Fauré selections, he is vividly disappointed in the specific choices:

> It is incomprehensible why among the many interesting and poetic piano pieces by Fauré, Mr. Fox should have chosen the early Romance belonging to his apprentice days and bordering on the trivial with its facile salon style. Surely there are among the Nocturnes or even the 'Pièces Brèves' more characteristic

[104] For example, see Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master."

[105] E. B. H. "Chickering Hall: Chamber Concert," *Boston Evening Transcript*, November 21, 1906, 17. (Note: the venue was actually Steinert Hall, as indicated in the body of the article. Fox's next recital was also given there.)

[106] Hill gives Glazunov's name as "Glazunoff." Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

> examples of this composer's individuality which would have satisfied the demands of mood and atmosphere for this group. The Impromptu, a typical specimen of Fauré's later style, might seem to the uninitiated somewhat incoherent in the subtlety of its modulations and thematic development. If on a first hearing the middle section seems less happy in invention, the piece as a whole has distinctive grace and charm.[108]

This is an early suggestion, borne out in his later writings, that Hill did not unequivocally appreciate all of Fauré's works, and was quite prepared to make decisive critical rankings among them. In this case, he does not object to the Impromptu itself, rather the fact that it is not what he considers to be characteristic of Fauré's talent in piano composition, and that it might not be immediately accessible to those unfamiliar with Fauré's style. He offers a similar criticism of Fox's other selections, commenting that d'Indy's Piano Quartet, op. 7 was not of tremendous interest, but that several others of his works not yet heard in Boston (the Istar Variations, the Second Quartet, the Second Symphony, and the Violin Sonata, op. 59) should be of interest to any music critic of modern music. Hill also wonders rhetorically why Fox did not include the popular works by Ravel, particularly "Une barque sur l'océan" and "La vallée des cloches," which had become standard concert repertoire in France by that time.[109] Hill spends minimal time on the non-French works, remarking on Brahms's Piano Quintet only that the ensemble had not rehearsed the work sufficiently, and that the tempos were too fast. He receives Glazunov's work more positively by comparison, although Hill does not find the composer's piano works to reflect his true talent, citing the orchestral works as better examples.[110] This early article demonstrates Hill's knowledge of the recent French repertoire, and offers his honest assessment of the value of specific works over others by the same composers.

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[108] Ibid.
[109] The title of the former piece is printed as "Un barques sur l'ocèan." Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

Hill also reviewed Fox's second recital in Steinert Hall, given on January 3, 1907, with Nicholas Douty (tenor) as the assisting artist.[111] Hill's overall assessment of the recital once again commended Fox's program choices: "On the whole an interesting concert, in which the trend of the programme towards unfamiliar music was refreshing and noteworthy."[112] While Brahms, Wagner, Liszt, and others are represented on the lengthy and diverse program, again, it is the works of the French composers, in this case Fauré, Saint-Saëns, Debussy, and Leroux, that capture Hill's attention. He refers to several *mélodies* performed by Douty (Fauré's "Nell", Debussy's "Mandoline" and "Chevaux de bois", and Leroux's "Le Nil"), calling the set, "…just the proper antidote to the conventional recital programme."[113] This statement again illustrates Hill's interest in the programming choices of performers almost as much as the compositions themselves. While he is not especially impressed by Douty's technique or interpretation of the songs, Hill is quite interested in the works themselves, especially in "Le Nil" (The Nile) by composer Xavier Leroux, a composer and professor of harmony at the Paris Conservatoire. After introducing the unfamiliar Leroux to Boston audiences with biographical details and a brief list of his compositions, Hill goes on to attribute elements of the French style to Leroux's works: "'The Nile' is an excellent specimen of the type of modern French song, exotic in quality, with an individual bent of melody and distinctively Oriental in atmosphere."[114] He offers what is essentially an advertisement for the modern French *mélodie*, praising the works of these French composers while remarking on the failures of interpretation and performance by Douty. He comments that, while Douty's performance of Debussy's "Chevaux de bois" earned an encore,

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[111] E. B. H., "Steinert Hall: Mr. Fox's Recital," *Boston Evening Transcript*, January 4, 1907, 12.

[112] Ibid.

[113] In addition to the French works, Fox and Douty's program included works by MacDowell (Prelude), Brahms ("Minnelied" and "Ständchen"), Grieg: "Lichte Nacht"Wagner ("Liebeslied" from *Die Walküre*), Liszt (Fifth Rhapsody), Zanello (Menuet), Moriz Rosenthal (Variations on an Original Theme), and Adolf Henselt (*La Gondola*). Ibid.

[114] Ibid.

"the ever-charming 'Mandoline'" was dragged until its buoyancy was all but lost." Furthermore, Hill vehemently states that Douty did not adequately capture the "delicate" and "unpretentious" qualities of Fauré's "Nell." Hill's statements on the *mélodies* performed on this particular recital suggest a true familiarity with the genre and with the latter two works in particular.[115]

A comparison of the two French piano works on the program, Fauré's Seventh Barcarolle and Saint-Saëns's *Allegro appassionata*, suggest Hill's similar familiarity with the solo French piano repertoire of the era. Hill comments on the Saint-Saëns piece, "…[its] construction is ingenious and the end brilliant." However, he is not entirely pleased with Fox's performance of the work, calling it "…extremely interesting at times, only to become astoundingly vapid."[116] Regarding the quality of Fauré's Barcarolle, Hill remarks that it "…displays the scrupulous technique and the finished characteristics of its author's later style, delicacy of modulation and flowing phrases without the earlier freshness of inspiration."[117] This exhibits a certain coolness toward this particular piece, which is further illustrated through Hill's choice not to include it in his article that examines Fauré's piano works in detail that appeared several years later.[118]

Hill continued to contribute articles to the *Boston Evening Transcript* throughout his tenure at Harvard, but it was in his more substantial articles for the important scholarly journals of the era that Hill fully developed his views on French music. His interest in promoting the works of Fauré, d'Indy, Ravel, and Loeffler resulted in colorful personal portraits of these composers, as well as a discussion of their musical styles, select works, and various points of influence—in the case of the American Loeffler, the specific influence of the French composers

[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.
[118] See Hill, "Gabriel Fauré's Piano Works."

on his musical style and development.[119] In each article Hill refers to Fauré's music or musical ideals in relation to those of the other composers; most notably in the article about Loeffler, Fauré's influence is depicted on a personal level, with the warm friendship between the two clearly illustrated. Hill published the first of these articles, "Gabriel Fauré's Piano Music," in *The Musician* in 1911. This early article is significant in that it offers a detailed view of Hill's knowledge and appreciation of Fauré's music at this point, and establishes a foundation from which to trace the evolution of Hill's understanding of the composer throughout the remainder of Fauré's life and in the years after his death.

Like many other critics, Hill had remarked at various points on the value of Fauré's *mélodies*, calling them his "most characteristic compositions…the rarest flowers of modern song."[120] He goes so far as to declare, "They occupy a secure position from which no radical developments of modern music can oust them."[121] Placing the *mélodies* momentarily to one side, the purpose of Hill's 1911 article is to introduce his readers to Fauré's piano works, which he ranks as highly as the achievements of the younger modern French composers—namely Debussy, Dukas, Ravel, and de Sévérac.[122] This is not to say that Hill admires each individual piano work by Fauré; although he offers high praise to many, he is also brutally honest in his assessment of particular works that he believes fall short. His overriding concern is with the "individual significance" of Fauré's work in this genre, and with identifying those piano works of the composer that most successfully convey his personal style. He addresses the intangible quality of Fauré's music:

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[119] Edward Burlingame Hill, "Vincent d'Indy: An Estimate," *The Musical Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1915): 246–59; and Edward Burlingame Hill, "Maurice Ravel," *The Musical Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (January 1927): 130–46.

[120] E. B. H., "Steinert Hall: Mr. Fox's Recital."

[121] Hill, "Gabriel Fauré's Piano Music," 511.

[122] Ibid.

> In considering the work of Gabriel Fauré, we are confronted with a personality of singular elusiveness. Far removed from certain ultra-moderns who have a morbid horror of the commonplace, and who in consequence develop an individuality insistent to the verse of artificiality, not deserving the reproach of being termed pseudo classicist or pedant, he has followed his appointed path steadily, content to be responsive to his inner convictions. If at times he has relaxed the severity of his artistic standards (and who has not), his music as a whole has much persuasive charm, such distinctive *finesse*, such admirable grace and elegance of sentiment that it were surely cross stupidity to be blind to his rare quality.[123]

From the start, Hill directly confronts negative elements that he identifies in Fauré's public reception at this time. He calls attention to three elements: a character of elusiveness that makes Fauré appear difficult to understand; the reproach that Fauré is a "pseudo classicist" compared to the ultra-moderns (namely Debussy and Ravel, as we learn in Hill's later writings); and the general qualities of Fauré's music that have been ignored or gone without notice, particularly the charm, grace, elegance, and sentiment noted earlier as elements associated with the French style, and terms that appear widely in the writings of Hill, particularly those about Fauré and his music.[124]

Hill's purpose in this article is to offer the reader unfamiliar with the music of Fauré an overview of a significant number of works, placed in the context of the three periods of style that he establishes. This early periodization of Fauré's music is an important step in categorizing his style in general terms, even though here it is applied specifically to the output for solo piano, and could also not take into account, of the course, the music that the composer was still to write over the following decade or so—even in the realm of piano music, Fauré would go on and compose several more nocturnes and barcarolles after 1911.[125] However, Hill's article does represent a

[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] I will not enumerate Hill's statements on each composition, but rather provide a general overview of his division of style periods, a structure that was later expanded by Copland in his 1924 article.

fairly comprehensive assessment of Fauré's solo and four-hand piano works up to this point, which just a few omissions among the existing compositions (among these are the Nine Preludes published in 1910, omitted most likely because they were still unfamiliar to Hill). He classifies Fauré's piano works into three periods: 1) the early experimental stage; 2) the spontaneous, ebullient period; and 3) the later, mature style.[126] While he generally identifies works in chronological order, Hill also acknowledges the imperfection of this sort of classification system, and that certain works seem to be better allocated within other periods of Fauré's compositional development. In addition to his periodization of the piano music, he also goes on to establish what he considers to be characteristic elements of Fauré's compositional style in general, including his sense of positive and negative elements within the "salon style" which had in many ways become synonymous with Fauré, as discussed in Chapter 1. The article also provides an important sense of the reception of Fauré's music at this point in time by American musicians: a sense that the composer is becoming well known but is nevertheless misunderstood, and that aspects of his output are neglected, seems to have inspired Hill to compose the article.

As critics often do with student or early works, Hill freely identifies a fair number of basic technical elements that he finds problematic in Fauré's works of his first period—the *Romances sans paroles* and Fauré's First Ballade and First Barcarolle—while offering allowances for the composer still in his formative years.[127] Hill's general assessment is that these works fall into the category of "salon style" music, and while not in itself a problem he considers Fauré's approach frequently too conventional in these works. Although he addresses the

[126] Hill, "Gabriel Fauré's Piano Music," 511.

[127] Hill places the piano works from the early1880s within this first period of composition. He specifically examines *Romances sans paroles*, op. 17 (?1863; pub. 1880), the *Ballade*, op. 19 (1880; orch. 1881), and the Barcarolle no. 1 (1881), the latter which might also be considered along with the works of Fauré's second period of composition. Ibid.

"melodic angularity" and "rhythmic monotony" of certain works,[128] Hill also notes that some passages do hint at Fauré's future style in terms of harmonic treatment.[129]

Hill finds far more inspiration in the works of Fauré's second compositional period—the Second and Third Impromptus (1881 and 1883, respectively), Nocturnes, op. 33, nos. 1–3 (composed between 1875 and 1883), the Fourth Nocturne (1884), and the Second, Third, and Fourth Barcarolles (1885–86).[130] In these works Hill still finds the delicacy and poetic charm of the salon style, but with more interesting treatment of harmony and rhythm, and in general, a greater sense of spontaneity.[131] However, despite the strides Fauré has made in his compositional work, and the works Hill unequivocally compliments—for example, the Second Impromptu—Hill does remark on the unbalanced quality of some works, such as the Second Nocturne, portions of which he appreciates, but whose middle section he finds "…strung-out, and comparatively uninteresting."[132]

Hill identifies the works of the mid-to-late 1890s, including the *Thème et Variations* and the *Pièces Brèves*, among others, as belonging to Fauré's third period of composition. He remarks on Fauré's continually more intricate treatment of both melody and harmony, and also identifies what he calls a "more thoughtful and mystical sentiment."[133] However, his personal response to the works of this period is relatively mixed. He expects certain qualities from Fauré's works, and is quick to identify when his expectations have not been met. He comments that the

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[128] Hill was not the only one to use the phrase "rhythmic monotony" in describing a work of Fauré. In 1923 an unnamed reviewer commented on the "rhythmic monotony" of the Second Piano Quartet, op. 45 (1885–86), which is from the same period. See "Interesting Program by Durrell Quartet," *Boston Daily Globe,* October 31, 1923, 6.

[129] Hill refers to the second Romance of op. 17, of which he states, "The second is dry and colorless, although containing early traces of future harmonic independence." See Hill, "Gabriel Fauré's Piano Music," 511.

[130] Again, Hill acknowledges the chronology in terms of progression of style. Ibid.

[131] Hill refers to the "perpetual motion" of the Second Impromptu. Ibid.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid.

Pièces Brèves are "on the whole, disappointing," and the *Nocturne*, op. 37, is "less worthy of the composer's art."[134] However, while highlighting the negative qualities, Hill readily applauds Fauré's successes, often within the same composition, as in the case of his assessment of the Fifth Barcarolle:

> There is constant, almost too frequent modulation; the development of themes verges at times upon the obscure, but the sentiment has outgrown the salon mood, it is maturely poetic and the conception is romantic and genuinely profound.[135]

It is clear throughout the article that Hill does not always appreciate the "salon style" with which he associates many of Fauré's works, particularly those of the first and second periods of composition, and is relieved to find that the composer has outgrown the style by his third period.

In analyzing Fauré's compositional style in general, Hill identifies four elements that he considers characteristic of Fauré's style throughout his career: 1) the delicacy of his melodic outlines; 2) the conciseness and clarity of his forms; 3) the individual characteristics of his harmonic treatment; and 4) its intimate and personal poetic sentiment.[136] While Hill's focus here is Fauré's piano works, these are elements that naturally run parallel with his *mélodies*. Hill maintains that these elements—all associated with what he considers the "salon style," whether he presents that classification in a positive or negative light—are present in Fauré's piano works throughout all three periods of style.[137] While Hill often criticizes Fauré's inclusion of certain "conventional" elements of the salon style, he also highlights these qualities in the context of the overall pleasant and delicate nature of Fauré's music, using the terms "characteristic" and "typical" throughout the article to define the nature of Fauré's piano works in a generally

[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.

positive tone. And indeed, these "characteristic" elements of charm and sentiment, along with "salon style" in general, are nearly synonymous with Fauré during this era; as was discussed in Chapter 1, they are among those commonly identified in the writings of this era regarding Fauré's works heard on recital and chamber music programs. Thus even Hill, though he has reservations about the salon style because of its tendency to lapse into convention, recognizes its charm. In remarking on the compositional limitations of the four-hand piano suite *Dolly*, op. 56, understandable because Fauré had composed it with child-like simplicity in mind, he states that two of its movements, the "Berceuse" and the "Pas espagnol," are "the most characteristic and pleasing" of Fauré's style.[138]

Although the overall tone of Hill's article is quite positive in terms of the personal recommendations he offers regarding certain works by Fauré, he also seems to warn the reader against others; at the very least Hill informs him as to what he *should* notice when listening to each work. However, the very qualities to which Hill objects may in fact attract others to this music. The "salon style" in particular is the style that first made Fauré's music attractive to Parisian audiences, and which so many Francophile Americans learned to appreciate during this era. Hill's style of criticism in general is steeped in personal opinion. However, amid the sometimes harsh criticism there is also a tone of deep respect. His honest and careful assessments, both negative and positive, and rarely merely lukewarm, encourage the reader to trust him. And yet his assertion, in the introduction to this article, that "it were surely cross [sic] stupidity to be blind to [Fauré's] rare qualities," issues a tone of preemptive judgment against his readers, a sort of shaming of those who do fail to acknowledge the value of Fauré's music.[139]

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[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid. It is not uncommon to find such challenges to the elite reader's intelligence in music journals of this era. Other writers have taken a more positive approach, such as in the article promoting *The Birth of Venus* at

Non-Germanic composers of this era, French and Russian in particular, benefitted greatly from the writings of Hill and other educated champions of their music who challenged America's developing musical audience to keep an open mind.

Hill developed his opinions on Fauré in a broader context in his 1914 study "The Rise of Modern French Music," published in two parts in *The Etude.*[140] While his individual writings highlight certain composers and elements of French music, this is the first comprehensive article that provides the reader with both a basic chronology of recent developments and also includes biographical information about significant French composers, along with specific musical examples for reference. In the first installment, Hill provides a historical outline of nineteenth-century French composers, before and after the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71).[141] He notes that the war inspired a move away from the German-influenced styles of Gounod, Bizet, and Massenet, which led in the era of Lalo, Godard, and Saint-Saëns to a new emphasis on instrumental music rather than opera. During this era, the École Niedermeyer continued to thrive, the Société nationale de la musique (1871) was established, and several orchestras were formed in Paris, all of which served to promote French music. Although Hill places value on Saint-Saëns and his colleagues in the context of the developing French musical culture, he refers to them as the "conservatives," and frequently finds their music too conventional. He finds more relevance and interest in the music of the generations that followed.

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the 1902 Worcester Festival. The unnamed author describes the work and states, "The chances are that it will appeal strongly to musicians." Readers who considered themselves informed musicians would most likely want to be associated with that assessment. See "'The Birth of Venus,' by Faure, to be Given at Worcester."

[140] Edward Burlingame Hill, "The Rise of Modern French Music," *The Etude* 32 (April 1914): 253–54, and Edward Burlingame Hill, "Significant Phases of Modern French Music," *The Etude* 32 (August 1914): 489–90. Though the second article has a different title from the first, the two articles essentially form one study.

[141] Ibid., 253.The subheading of the article indicates that Hill has "followed the lines of his course in French music at Harvard University."

Hill identifies Fauré and Emmanuel Chabrier as "transitional figures" who contributed to the true development of "modern French music." Hill balances his discussion between the two, remarking on the originality and individuality of personal style in the music of both composers. While he calls Chabrier the "true pioneer of the new movement," he credits Fauré with his "original melodic bent, and correspondingly original harmonic style," present in his piano works as well as his songs. Hill places particular value on the latter genre:

> A like evolution is shown in their remarkable songs, which by the charm of their words, interpreting a wide range of verses by French poets, take a very high rank in modern song literature.[142]

This statement is made without qualification, which given the overwhelming predominance of German composers in the song recitals of his day gives it special force. Of the composers Hill includes in this article, Fauré is the only one whose songs are mentioned at all. By contrast, his piano works, which Hill carefully enumerated and evaluated in the 1911 article, do not fare as well here. Although he comments that an evolution of harmonic and melodic interest can be observed within them, he qualifies this positive judgment with a parenthetical statement that "too many…show the *salon* style."[143] This caveat is certainly present in the earlier study of the piano music, as we have seen, but here it seems to be applied more broadly and unequivocally. He is also unimpressed by Fauré's works in the chamber genres, dismissing them as "less successful as a whole," with the exception of "one quintet of permanent value."[144] He is more complimentary about the *Pelléas* music and the recent opera *Pénélope*, as well as Fauré's choral works (though he does not identify these by name), all of which he claims demonstrates Fauré's expressive range. He suggests, "Through his intensely poetic and fanciful individuality of expression, Fauré

[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid. Hill is referring to the Piano Quintet in D minor, op. 89 (1887–95). Hill might have heard this piece in Boston as early as 1898, when it was performed by the members of the Ysaÿe Quartet, with Aimé Lachaume, piano.

becomes significant in the evolution towards modernity…"[145] Hill closes by acknowledging Fauré's position as director of the Conservatoire, which has "proved him an able educator," a role through which Hill, now in the sixth year of his tenure at Harvard, was likely able to feel an additional kinship with Fauré.

Moving on to the younger generation, Hill classifies Bruneau and Charpentier as "dramatic realists," and Debussy and Ravel as "ultra-moderns." Beyond these neatly packaged pairs of representative composers, he also devotes a fair amount of discussion to César Franck and his students, and Paul Dukas, whom he discusses last and terms an "eclectic composer." Hill has included the composers he considers "typical" of French musical style at the time of his writing, and those whose only palpable "outside" musical influence was Wagner, or in the case of Ravel, Richard Strauss.[146]

The second installment of Hill's article offers specific music examples, in piano reduction, to represent each composer featured in the first part of the article and to highlight their particular method of composition.[147] Given Hill's admiration for Fauré's *mélodies*, it is not surprising that he cites two of these works as examples, namely "Le secret" and "Aurore." [148] In commenting on their appeal, he writes:

> It is difficult to analyze the effect of Fauré's personality within a small compass. It is due to the charm and elegance of his melodies, and also to an original harmonic scheme, varying from simplicity to more complicated style. At times he suggests faintly modal

[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Hill, "Significant Phases of Modern French Music", 489. Hill discusses Chabrier, Fauré, Franck, d'Indy, Debussy, Ravel, and Dukas exclusively in this second article; he does not include their students or others influenced by them.
[148] "Le Secret" had been performed in Boston a number of times since its premiere by Theodore Byard in 1898.

> harmony, at others his original use of seventh chords is most striking.[149]

Hill also focuses on harmonic treatment and voice leading in other cases, particularly d'Indy, Franck, and Debussy, observing the use of whole-tone elements and certain augmented harmonies, which he associates with a somewhat mystical quality within the music. Hill's interest throughout the article is in identifying the compositional methods or elements of style that lend a particular individuality to each composer, and thus their specific contributions to the development of a French musical idiom. In summarizing Fauré he suggests, "His chief service to French music comes from the expansion of *expression*, of which his harmonic scheme is a natural consequent.[150] Hill does not elaborate on what he means here by "expression," although it seems to relate to the communication of emotions or ideas suggested by a text: in the first part of the article he uses the term in conjunction with Fauré's dramatic music, namely *Pelléas* and *Pénélope*, and the concept seems to carry over here to the discussion of the *mélodies.* Hill concludes this article with a list of "characteristic works" for each composer, which encompasses the individual examples provided. In addition to Fauré's *Twenty Songs* (the second collection, which includes both "Le secret" and "Aurore"), he cites the "Spinning Song" ("La Fileuse") from the incidental music from *Pelléas* as a representative piece by Fauré.[151]

While the article serves as a state-of-research account for the study of modern French music, Hill does mention that certain younger composers, specifically Albert Roussel and Florent Schmitt, are continuing the line of development of French music in new directions, and he would go on to addresses the music of these composers in his later writings, particularly *Modern*

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[149] Hill, ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid. Hill specifies the piano transcription of the *Spinning Song* (transcribed by [?] Corlat)

French Music (1924).[152] *Modern French Music* is by far Hill's most significant contribution to the dissemination of French musical culture in the United States. The volume is essentially a large-scale expansion of his 1914 article; however, though some aspects of Hill's earlier assessments of Fauré and other French composers remain consistent, the author also expresses rather different opinions in certain cases.[153] Published just months before Fauré's death, *Modern French Music* contains the most extensive discussion of the composer thus far by American writers, followed closely by Copland's article in *The Musical Quarterly* later that year.[154]

Following the general structure of "The Rise of Modern French Music" and drawing on additional information provided by an article on Fauré by Émile Vuillermoz published in *La Revue Musicale* in 1922, Hill offers a comprehensive chronology of French music since the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), including biographies and portraits of notable French composers, as well as representative musical examples in piano reduction. [155] However, Hill redefines his scope for this study:

> Ten years ago, 'modern French music' would unquestionably be assumed to refer to the works of Debussy, Ravel, Florent Schmitt, Paul Dukas and others of their generation. Today the same phrase would be presumed to apply to the members of the 'Group de Six,' including MM. Darius Milhaud, Arthur Honegger, Francis Poulenc, together with their arch-instigator M. Erik Satie. Thus 'modernism' is of so fleeting a nature as almost to defy definition in terms of time.[156]

Hill goes on to acknowledge the problems of the relativeness of the term "modern" and its derivatives. However, despite this shifting wall by which Hill defines modernism, and the expansion of coverage to include "Les Six," he continues to discuss Fauré as a crucial figure in

[152] Roussel had studied with d'Indy at the Schola Cantorum, and Schmitt with Fauré at the Conservatoire.
[153] Hill, *Modern French Music*.
[154] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master."
[155] Émile Vuillermoz, "Gabriel Fauré," *La Revue Musicale* (October 1922): 14.
[156] Hill, *Modern French Music*, 3.

the development of French music.[157] Hill takes care to note that some have considered Fauré to be a mere precursor to the French composers who would follow, rather than Fauré as a true innovator and source of identifiable influence. In opposition to this view he quotes Vuillermoz:

> Fauré was not a simple precursor, a pioneer whose path was enlarged by better equipped explorers. He was a musician who, a quarter of a century in advance of other composers, spoke freely a prophetic language with ease, a virtuosity and an elegance which have never been surpassed.[158]

While Hill agrees with Vuillermoz that Fauré transcended the role of a musical pathfinder, he does use this pioneer status as a point of reference in his discussion. Following chapters on modern French instrumental music and opera in general, Hill's volume includes two chapters entitled "The Threshold of Modernism" (the second is a continuation of the first), in which the author discusses Chabrier and Fauré in terms of their common status as "pioneers" of modern French music and draws frequent comparisons between the two.[159] In the second of these chapters Hill focuses primarily on Fauré, offering an extensive biography that includes intimate details of the composer's childhood, his early education, his first professional positions, and his military work during the Franco-Prussian War.[160]

As in his earlier writings on Fauré, Hill remarks on the originality of the composer's approach to melodic and harmonic invention, reviewing particular compositions in fine detail. In doing so, he offers the reader a summary of Fauré's large-scale works, as well as the notable collections of shorter pieces, carefully placed in the context of Hill's understanding of what constitutes Fauré's characteristic style. While Hill compares Fauré to Chabrier in general terms of harmonic development, as well as their individual approach to "nationalistic independence,"

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[157] Ibid.
[158] Vuillermoz, "Gabriel Fauré." Also quoted in ibid., 104–05.
[159] Ibid., 5.
[160] Ibid. 81–105.

he also makes frequent comparisons between Fauré's works and those of Saint-Saëns, Franck, and others.[161]

By this point Hill had abandoned the idea of the three style periods that he established in 1911 in his article about Fauré's piano works. In the last decade of his life Fauré had composed a number of important works that in some respects broke new ground, and Hill now adopts a more comprehensive chronology that can take into account the full range of style elements explored within the music. He continues to observe elements of Fauré's "salon style"; however, by now Hill's tone of disapproval has been replaced with a respect for what he considers an evolution of that style in the composer's hands – a significant reversal from his earliest assessment, which in some ways paints this particular element within Fauré's music as part of an ebbing trend.[162] Now, he views this as an element that has been present since the beginning, and that remains in new and transformed guises even amid other changes in the composer's style. This theme of "evolution" or "progress" is present throughout Hill's discussion, and at times the author identifies certain works that foreshadow later works within the composer's oeuvre, or even the works of his successors.

A fundamental point in Hill's discussion centers on Fauré's development of a harmonic idiom, particularly through his approach to modulation. This is part of Hill's broader discussion of what he terms "harmonic advance," a concept that he uses to describe the innovations of French composers in general. In the case of Fauré, the composer is innovative in part through his embracing of the musical past, specifically through his incorporation of the medieval church

[161] Hill offers a similar comparison of the musical ideals of Ernest Fanelli and Erik Satie in the post-Fauré era. See ibid., 106–08.

[162] Ibid., 87.

modes in effecting smooth modulations to distant keys.[163] Hill cites the two *mélodies* "Aurore" and "Nocturne," both fairly early within Fauré's oeuvre, as examples of a musical language that combines modal harmonies with a simple, lyrical beauty of the melodic lines.[164] Although he considers Fauré's style somewhat reserved, Hill acknowledges that his work stimulated the younger generation of French composers, including his students, most notably Ravel, Florent Schmitt, Charles Koechlin, and Louis Aubert, but also others.[165] To illustrate further the respect the younger generation had for Fauré, Hill notes that Ravel, Schmitt, and Aubert all contributed to the *Hommage musical à Gabriel Fauré*, the collection of short pieces dedicated to the master composer in October 1922, the year of the national celebration in his honor.[166]

As Hill surveys Fauré's oeuvre he remarks on the value of the large-scale works, including the Requiem, the opera *Pénélope*, and the cantata *The Birth of Venus*, only the latter of which was reasonably well-known in the United States, through the numerous performances of the work in the Boston area.[167] His comments on the Requiem are the most revealing, in terms of Hill's assessment of the underlying character of Fauré's musical style. In this work Hill identifies the overarching element of "gentle serenity," present especially in the "In paradisum" movement, particularly when compared to the vastly different musical style present throughout Berlioz's "gigantic" work of this genre.[168] Hill does not examine Fauré's other choral works, but rather folds them into an all-inclusive assessment of pieces that he finds less successful, including the smaller sacred works, the incidental music, and Fauré's one cantata:

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[163] Ibid., 100.

[164] Ibid., 101–03.

[165] Hill also includes Roger-Ducasse, Raul Ladmirault, and Georges Enesco in this list.

[166] Enesco, Georges, Maurice Ravel, Louis Aubert, Charles Koechlin, Paul Ladmirault, Roger-Ducasse, and Florent Schmitt. *Hommage musical à Gabriel Faure: sept pieces de piano sur le nom Fauré ; F fa, A la, U sol, R re, E mi* (Paris: Société nationale, 1922).

[167] See Chapter 4.

[168] Hill, *Modern French Music*, 95.

> With some notable exceptions [Fauré's] works as a whole in these fields are not as durable as in other directions. However, the cantata 'La Naissance de Vénus' still keeps its place and contains many pages of indubitable charm.[169]

It should be noted that, despite the early popularity of *The Birth of Venus*, even by 1924 the work was performed infrequently and was essentially on its way out of its tentative place within the canon. Perhaps more surprising today is Hill's complete omission of the *Cantique de Jean Racine*, which is now one of the most frequently performed of Fauré's choral works in the United States. Regarding the *Pelléas* music, Hill acknowledges that Fauré's incidental music for Maeterlinck's play was in many ways overshadowed by Debussy's opera.[170] The most notable movement in Hill's estimation (he discussed it also in his 1914 article), and particularly characteristic of Fauré's style, is the composer's "sensitive interpretation" of the "Spinning Song," which depicts the scene that Debussy omitted from his opera. Of the suite as a whole Hill writes:

> Despite its modest dimensions this suite occupies a secure position in French orchestral literature on account of its dramatic appositeness, its successful realization of an undercurrent of tragedy and its specific musical charm.[171]

According to Hill, it was Fauré's two most ambitious vocal works, *Promethée* and *Pénélope*, that most surprised those who knew him or his music.[172] While he considers the former a "worthy forerunner" Hill devotes a far more significant portion of his discussion to Fauré's only opera, *Pénélope*.[173] This is not surprising, given the ongoing popularity of the genre in Europe as well as the United States. However, there had been so few performances of this work even in France since its premiere in 1913, and none yet in the United States, that it is likely that Hill was basing

[169] Ibid., 94–95.
[170] Ibid., 95.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid., 96.
[173] Ibid., 97.

his knowledge solely on the printed score, perhaps hoping to inspire someone to mount a performance.[174] Hill describes the dramatic action and the stage sets in detail, offering the reader an imagined visual setting for Fauré's music. He describes the opera as containing "some of the most beautiful music Fauré has composed":

> Fauré has been exceptionally happy in suggesting an Hellenic atmosphere throughout. He has accomplished this not only without sacrificing his individuality, but in even reaffirming it.[175]

This individuality is one of the qualities that Hill especially admires in Fauré's compositions, evident in so many of his writings on the composer. He refers to its "youthful freshness" and its "entire freedom from foreign influence."[176] These qualities, according to Hill, allow *Pénélope* to be considered in the same category as Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* and other French operas of that ilk.[177] It should be said that, despite this assessment, Fauré's *Pénélope* has never become firmly established in the American operatic canon.

While Hill's chapter offers new and extensive discussion of *Pénélope* and other works by Fauré that were still unfamiliar to American readers, of perhaps greater interest for the current study is the information he provides to his readers on the involvement of notable Americans with the composition of two of Fauré's important chamber works. In the case of Fauré's First Piano Quintet, op. 89 (1906), he writes:

> Fauré did not turn to large forms in chamber music for twenty years when, at the instance of the American publisher Mr. Gustave Schirmer, he composed his first quintet for pianoforte and strings, Op. 89 (1906). During this interval, Fauré's musical style had broadened, his harmonic idiom had advanced in subtlety. In consequence, this quintet was not merely able, it was authoritatively original. Through its expressive qualities and its

[174] Hill does not state whether he had ever attended a performance of *Pénélope* while abroad.
[175] Ibid., 99.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid., 100. In addition to Debussy's *Pelléas*, Hill names Bruneau's *L'Attaque de Moulin*, Dukas's *Ariane et Barbe-Bleue*, Ropartz's *Le Pays*, Ravel's *L'Heure Espagnole*, and de Sévérac's *Coeur de Moulin.*

> successful attainment of novel instrumental effects it occupies a distinct position among later French chamber music works.[178]

Fauré composed this piece two decades after the period that yielded his two piano quartets and the stand-alone pieces *Berceuse* and *Élégie*. Yet despite Hill's assessment of the importance of this work inspired by Schirmer, Fauré's compositional output was not especially reinvigorated. Certainly, his duties at the Conservatoire hindered his creative work, although Fauré did compose some of his most notable chamber works during the final years of his life: a serenade for cello and piano, a second violin sonata, and two cello sonatas. Of these works, the Second Violoncello Sonata was dedicated by Fauré to Loeffler as a token of appreciation in 1921, the same year as the monetary gift offered to Fauré by his circle of Bostonian friends. Understandably, Hill does not mention this vignette in his discussion, although Fauré himself privately acknowledged the arrival of the check, which was accompanied by Loeffler's telegram thanking Fauré for asking his permission to dedicate the sonata to him.[179] Rather, Hill states that this sonata indicates that Fauré "has not said his last word in chamber music."[180] And indeed, at the time Hill was writing Fauré was still to complete a second piano quartet, and his only string quartet (published posthumously in 1925). Subtle though these details are, Hill's inclusion of these two American influences, from Schirmer and Loeffler, establishes a personal connection between Fauré and Bostonians, thus making Fauré additionally accessible to them.

Hill's *Modern French Music* was given much attention in the years following its publication in 1924. The first review, in the British periodical *Music & Letters*, calls the book "probably the most useful on its subject yet available in English." [181] While critical of Hill's

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[178] Ibid., 89.

[179] Fauré, ed. Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: His Life through His Letters*, 316–17.

[180] Hill, *Modern French Music*, 90.

[181] W. W. R. "*Modern French Music* by Edward Burlingame Hill," *Music & Letters* 6, no. 4 (October 1925): 374–75.

"wordy…abstract…categorical" writing style, the author compliments him on his unprejudiced presentation of the material, and his appropriately prominent inclusion of Chabrier, Debussy, and Ravel in the "emergence of the true Gallic spirit." He is also impressed by his inclusion of Fauré and d'Indy:

> The writer does justice—a more difficult task, this—to Fauré and D'Indy, composers who are not thought of as iconoclasts, but whose music, in its long evolution, tells much of the story of the whole revival.[182]

A review in *The Musical Times*, also published in Britain, is less complimentary, particular regarding Hill's discussion of the decline of Wagnerism in France and Fauré's role in it.[183] But of the importance of Fauré, the writer asks:

> How many English musicians appreciate Fauré—really enjoy him with gusto? I have met none. Yet he played a large part in bringing what Mr. Hill calls 'the new era' of French music.[184]

A response to this review printed in the same issue heartily disagrees with this assessment of the English reception of Fauré's music:

> Is it possible anywhere to find a person who can enjoy either the whole or indeed the greater part of any composer's output? Even Homer nods, and certainly Bach, Beethoven, &c., are in the same category. If Fauré were an exception it would be a miracle.[185]

This writer also discusses Fauré's Violin Sonata, op. 13, as a favorite of his and of other English musicians, establishing what he understands to be a strong interest in Fauré's music. He further criticizes the author for not having included a list of Fauré's "best works."[186] Hill's volume was also reviewed in France in the *Revue de Musicologie*:

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[182] Ibid., 374.

[183] W. R. A. "*Modern French Music* by Edward Burlingame Hill," *The Musical Times* 67, no. 998 (April 1926): 321–22.

[184] Ibid., 321.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Ibid.

> Although this book exceeds the ordinary scope of our studies, we bring it to the attention of musicians and future historians of music of the 20th century. Seriously designed, full of substance, it is destined to take its place among those dealing with the musical art of our time.[187]

While not expansive, the author does acknowledge here the inherent value of Hill's work, and it is especially notable that this important French journal took notice of it. In the United States a review in *The Etude* offers Hill's work the highest praise:

> Mr. Hill's researches are quite dissimilar from the transient incursions of many contemporary writers upon similar subjects. He has spent years in intimate study of the subject of French music; and the book reveals an authoritative grasp that is a credit to American musical criticism.[188]

The writer identifies Hill as "the scholarly Boston critic and educator," which attributes to Hill his deserved level of authority over others who have published on this subject. The writer specifically remarks on the contents of "The Threshold of Modernism," and Hill's identifying of the stylistic elements that laid the foundations of music by later French composers. He also comments that Hill's is the only volume in English that contains detailed information about Satie, Ravel, Roger-Ducasse, and "the famous 'Six'."[189] The American pride in Hill, and also in the discipline of music criticism, is especially notable.

Hill's writings throughout his career demonstrate his interest not only in modern French music in general, but also in Fauré as an individual person and composer. His assessment of Fauré's evolution or progress, from the version of the salon style that dominated his early works, to the "youthful inspiration" within his final works, demonstrates his continued interest in this

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[187] M.-L. Pereyra, "Edward Burlingame Hill, *Modern French Music*," *Revue de Musicologie* 18 (May 1926): 103. "Quoique cet ouvrage dépasse le cadre ordinaire de nos études, nous le signalons à l'attention des musiciens et à celle des futurs historiens de la musique au xxe siècle. Sérieusement conçu, plein de substance, il est appelé à prendre sa place parmi tous ceux qui traitent de l'art musical de notre temps."

[188] "New Musical Books: *Modern French Music*. By Edward Burlingame Hill," *The Etude* (April 1925): 285.

[189] Ibid.

composer. Through his often passionate descriptions of the music, Hill continually pursues his goal of educating and inspiring his readers, and instilling the value of Fauré's music within them.

Of the three critics discussed in this chapter, it is Hill whose legacy within the discussion of Fauré's place in music history is the most significant, especially his *Modern French Music*. Yet it is a legacy that is now largely contained within this country. As was discussed above, the book received a positive reception outside the United States immediately following its original publication in Boston, but while a number of volumes with a similar scope on the topic of modern French music have been produced in England and France over the decades since it appeared, Hill's work is not cited within them.[190] Nevertheless, despite its apparent lack of long-term international impact, *Modern French Music* remains an important American resource on Fauré and his contemporaries, having been reprinted by Greenwood Press in 1970, and by Classic Textbooks in 2011.[191] This is in keeping with Hill's original goal of creating a textbook for his American students, and it remains one of the few music history textbooks that truly gives Fauré his due, with most other accounts reducing him to a brief paragraph or even omitting him altogether.[192]

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[190] Examples of the significant English-language volumes on modern French music that followed Hill's work include: Martin Cooper, *French Music: From the Death of Berlioz to the Death of Fauré* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951); Rollo H. Myers, *Modern French Music, from Fauré to Boulez* (New York: Praeger Publications, 1971); Claude Rostand. *French Music Today* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973); and Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter. *French Music Since Berlioz* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006); The lack of any reference to Hill's work is especially notable in Myers's study, which appears on first glance to be an expansion of Hill's work; however, while his approach is somewhat similar to Hill's, he does not refer to the earlier American study, nor does he include it in his bibliography. Hill is also absent from notable surveys of this kind by French scholars, which include: René Dumesnil, *La musique contemporaine en France* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1930); René Dumesnil, *La musique en France entre les deux guerres, 1919–1945* (Geneva: Editions du milieu du monde, 1946); and Jules van Ackere, *L'âge d'or de la musique française (1870–1950)* (Brussels: Editions Meddens, 1966); and from Canada, Michel Duchesneau, François de Médicis, and Sylvain Caron, eds., *Musique et modernité en France, 1900–1945* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2006).

[191] Edward Burlingame Hill, *Modern French Music* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970); and Edward Burlingame Hill, *Modern French Music* (Classic Textbooks, 2011).

[192] Among the textbooks most widely employed today in American university undergraduate music history courses, a common factor is how little presence Fauré has within these books, not least in comparison to Hill's

The writings of Hale, Parker, and Hill in many ways encapsulate the American awareness of Fauré during the composer's life, at which time "modern" French music was coming to occupy a firm place within Boston's musical culture. Despite the relative frequency with which Fauré's music began to be performed in the city during this period, each of these critics clearly felt unable to assume that their readers were familiar with his work, and seem also to have feared that the relatively understated qualities of his art were all too easily overlooked. This is reflected not only by the amount of basic information that they provide about him, but also by the tone of almost defensive recommendation of his music that they frequently adopt. The element of personal advocacy so often present in their writings is not surprising, considering that the three critics had each spent time in Paris amid the very music they were discussing, and, at least in the case of Hill, knew Fauré personally. Copland's article of 1924, which I will discuss in the following chapter, represents both a continuation of this approach, and a point of departure for the advancement of Fauré's reception among the younger generation of American musicians.

Modern French Music. For instance, encyclopedic volumes such as the traditional *A History of Western Music* (now in its ninth edition) and Richard Taruskin's recent *The Oxford History of Western Music*, and the more general survey textbooks, tend to include only a very brief discussion of Fauré in the context of French musical tradition, his role in the art-song genres, or his connection to Nadia Boulanger. See J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 9th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 2014), 604, 743–44, 760, 758, 790, 769, 892; Richard Taruskin and Christopher H. Gibbs, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 823–25, 836–37, 840; Barbara Russano Hanning, *Concise History of Western Music* 4th edition (New York: W. W. Norton &Co., Inc., 2010), 509–10, 587, 612; Marc Evan Bonds, *A History of Music in Western Culture* 3rd edition, ed. Richard Kassell (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2010), 421; Craig M. Wright and Bryan R. Simms, *Music in Western Civilization* (Boston: Schirmer Cengage Learning, 2010): 615; Anthology for *Music in Western Civilization* Volume II, 1435; and Peter J. Burkholder Claude V. Palisca, Donald Jay Grout, and Barbara Russano Hanning, *Norton Anthology of Western Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010). These books ensure that at least the most basic information about Fauré is made available to university music students, although only the last two contain extracts of Fauré's music. Granted, such textbooks are intended to provide an overview of music history, rather than a narrow focus on twentieth-century French music. However, even within the context of their discussions of French music, the representation of Fauré tends to be disproportionately small in relation to how often his music his performed and the extent of his influence. Other textbooks designed specifically for music appreciation courses (e.g., Joseph Kerman's *Listen*; *An Appreciation of Music*, Joseph Machlis's *The Enjoyment of Music*, and Craig Wright's *The Essential Listening to Music*) typically omit Fauré entirely.

Chapter 7

Fauré, Boulanger, and American Composers, 1924–1945

As was discussed in Chapter 6, the most significant American writings on Fauré during his lifetime were contributed by Boston-based musicians who worked primarily as music critics and educators; beginning in 1924, however, and continuing through Fauré's centennial year (1945), a substantial number of writings and lectures by American composers, and a well-publicized festival at Harvard, offer a rather different perspective on his growing reception in this country.[1] Boston continued to be a connecting thread, particularly through composers associated with Harvard, Longy, and New England Conservatory, most notably Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson, Walter Piston, Elliott Carter, and Irving Fine. These composers all studied with Nadia Boulanger, a favorite pupil of Fauré and a well-known advocate for his music, and Boulanger contributed directly to Fauré's American reception in the course of her extended professional engagements in the U.S., both during her first tour in 1925, and later during the Second World War. Her public lectures, in particular, offered American audiences a glimpse into Fauré's personal life and character from an individual and first-hand perspective.[2]

While certain compositional relationships are known to exist between Fauré's music and that of some American composers—I will touch on select examples here and in the following chapter—a broader study of such stylistic influence is beyond the scope of the present study; the primary focus instead is the degree to which composers working in the U.S. during this period

[1] Although Edward Burlingame Hill was also a composer, he was better known in Boston as a critic and teacher.

[2] While certain compositional relationships have been noted between Fauré's music and that of some American composers—I will touch on particular examples here and in the following chapter—a broader survey of such stylistic influence is beyond the scope of the present study; the primary focus instead is the degree to which composers working in the U.S. during this period were familiar with Fauré and his music, and how they expressed their interest and appreciation through published critical writings and other activities.

were familiar with Fauré and his music, and how they expressed their interest and appreciation through their published critical writings and other activities. An examination of these contributions by American composers, along with the public lectures and performances given by Boulanger, will help to illuminate his role as a notable musical figure in their world, and how they projected him to their American audiences.

It is impossible to consider American composers' attitudes to Fauré without examining the role of Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979), who taught so many twentieth-century American composers and, as mentioned above, was herself a pupil of Fauré. Boulanger has long been recognized as an important link between the musical cultures of France and the U.S., largely through her work with young American composers at the École Normale de Musique de Paris, the American Conservatory at Fontainebleau, at her private studio, and earlier, through her work with the Comité Franco-Américain du Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation.[3] During their studies with Boulanger, composers such as Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson, Walter Piston, Elliott Carter, Irving Fine, and numerous others were educated in the music of modern French composers, and Fauré in particular, whom Boulanger admired with an almost religious zeal. (Irving Fine even remarked on her "proselytizing" in her involvement with the Fauré Festival at Harvard in 1945.[4]) The topic of Boulanger as a transmitter of Fauré's voice in the music of American composers in their student years has been examined to some extent by Edward R. Philips and Carlo Caballero, who have written on Fauré's indirect influence on Copland and Piston, respectively.[5] A broader survey of American composers who studied with

[3] Boulanger co-founded the Comité with her sister Lili in 1915, in the early days of the First World War, with the main purpose of providing material goods and emotional support to musicians who had become soldiers. Documents surrounding the activities of this group are held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Richelieu.

[4] Irving Fine, "Symphonic Works and Fauré Anniversary," *Modern Music* 23, no. 1 (1946): 55–57.

[5] See Philips, "Fauré, through Boulanger to Copland: the Nature of Influence," and Caballero, "Fauré *chez* Piston: Nadia Boulanger and the Shadows of a Style."

Boulanger and later wrote about their experiences with her reveals certain key elements that remained relatively consistent over the years: 1) a respect for Fauré's music acquired either during their studies with Boulanger, or later in their careers; 2) the encouragement to find one's own musical style or language, rather than seeking to emulate the work of one's teacher; and 3) an interest in early music and the study of modes, and a recognition of the value of these tools within modern composition and pedagogy. The second of these points, the element of individuality of style, formed the kernel of Fauré's pedagogy, and was later echoed in the words of his students, and in the case of Boulanger, by her students in turn.

Of the numerous American students who studied with Boulanger and went on to successful careers as composers, five composers in the years between 1924 and 1945 wrote about Fauré, his music, and his pedagogy, often with reference to Boulanger: Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson, Walter Piston, Elliott Carter, and Irving Fine.[6] Before discussing these composers, however, it will be useful to consider Boulanger's American tour of 1925, in the course of which she provided some of her clearest formulations of her understanding of her own teacher's importance as a composer and pedagogue.

Boulanger's First American Tour, January 1–February 28, 1925

Boulanger's American tour of 1925 took place more than a decade before her famous performance of the Fauré Requiem as guest conductor with the BSO in 1938, and her time spent teaching courses in theory and composition at the Longy School in the early 1940s.[7] Boulanger

[6] A sixth musical figure who at one time studied in Paris is Ned Rorem (b. 1923); although he did not study formally with Boulanger, he has contributed a unique perspective to this subject, particularly regarding his changing understanding and appreciation for Fauré's *mélodies* at different points of his career. Because his writings fall beyond the chronological scope of the present study, however, I will discuss these only briefly later in this chapter, and will address his broader role in Fauré's American reception in a separate project.

[7] Boulanger also gave miscellaneous lectures at other institutions during her later sojourn in the U.S., and taught courses at the Washington College of Music and the Peabody Conservatory.

arrived in New York on January 1, 1925 to embark on a two-month tour that began with the premiere of Copland's Symphony for Organ and Orchestra, featuring Boulanger as the organ soloist with the New York Symphony Society under the direction of Walter Damrosch.[8] (Copland had just completed three years of study in Paris with Boulanger, and her involvement with this premiere underlines the respect she had for the young composer.) Boulanger performed it again the following month with the BSO under the direction of Koussevitzky, who had commissioned it.[9] Between these two historic performances, Boulanger gave a series of lecture-recitals on modern French music in no fewer than ten major cities, under the auspices of the American Organ Guild, the Conductors Guild, and the local institutions at which she appeared.[10] Boulanger had a great number of admirers in this country, including noted musicians and students who hosted her at various points during her stay.[11]

By this time, Boulanger's name was familiar to American audiences as an organist and a teacher of composition, and her appearances in the United States were greatly anticipated by those who had seen her perform in Paris as well as those who were excited to see her for the first time at home. The press coverage of her tour focuses primarily on her organ performances, although another point of interest was her social reception among the American elite; her interactions with them were regularly featured in newspaper society columns throughout her stay. Her lectures were seldom mentioned in detail in the newspapers, however, and have been mostly overlooked in the scholarly literature, although Boulanger's biographers Léonie

[8] "Nadia Boulanger, Organist, Appears," *The New York Times*, January 12, 1925, 15.

[9] Copland was in the audience at both performances. See ibid., and P. R., "Nadia Boulanger at Symphony Concert: Copland's Organ Symphony Clapped and Hissed," *Boston Daily Globe*, February 21, 1925, 2.

[10] On this tour, in addition to New York and Boston, Boulanger appeared in Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Houston, Minneapolis, Urbana, Houston, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Bryn Mawr, and Concord, MA.

[11] Boulanger's correspondence to her mother highlights her interactions with Copland, Koussevitzky, and Damrosch, as well as Blair Fairchild, George Engles, and various others. *Lettres de Nadia Boulanger à sa mere Raïssa Boulanger*, BnF, Richelieu NLA-282 (1A 36).

Rosenstiel and, more recently, Janice Brooks and Kimberly Francis, have considered the key elements of the tour in their writings.[12] Yet based on the letters she wrote to her mother Raïssa almost daily, Boulanger considered the lectures to be among the most significant aspects of her first voyage to America.[13] These letters provide a unique perspective on this important tour, and offer the modern reader not only the details of her personal experience, but also an intimate view of how she perceived the responses of her audiences. Additionally, a stenographic transcript of the lectures given at the Rice Institute in Houston, Texas was published the following year and provides an invaluable record of the ideas that Boulanger presented to her American audiences.[14] (Boulanger did not prepare a formal lecture in writing, although she presumably worked with notes and presented similar content and musical examples at each venue.[15]) The series included three lectures, given on consecutive days: 1) "Modern French Music"; 2) "Debussy: the Preludes"; and 3) "Stravinsky." [16] Boulanger offers a rather generic title for the first lecture, although she refers to the three composers Fauré, Debussy, and Stravinsky as "the chief figures of the musical history of the last thirty-five years."[17] Her reasoning for the use of a broader title is clarified in her assertion that, "The music of Debussy and Stravinsky is known, if not always understood, the world over; but Fauré, who is perhaps the greatest of the three, is still practically

[12] See Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 177–89 (Rosenstiel discusses some aspects of the lecture series, although the focus is largely on the comparison to Stravinsky's similar tour the same year); Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger: Performing Past and Future Between the Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 29–31; and Kimberly Francis, "'Everything Had to Change': Nadia Boulanger's Translation of Modernism in the Rice Lecture Series, 1925," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 7, no. 4 (November, 2013): 363–81.

[13] *Lettres de Nadia Boulanger à sa mere Raïssa Boulanger*, passim.

[14] Nadia Boulanger, *Lectures on Modern Music*, Rice Institute Pamphlet 13, no. 2 (Houston, TX: Rice Institute, 1926).

[15] Brooks refers to a letter written January 16, 1925 following Boulanger's New York lecture series, in which she asserts that she "hadn't prepared a single word." (See Brooks, 30.)

[16] Boulanger, *Lectures*, 122. Some have addressed the perceived "limitations" of Boulanger's teaching in general, since she frequently omitted Schoenberg and the Second Viennese School composers. For example, see David Schiff, *The Music of Elliott Carter* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 13. However, Boulanger acknowledges the importance of these composers in this lecture, and even expresses regret that time does not allow their inclusion. See Boulanger, *Lectures*, 121–22.

[17] Ibid., 122.

unknown outside of France."[18] This suggests that Boulanger, and perhaps Fauré himself, had not been aware of the degree of interest in his music that had developed among American audiences during the past three decades. However, while the assumption that Fauré was a truly "French" composer and therefore inaccessible outside of his native country is one that suggests national pride and a sense of ownership, this idea had already been expressed by American critics, as discussed in Chapter 6, and was later echoed by Copland, Carter, and others.

Although the title "Modern French Music" suggests a general overview, Boulanger maintains a strong focus on Fauré throughout her lecture. In fact, the composer dominates the entire first half of the lecture, followed by a brief discussion of the music of Ravel, Florent Schmitt, Roussel, "Les Six" (Honegger is featured prominently here), the little-known Pierre Menu, and Boulanger's recently deceased sister, Lili.[19] Of these many composers, Boulanger wrote to her mother following the lecture at the Rice Institute that the audience responded with particular favor to Fauré, Roussel, and "la pauvre petite" (presumably her sister).[20] As a general introduction to the topic, Boulanger begins with a discussion of the use of medieval modes in modern French harmony, citing numerous examples by Fauré, as well as music by Debussy, Ravel, Satie, and Honegger. In the case of Fauré, she credits his studies at the École Niedermeyer with his interest in these compositional elements as an important part of his harmonic language, a fact that she is known to have transmitted to her own students throughout her career.[21]

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Boulanger concludes the lecture with a tribute to her late sister, but purposely distances herself by reading a passage from Camille Mauclair, "The Life and Works of Lili Boulanger," *Revue Musicale* (August 1921). See ibid., 150–52.

[20] Undated letter (ca. January 24, 1925) from Nadia Boulanger to her mother, written on stationery from the Rice Hotel in Houston, TX. *Lettres de Nadia Boulanger à sa mère Raïssa Boulanger*.

[21] Boulanger, *Lectures*, 122.

In seeking to acclimate her audience to Fauré's music, Boulanger draws connections between specific elements of his musical style and those of other, perhaps more familiar, composers. For instance, she compares his music to that of Mozart in its charm and perceived "simplicity" of style; she remarks on the "unique concentration of [Fauré's] style, his refinement and his grace," asserting that the technical aspects of Fauré's music are "difficult to discover, and because of their utter naturalness, embarrassing to state."[22] Like Mozart, she suggests, Fauré was a "musician's composer," and that he writes music that "can be loved by any sensitive spirit, but which only the trained musician can perhaps fully appreciate."[23] About his approach to tonality "as a mobile and not a static state," Boulanger links Fauré to Wagner, but also draws a strong connection between the harmonic language of Fauré and his fellow Frenchmen Debussy and Ravel, although she is especially careful to distinguish between Fauré's use of harmony as an "element of design," and Debussy's as a "source of color."[24] Amid her enumeration of these musical connections, Boulanger makes the general assertion that Fauré's style owes the most to the "delicacy and suavity" of Gounod, and the "self-unfolding melody" of Bach.[25]

While Boulanger identifies both French and Austro-German influences in Fauré's music, a key topic in her lecture—and one that is common to much discussion of Fauré, as seen particularly in Chapter 6—is the essential "Frenchness" of his music and the perceived difficulty of a foreigner being able to appreciate it. Boulanger goes as far as to suggest that one not only needs to be a *musician*, but a *French musician* to understand Fauré's style to its fullest extent.[26] (This is an assertion that might not have been widely popular among those in her American

[22] Ibid., 125.
[23] Ibid., 124.
[24] Ibid., 126.
[25] Ibid., 128.
[26] Ibid., 124.

audiences who, by this point, might certainly have considered themselves well-versed in French music.) To underline her point, Boulanger reaches beyond music and calls on the work of French author Jean Racine, comparing the "deceptive elegance" of Racine's dramas to Fauré's methods of subtle modulation. She also establishes a visual element in Fauré's music, in which she perceives an effect of the "sharp, fine lines of a pen";[27] this assessment would later be echoed by Elliott Carter, who specifically compares Fauré's musical style to the paintings of Edouard Manet, also considered to embody "Frenchness" within his art.[28] Boulanger balances the assertion of Fauré's inherent "French" style by suggesting an element of ancient Greek "measure and sobriety" within his music, citing "Danseuse" from *Mirages*, op. 113, as an example: "…its cool, detached beauty suggests the chaste contours, the sharp and clear designs of a Greek vase."[29]

While the elements of Fauré's music and its innate French quality provide the basis for Boulanger's overall discussion of modern French music, she also takes the opportunity to pay tribute to her late mentor through the presentation of his biography from the perspective of one who knew him as a teacher, colleague, and close family friend; in fact, this is one of the most notable features of this particular lecture. While the professional details she furnishes had been available to American audiences since the earliest writings of Hale, Parker, and Hill, particularly Hale's sketch in the *Famous Composers and Their Works* volume (1900), Boulanger approaches this task with a depth as well as a degree of discretion and protectiveness not present in the biographical accounts of those not so closely connected to Fauré. To be sure, she includes similar

[27] Ibid., 124 and 126.

[28] Elliott Carter, "Gabriel Fauré (1945)," in *Elliott Carter*: *Collected Essays and Lectures, 1937–1995*, ed. Jonathan W. Bernard, 119–22 (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997).

[29] Boulanger, 129. Some have linked Fauré's selection for his *mélodies* of texts by Leconte de Lisle, Paul Verlaine, and the other "Parnassian poets" as a reflection of his interest in the Greek aesthetic, particularly in the 1870s. For a discussion of Fauré's musical settings of these poets, see Johnson, *Gabriel Fauré: The Songs and Their Poets*, 53–82.

details regarding his early education at the École Niedermeyer, his church positions at Rennes and the Madeleine, and his position as Professor of Composition and later Director at the Conservatoire. She also includes Fauré's decoration of Commander of the Légion d'honneur, the national homage at the Sorbonne, and the significant honor of his state funeral.[30] However, while the American authors included surprisingly intimate details about Fauré's private life, from his formative childhood years to his relationships and marriage (she does not mention his wife or their two sons), Boulanger seems to have made a conscious decision to keep Fauré at a protective distance from the audience through the omission of certain intimate details. For instance, she does not discuss the fact that Fauré lived apart from his family much of the time from a very young age, a fact that the American authors had revealed; even in mentioning that the École Niedermeyer was a boarding school, her focus is on the benefit of the situation for a young composer, incorporating a quotation from Fauré regarding the discipline which such an environment had imparted him from a young age:

> …being run on the dormitory system of a boarding school, there was less scattering and dispersion of one's time and forces, less of that council coming from left and right, which is generally as fatal as it is contradictory, and finally, from the standpoint of music, there were fewer pernicious contacts.[31]

In this remark, at least, Fauré does not name these "pernicious contacts," although he is clearly referring to any element that might distract him from his musical endeavors during his formative years, including family members, friends and enemies, external musical influences, or a combination of these things.

[30] Boulanger highlights the homage as an especially notable event since the only other person honored on such a national scale in this particular manner up to that point was Louis Pasteur (1822–1895), posthumously, as part of a series of celebrations marking his centennial year in 1922. See ibid., 123.

[31] Paraphrased by Boulanger in English. See Boulanger, *Lectures*, 122.

What is striking about the remark is the unquestionable sense of detachment, and of a perspective from Fauré himself that had yet to be illuminated publicly, one to which perhaps only Boulanger and his other students might have been privy. In a further effort to protect the memory of Fauré, Boulanger avoids any mention of the composer's periods of melancholy, which Hale had discussed in his writings, and at no point does she draw a connection to any sadness reflected in his music. In fact, she refers to Fauré's "deep and abiding joy of life" in relation to his religion, avoiding any reference to Fauré's personal doubts, and highlighting instead the spiritual absolution and sustenance provided by the Church as reflected in the Requiem.[32] She also avoids any mention of Fauré's deafness that plagued him so in the later years of his life, even in her discussion of Fauré's aging; she simply remarks, "Ordinarily, it is sad to grow old, but not so with Fauré."[33] This particular omission is not necessarily surprising, since Fauré had kept his affliction a well-guarded secret among his friends and colleagues; however, it does underline the point that Boulanger wished to respect her mentor's privacy, especially so soon after his death.

Despite her rather sterile presentation of Fauré's biography, Boulanger does allow a tone of personal reverence to enter into her tribute to him, although she calls on the words of Émile Vuillermoz to express her emotions:

> No artist has ever been more intensely, more profoundly loved. Great geniuses of the past have been given more solemn tributes of admiration; they have acted with more intensity on the crowd and

[32] Ibid, 128–29. Boulanger refers to Fauré's religion as "a source of love, not fear," and these key concepts as reflected in works such as the Requiem. It is logical that she should refer to the Requiem in this context, given the composer's recent death; however, since it had yet to be heard in a large-scale public performance in American at the point, the discussion was likely in the abstract for the audience.

[33] Ibid., 128.

> known a more universal and noisy fame; but none of them, in departing, have made hearts grieve more painfully.[34]

As Boulanger suggests, it was Fauré's modesty and humility that inspired this sort of quiet devotion among those who knew him, and also played such an important role in his teaching style. She remarks that Fauré never spoke of his own music to his students, to the point that:

> Had they not become acquainted with his music through the natural channels of the concert hall and the publishing house, they would never have known that Fauré, the teacher, was Fauré, the composer…As a teacher, he seemed to have but one principle: to understand his pupils, to adapt himself to their individual personalities and to help them find their own particular road to artistic self-realization.[35]

Boulanger describes her own experience in Fauré's composition studio as one of "sanity and freedom, quite exempt from dogmatism and that narrow spirit of sect and school which we associate with even the best of educational institutions."[36] (This is a point that might well have resonated with the students and faculty members who were in attendance at the Rice Institute or at any of the other schools where she gave this lecture.) The principle of individuality that Boulanger stresses as such a key element in Fauré's teaching methods was reflected in her own teaching style over the next five decades, during which she actively encouraged her students to find their unique musical idiom.[37] While other French composers in America—notably Honegger and Milhaud—often spoke with fondness of Fauré's generosity in giving time to the younger generation toward the end of his life, and his encouragement of their musical endeavors, Boulanger's lifelong promotion of Fauré as an exemplary musical figure was unparalleled among

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[34] Ibid., 123. Here, Boulanger paraphrases a passage from an article by French critic Émile Vuillermoz (1878–1960) published the day after Fauré's death. See Émile Vuillermoz, "M. Gabriel Fauré le plus grand musicien d'aujourd'hui vient de mourir," *Excelsior*, November 5, 1924, 1,

[35] Boulanger, *Lectures*, 123–24.

[36] Ibid., 124.

[37] For instance, she is known to have encouraged Copland's keen interest in American jazz music. Copland describes his early days with Boulanger including her openness to new musical ideas in Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: 1900 through 1942* (New York: St. Martin's, 1984), 61–92, esp. 67.

French visitors to the United States.[38] However, several of her American students also made lasting contributions to Fauré's reception in this country, perhaps none more so than Copland.

Aaron Copland (1900–1990)

As Boulanger's biographer Léonie Rosenstiel has observed, "…during the 1920s it became the mark of a serious musician to study with [Boulanger] after completing undergraduate or graduate training [at Harvard] or at Radcliffe. Soon such a period of study was practically *de rigeur*, a situation that remained true through the 1930s and was revived after World War II."[39] (A more colloquial and often repeated assertion is that every American town "has a five-and-dime and a Boulanger pupil."[40]) This was an intensification of the tradition of choosing Paris for music studies that had developed earlier among *fin-de-siècle* American students, as was discussed in Chapter 2. Aaron Copland, along with Virgil Thomson and Melville Smith, were among the first young American composers to pursue their European musical studies with Boulanger. For Copland, the three years spent with Boulanger in Paris were arguably the most significant period in his development as a composer, and it was largely through her efforts that Copland's music, including the Symphony for Organ and Orchestra, was introduced to audiences both in America and abroad. Copland greatly valued Boulanger as a mentor, advocate, and colleague, as is evident in a letter he wrote to her in 1950:

> It's almost thirty years (hard to believe) since we met—and I shall count our meeting the most important of my musical life. What you did for me—at exactly the period I most needed it—is unforgettable. Whatever I have accomplished is immediately

[38] Edward R. Phillips names several French composers who have attributed an influence to Fauré, and specifically cites Honegger's book *Je suis compositeur* (Paris: Éditions du Conquistador, 1951) as an example. See Arthur Honegger, *I Am a Composer* [1951], trans. Wilson O. Clough (London: Faber, 1966), 15, 91, and 93.

[39] Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 199.

[40] Virgil Thomson, "Greatest Music Teacher–at 75," *The New York Times*, February 4, 1962, 193.

> associated in my mind with those early years, and with what you have since been as inspiration and example.[41]

Although Copland clearly revered Boulanger, he was also aware of a lack of flexibility in her teaching, for example her "aloofness" regarding the trend of serialism in the 1920s, as Howard Pollack has observed.[42] However, her significance to his development as a composer was ongoing and loomed large in his mind throughout his life. Not only did Boulanger introduce Copland to a number of both French and American musical figures who held a long-term importance for him, but she also endowed him with broad musical knowledge and a vast compositional palette from which to draw. Through her incorporation of a variety of musical works from all historical eras, from Gregorian chant and music of the Renaissance masters, to works of the modern French school, Copland encountered a diverse repertoire and developed an especially strong and lasting affinity for the music of Fauré, Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, and their contemporaries. In an interview with Edward T. Cone in 1968, Copland still recalled Boulanger's use of Fauré's music, along with that of Debussy and Stravinsky, as a pedagogical tool; Cone, in turn, recalled Copland's earlier recommendation to him to study the music of Fauré.[43] The same year, in offering encouragement to the composer Christopher Rouse, who felt "estranged" from the current musical scene in terms of its veneration of the music of John Cage and Milton Babbitt, Copland cited Fauré as an example of other composers who likely felt out of touch compared to the more progressive composers of their day, offering as parallels Fauré in relation to Debussy, Brahms to Wagner, and Stravinsky to the Second Viennese School.[44]

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[41] Quoted in Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland, the Life and Work of an Uncommon Man* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1999), 49.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Edward T. Cone and Aaron Copland, "Conversation with Aaron Copland," *Perspectives of New Music* 6, no. 2 (Spring - Summer, 1968): 57–72, esp. 60 and 67.

[44] Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 214.

It is not surprising that Copland, as a young composer, might draw on elements of Fauré's music that had so captured his attention during his studies with Boulanger. The most obvious example can be found in a student piece from 1923, a two-movement work for string quartet titled *Hommage à Gabriel Fauré*. The first movement is a transcription of Fauré's Prelude, op. 103, no. 9; the second is a newly-composed work, a *Rondino*, which incorporates the letters of Fauré's name into its melodic content in a manner similar to that adopted by Ravel, Roger-Ducasse, and other contributors to the *Hommage musical à Gabriel Fauré* of the previous year.[45] Beyond the title and Copland's ready acknowledgement of the explicit presence of Fauré's influence on his music, Carlo Caballero has also suggested an additional relationship, between Copland's treatment of linear fifths in the *Rondino* and Fauré's similar approach in *Pénélope*, a work that Copland is known to have admired.[46] Scholars have also suggested an unspoken musical influence within other works by Copland from this era. For instance, Edward R. Phillips has identified several songs composed during Copland's studies with Boulanger that suggest an underlying interest in Fauré's musical style.[47] He cites "Alone" (1922), comparing it to two of Fauré's late *mélodies*: "Cygne sur l'eau" from *Mirages*, op. 113 (1919), and "Diane, Séréne" from *L'Horizon Chimérique*, op. 118 (1921).[48] It is interesting to note that these are two *mélodies* in which Copland expresses a particular interest in "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master" (1924).[49] Phillips addresses a similar use of superficial tonal gestures, such as appoggiaturas, as well as a particular ambiguity within the tonal plan and a mismatch between

[45] Phillips includes a quotation by Copland regarding Fauré's musical influence on the *Hommage à Fauré*: "The *Rondino* was based on the letter of Fauré's name. Mixed with his influence can be heard a hint of American jazz and a bit of mild polytonality." See Phillips, "Fauré, through Boulanger to Copland," 300. In 1928 Copland replaced the Prélude with a new movement, *Lento Molto*, and repackaged the work as *Two Pieces for String Quartet*. See Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 through 1942*, 88.

[46] Caballero, "Fauré *chez* Piston," 9.

[47] Ibid., passim.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Aaron Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master."

the structural layers that he considers distinctly "*fauréan*."[50] Overall, Phillips's article suggests that Copland's early works exhibit an indirect musical influence from Fauré acquired through his studies with Boulanger, as he worked to find his own particular musical voice. While it is understandable to seek influences in the works of a young composer of an older composer whom he admired, some have also suggested a continued musical influence in later works. For instance, Pollack remarks on the similarities between Copland's first opera *The Second Hurricane* (1936) and certain elements prevalent in much of Fauré's oeuvre, namely the "dramatic modulations and contrapuntal choral writing."[51] Such *fauréan* elements in Copland's music have not always been viewed positively: the composer David Diamond has suggested somewhat dismissively that Copland's Violin Sonata (1942–43) is "... a little withdrawn, a little pastoralish, a little on the Fauré Second side."[52] Of course, one might wonder, if Copland had not been such a vocal advocate of Fauré, would listeners have been so ready to hear hints of Fauré's style within his music?

Regardless of the extent to which Copland's musical works actually exhibit elements that consciously or unconsciously evoke Fauré's style, it is clear that he held the old master in high regard since his studies in Paris. Though Boulanger certainly contributed to Copland's interest in Fauré, he also likely encountered a significant number of the older composer's works on recital programs in Paris during his three years spent there. By the time he returned to the United States at age twenty-four he had clearly developed a deep appreciation for Fauré and a strong working knowledge of much of his oeuvre, as is evident in the two published essays cited in Chapter 1.

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[50] Phillips, "Fauré, through Boulanger to Copland," 311–12. Phillips also draws a parallel between the underlying harmonic ambiguity of Copland's "Alone" and Fauré's *mélodies* in Edward R. Phillips, "Smoke, Mirrors and Prisms: Tonal Contradiction in Fauré," Music Analysis 12, no. 1 (Mar., 1993): 3–24.

[51] Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 307.

[52] Quoted in ibid.

Furthermore, while Copland's own musical style changed over the years, certain key themes sounded within these two articles, written twenty-one years apart, illustrate the fact that his individual view of Fauré had essentially remained unaltered. These themes are: 1) his deep admiration of Fauré as a composer and an abiding affection toward particular pieces; 2) a concern for Fauré's American reception and a commitment to elevating his reputation in this country; and 3) an apparent underestimation of the familiarity American audiences actually had with Fauré's music at the time of these publications. However, it is in his first article that Copland actively seeks to educate his reader in the musical style of Fauré, providing a rather detailed overview of key compositions.

"Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master" (*The Musical Quarterly*, 1924)

Copland wrote his article "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master" for *The Musical Quarterly* in October, 1924, soon after his return from Paris. (Copland's *Hommage à Gabriel Fauré* had its premiere at Fontainebleau in September.[53]) This early example of Copland's critical writing exhibits much of the style that he would develop throughout his life, including strong, unambiguous assertions of personal opinion presented through somewhat flowery prose, and a degree of effusive expression suggesting a deep passion for his subject. It is unclear whether Copland was familiar with the writings of critics such as Hale, Parker, or Hill at the time of this publication, although his approach to the topic and some of his general assessments of Fauré appear to echo their work, particularly in the case of Hill (Hill's volume *Modern French Music* had been published earlier that year). However, there is the sense that Copland has assumed the role of the "heroic" young composer, promoting the elderly Fauré's music with youthful exuberance, as if he were the first to acknowledge its importance.

[53] James M. Keller, "Aaron Copland," in *Chamber Music: A Listener's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 141.

If Hill's article "Gabriel Fauré's Piano Music" (1911) suggests an underlying tone of propaganda, as was proposed in Chapter 6, Copland is fairly explicit about his own approach in "A Neglected Master." In fact, toward the beginning of the article he asserts, "…until someone makes Fauré-propaganda in the sense that [Willem] Mengelberg has made Mahler-propaganda, it is useless to say what the possibilities are for a just appreciation of this Frenchman's work in the future."[54] Rather than predict Fauré's long-term impact compared to Debussy and his other French contemporaries Copland suggests, "It would be more helpful to the American music-lover to say that Fauré is the Brahms of France. This does not mean that he imitates Brahms in any way—but rather that he possesses a genius as great, a style as individual and a technique as perfect as that master."[55] To be sure, this is a relatively abstract comparison of status and compositional craft rather than a strong focus on style elements, although Copland does remark on a clarity of formal texture shared by the two composers and "the same unmistakable something that stamps a composition Fauréan as it stamps one Brahmsian."[56] He also observes a parallel between their choices of genre, and later specifies, "It is difficult to think of any composer since Brahms who has made such important additions to chamber music literature as Fauré."[57] In underlining Fauré's significance by connecting his name to that of a more well-established figure such as Brahms, Copland's method is not dissimilar to that of Hill in his critical writings about Fauré, and also to Boulanger later in her lecture series, as previously discussed. However, Copland is also careful to describe Fauré's music in terms of his individuality, largely avoiding the assertion of a similarity of style. In fact, only twice does

[54] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, a Neglected Master," 573–74. Willem Mengelberg, director of the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra, had established the Mahler Festival in 1920 following two decades of developing a strong tradition of performing Mahler's symphonies with the orchestra.

[55] Ibid., 575–76.

[56] Ibid., 576.

[57] Ibid., 581.

Copland suggest any direct relationship between Fauré's music and that of any other composer, namely the possible influence of Chopin in the first part of the *Ballade*, op. 19, and of Beethoven on a theme in the First Piano Quartet in C minor, op. 15, which, as he quotes Roger-Ducasse, "…might have been by Beethoven, if Beethoven had had Fauré's tender grace."[58]

Continuing on the path Hill had taken in his pair of articles for *Etude* in 1914 ("The Rise of Modern French Music" and "Significant Phases of Modern French Music"), Copland establishes the "usual three periods of style" for Fauré's works.[59] Although he does not attempt a fully comprehensive discussion, the sheer number of works Copland includes makes it impractical to furnish a point-by-point summary of his assessments; however, it is valuable to consider some of his most telling points and his predictions for Fauré's enduring fame. He begins with a discussion of Fauré's *mélodies,* touching on the individual pieces of the first and second volumes published thirty-five years earlier, remarking that "only masterpieces can so withstand the ravages of time."[60] He rightly observes that, "'Les berceaux,' 'Les roses d'Ispahan,' and 'Clair de lune' are so beautiful, so perfect, that they have even penetrated to America."[61] (Copland is evidently unaware that others *mélodies* he names—"Le secret," for one—had also been performed in this country by that point, as discussed in Chapter 3.) He does make one explicit prediction regarding the future of Fauré's *mélodies*: "It is only logical to prophesy that twenty years from now singers and public will arrive at *La chanson d'Eve* [op. 95]."[62] He is referring to the fact that this later song cycle, completed in 1910, had been largely overlooked by

[58] Ibid., 579 and 582.

[59] Hill, "The Rise of Modern French Music," and ; Hill, "Significant Phases of Modern French Music." (See Chapter 6.)

[60] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master," 577.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Copland compares this preference for earlier works to conductors' general preference for Wagner's *Tannhäuser* Overture over his *Tristan* Prelude, and pianists' preference for Scriabin's Third Sonata over his Ninth. See ibid., 578. In nearly perfect timing two decades later, Copland revisits the song cycle, which was scheduled for performance at the Fauré Festival (1945). See Copland, "Faure Festival at Harvard," 56.

performers in favor of *La bonne chanson*, Op 61, completed in 1894, which he observes was, at the time, performed in Paris as much as Schumann's *Dichterliebe*.[63] He also highlights the later collections *Mirages* and *L'horizon chimérique*, which "are without blemish."[64] Although he does not assert perfection within all of Fauré's contributions to this genre, Copland's overall faith in the value of Fauré's *mélodies* is unambiguous.[65] Beyond the *mélodies* Copland does not discuss Fauré's other vocal works, except for a brief, if rather passionate, mention of the Requiem.[66]

Copland finds more fault with Fauré's piano music, namely the *Romances sans paroles*, op. 17 (1878), which he suggests, "…should be relegated to the indiscretions every young composer commits," and the *Valses-caprices*, op. 30 (1882), which he finds "essentially foreign to Fauré's 'esprit.'"[67] However, he is fond of other works from this era, such as the *Ballade*, op. 19 (1877), and those composed near the turn of the century, namely the Sixth Nocturne, op. 63 (1894), the Fifth Barcarolle, op. 66 (1894), and especially the *Thème et variations*, op. 73, (ca. 1895), judging the latter to be one of Fauré's most approachable works.[68] He underlines the youthful quality of the Nocturnes and Barcarolles in general, referring to their "suave melodies and subtle harmonies," and an overall style that he considers "at the farthest borders of Fauré's tone world."[69] On the later works, specifically the *Nine Préludes*, op. 103 (1910), Copland

[63] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master," 577. In 1945 Copland suggests that *La chanson d'Ève* "belongs with Schumann's *Dichterliebe*" within the solo vocal repertoire. See Copland, "Faure Festival at Harvard."

[64] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master," 578.

[65] Copland remarks that certain *mélodies*, namely the eight pieces of *Le jardin clos*, op. 106 (1914) too closely resemble others: "There is a tendency to repeat certain mannerisms which is regrettable." See ibid.

[66] Copland effuses, "Fauré has been called the St. Francis d'Assisi of music, and nothing could better exemplify his humble, modest attitude towards life than this 'Requiem,' where 'no inquietude or agitation disturbs the profound meditation.'" Ibid., 578–79. Copland places quotation marks around the closing phrase, although he does not specify his source.

[67] Ibid., 579.

[68] Despite his own assessment of the *Thèmes et variations*, Copland remarks that it has suffered outside of France. Ibid., 579–80.

[69] Ibid., 581.

addresses his reader directly and states, "At first you will not like all of them."[70] He does predict an attraction to the third and eighth preludes of this collection, but urges the reader to study the others carefully as well. While he acknowledges the lack of large-scale piano works in Fauré's oeuvre, Copland heartily recommends that pianists familiarize themselves with the *Fantasie* for piano and orchestra, although he observes that it lacks the "pyrotechnical feats" and "heaven-storming propensities" typically found in a concerto.[71]

In describing the chamber works Copland highlights the First Violin Sonata, the piano quartets and quintets, and the Piano Trio, although he makes particular recommendations for the Second Quartet and Second Quintet. He calls the Second Quartet (1886) an "unquestionably magistral work," and though still fairly early in Fauré's oeuvre Copland asserts that, "It is a mature work, which stands on its own feet from every standpoint."[72] The Second Quintet (1921), a much later work, Copland considers Fauré's "chef-d'oeuvre":

> In it is embodied a pure well of spirituality, a humanizing force such as is found in in only the greatest masters. For those who love Fauré's music, it is the 'holy of holies'—to analyze it theme by theme and movement by movement would be desecration![73]

At the time of Copland's publication the quintet had yet to be performed in the U.S., a fact that he addresses through an even more fervent call for a premiere than he did with the *Thème et variations*: "The chamber music organization that first plays this quintet in America will do themselves honor and the American music public a great service."[74] (As with *La chanson d'Ève*,

[70] Ibid., 580.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., 582.
[73] Ibid., 584.
[74] Ibid.

Copland's admiration for the Second Quintet still resonated in his 1945 article on the composer.[75])

Copland does not devote much space to Fauré's orchestral music, which he calls "almost never more than a background for a chorus, a piano, or some stage play."[76] However, it is interesting to note that he includes the *tragédie lyrique*, *Prométhée*, in this category, along with the *Pelléas*, *Shylock*, and *Caligula* suites.[77] This brief interlude leads into a fairly lengthy discussion of the opera *Pénélope*, which Copland describes in far more detail than any other of Fauré's individual works, although it was little known in the United States beyond its Prelude. However, there had been a revival of *Pénélope* in 1922 at the Opéra-Comique in Paris, a performance that Copland, and perhaps some of his readers, most likely attended.[78] He suggests reasons it had yet to become well known outside of France, although he questions whether *Pénélope* had truly reached the level of a popular work even in Paris, where Italian opera continued to thrive.[79] It is clear that he genuinely enjoys the opera as an individual listener, calling it "a fascinating work, certainly one of the best operas written since Wagner"; however, this assertion is at odds with his somewhat apologetic observation within the same paragraph, that the music is "as a whole, distinctively non-theatrical."[80] He also faults the libretto, which he considers not necessarily appealing to the "popular imagination," and particularly the conclusion, which he finds "stupidly operatic."[81] Beyond the individual elements of music and text, Copland

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[75] Copland, "Faure Festival at Harvard."

[76] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master," 584.

[77] Regarding *Prométhée*, Copland asserts, "'Prométhée' must also be classified as incidental music, thought its proportions are such as to make it take on the importance of an operatic work." See ibid.

[78] The Opéra-Comique had first staged *Pénélope* in 1919. Copland refers to the 1922 revival in his article, although there was an even more prominent performance given the following year in honor of the ten-year anniversary of *Pénélope*; Fauré was in attendance. See "La musique – *Pénélope*," *L'excelsior*, April 16, 1923, 5.

[79] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master," 585. He cites *Pelléas* as an example of a popular French opera that still did not exceed Verdi's *Aida* in popularity among Parisian audiences.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

offers the simple practical fact that *Pénélope* was still a relatively young work, and asserts that it typically takes more than ten years for any opera to become well-established in the repertoire. Unfortunately, it would be another twenty years before *Pénélope* would receive its American premiere, and even that was in a semi-staged concert performance at the Fauré Festival at Harvard in 1945.[82]

Copland's article shares several elements in common with the earlier writings of his compatriots Hale, Parker, and Hill. Each critic genuinely admires Fauré as a composer and values him as a representative of the modern French school, while also recognizing that reception among mainstream American audiences has been relatively low-key. They are all aware to some extent that Fauré's music had been performed quite often in the United States, although none seems to have taken on board the degree of such activity during Fauré's lifetime, particularly on the East coast. In terms of musical style, they discuss qualities of individuality, clarity, and charm, and generally agree that Fauré's *mélodies* and chamber works are most representative of the composer throughout his career. Each writer proceeds with a carefully constructed balance of deep, personal admiration and an honest, critical ear, and they do not hesitate to acknowledge what they consider to be Fauré's problematic works, or those that simply do not fall in line with his most characteristic style; Copland is perhaps the most assertive in this respect, having something of a direct line to Fauré through Boulanger, and having recently experienced Fauré's music *in situ*, as it were. Despite the common ground shared by these critics, there is a clear shift in the overall objective from one generation to the next. The older critics pursue two distinct goals in their publications: 1) to promote modern French music as a whole,

[82] In his article, Copland envisages the type of performance that eventually would be given: "Opera, as we all know, is a popular art, and so the small minority who would enjoy 'Pénélope' as music, rather than as a spectacle, must wait until some manager forgets his public long enough to give us what would probably be a financial failure, but a great artistic success." See ibid.

and 2) to stimulate American interest in Fauré as an individual composer. Copland's objective in his first article is simpler, focused exclusively on rescuing Fauré from what he perceives as a state of neglect, as his title suggests. By this time, modern French music had become well-established in American concert culture, thus Copland was able to concentrate specifically on Fauré, and to offer some of the "propaganda" for which he advocates in his introduction. To be sure, his descriptions of Fauré's music are at times a blend of rapture and cautious apology on the composer's behalf, and many of his readers were likely already familiar with a good number of the works he essentially admonishes them to explore. Nevertheless, Copland's article is extremely valuable, not least for offering the most extensive annotated catalog of Fauré's music available to American readers thus far. In comparing this article, written from the perspective of a youthful composer, to the one that Copland wrote for *The New York Times* in 1945 in anticipation of the Fauré Festival at Harvard, it is interesting to observe how many common threads he maintains over the span of two decades.[83] A brief survey of this later article reveals a mature Copland's even deeper appreciation for Fauré's work, his continued interest in particular compositions, and his ongoing commitment to promoting Fauré's American reception.

"Faure [sic] Festival at Harvard" (*The New York Times*, 1945)

In honor of Fauré's centennial year, the Harvard Music Department organized and sponsored the Fauré Festival, a series of five concerts of the composer's music given at the end of November 1945, in Cambridge.[84] Boulanger conducted several works, including the Requiem, the Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, excerpts from *Prométhée* and *Shylock*, and, perhaps most significantly, the

[83] Copland, "Faure Festival at Harvard."

[84] The venues included Sanders Theater, Paine Hall, and Memorial Church. Correspondence and other documents concerning the Fauré Festival are preserved in *Fauré Festival (1945)*, Harvard University Archives, Pusey Library (Cambridge, MA). UAV 587.17, box 4.

American premiere of *Pénélope*, given in semi-staged concert form.[85] The event was one of Boulanger's final engagements in the United States before returning to Paris in January 1946, and the high-profile nature of the festival, including her participation, attracted consistently large audiences.[86] (Correspondence surrounding the festival highlights the focus placed on Boulanger at that time.[87]) In addition to the large-scale works, audiences heard Fauré's Second Violin Sonata, op. 108, the Piano Trio, op. 120, the *Cinq mélodies de Venise*, op. 58, and *La Bonne Chanson*, op. 61.[88]

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[85] Performers were drawn from the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the Harvard Glee Club, the Radcliffe Choral Society; numerous individual professional and students musicians from the Boston area also took part in the performances. See "Harvard Faure Festival," *Daily Boston Globe*, November 25, 1945, D31. Robert Woods Bliss, Consultant to the Secretary of State, contacted the American Embassy in Paris on March 15, 1945 on behalf of Harvard professor A. Tillman Merrit, to purchase the score of *Pénélope*. The purchase request was denied; however, it was decided that, because of the "Franco-American goodwill nature of the Fauré celebration," Harvard University would be allowed to rent performance copies of the score from Huegel & Co. at the "modest sum of 1500 francs (500 francs of which will be turned over to the relatives of the composer) or $30." Letter from Hugh S. Fullerton, American Embassy, to Robert Woods Bliss, Consultant to the Secretary of State, dated April 11, 1945. Held in *Fauré Festival (1945)*. Harvard University Archives.

[86] According to one report, "The public showed its gratitude last night by queuing up three deep in a line stretching from Memorial Church to Widener Library." See P. W., "Music: Harvard Memorial Church, Faure Festival," *Daily Boston Globe*, November 28, 1945, 11.

[87] Correspondence to Nadia Boulanger before and after the festival, and documents pertaining to the contract negotiations and rehearsal schedules for the concerts under her direction, suggest the degree of involvement Boulanger had with the proceedings, as well as the respect and consideration those at Harvard had for her at that time. In the contract negotiations through the American Federation of Musicians (Local no. 9) her specific requests were not universally met. For instance, she requested specific players from the BSO, who would make themselves available for all rehearsals. A letter from Leslie J. Rogers (Librarian of the BSO) to Paul Doguereau addresses this fact, and writes, "I cannot agree to deliver the solo players that Mlle. Boulanger has listed for, as I told you, these men do not play outside engagements and I only hope they will play through friendship to her." See Letter from Leslie J. Rogers to Paul Doguereau, dated June 26, 1945, *Fauré Festival (1945)*, Harvard University Archives. Doguereau confirms this and offers additional information to A. Tillman Merrit concerning the BSO players' availability during the academic year, during which the festival would take place. See letter from Paul Doguereau to A. Tillman Merrit, dated June 29, 1945, *Fauré Festival (1945)*, Harvard University Archives. The official contract prepared by the American Federation of Musicians (Local no. 9) is held in *Fauré Festival (1945)*, Harvard University Archives.

[88] The Second Violin Sonata was performed by Ruth Posselt, violin, and Beveridge Webster, piano; the Piano Trio was given on the same program by Norbert Lauga, violin, Alfred Zighera, cello, and Melville Smith, piano. The *Cinq mélodies de Venise* and earlier songs were performed by soprano Isabel French; tenor William Hain sang *La Bonne Chanson*, accompanied by Melville Smith. See P. W., "Music: Paine Hall and Sanders Theater, Faure Festival," *Daily Boston Globe*, November 29, 1945, 13.

Copland's article "Faure [sic] Festival at Harvard" was published in *The New York Times* two days before the opening concert.[89] He begins by announcing that the city of Cambridge would be turned into a "shrine for Fauré devotees" for four days, and provides a brief listing of works to be performed. In comparing this festival preview to his 1924 article, one notable difference is in the repertoire that Copland identifies as well known to American audiences: the Requiem in particular he now considers "comparatively familiar".[90] Interestingly, Copland does not mention the fact that this concert performance of *Pénélope* constitutes its American premiere, and refers to it as "rarely performed" instead (it had most recently been staged at the Paris Opéra in 1943); perhaps he was not aware of the historical significance of the event, although it was identified thus in other articles on the festival.[91] He does express his enthusiasm for the work and considers the music to be on a par with Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, although he remarks that Fauré's *Pénélope* suffers from a "weak libretto."[92] A good deal of Copland's discussion in this article focuses more generally on the style elements he had observed in Fauré's music two decades earlier, highlighting the "special charm" he associates with the composer's works.[93] Copland is hopeful that this festival will offer an opportunity for new audiences to become acquainted with Fauré's works beyond the First Violin Sonata and the earlier *mélodies*.[94] He asserts a personal interest in Fauré's later works, although he maintains his belief that some works are difficult to understand upon the first hearing, and that they must be given adequate

[89] Copland, "Faure Festival at Harvard."

[90] Copland is comparing the familiarity of the Requiem to the "less familiar chamber music and songs" and the "rarely performed opera 'Pénélope.'" See ibid.

[91] See ibid. and "Five Recitals Honor Faure, Music Department to Give 100th Anniversary Festival," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 27, 1945.

[92] Copland, "Faure Festival at Harvard."

[93] Ibid.

[94] He remarks that Fauré's later music is largely unknown in this country, but that he is particularly interested in works such as *La chanson d'Ève*, the Piano Trio, and the Second Piano Quintet. He considers that these deserve a similar status to that accorded works of masters such as Schumann (*Dichterliebe*), Franck (Piano Quintet), and Ravel (Piano Trio). See ibid.

time to absorb, referring to what he considers "Fauré's magic which is difficult to analyze but lovely to hear."[95]

Despite Copland's abiding confidence in Fauré's music, the tone that comes through most clearly in this article is one of apprehension:

> It is a little difficult for those of us who have long admired Fauré's work to foresee how the present dwellers in Harvard Yard will take to him. Personally I'm just a trifle nervous. It isn't that one's faith in the value of the work itself has wavered, but the moment doesn't seem to be quite right for doing full justice to a Fauré celebration. In a world that seems less and less able to order its affairs rationally, Fauré's restraint and classic sense of order may appear slightly incongruous. Consequently it is only reasonable to speculate as to how he will "go over," especially with younger listeners.[96]

If Copland is suggesting that, as of November 1945, three months after the conclusion of the war, Fauré's music is too "rational" for the world, he does not clarify what kind of music he would consider more fitting. (That same month the world premieres of Shostakovich's Ninth Symphony, op. 70, Schoenberg's *Genesis Suite* for Mixed Chorus and Orchestra, op. 44, and Britten's Second String Quartet, op. 36, all composed in the shadows of the war, had been given, and the music of the classical masters continued to be performed regularly.) To be sure, the world was recovering from the events of the war, but it had already come far in the months since its conclusion. War rationing had begun to be lifted, and in general, various efforts were made to establish a sense of calm and order, and to reclaim an overall sense of normalcy.[97] If anything,

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[95] Ibid. The concept that Fauré's music must often be heard more than once in order for the listener to appreciate is found in the writings of Copland's American predecessors, but also in the work of French critics. For example, see "La musique–Concerts spirituels–*Pénélope*," *L'excelsior*, April 17, 1922, 4. In that review of a performance of *Pénélope* at the Opéra-Comique, the author observes that Fauré's music does not always appeal to a listener immediately.

[96] Copland, "Faure Festival at Harvard."

[97] An article published on the front page of the *Los Angeles Times* in August 1945 describes the status within the U.S. at this time, and the optimism of returning to "normalcy and prosperity." See "U.S. Freed of Many Wartime Controls," *Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 1945, 1.

Copland might revisit his assertion from 1924 that, "…the world at large has particular need of Gabriel Fauré to-day; need of his calm, his naturalness, his restraint, his optimism; need, above all, of the musician and his great art."[98] Yet, it is clear from his restraint at this point in time that his perspective on the world has changed over the years, and that his own optimism in some ways has diminished in his maturity.

Without question, Copland is hoping for great success from this celebration of Fauré. However, though well-meaning, it must be said that his concerns seem misplaced in relation to the reality of Boston's musical world as of 1945, and Fauré's already strong reputation within it. He writes as though this festival would be the first time young audiences affiliated with Harvard would encounter Fauré's music, as if it had lain fallow for years. This was not at all the case. Koussevitzky was in his twenty-first season as director of the BSO and continued to program works such as the Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande* in the regular season as well as during the summer Berkshire Symphonic Festival; he had also recorded that particular work with the BSO for RCA Victor in 1943. Additionally, Boulanger had been at Longy since 1940 and continued to promote Fauré and other modern French composers through individual lectures and recitals in the area; she had also conducted the Requiem with various New England choral ensembles since her performance with the BSO in 1938. Both Koussevitzky and Boulanger, as well as other prominent figures interested in the Franco-American relationship, were closely involved with high-profile benefit concerts that included works by Fauré, several of which were given in Boston during the Second World War.[99] Furthermore, numerous important artists—Percy

[98] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré, A Neglected Master," 586.

[99] For example: French Benefit concert [raised approximately $7,000], Boston Symphony Orchestra, directed by Koussevitzky, soprano soloist Lily Pons with pianist George Copeland ("Les roses d'Ispahan"), Symphony Hall, March 25, 1940 (see "Program of Concert for French Benefit," *Daily Boston Globe*, March 21, 1940, 13 , and "Lily Pons Cheered by Brilliant Crowd at French Benefit," *Daily Boston Globe*, March 26, 1940, 1); concert sponsored by France Forever, the Boston Woodwind Ensemble, with tenor Roland Hayes (*mélodies* by

Grainger, Roland Hayes, and Marian Anderson, to name a few—continued to perform Fauré's music in recitals in Boston around this time; in fact, it was almost more common for audiences to hear at least one piece by Fauré on a vocal or chamber music recital than it was not to hear any. Fauré's presence through recorded music also continued to grow. In addition to Koussevitzky's recording of the *Pelléas* music, French pianist Carmen Guilbert recorded the *Thème et Variations*, op. 73 and the Third Nocturne, op. 33, no. 3 in 1940, and the Montreal Symphony Orchestra and Chorus, directed by Wilfrid Pelletrier, recorded the Requiem the following year; these recordings were all made by RCA Victor and were well advertised to American consumers.[100] Additionally, some radio broadcasts included recordings or live performances of Fauré's music, as is evident from the program listings published in daily newspapers at this time.[101] Thus, given the amount of exposure that Fauré's music received in the years leading up to the 1945 festival, particularly in the Boston area, it was not really a question of needing to introduce the younger generation to the musical value of Fauré and his contemporaries: it was more about fanning the flames of their interest and building on the audience already in place.

Despite his concerns over how the younger audience members at Harvard will respond to the festival, Copland seems cautiously optimistic about its potential success:

Fauré, Debussy, and Duparc, and various Negro spirituals), New England Mutual Hall, March 21, 1943 (see C. W. D., "N. E. Mutual Hall, France Forever Concert," *Daily Boston Globe*, March 22, 1943, 6); and concert sponsored by France Forever in honor of the Liberation of France, Boston Symphony Orchestra, directed by Koussevitzky, and various soloists including Émile Baume, piano (Second Impromptu), Jordan Hall, December 19, 1944 (see P. W., "Music: Jordan Hall, French Liberation Concert," *Daily Boston Globe*, December 20, 1944, 10). Boulanger also conducted the Requiem with the New York Philharmonic and the Potsdam State Crane Choir in April, 1941 to benefit Polish relief. See "Concert Honors Paderewski Debut," *The New York Times*, April 5, 1941, 18.

[100] See Gama Gilbert, "Records: Famous Voices," *The New York Times*, February 18, 1940, X8; and Howard Taubman, "Records: Fauré Requiem," *The New York Times*, December 21, 1941, X6.

[101] American AM radio stations increasingly featured regular music programs during the 1940s, thus reaching a broader audience than ever before. Broadcasts from New York, Boston, Chicago, and elsewhere included either recordings of individual works or live studio performances, and were advertised collectively in *The New York Times* and other American newspapers. During this period audiences most often heard live performances of Fauré's *mélodies* or solo piano works, although other larger works, such as the Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, or the orchestral versions of the *Élégie* or the *Pavane* were sometimes included as well. See, for example. "Radio Music in the Air," *The New York Times*, September 27, 1942, X8, "Music in the Air: Radio Concerts," *The New York Times*, August 16, 1942, X6, and "Concerts the Microphone Will Present," *The New York Times*, July 14, 1940, 108.

> I don't suppose that it is primarily the enthusiast like myself at whom the centenary concerts are aimed. And, of course, the sponsors of the festival must know that there are people of good-will who will continue to think of Fauré as a 'petit maître Français' no matter what one demonstrates to the contrary. Assuming that they really know Fauré's music—not just the early Violin Sonata and some of the songs, but the ripe works of his maturity—they have a right to their opinions. But what about the many music lovers who have never had an opportunity of forming their own opinions? Certainly the festival must have been devised with them in mind—for the true believer in the genius of Fauré is convinced that to hear him is to love him.[102]

In the end, Copland's fears proved to be essentially groundless, considering the consistently enthusiastic reviews of the individual concerts. Whether or not this particular event had a direct impact on the continued reception of Fauré in the Boston area, it must be observed that the number of performances of his music only increased further, particularly over the next decade. Part of this is certainly attributable to Charles Munch, who on assuming the direction of the BSO following Koussevitzky's death in 1949, followed his predecessor's example and continued to program Fauré's orchestral works on a regular basis; additionally, familiarity with the Requiem increased through numerous American performances of the work, and the ongoing popularity of Fauré's *mélodies*, solo piano works, and chamber music is evident through countless professional and student recitals in the city.

Despite having found fault with some individual works of Fauré over the years, Copland clearly saw himself as a "true believer" in Fauré's music, to use the term employed in the article's closing statement quoted above. Copland had a genuine and lasting affection toward the composer's works, as did many others, particularly those who had acquired their familiarity through Boulanger. Yet his understanding of the extent of Fauré's growing American reputation did not change over the years. As late as 1984 Copland remarked, "It is strange that the musical

[102] Copland, "Faure Festival at Harvard."

public outside of France has never been convinced of [Fauré's] special charms, the delicacy, reserve, imperturbable calm—qualities that are not easily exportable."[103] While it is true that Fauré's music has often been overshadowed by that of his contemporaries, particularly Debussy and Ravel, many would disagree with such an absolute statement. The frequent performances and discussions of Fauré among Americans from the 1890s onward, and the fact that certain works quickly developed a secure place in the performance repertoire, suggest that many non-French admirers were, in fact, "convinced of his special charms" quite early. For many, the fact that Fauré's musical style *is* so keenly "French" works to his benefit outside his native country, rather than to his detriment, and elevates the composer's status far above the category of the "petit maître français" to which Copland believes most assign him. However, Copland's contributions to Fauré's American reception can hardly be overstated. In many ways, he continued on Boulanger's path in the promotion of this composer, and through his writings and individual interactions passed along his own passion to other American composers. While he was certainly among the most consistent and enduring American advocates of Fauré, Copland was not the only one of his generation of Boulanger's students to absorb her interest in Fauré. Many of these composers discussed Fauré's music with great respect and enthusiasm – if not with Copland's almost devout level of warmth and affection – and some developed their appreciation of Fauré beyond the realm of Boulanger's studio. Virgil Thomson offers a prominent example of this kind of admirer.

Virgil Thomson (1896–1989)

While Copland inherited much of his early interest in the music of Fauré and his French contemporaries through Boulanger, Virgil Thomson already had a deep-seated affinity for

[103] Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 through 1942*, 88.

modern French music when he began his one year of study with her in 1921. Some commentators, Paul Wittke, for one, have even remarked that in Thomson's mind, the French could do no wrong; this is not strictly true, considering he is known to have disliked Debussy's *La mer*.[104] His greatest interest lay in the music of Satie, but he also identified Fauré, Saint-Saëns, and d'Indy among the "ingenious composers" who inspired him to pursue his additional studies in Paris.[105] Thomson took Edward Burlingame Hill's course "D'Indy, Fauré, Debussy" during his first semester at Harvard in 1919, and also orchestrated selections of Fauré's piano works under the private instruction of Hill, who quickly became one of Thomson's most important mentors; Hill encouraged his interest in French music, and led him to his own favorite composers, much as Boulanger did with her students. Although his own compositions do not necessarily reflect a direct connection to Fauré's music, Thomson was well-schooled in the French composer's style.[106]

In 1921 Thomson first traveled to Paris as the accompanist and assistant conductor for the Harvard Glee Club, which embarked on its first European tour that summer by invitation of the French Republic.[107] The Glee Club performed in cities in France, Germany, and Italy over the

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[104] Thomson makes this clear in a concert review from 1949, reprinted in Virgil Thomson, *Music Right and Left* (New York: Holt, 1951), 10. For a discussion of Thomson's views on French music in general see Paul Wittke, "Virgil Thomson, Vignettes of His Life and Times," *Virgil Thomson*, http://www.virgilthomson.org/vignettes.html (accessed February 20, 2015).

[105] He also names Florent Schmitt, Paul Dukas, Milhaud, and Poulenc as composers whose music interested him then. See Virgil Thomson, *Virgil Thomson* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1966), 72.

[106] Thomson also recognized elements of Fauré's style in the music of other American composers. For instance, as late as 1971 Thomson remarked that the chamber music of Theodore Chanler, whose compositions he enjoyed, was inspired by Fauré. See Richard Kostelanetz, *Virgil Thomson: A Reader, Selected Writings 1924–1984* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 181.

[107] Archibald T. Davison had been the director of the Harvard Glee Club since 1919. The Harvard Glee Club arrived in France on June 20, 1921 and gave concerts in Paris, Alsace, Mühlhausen, Strasbourg, Venice, Ravenna, and Geneva. They returned to the United States on August 21. The French Republic had offered to subsidize the group's expenses for the tour; however, the Glee Club did not accept financial support, opting rather to raise the funds on their own. See "Music and Musicians: Harvard's Glee Club Goes Abroad," *Boston Daily Globe*, June 5, 1921, 57. Thomson's excitement about the potential for overseas travel during his military service is evident in Anthony Tommasini, "A Lovely War," in *Virgil Thomson: Composer on the Aisle* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997), 55–63.

course of the summer, and the success of the tour was closely followed in both French and American newspapers.[108] The overall result was a further strengthening of the Franco-American musical relationship, and particularly of the role that Harvard musicians such as Thomson continued to play within it over the next two decades.[109] When the ensemble returned to the United States in late August, he remained in Paris and began studies with Boulanger in counterpoint and organ performance.[110] During this year of study, he encountered Copland and fellow Harvard student Melville Smith. Thomson and Copland, in particular, greatly respected each other's work and developed a warm friendship that continued to grow over the years, although the two young composers had fundamental differences in their musical aesthetics and compositional style, and in their individual responses to Boulanger's pedagogy and her musical ideals regarding other composers.[111] This latter point is evident in a letter Thompson sent to a student composer in 1952, recalling his interactions with Boulanger: "I must add that I was nearly twenty-five years old when I first went to her and not easily influenceable esthetically.

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[108] Concert programs included works by Palestrina, Bach, and Brahms, as well as Harvard college songs. The *Boston Daily Globe* published an overview of the plans for the tour before its commencement, and mentions that the Glee Club had also received an invitation to perform in Italy; at the time of the publication it was unsure that time and money would permit additional performances, although it was later decided to accept the Italian invitation. See "Music and Musicians: Harvard's Glee Club Goes Abroad," *Boston Daily Globe*, June 5, 1921, 57. On the Paris concert see "Harvard Glee Club Wins Big Ovation," *Boston Daily Globe*, June 29, 1921, 13; and "Harvard Concert in Paris," *The New York Times*, July 2, 1921, 7, where particular note is made of the large audience, which included such luminaries as Président Alexandre Millerand, Marshal Joseph Joffre, and Cardinal Louis-Ernest Dubois, as well as various figures from Parisian music circles.

[109] In a gesture of appreciation following the tour, Prime Minister Aristide Briand presented the Harvard Glee Club with a porcelain statuette of Mozart on behalf of the French government. See "Gift to the Harvard Glee Club by France: Statuette of Mozart an Appreciation of Visit," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 7, 1921, 24. Upon their return the Glee Club commissioned new choral works from French composers they had encountered in Paris. For instance, Francis Poulenc composed a drinking song (*Chanson à boire*, 1922) for the ensemble, and Darius Milhaud composed a setting of Psalm 126 (1921). See Carl B. Schmidt, *Entrancing Muse: A Documented Biography of Francis Poulenc* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2001), 116–18; and Smith and Potter, eds., *French Music Since Berlioz*, 189.

[110] Thomson and Melville Smith were each awarded a John Knowles Paine Fellowship of $1400 to support their studies abroad for one year. See Tommasini, *Virgil Thomson*, 91.

[111] Thomson objected to a number of Boulanger's actions, from her charging students to have their works performed at the S.M.I. to her refusal to promote Thomson's music in general and to introduce him to important figures in Paris. See Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 197. However, Thomson remained in contact with Boulanger throughout her life, and even spoke fondly of her, regardless of his response to her in his student years.

Her attentive efforts to lead me in the directions of Fauré and Mahler were not successful, and she recognized that quickly."[112] On first consideration, this may seem to indicate Thompson's lack of interest in these particular composers; however, it more likely represents his response to Boulanger than to the composers she sought to promote. It is clear from his published writings that he actually responded quite favorably to Fauré's music, at least in later years. In fact, he eventually identifies Fauré as one of the "truly great artists," along with Schubert, Schumann, Verdi, and Mussorgsky.[113]

In his writings Thomson tends to refer to Fauré's music in general terms, although he did single out some individual works such as the *Pelléas* Suite, which he called, "…a work of deep loveliness that could stand much more usage in repertory than it gets these days."[114] Thomson made that remark in a review of a performance by the Philadelphia Orchestra (dir. Ernest Ansermet, Carnegie Hall, January 18, 1949), in which he muses, "When played with such sweet harmoniousness and such grace of line as it was last night, one wonders why one had forgotten how touching it can be."[115] While this comment refers to a particular composition, it is this "grace of line" that attracted Thomson more broadly to Fauré's *mélodies* above any other of his works. In highlighting his merits as an art song composer, Thomson does not identify the value of one of his *mélodies* over any other, but holds Fauré's talent within the genre alongside that of Debussy, Ravel, and Poulenc, as well as the German Romantic lieder composers. This is evident

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[112] Virgil Thomson, *Selected Letters of Virgil Thomson*, ed. Tim Page and Vanessa Weeks Page (New York: Summit Books, 1988), 260. He certainly did not attempt to conceal his independent stance; for instance, in a move that most Thomson is also known to have expressed feelings of oppression regarding his formal education in general, and his obligation to return to Harvard at the end of the academic year in 1922. See ibid., 53–55, and Tommasini, *Virgil Thomson*, 76–78 and 85–87. Despite his resistance to Boulanger in his student years (he was decidedly less responsive than Copland), he wrote a rapturous article for *The New York Times* in honor of her seventy-fifth birthday, referring to her as the "greatest music teacher." See Thomson, "Greatest Music Teacher–at 75."

[113] Virgil Thomson, *The Art of Judging Music* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1969), 300.

[114] Thomson, *Music Right and Left*, 10.

[115] Ibid.

in Thomson's review of a recital given by popular soprano Povla Frijsh in 1949.[116] Frijsh included a set of Poulenc songs as part of her diverse program, and while Thomson's focus in his concert reviews tends to be placed on the performers, in this case it was the repertoire that captured his interest. Thomson took the opportunity to reassert Poulenc's value as well as his place within the historical lineage of French composers, particularly compared to Fauré:

> The mantle, indeed, of Gabriel Fauré may well be said to have fallen upon his shoulders. No other composer, in fact, since Fauré, has written for voice and piano so copiously, so authoritatively, with such freedom of musical thought, such variety of expression.[117]

Thomson does not identify a similarity in musical style between Poulenc and Fauré, rather a similarity in quality. In fact, he asserts, "Poulenc is no child of Fauré," suggesting instead a connection between Poulenc, Chabrier, and Satie. These composers, he suggests, follow the path of expressive song writing established by Schubert, while Fauré and Debussy follow the more introspective path of Schumann, a connection that has been drawn by many others before Thomson as well.[118]

The theme of Fauré's contributions to the art-song genre is one that Thomson had already explored in his discussion of the opera *Pénélope*, which was staged the day after Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* at the Opéra-Comique in October 1945, in a performance that was almost exactly contemporary with the Harvard event.[119] However, in this instance Thomson calls on Fauré's strengths as a composer of art song as a point of reference in the context of the problems he perceives in Fauré's opera. In general, like others before him, he does not rate Fauré's larger-

[116] Review of a recital by Povla Frijsh, given at Town Hall in New York on January 6, 1946. Reprinted as "The Concert Song," in Thomson, *The Art of Judging Music*, 86–88.

[117] Ibid.

[118] For example E. B. Hill.

[119]October 21, 1945. Thomson's review of this performance, which took place October 21, 1945, was published in the *New York Herald Tribune* and reprinted in Thomson, *The Art of Judging Music*, 218–21.

scale vocal works as highly as he does the *mélodies*, although the opera is not entirely without aesthetic value for him. In a review of the performance he remarks, "[*Pénélope*] is all wrong from a theatrical point of view, but it is musically beautiful."[120] He takes particular pleasure in the text setting, which he calls "impeccably prosodied."[121] Still, despite its underlying level of beauty, Thomson is not satisfied by this work. He asserts, "Its music…by a master of the recital song, is intimately expressive but without breadth of line. It creates no ambiance, no atmosphere, no excitement, delineates no character, paints no scene."[122] And regarding the orchestral accompaniment, "…though far from ugly, [it] fails wholly to support or to create a dramatic line."[123] His overall assessment of *Pénélope* is that it is "essentially a *pasticcio* of Fauré songs, without contrast or dynamic progression," and that it is "…recital music orchestrated."[124]

Thomson is protective of Fauré even when addressing the faults within the music itself, particularly regarding the orchestration: "…Fauré, who was not a master of orchestration, customarily farmed out this privilege to friends and commercial hacks," thus excusing Fauré for what he perceives as this particular shortcoming in *Pénélope*.[125] He also lays part of the blame on René Fauchois's libretto, as others have done with Paul Collin's text of *The Birth of Venus*.[126] It is somewhat unfortunate that Fauré's opera was performed in such close succession to Debussy's vastly more popular *Pelléas*, which, according to Thomson, "…has, as music, every beauty that *Pénélope* has, with none of its faults."[127] This is not to say that having another opera as a point of comparison would necessarily have led Thomson to any other conclusion about *Pénélope*. In

[120] Ibid., 218.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid., 219.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid. It should be noted that Fauré began the orchestration for this work, but subsequently hired composer Fernand Pécoud to complete it. See Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 257–58.
[126] See discussion in Chapter 4, and Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 107.
[127] Thomson, *The Art of Judging Music*, 219.

fact, most of his assessment is independent of Debussy's opera, and any points of comparison within the article are made in relation to Fauré's *mélodies*, works that were clearly present in his thoughts when he attended this performance.

Although Thomson never developed the same level of interest in Fauré as Copland did, his writings display a general appreciation for Fauré's work. Because he tended to rely on opinions developed largely through his own experiences as a student and critic, as well as those of his American mentors, Boulanger did not prove to be as strong an influence on him in terms of developing a personal interest, and perhaps her active promotion of Fauré even had something of an opposite effect. However, another colleague of Thomson and Copland, Walter Piston, who studied with Boulanger in Paris around the same time, did develop an appreciation of Fauré that came close to that of Copland, and furthermore crystallized his thoughts on the composer in the context of influential pedagogical writings.

Walter Piston (1894–1976)

Piston was born and raised in New England; he had served in the Navy, and was already married, by the time he began his studies at Harvard in 1921. Like Thomson, Piston studied with Edward Burlingame Hill, and among the courses that had a particular impact on him as an undergraduate were those in advanced harmony and fugue, as well as a survey of the history of choral music taught by Archibald "Doc" Davison (also the director of the Glee Club).[128] As a student Piston was extremely successful in both his composition and academic studies and earned a number of awards, including a Juilliard Scholarship his senior year, and a Paine Fellowship upon

[128] Howard Pollack, *Walter Piston* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 24. David G. Tovey discusses Davison's course "The History and Development of Choral Music" in David G. Tovey, "Archibald Thompson Davison: Harvard Musician and Scholar" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1979).

graduation.[129] It was the latter that allowed him the opportunity to continue his studies in Paris for two years. Given the broadly Francophile orientation of Harvard at that time, and the fact that Piston had first studied with Hill, Piston's choice to pursue his additional studies with Boulanger must have seemed like a natural progression.[130] Having already made one visit to Paris in 1923, he returned the following year with his wife and remained under Boulanger's tutelage for the next two years. Piston's respect for Boulanger and the time spent in her studio is clearly articulated in his reminiscences, in which he remarks on his instructor's openness to new ideas, her enthusiasm, and her constructive criticism.[131] Although he did not necessarily adopt her compositional style into his own works—and indeed, Boulanger encouraged her pupils to find their own unique path, rather than following in hers—Piston clearly valued his time spent with her, and the exposure to new and old repertoire in her regular lessons and in her famous Wednesday sessions is something that remained with him for the rest of his life. Upon his return to the United States Piston became a professor of composition at Harvard, a position that he held until 1960.[132]

Among his four distinguished pedagogical volumes, *Principles of Harmonic Analysis*, *Harmony*, *Counterpoint*, and *Orchestration*, the first of which Piston dedicated to Boulanger, it is the two texts on harmony that demonstrate his interest in Fauré's music from a pedagogical standpoint, which centers on the composer's use of non-dominant seventh harmonies and other

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[129] Pollack, *Walter Piston*, 24.

[130] Caballero remarks that the Francophile culture at Harvard had primed Piston for his interest in French music, and that the composer followed the traditional path his Harvard professors had established, by following their American studies with time spent in France, in an earlier generation studying with Widor and other contemporary French masters. See Caballero, "Fauré *chez* Piston," 7.

[131] Pollack, *Walter Piston*, 26-28.

[132] Howard Pollack, "Piston, Walter," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21851 (accessed October 16, 2013).

non-traditional harmonic progressions.[133] In the first of these texts, *Principles of Harmonic Analysis* (1933), Piston discusses the innovative treatment of harmonic material in twentieth-century music. He cites Fauré as an early example of the departure from common practice harmony during the *fin-de-siècle*: "Notably in the works of Fauré we find many charming and individual successions of seventh chords, hardly to be found in the works of any other composer."[134] He remarks on Fauré's use of the "V—IV with tritone" in "Clair de lune" (1887), as one of the newer progressions "hitherto forbidden."[135] In fact, much of Piston's interest in altered triadic harmonies focuses on the modern French composers; in addition to Fauré, he cites Ravel's use of modal triads the *Tombeau de Couperin* (1914–17), and Debussy's augmented triads in *Voiles* (1909). He urges his readers to take into account the intentions of these composers, particularly when they are "quite evidently used for their momentary sonority and color," as one familiar with the musical atmosphere in Fauré's "Clair de lune," for instance, would recognize.[136] Piston continues this line of discussion in his second text, *Harmony* (1941), in which he attributes the presence of non-dominant dissonant chords (i.e., seventh harmonies) in recent works to their earlier use by Fauré, Debussy, and Ravel; in fact, he remarks that such harmonies were "exploited" by these composers during the late-nineteenth century.[137] Of course, Piston was well aware of the contributions that Fauré and his contemporaries had made in the decades after the turn of the century; however, his primary concern in this volume is to establish a path of origin for these "modern" harmonies that young students were now encountering. They

[133] Walter Piston, *Principles of Harmonic Analysis* (Boston: E. C. Schirmer, 1933); Walter Piston, *Harmony* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1941); Walter Piston, *Counterpoint* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1947); and Walter Piston, *Orchestration* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1955)

[134] Piston, *Principles of Harmonic Analysis*, 48–49.

[135] He also includes Debussy's "II—I" progression in "La Demoiselle Elue" in this category. Ibid., 48.

[136] Ibid., 49.

[137] Piston, *Harmony*, 225.

were not necessarily new, but rather had been firmly established by the three leading French composers whose compositional roots were planted in an earlier generation.

In addition to his contributions to theory pedagogy, Piston was greatly admired as a composer by many of his contemporaries. Conductors such as Koussevitzky and Munch regularly programmed his works with the BSO (Koussevitzky even commissioned Piston's Sixth Symphony for the ensemble's seventy-fifth season), and numerous composers acknowledged Piston's talents.[138] Among the composers were Thomson, Copland, Stravinsky, Carter, and Irving Fine, as well as Piston's own teachers, Hill and Boulanger; Piston in turn admired all these figures,[139] and Howard Pollack has observed numerous works of Piston that appear to reflect their influence. For instance, he remarks on a musical connection between Copland's and Piston's third symphonies, recognizes Fine's *Toccata* as a possible inspiration for the *Toccata Concertante*, and notes a style akin to that of Stravinsky in the *Violin Concerto* and *Sinfonietta*; additionally, he cites influences from earlier composers such as Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Brahms, and Dvořák, and Carter had long identified a "Mozartean fluency" in the *Divertimento for Nine Instruments*.[140] Carlo Caballero has expanded this discussion to include Fauré as a possible influence, in this case perhaps coming indirectly through Boulanger, many years after Piston's studies with her in Paris.[141] He suggests that this is in part due to the Fauré Festival of 1945, to which Piston's "significant contribution" to the proceedings was his orchestration of a

[138] Pollack, *Walter Piston*, 117.

[139] Pollack refers to various musical influences evident in Piston's music, in ibid., passim; he also quotes those who actively admired Piston, including Copland (ibid., 64, 105), Thomson (ibid., 64-66), Carter (ibid., 99–102), and Boulanger (ibid., 146). He has also observed that Piston cites Stravinsky more than his German contemporaries, Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern, in Piston, *Orchestration*. Additionally, Piston arranged for Stravinsky to appear at Harvard for the *Poetics of Music* lectures in 1947. See Pollack, *Walter Piston*, 172.

[140] See ibid., 70–71 (Stravinsky), 100–101 (Mendelssohn), 105 (Copland), 107 (Brahms and Dvořák), 117 (Beethoven), and 100–101 and 121 (Mozart).

[141] Caballero, "Fauré *chez* Piston."

portion of Fauré's *Prométhée*.[142] Citing musical relationships between this work and Piston's own compositions from this period, Caballero addresses such elements as a similarity of diatonic dissonance, spare harmonies, and modal instability, as well as a similar melodic use of linear fifths.[143] Although Piston does not appear to make explicit references to Fauré's music, Caballero argues that the works of this period can be considered "Fauréan" in character.[144]

While some of Piston's works from around 1945 may indeed share qualities with Fauré's music, and his interest in the composer was likely reinvigorated by the Harvard festival and his own work on *Prométhée*, the fact that Piston had been familiar with Fauré's music since his student days at Harvard, and his classes with E. B. Hill, is important. He carried this Francophile interest with him to Paris, where it continued to develop through his work with Boulanger, and upon his return to Harvard, he continued to pass this interest along to his own students, much as Hill had done for him decades earlier. One of Piston's students who benefitted similarly from this French influence on both sides of the Atlantic, and thus learned to appreciate the music of Fauré and his contemporaries, was Elliott Carter.

Elliott Carter (1908–2012)

Carter was born into a wealthy American family, and as an only child, was given the finest opportunities for education and travel.[145] In terms of musical education, he received the traditional piano lessons expected of his social class, and as a young teenager studied at the

[142] Ibid., 6. Caballero notes that Piston's arrangement of *Prométhée* (unpublished) is one of only three arrangements he made of other composers' works, along with Debussy's "Clair de lune" (1936) and the first movement of Beethoven's "Moonlight" Sonata (undated), all unpublished; the Fauré was the only arrangement made for a particular performance event.

[143] Caballero observes relationships between Piston's *Improvisation* (1945) and Fauré's Thirteenth Nocturne and Ninth Prelude, and Piston's Passacaglia and the first movement of Fauré's Second Violin Sonata. See ibid., 6–10.

[144] Ibid., 1.

[145] For an overview of Carter's early life see David Schiff and Mark D. Porcaro, "Carter, Elliott (Cook)," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2257467 (accessed January 18, 2015).

Horace Mann School in New York. He had diverse intellectual interests and completed an undergraduate degree at Harvard, where he studied English, Greek, philosophy, and history; he remained there for his graduate studies, although his focus of study changed formally to music composition, which he studied with E. B. Hill and Walter Piston, among others. Following his graduation in 1932, Carter, like so many of his predecessors, selected Paris to pursue his further musical studies.[146] Having spent a good deal of time in France as a child, this likely seemed in some ways a homecoming. In the three years he spent in Paris as an adult, Carter studied composition and counterpoint with Boulanger in her private studio and at the École Normale de Musique, and choral conducting with Henry Expert (1863–1952) at the Conservatoire. He also sang in Expert's early music ensemble, where he developed a deep appreciation for Renaissance choral works, an interest further stimulated by Boulanger (Carter also formed his own ensemble with students from Boulanger's studio).[147] Both of these instructors represented a direct link to Fauré, Boulanger as one of his prized pupils, and Expert as his colleague at the Conservatoire. In fact, Fauré had hired Expert as the second music librarian for the Conservatoire in 1909, largely because of his vast knowledge of early music repertoire and notation, embodied most impressively in the twenty-three volume collection *Les Maîtres musiciens de la Renaissance française* (1894–1908).[148] Despite the common interest in early music shared by Fauré and

[146] Elliott Carter and Enzo Restagno, *Elliott Carter: In Conversation with Enzo Restagno for Settembre Musica 1989*, trans. Katherine Silberblatt Wolfthal (New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1989), 7.

[147] Carter discusses his experiences in early music performance in Carter and Restagno, 8–9, and refers to learning early music repertoire with Expert and Boulanger in "Music and the Time Screen" (1973), printed in Bernard, *Elliott Carter*, 289.

[148] This collection contains sacred and secular works of French and Franco-Flemish composers, including Orlando de Lassus, Claude Goudimel, Guillaume Costeley, and others. In addition to Expert's transcriptions of this music in modern notation, there is also a portrait and biography of each representative composer, and written documents (e.g., dedications to patrons) when available. See Henry Expert, ed., *Les Maîtres musiciens de la Renaissance française*, vols. 1–23 (Paris: A. Leduc, 1894–1908). Expert's connection to Fauré's indirect influence on the development of early music in the U.S. is a topic that I plan to explore further in the future, building on research conducted for this dissertation. This project will explore Franco-American interactions, such as that between Expert and the noted historian Henry Adams, who utilized him and the resources available at the

Expert, and the fact that Carter was aware of Fauré's use of early modal elements in some works, it is unclear whether Carter was exposed to Fauré's music, particularly his choral works, through Expert; [149] it was more likely the influence of his time with Boulanger, as well as his earlier work with E. B. Hill at Harvard, that remained with him beyond his formal studies.

By 1945, Carter had sustained enough of an active interest in Fauré that he wrote an article about him for the journal *Listen*, published in May in honor of the composer's centennial birthday.[150] His approach is somewhat different from that of Copland, whose article published later that year was intended specifically to promote the Fauré Festival; in fact, in terms of its content, Carter's article is actually more in keeping with Copland's first article from1924, in that in like manner he addresses elements of Fauré's musical style in the context of particular works, and offers his perspective on why Fauré's music has not been widely appreciated outside France. Like Copland, he includes standard biographical details, by now likely familiar to many readers, although he takes this a step further by suggesting a connection between certain aspects of Fauré's personality and his musical works.[151] For instance, Carter connects the simplicity of the "In paradisum" movement of the Requiem to Fauré on a personal level, invoking the composer's spirituality, as he understands it. Carter suggests that this movement, through the simplicity of the accompaniment and vocal line, is a "conception of a devout man full of sympathy and hope,

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Conservatoire to obtain knowledge about medieval music history, notation, and topics of performance practice for his personal edification in the last years of his life.

[149] Carter includes Fauré's early influences from the Niedermeyer School, particularly calling attention to his familiarity with Gregorian chant and Renaissance music. See Bernard, *Elliott Carter*, 121.

[150] "Gabriel Fauré," in *Listen* 6, no. 1 (May 1945): 8–10; reprinted in ibid., 119–22.

[151] One point about which he is mistaken is the involvement of Saint-Saëns in raising funds to bring Fauré to the École Niedermeyer; Fauré had already been a student there since 1854, when Saint-Saëns took a position as teacher there in 1861. See ibid., 121.

forgiving his fellow men with Christian charity."[152] (He was probably unaware of Fauré's somewhat ambivalent attitude to the Church and the Catholic religion in which he was raised.)

Although he refers to Fauré as "…a much venerated figure whose reputation has increased constantly since his death," Carter cites two reasons for the relative unfamiliarity with Fauré outside of France.[153] The first is that a significant number of Fauré's most successful works are vocal music, both secular and sacred. Carter suggests that the French and Latin texts make the music less accessible to English-speaking audiences.[154] Of course, this is a debatable assertion, considering how many other composers wrote music in these and other languages that are widely familiar to American audiences. It is Carter's second reason that leads toward a more plausible explanation, and it is one that reaches beyond the common question of the comprehensibility of Fauré's musical style for a non-French audience. This relates to Fauré's musical style in general, and the fact that his musical language, as Carter suggests, is "…reduced to the barest essentials; it is often not striking on the first hearing."[155] As Copland had remarked concerning the elements of surface originality, Carter suggests that the listener must understand the music beneath its primary details, asserting that, "Adherents of this music find in its understated romanticism a world of deep feeling that often puts to sham [sic] those who carry on with grandiloquence."[156]

In terms of Fauré's overall musical style, Carter remarks on the "logic, order, and serenity—combined with a highly individual sensibility and refinement of taste" present within

[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid., 122.
[154] Ibid., 119.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.

the music, principles that he associates with "one of the best sides of French music."[157] In an effort to articulate specific tangible elements of Fauré's particular style, Carter carefully enumerates the diverse influences he perceives in this music. In addition to the frequently-observed use of medieval modes, he highlights the "tender gaiety" of the French madrigal school, the "Watteauesque" quality of Couperin, the "continuous movement" and spinning out of small patterns of Bach, and the "transparency and economy" of Mozart.[158] Of these elements, it is this sense of economy within Fauré's music that seems to resonate so clearly with Carter. He suggests that, "Sometimes by a sudden modulation, by varying the accompaniment imperceptibly, or by a touching inflection of the voice, Fauré achieves more than do many others using complicated means."[159] In a practical sense, Carter asserts that this economy extends to Fauré's approach to orchestration, as is evident in his Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*. While others have suggested that Fauré was simply not adept at orchestration, or was simply not interested in it, Carter maintains that Fauré was surely aware of the capabilities of the orchestra; he asserts that the composer's simplicity of instrumentation was rather another manifestation of his economy of style.[160] Naturally, he acknowledges the remarkable difference between Fauré's and Debussy's musical responses to Maeterlinck's play, remarking particularly on Fauré's "nostalgic" prologue, the two "rather light" interludes, and the "tragic" final Adagio, which reaches a "remarkable interior pathos"; Carter assures his readers that this setting, and other sections of the score, are "entirely different from the Debussy score and have to be appreciated on the basis of quite another conception of the work."[161] This surely connects to the principle of economy that Carter describes, one that few critics would assert is present in Debussy's music.

[157] Ibid., 120.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid., 120–21.
[161] Ibid., 120.

In defining the overarching element in Fauré's music across the span of his career, Carter suggests that the characteristic "elegant lyricism or a humorous lightness" of later works are already evident in works such as the First Violin Sonata in A major, op. 13, and the First Piano Quartet in C minor, op. 15, both composed in the late 1880s.[162]

As Carter strives to define the sound world of Fauré's music, he also considers a visual element, like many writers on music of this period who seek to illuminate via an interdisciplinary analogy (e.g., Debussy and Impressionism, Stravinsky and Cubism), Carter finds a particularly wide-reaching blend of influences within the music of Fauré. In addition to the suggestion of ancient Greek art and the Baroque paintings of Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), perhaps most evocative for his readers would have been the more recent parallel that Carter draws between Fauré's musical style and the paintings of Edouard Manet (1832–1883). He refers to the "rather muted colors but definite outlines" of both, a description that recalls the words of Boulanger in 1925, in which she refers to Fauré's "sharp, fine lines of a pen." To connect Fauré and Manet in this way offers an accessible point of reference to balance the comparison frequently made between Debussy's music and the paintings of Claude Monet (1840–1926), whose particular style of Impressionism tends to avoid a clear definition of line, as Debussy often does in his music. And similarly, though often connected in discussions of French art of this period, those familiar with the paintings of Manet and Monet would hardly mistake one for the other, as is the case with the music of Fauré and Debussy. Carter deliberately places Fauré in a category apart from other modern French composers in general, asserting, "[Fauré's] music has

[162] Ibid.

a precision of outline, a marvelous clarity, and an intimacy of expression that differentiates it from that of his younger and more widely known contemporaries, Debussy and Ravel."[163]

Carter's discussion of Fauré's musical style is certainly thought provoking; it also raises the possibility of an influence on his own music. There is no doubt that a concern for clarity of line—and of design—was central to Carter's compositional career, not only in the broadly neoclassical works that he was writing in the 1940s, but even in the extraordinarily challenging and intricate modernistic complexities of his later music. More specifically, one might hear in his *Elegy* for viola and piano, completed in 1943 and revised in 1961, a connection to Fauré's famous *Élégie* for cello and piano, if not necessarily through style, then through a certain conceptual and expressive affinity. One other highly significant element in the article, biographical in this case rather than compositional, is Carter's discussion of Fauré's deafness and its impact (or more accurately, its absence of impact) in relation to his composition and critical writings in the last two decades of his life. This is a topic that Copland, Boulanger, and others specifically avoided in their writings on the composer, and for many of Carter's readers this information would have shone a new light on Fauré. Although American writers had not addressed this topic before, the information had been available in print, at least in French, since 1929, when Fauré's son Philippe Fauré-Fremiet published an intimate biography of his father.[164] (This volume has never been translated into English.) Carter cites this volume as his primary source, although he is very selective in the details that he includes in his own account. While Fauré-Fremiet not surprisingly depicts his father's struggle in terms of quiet heroism, not unlike Beethoven, he also openly describes the emotional distress his father experienced as he gradually

[163] Ibid., 119.
[164] Fauré-Fremiet, *Gabriel Fauré*, esp. 69–71.

lost his hearing, and was forced to conceal it from everyone except for his family and closest friends. He includes a portion of a letter written by Fauré to his wife in 1903:

> I am devastated by this evil which afflicts me in that which it was so essential for me to conserve intact. It is disrespectful or at least thoughtless to recall Beethoven. Yet the second part of his life was nothing but a long despair! Now there are periods of music, sounds of which I hear nothing, nothing! of mine as well as that of others. This morning, I had placed manuscript paper on my table; I wanted to try to work. I feel nothing now beyond a horrible cloak of misery and despair on my shoulders...[165]

This devastation that Fauré felt over the increasing loss of his hearing is distinctly absent in Carter's article. For him, it is more important to illuminate Fauré's inherent abilities and strength of character, carefully avoiding any suggestion that what he refers to as this "strange deafness" was in any way an impairment to his work.[166] Carter had to tread carefully in this discussion, since although he clearly felt the need to address the hearing loss, to call attention to such an affliction risked sensationalizing Fauré's biography; unlike Fauré-Fremiet, he specifically avoids the obvious and expected comparison to Beethoven, despite the connection that Fauré made himself. Instead, he maintains the focus on the fact that Fauré remained a prolific composer, as well as music critic and director of the Conservatoire during the last two decades of his life. (As Fauré-Fremiet asserts, regarding any question of his father's continued ability to judge musical works without hearing them, "He read an orchestral partitur as easily as a book."[167]) Carter displays the utmost respect for Fauré's sensitive attention in his music criticism:

> That his opinion of the newer trends represented by Strauss, Ravel, and Dukas should have shown such understanding under this

[165] "Je suis atterré par ce mal qui m'atteint dans ce qu'il m'eut été si indispensable de conserver intact. C'est irrespectueux ou tout au moins inconsidéré de rappeler Beethoven. Pourtant la seconde partie de sa vie ne fut qu'un long désespoir! Or il y'a des périodes de musique, des sonorités dont je n'entends rien, rien! de la mienne comme de celle des autres. Ce matin, j'avais placé du papier à musique sur ma table; je voulais essayer de travailler. Je ne me sense plus qu'un affreux manteau de misère et de découragement sur les épaules..." Quoted in ibid., 70.

[166] Bernard, *Elliott Carter*, 121.

[167] "Il lisait une partition d'orchestre aussi aisément qu'un livre." Quoted in Fauré-Fremiet, *Gabriel Fauré*, 70.

> terrible handicap is remarkable. To read his criticisms now is to realize how seldom one may find an intelligent critic of new music and how many, blessed with two healthy ears, hear far less.[168]

Published two decades after Fauré's death, this article may well have been the first time that American readers were made aware of Fauré's affliction. However, Carter's tone of deep respect for Fauré's work as well as his strength of character attributes to the composer a level of heroism that elegantly complements the element of modesty already well-established by other writers.

David Schiff, Carter's primary biographer, has discussed this article in terms of what he considers an almost pitying tone. He asserts, "Carter's article is clear and intelligent but also dutiful and lifeless; unintentionally, perhaps, he shows that Fauré's music exemplifies a European classicism refined to the point of enervation."[169] Schiff uses this article as evidence of the continued influence that Boulanger exercised on Carter at this point, citing its reverent tone toward her teacher as an example of "just how constricting that grip was."[170] He asserts that Carter had to find the courage to "free himself of Boulanger's grip," as he had done through an article about his mentor Charles Ives in 1939, before he could pursue his personal goals as a composer.[171] However, while Boulanger's influence was surely lingering in Carter's mind several years later, it seems unlikely that he would write an article such as this simply to please his former teacher. Throughout the article Carter's tone is one of respect and appreciation for a master composer. Not unlike Copland, Carter acknowledges that there are certain challenges for the audience in appreciating Fauré's music upon first hearing, but assures his readers of the value in striving for an understanding:

> Listeners accustomed to large rhetorical effects emphasizing every expressive detail will have difficulty orienting themselves in this

[168] Bernard, *Elliot Carter*, 121.
[169] Schiff, *The Music of Elliott Carter*, 17.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.

> restrained music, which has often been called perfect 'though cold.' But once the sobriety of Fauré is appreciated, it becomes obvious that such poignant and beautiful expression could not be achieved by the use of more colorful and dramatic means.[172]

Regardless of any possible lingering obligation to Boulanger, it is evident that Carter held Fauré in the highest regard, and as an inspiration, even if in abstract terms, for his own work as a composer. He writes of both the composer and his music affectionately, and suggests that his music in general, "…is the work of a man both simple and modest whose warmth of feeling and loving kindness reveal themselves in every detail. It is by these rare qualities that Fauré stands out as one of the great figures of French music."[173] In fact, his opinion can be summarized through the strong assertion with which he opens this article, "There is no better example of the power of persuasion in the music of recent times than in the compositions of Gabriel Fauré."[174]

Irving Fine (1914–1962)

A composer whose discussion of Fauré's music reveals a considerably cooler response compared to that of Carter, and certainly of Copland and his contemporaries, is Irving Fine. As one who had studied with Boulanger for a relatively short period of time, his review of the Fauré Festival, published in early 1946, suggests not only a more objective stance on this music, but also an almost tangible distance from Boulanger, despite his evident respect for her. Like Carter, Fine had studied with Hill and Piston at Harvard, completing his master's degree in 1938, and was thus subject to similar pedagogical influences.[175] While the others had met Boulanger in Paris, he first encountered her in Cambridge, as a young Harvard professor in 1939; he also served as an

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[172] Bernard, *Elliott Carter*, 119.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Ibid. Further study of Carter's chamber works from this period might suggest a deeper interest in Fauré's music itself; perhaps Carter's *Elegy* for viola and piano (completed in 1943 and revised in 1961) represents a connection to Fauré's *Elégie* for cello and piano, if not necessarily through style, then through a certain *esprit de corps*.

[175] Charles H. Kaufman, "Fine, Irving," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09665 (accessed March 22, 2015).

accompanist for the Harvard Glee Club, which performed the Fauré Requiem that year under Boulanger's baton.[176] The following summer he studied with Boulanger in Paris, and, given the relatively brief time spent with her in private studies, it is unclear how much direct influence she might have had on his musical interests. However, the experience of having performed the Requiem with her in Cambridge was likely still in his memory several years later when he wrote his review of the Fauré Festival, published in *Modern Music*.[177] (This is part of a larger article, the first and longest portion of which is a review of a recent BSO concert.) A survey of Fine's article reveals two elements worthy of note: 1) his strong knowledge of Fauré's music, including the specific pieces heard at the festival, and his individual preference for the composer's vocal works in general; and 2) his belief that the success of the festival was largely due to Boulanger's contributions as a conductor, performer, and promoter of Fauré.

Unlike Copland and Carter, whose writings on Fauré convey such warmth and committed advocacy, Fine approaches his review with a tone of relative detachment, although he has a clear appreciation for certain works. Using Fauré's *mélodies* as a point of reference, he offers what he calls an "objective appraisal," asserting that that the music performed at the festival "confirms [Fauré's] pre-eminence as a song writer."[178] He is specifically dissatisfied by Fauré's instrumental writing, going against many earlier writers who asserted that Fauré's fame would rest on his solo vocal works and his chamber music. Fine writes:

> Formally [the chamber music] is often diffuse and the melodic style, so admirable in the songs, seems spun out here and lacking in contrast. His instinct for instrumental effect is not strong, and the qualities of understatement and restraint that are virtues in

[176] Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 309.
[177] Fine, "Symphonic Works and Fauré Anniversary."
[178] Ibid., 57.

> works inspired by a text or possessing literary implications tend to devitalize his abstract music.[179]

Surprisingly, perhaps, given the problems identified by others in the opera, Fine is more enthusiastic about *Pénélope*. In fact, he remarks that the "most stirring events" were the performances of *Pénélope* and the Requiem, calling the former "an extraordinarily attractive concert piece," and crediting the use of a narrator as an effective method of reducing what he calls the "absurdity of the libretto."[180] Thompson had also commented on the problematic text (see fn123), but Fine assures his readers that, overall, Fauré's music is at its best when driven by a text.[181] Of course, this falls directly in line with the popularity of his *mélodies*; however, Fine's near-rejection of the purely instrumental works, and specifically the chamber music, is unusual. He does allow for some exceptions, including the Second Violin Sonata in E and the Second Quintet in C minor, in which Fine observes sections of "surpassing beauty," specifically in the slow movements of each work.[182]

An element that truly sets apart Fine's article from those of Copland and Carter of this period is his explicit acknowledgement of Boulanger's promotion of Fauré. While the others were unquestionably aware of her fondness toward her mentor, Fine is the only one of the three who makes a specific point of calling attention to it. (Copland only mentions Boulanger because of her involvement with the festival; Carter's article is not about the festival, and he does not mention her at all.) He suggests: "Possibly the proselytizing fervor or Mlle. Boulanger won new converts to Fauré; when she was conducting or playing one was convinced that he was no minor master, no miniaturist, but a major composer with breadth of style and variety of expression."[183]

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[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.

Fine's choice to use the word "proselytizing" is not lost here; although he is referring specifically to the performances at the festival, he might just as well be making a broader comment on the almost religious zeal with which Boulanger promoted Fauré to her students.

Fine's overall assessment of the value of this celebration is that it "seemed one of the most worthwhile educational ventures that Harvard's music department has sponsored in years."[184] (This connects to the idea that Boulanger herself was educating her audience about Fauré, and was in fact winning over "converts" through her promotion of him.) Because he places his focus exclusively on the music performed at the event, it is unclear the extent to which Fine knew Fauré's complete oeuvre, although he was evidently quite familiar with his *mélodies*, and was keenly aware that *Pénélope* had been presented in a truncated concert version. (He mentions Piston's orchestration, and was most likely aware of the opera directly through his former teacher—now his colleague.) Nevertheless, amid his carefully balanced approach and honest evaluation, specifically "discounting the glamor of the festival," there is an underlying tone of personal appreciation for Fauré's music, though at a level not anywhere as enthusiastic as that of Copland or other contemporaries.[185]

After the Centennial

The years 1924 and 1945 mark crucial points in Fauré reception, and from Copland's youthful article that offers a piece of "propaganda" just before the older composer's death, through the festival at Harvard organized to celebrate his centennial, a great deal of activity over the span of these two decades greatly enhanced his growing reputation in this country. Performances and critical writings by noted musicians were at least partly stimulated by the centennial, which

[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.

provided an ideal opportunity for discussions of his music, led by Copland, Carter, and Fine, as well as Boulanger. However, 1945 marks not a conclusion or even a climax in American composers' interest in Fauré, but rather a way station, and a gateway for new critical discussions (as well as musical works in his honor) to be pursued by subsequent generations of composers in the second half of the century.

Today, nearly nine decades later, the American critical reception of Fauré is situated in a quite different context. Those who read the works of American scholars, such as Gail Hilson Woldu or Carlo Caballero, and certainly those who have consulted Edward Phillips's research guide, generally have at least a working knowledge of the composer and his works, and will often have encountered the earlier writings of French and English scholars, especially Jean-Michel Nectoux and Robert Orledge.[186] Fauré's name is ubiquitous on American recital programs today, and performing musicians and their audiences are extremely familiar with Fauré's *mélodies*, solo piano pieces, and chamber works—and certainly the Requiem, to which I will return. Unlike in the early 1900s, these works are no longer considered "novelty" pieces, thus today's concert reviews focus on the performances rather than on the quality of Fauré's individual compositions. However, despite the frequency of American performances of his music, even today there remains a degree of protective promotion of Fauré that is reminiscent of the writings of Hale, Parker, and Hill: Fauré's significance as a composer still widely recognized

[186] The details of Fauré's life and career have been firmly established by the scholarship of Jean-Michel Nectoux and Robert Orledge; English translations of Nectoux's works have made them widely accessible to the general reader, especially his biography and his edition of Fauré's letters: Jean-Michel Nectoux, trans. Rober Nichols, *Gabriel Fauré*: *A Musical Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Fauré, ed. Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: His Life through His Letters.* American scholars have examined Fauré's music through a variety of lenses, most notably: Woldu, "Gabriel Fauré as Director of the Conservatoire" and "Fauré at the Conservatoire" (see Chapter 1, fn43), and Carlo Caballero, *Fauré and French Musical Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

as “underrated” or “overshadowed,” to use two of the most common adjectives to appear alongside the composer’s name, referring either to specific works or to Fauré in general.[187]

[187] Numerous informal online discussions about Fauré and his music include similar assertions about the composer’s reception. See, for example: “Gabriel Fauré [1845 - 1924],” *Talk Classical*, http://www.talkclassical.com/4885-gabriel-faur-1845-1924-a.html (accessed September 11, 2013); Steve Schwarz, “Manuel de Falla – Ivor Gurney,” *Schwartz's Guide to Underrated Masterpieces*, http://kith.org/jimmosk/schwartzFG.html (accessed September 11, 2013); and “Top Ten Most Underrated Composers,” *Violinist.com*, http://www.violinist.com/discussion/response.cfm?ID=4983 (accessed September 11, 2013) [see reader comments]. Prominent music sites also commonly describe Fauré in these terms. For example: “The French Connection,” *Classic fM*, http://www.classicfm.com/composers/faure/album-reviews/french-collection-faure/ (accessed September 11, 2013); “About this Recording: *FAURE: Preludes, Op. 103 / Impromptus*,” *Naxos.com* *http://www.naxos.com/mainsite/blurbs_reviews.asp?item_code=8.553740&catNum=553740&filetype=About%20this%20Recording&language=English* (accessed September 11, 2013). Graham Johnson has recently echoed, a century later, Elgar’s assessment of Fauré as “underrated.” See Johnson, *Gabriel Fauré: The Songs and Their Poets*, 302. Robin Tait begins his study on Fauré’s musical language, “Fauré is most often seen as a composer of secondary importance.” See Robin Tait, *The Musical Language of Gabriel Fauré* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), 1.

Chapter 8

Beyond 1945: Fauré's Broader American Reception

In this final chapter I will broaden the scope of my investigation, not only in chronological terms, by moving into the post-1945 period, but also by reaching well outside the confines of Boston musical life and, by the end of the chapter, beyond the elite musical culture in which Fauré's music was first received in this country. New generations of American composers continued to discover Fauré's music, and the writings and compositions relating to him, by composers such as Ned Rorem, Walter Arlen, Robert Helps, and Lowell Liebermann, in many ways carry on this tradition established by Copland and his colleagues, now with less direct influence from Boulanger. In the concert hall, Fauré's music began to find a place beyond its originally intended context, through the repurposing of the *Pelléas* and *Shylock* suites as ballet music, and, more extensively, the new life taken on by the Requiem as music specifically chosen to offer consolation and solace to communities in distress through benefit and memorial concerts. The Requiem has also expanded Fauré's mainstream reception in the U.S. through its unexpectedly diverse presence in popular culture, particularly the way in which the "Pie Jesu" and "In paradisum" movements have been featured in popular genres such as film and television, and further commercialized through their inclusion on related soundtracks and themed compilation albums. The fact that the Requiem dominates this chapter will be no surprise to any reader familiar with the current American musical scene. Although the work was not heard in a public setting in the U.S. until the 1930s, and thus relatively late compared to most other music by the composer that is well known today, the widespread exposure that it has received since 1945 has

ensured that it is through this work that the largest number of American listeners are now familiar with the name Gabriel Fauré.

Elite Reception: American Composers' Continuing Interest in Fauré

Born in 1923, Ned Rorem represents the next generation of American composers after Copland, Thomson, and their contemporaries, and offers an unusually articulate and voluble example of an American musician responding to Fauré in the decades after 1945. While the composers discussed in Chapter 7 maintained a generally consistent tone of respect and admiration in writing about Fauré's music, even allowing for more negative assessments of particular works, Rorem's opinions underwent a very marked evolution across his career, as he grew more thoroughly familiar with the music. As he matured, Rorem developed a deep affinity with Fauré's vocal music, a point that is particularly important given that both composers are known today in large part for their contributions to art song (Rorem's catalog includes nearly four hundred pieces for solo voice.) Although Rorem mentions Fauré a number of times in his earlier writings, particularly in general discussions of song composers, it is not until 1977 that a true appreciation for the French composer's music emerges and begins to gain momentum.[1]

Following his formal studies at Northwestern University and the Curtis Institute, Rorem worked as Virgil Thomson's secretary and music copyist for several years, then spent one year in Paris at the École Normale, perhaps at the suggestion of Thomson.[2] There, he studied with Arthur Honegger, an admirer of Fauré, and occasionally attended Boulanger's open Wednesday sessions in her home, although he was not as taken with her as were so many other American

[1] Rorem often includes Fauré in his commentary on art song composition, particularly in comparison to other French composers, including Poulenc, who openly disliked Fauré's music, "...perhaps because he saw himself too closely mirrored." See Ned Rorem, *Music and People* (New York: George Braziller, 1968), 29.

[2] Anthony Tommasini, et al. "Rorem, Ned," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/48611 (accessed March 25, 2015).

students.[3] And while he was not immediately interested in Fauré's music, his first published volume of prose, *The Paris Diary of Ned Rorem* (1966), does exhibit a degree of personal fascination with him; at times he cites Fauré as a point of reference to his own music as well as to his emotions.[4] In the entry on his twenty-eighth birthday, Rorem goes as far as to suggest a personal connection to Fauré by virtue of the fact that he believed he was born the year of the older composer's death.[5]

His early discussions of Fauré's music, particularly regarding harmonic language, are generally quite superficial and rather uninformed, and his tone is that of an all-knowing youthful authority.[6] For instance, he refers to Fauré's "straight triads" as an identifying feature of his music, which is wrong and stands quite at odds with various other commentators (e.g., Hill, Copland, and Piston) far more familiar with Fauré than Rorem was at that time, and who had more accurately observed his emphasis on seventh and ninth harmonies rather than common

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[3] Rorem's thoughts on Boulanger's promotion of Fauré were clearly articulated; for instance, he scornfully refers to Henri-Louis de la Grange as a former "Fauré-playing Boulanger protégé." See Ned Rorem, *Critical Affairs* (New York: George Braziller, 1970), 185. Copland was particular displeased with the *Paris Diary* because of Rorem's general tone of condescension toward Boulanger. See Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 49.

[4] For instance, he writes, "Reading of Fauré's anguish at oncoming deafness made me wonder how that predicament would affect me." He suggests that it would have actually made him a better and more considering composer, and asks, " …who can prove the inner ear's more perceptive than the outer?" See Rorem, *Critical Affairs*, 60–61. He also incorporates Fauré's music as a vehicle for discussing his own sexual interests. In a diary entry written in Paris (1952) Rorem considers Fauré's motet "Ave verum corpus," op. 65, no. 1, in terms of the contrast between youth and maturity: "…as I listen to it I cannot escape the blond notes of credulity answered by low sonorities with black beards around them. This is sufficient for me to expire. My entire libido is based on this image of the dark which envelopes the light." He is referring to the purity of the boy soprano sound, which he refers to as "that hollow white French pure sound of Trust; all the more exciting as we would like to hear it defiled."[4] See Ned Rorem, *The Paris Diary of Ned Rorem* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), 110.

[5] He is mistaken in this point, since Fauré died the following year. However, he seems to enjoy the idea that he was possibly imparted with the creative soul of Fauré, and also Sarah Bernhardt, who did actually die in 1923. Rorem asks, "Did a wand touch me at birth, instilling me with the living souls of these people?" He attributes to himself a creative affinity with both Fauré and Bernhardt, although he also asserts that he stopped learning at age twenty-five. Ibid., 65–66.

[6] For instance, in his attempt to define Poulenc's music Rorem assembles a list of familiar composers and the harmonic marker of each (as he understands it), and presents this rather simplified list: "Take Chopin's dominant sevenths, Ravel's major sevenths, Fauré's straight triads, Debussy's minor ninths, Mussorgsky's augmented fourths. Filter them, as Satie did, through the added sixth chords of vaudeville (which the French called Le Music Hall), blend in a pint of Couperin to a quart of Stravinsky, and you get the harmony of Poulenc." See Ned Rorem, *Settling the Score* (1963; repr., San Diego, New York, and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1988), 136.

triads. This suggests that, as a young composer, he still had a limited understanding not only of Fauré's individual works, but also of existing critical writings on the subject. In fact, the latter point is supported by Rorem's misguided assertion that nobody had considered the element of "taste" when discussing Fauré (or Franck). In his discussion of Ravel, he suggests, "…if the French have always been noted for economical means, which in turn are the roots of taste, no one has ever focused on taste in, say, Franck or Fauré."[7] This is certainly untrue: the qualities of economy, taste, and refinement have long been observed in Fauré's works, as is illustrated by the writings discussed in earlier chapters of this dissertation.

Rorem's later interest in Fauré was at least partly inspired by the release of two sets of recordings of his complete *mélodies* in belated honor of the fifty-year anniversary of his death.[8] Rorem freely acknowledges a change in his individual reception and understanding of this music in his essay "Fauré's Songs," published in the volume *Setting the Tone*; there, he admits that as a young student, he had known only a small number of Fauré's *mélodies* and had considered them "bloodless models for Poulenc's vital copies."[9] He admits, "Having listened to all 104 songs twice through, with a blush of surprise I realize what I've been missing."[10] His understanding of Fauré's approach to harmony changed at this time as well: in the same essay, he no longer refers to the "straight triads," expounding rather on Fauré's use of augmented fourth and lowered seventh harmonies.[11] He also compares Fauré's use of seventh harmonies to the "blue" notes of Dixieland music, and identifies certain "jazzy" passages in Fauré's *mélodies* and in the

[7] Ned Rorem, *An Absolute Gift: A New Diary* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978; first published in 1974), 220.

[8] Gabriel Fauré, *Fauré: Complete Songs*, Elly Ameling, Gérard Souzay, and Dalton Baldwin, EMI Classics 64079, LP, 1981.

[9] Ned Rorem, "Fauré's Songs," in *Setting the Tone* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1983), 247–50.

[10] Ibid., 247.

[11] He remarks, "Not that he was ever atonal, but Fauré did anticipate the fondness *chez* Olivier Messiaen and Benjamin Britten for Wagnerian chains of endlessly resolving augmented fourths." See Rorem, "Fauré's Songs," 248.

Requiem.[12] Acknowledging that most of these works were nearly a century old at this point, he asks the reader, "Did Fauré hear those notes as we, geared by intervening decades of pop, hear them?"[13] By extending the discussion beyond the context of pure art music, Rorem demonstrates a far different perspective from that offered by his predecessors. Furthermore, his reassessment of Fauré's harmonic language in particular offers a more definite and logical understanding of this music than that presented only three years earlier.

Beyond the area of critical writings, certain American composers in the post-1945 era also expressed their interest in Fauré through the composition of music written in his honor. As far as is known, Copland was the first American to do this, through the *Hommage à Gabriel Fauré*, written in 1923 while the composer was still alive (see Chapter 7). However, this stream of activity continued long after Fauré's death, through homage pieces by Walter Arlen (b. 1920), Robert Helps (1928–2001), and Lowell Liebermann (b. 1961). The earliest of these pieces, Arlen's three-movement song cycle titled *Le Tombeau de Gabriel Fauré* (1951), offers an particularly interesting perspective, because Arlen was a Viennese-born composer, professor, and music critic who specifically chose to honor a French composer following the Second World War.[14]

Arlen first came to the United States in 1939; he studied privately with Roy Harris for four years, then at UCLA, where he eventually became professor of composition.[15] Through Harris, Arlen had two points of connection to Fauré: 1) Harris was another American who had

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] The text is a set of poems drawn from the *Sonnets of Orpheus* by the German writer Rainer Maria Rilke, in an English translation by Jessie Lemont. The cycle comprises "Where in what blessedly watered gardens," "See the flowers," and "Sing the gardens."

[15] For an overview of Arlen's biography see Michael Haas, "Walter Arlen: 'Things turn out differently'," *The Orel Foundation*, online, http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/journal/journalArticle/walter_arlen_things_turn_out_differently/ (accessed March 28, 2015).

studied with Boulanger, and 2) he was also closely associated with Serge Koussevitzky However, Arlen first encountered his music and that of other French composers in Chicago, soon after his arrival in the U.S.[16] In correspondence with the author, Arlen wrote:

> I never heard of Fauré, or, for that matter Debussy or Ravel or Sibelius or Vaughan Williams or Prokofiev or Britten or Falla, until I left Austria…I heard French music for the first time, as well as Stravinsky and the modernists, and the other composers I mentioned, in America: first in Chicago, and later in southern California….Hearing Fauré struck a particular chord in me through his songs.[17]

Arlen articulates his particular fondness for Fauré's *mélodies* in his liner notes for a recording of the *Tombeau* released in 2011; he remarks, "The late songs of Fauré hovered over me when I composed this homage. They thrill me to this day."[18] Despite the French language used in the title, and the implication of honoring Fauré, these songs are not intended as imitations of his *mélodies*. Not only are the song texts drawn from poetry by the German writer Rainer Maria Rilke (in English translation), but the melodic line of each setting features a comparatively wide vocal range that distinguishes this collection from Fauré's style; one might observe the general elements of simplicity of musical texture, natural prosody, and even certain basic musical elements of contour, but the overall effect is strikingly different from Fauré's music, including the late *mélodies* Arlen references in his notes. However, the composer has indicated that there are at least two compositional elements that he employs as a way of honoring Fauré beyond the title of the set.[19] The first occurs in "See the Flowers," the second piece in this cycle, in which he incorporates the letters of Fauré name as pitches in the melodic line, a *soggetto cavato*, as Copland had done with the "Rondino"; this is an embedded melodic element, and not one that

[16] I am most grateful to Professor Arlen for sharing with me his intentions in the *Tombeau de Gabriel Fauré*, generously set out in e-mail correspondence, April 24–27, 2015.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Walter Arlen, *Le Tombeau de Gabriel Fauré*, on *Es geht wohl anders*, exil.arte, vol. 2, Danny Driver, Rebecca Nelsen, and Christian Immler, Gramola Records 98946-47, CD, 2011.

[19] Emails between Heather de Savage and Walter Arlen, April 24–27, 2015.

the listener may necessarily perceive. In contrast, in the third piece of this set, "Sing the Gardens," Arlen includes an explicit musical reference to one of Fauré's most popular *mélodies*, "Les roses d'Ispahan" (1884). The first section of Rilke's poem invites the reference: "Sing the gardens, my heart, like gardens poured into glass, Those forever unknown gardens, clear, unattainable. Waters and roses of Ispahan or of Shiraz, Blissfully sing them, praise them, the incomparable."[20] Arlen highlights this poetic reference to "the roses of Ispahan" by momentarily invoking Fauré's piece in both the melody of the vocal line and in the piano accompaniment, before resuming his original music. He incorporates this paraphrase a second time in the return of the opening material, without any direct parallel to the poetry within Fauré's setting. However quickly these moments pass, anyone familiar with "Les roses d'Ispahan" would surely recognize the unmistakable and striking reference to Fauré. The fact that Arlen paraphrased an early *mélodie* is notable, given the interest he acknowledged in Fauré's later style; however, the poetry clearly was a driving force in this particular selection. Further study of this collection may reveal other references to Fauré's music, but for now it suffices to recognize that Arlen's interest in Fauré was clearly present in 1951, and, as his liner notes for the recording fifty years later and his recent correspondence with the author makes clear, it has continued across a very long lifetime.[21]

Robert Helps and Lowell Liebermann chose to honor Fauré through instrumental music rather than song, each composing an "Hommage à Fauré" for solo piano. Helps's homage is part of the *Trois Hommages*, op. 17 (1972), which comprises individual pieces in honor of Fauré,

[20] Walter Arlen, *Le Tombeau de Gabriel Fauré,* liner notes, 30.

[21] Arlen's use of the designation *tombeau* rather than *hommage* is interesting to note because of its traditional use in honor of a teacher. It is possible that he simply did not distinguish between these two classifications; or perhaps he recognized that Copland and several French composers had already written *hommage* compositions in honor of Fauré and wished to set apart his collection from the others. Or perhaps this was truly a more deliberate and thoughtful choice, and one that implies a deeper appreciation of Fauré's role as a teacher than simply as a composer he respected. I am working to ascertain this detail.

Rachmaninoff, and Ravel.[22] Liebermann's homage is also part of a larger work, the *Album for the Young*, op. 43 (1993), a diverse collection of eighteen short pieces for solo piano.[23] (In addition to the Fauré piece, Liebermann includes one in honor of Charles-Valentin Alkan.) In Helps's collection, the musical style deliberately reflects that of each composer he honors; the "Hommage à Fauré" reflects the style of Fauré's early works, an element that Eugene W. Flemm examines in his doctoral dissertation on Helps's piano music.[24] (Flemm also includes a discussion of the *Nocturne*, another work by Helps inspired by Fauré, in this case by the later works.[25]) In contrast, Liebermann's homage exhibits little similarity to Fauré's style, nor does it seem to utilize any paraphrase material as Arlen's piece does. In regard to possible influences on Helps, he had studied with Roger Sessions (another devoted Boulanger follower, and Copland's colleague) for thirteen years, and had numerous French or Francophile friends, including Virgil Thomson and conductor Pierre Monteux, during his students years and beyond. He specifically named Fauré as an influence on his own compositions, although it is unclear at what point or through whom he first made this association.[26] Liebermann, on the other hand, in a response to my inquiry regarding why he selected Fauré and Alkan for these two homage pieces, replied that he did so simply because he admired them.[27]

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[22] Robert Helps, *Trois Hommages: Piano Solo* (New York: C. F. Peters Corp., 1974). This collection includes "Hommage à Fauré," "Hommage à Rachmaninoff," and "Hommage à Ravel."

[23] Lowell Liebermann, *Album for the Young*, op. 43 (King of Prussia, PA: Theodore Presser, 1994). This collection includes child-themed program pieces (e.g., "Boogieman," "Lullaby," and "Little Baby Rhino"), genre-based titles (e.g., "Barcarolle" and "Toccata"), and two homage pieces, one for Fauré and the other for Charles-Valentin Alkan. (The homages are positioned on either side of "Funeral March for a Pet Rat.")

[24] Eugene W. Flemm, "The Solo Piano Music of Robert Helps," (DMA diss., University of Cincinnati, 1990). Flemm's discussion is supported by conversations with the composer. Discussion of the "Hommage à Fauré" is included in ibid., 128–31.

[25] Note: the *Nocturne* was originally titled "Hommage à Fauré." See ibid., 136.

[26] See "Abstract," in ibid.

[27] Email response to me from Lowell Liebermann, November 1, 2013. In an interview with Bruce Duffie given in 1998, Liebermann articulates his thoughts on the concept of musical influence, he acknowledges, "I don't think any composer can escape being influenced," as is sometimes exhibited by a sort of homage through musical

Of the composers discussed here and in the previous chapter, Liebermann is the only one without an obvious personal link to Fauré, either through Boulanger or one of her American students. However, his homage thus represents all the better the vitality of Fauré's continuing presence among American composers, in that it is quite independent of the Boulanger legacy. For a composer such as Liebermann, it is no longer a question of endorsing Fauré's reputation or honoring him on a large scale for a special event; instead, these works represent a simple and honest expression of individual appreciation, a nod of admiration from one composer to another,, rather than an act of active promotion. To trace further Fauré's influence on American composers, either in terms of style or general interest, might well uncover other similar critical writings or musical works.

The Broader Mainstream Reception of Fauré in America

Pelléas and *Shylock* as Ballet Music

In the late 1960s, Fauré's *Pelléas* and *Shylock* suites found a new life in the context of the American stage, not by a return to their origins as theatrical incidental music, but as part of the abstract ballet *Jewels*. This work was created in 1967 by Russian-born choreographer George Balanchine (1904–1983), the founder of the New York City Ballet and the so-called "father of American ballet."[28] *Jewels* is presented in three discrete acts, each of which represents one particular precious stone and features the music of a particular composer: "Emeralds" (Fauré, excerpts from the *Pelléas* and *Shylock* suites), "Rubies" (Stravinsky, *Capriccio for Piano and*

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references. See "Bruce Duffie Interviews," *BruceDuffie.com*, http://www.bruceduffie.com/intst.html (accessed March 28, 2015).

[28] For a discussion of Balanchine's contributions to American ballet see Bernard Taper, *Balanchine, a Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), esp. 147–75.

Orchestra), and "Diamonds" (Tchaikovsky, Symphony No. 3 in D major, movements II–V).[29] The ballet does not employ any plot in the traditional sense, or individual characters. The focus is primarily on the dancers and their collective representation of jewels in their brilliantly ornamented costumes; the musical selections are varied enough to create a distinct atmosphere for each act.

It is not at all unusual for a modern ballet to incorporate existing musical works; however, Balanchine's choices for *Jewels* are of considerable interest. While Stravinsky and Tchaikovsky are both known in large part for their ballet music, the works enlisted here are absolute music, without an associated narrative. Fauré wrote no ballet music, but one wonders if Balanchine was drawn to the *Pelléas* and *Shylock* suites, rather than perhaps more predictable selections from the composer's chamber music or vocal works, by their associations with the stage. [30] That said, by 1967 these Fauré works had for the most part lost their original dramatic associations through performances as concert music. Unfortunately there is no record of Balanchine's thinking on this matter, or how he first encountered the music.

Since its premiere by the New York City Ballet in 1967 *Jewels* has been performed almost every year by at least one major ballet company in the United States, as well as by the Royal Ballet in London, the Bolshoi Ballet, the Paris Opera Ballet, and the Hong Kong Ballet,

[29] For this ballet, Balanchine was inspired by the work of jewelry designer Claude Arpels. See "Biography, George Balanchine," *The George Balanchine Foundation*, http://balanchine.org/balanchine/01/index.html (accessed March 10, 2014).

[30] In 1909 Diaghilev had approached Fauré, Debussy, and Ravel as possible collaborators, but although Fauré seems to have been attracted by the idea, nothing ever came of it (unlike with Debussy and Ravel). The Ballets Russes did, however, go on to achieve some success with a ballet based on Fauré's music, *Las Meninas* (1917, later retitled *Les Jardins d'Aranjuez*), choreographed by Massine to the composer's *Pavane*. The *Dolly* suite was also staged as a ballet during Fauré's lifetime, in a production choreographed by Léo Staats the Théâtre des Arts in 1913. See Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 109 and 62–3.

among others.[31] The most recent American performances of *Jewels* include three productions in 2014, by the Boston Ballet, the Oklahoma City Ballet, and the Pacific Northwest Ballet.[32] Additionally, extracts from the ballet are used as recital pieces for student performances. The fact that *Jewels* has become such a fixture within the modern American ballet repertoire means that a sizeable audience who may well not have encountered Fauré in traditional concert settings have been exposed to his music in this new context.[33]

Balanchine's use of the *Pelléas* and *Shylock* music represents a potent example of the repurposing of existing musical works beyond the concert hall, and the attendant possibilities of reaching a new audience. However, of all of Fauré's compositions, it is the Requiem that has surely found the widest mainstream reception in America beyond the traditional concert hall.

The Evolving American Image of the Fauré Requiem, op. 48

Although it is now a well-known concert work that is frequently performed by choirs of all levels throughout the United States, it took decades for the Fauré Requiem to become as firmly established in the choral repertoire as the other most well-known requiems, those by Mozart, Verdi, and Brahms.[34] The position that this work currently holds within American culture evolved gradually from its first large-scale public performances in the 1930s (most notably that of the BSO under the baton of Nadia Boulanger); it now stands as probably Fauré's most familiar

[31] Based on a broad survey of American newspapers, 1967–2014.

[32] See "George Balanchine's Jewels," *Pacific Northwest Ballet*, http://www.pnb.org/Season/14-15/Jewels/ (accessed June 27, 2014), and "George Balanchine's Jewels," *Boston Ballet*, http://www.bostonballet.org/jewels/ (accessed December 31, 2014).

[33] Balanchine later turned to Fauré again, with his 1980 adaptation of the Ballade for Piano and Orchestra, op. 19 (1881) as *Ballade* (curiously, celebrated Scottish choreographer Kenneth Macmillan had used the same music and title for his own ballet in 1972). Yet although it is revived from time to time, Balanchine's *Ballade* has not achieved anywhere near the same status in the repertoire as *Jewels*.

[34] The requiem genre has developed a strong presence in this country; those by Mozart, Verdi, and Brahms are especially revered for their combination of large-scale drama with many passages of exquisite beauty. The requiems by Berlioz, Britten, Cherubini, and Duruflé are also performed, although not quite with the same frequency as those by Fauré, Mozart, Verdi, and Brahms.

and frequently-performed work. Fauré once asserted that he had composed the work "pour le plaisir"—for pleasure.[35] The composer apparently meant for his own pleasure, and this is certainly one important aspect of the way the work has most often been performed, as part of a concert program for the enjoyment of the performers and audience.[36] The requiem genre as a whole has become popular as much through performances in secular settings as in churches, and thus Fauré's contribution fits well within this strand of choral tradition. Nevertheless, a secular setting does not necessarily secularize the content of the work or the experience of the listeners, and the Fauré Requiem has also taken on particular spiritual meanings and social functions that go further than a simple joy in music-making, yet also well beyond its liturgical origin.

The Requiem had been available since Hamelle first published it as a piano/vocal score in 1900, and as a fully-orchestrated version in 1901, and after its emergence in this country in the 1930s, in the post-1945 era it established a firm place in the repertoire. The popularity of the work was given a strong additional impetus, however, by the "rediscovery" of the 1893 version with chamber orchestra accompaniment, which appeared in an edition by English composer and

[35] Some, including Michael Steinberg, have translated this as "for fun"; this has a different sense in its purpose compared to "for pleasure," which suggests a deeper personal response. See Steinberg, *Choral Masterworks*, 135. Roger Nichols's translation of Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, uses the phrase "for pleasure." See Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 116. Nectoux addresses the fact that some have suggested the recent death of Fauré's mother (Marie-Antoinette-Hélène Lalène-Laprade, d. 1887) as a possible catalyst for this work; his father Toussaint-Honoré Fauré had died two years earlier. See ibid.

[36] The premiere of this work was given at the Madeleine in 1887 in the liturgical context of a funeral service (for noted French architect Joseph-Michel Le Soufaché). Fauré was actually criticized by the priest in charge for having composed this work at all, the reason being that the Madeleine had enough music within its repertoire already, and that Fauré should not have been spending time or effort (his own or that of his musicians at the church) on a new composition of this sort. However, Fauré did not view this work as exclusively for the service of the Church. Nectoux has discussed the duality of the Requiem in Fauré's mind, as both a church work and a concert piece. Fauré expanded and revised the work in 1893 with the addition of new instrumentation, and his publisher Hamelle, recognizing the potential value of the work in larger concert venues and as a work for community choruses to perform, requested that Fauré fully orchestrate the piece for publication. Fauré (and his students) fulfilled this request and the final version of the Requiem was published in 1901. For a discussion of the development of the Requiem see Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 116–24.

conductor John Rutter in 1984, and opened up new, more flexible performance possibilities.[37] (Jean-Michel Nectoux published his own edition of this version in 1998.) Today, standard guides to the choral repertoire, notably those by Homer Ulrich, Dennis Shrock, Michael Steinberg, and Robert Summer, consider it among the most significant works in the American choral canon.[38] It is frequently performed by choral ensembles of all levels, from professional groups to student and amateur choruses; the manageable level of technical difficulty makes it highly accessible, yet still offers challenges of musical interpretation that can sustain the interest of more experienced

[37] Gabriel Fauré, *Requiem*, op. 48 (Paris: Hamelle, 1900). This piano/vocal edition has been issued by numerous American publishers, including G. Schirmer (1975), International Music Company (1960), Kalmus (1965), and Dover (1992). The orchestrated version was published by Hamelle in 1901. John Rutter's edition of the 1893 chamber version was published by Hinshaw in 1984, and the following year by Oxford. See Gabriel Fauré, Requiem, op. 48, ed. John Rutter (Chapel Hill, NC: Hinshaw Music, 1984; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). Rutter's reputation in the U.S. within the choral arts field as both conductor and composer had been established by his popular American tours with the Cambridge Singers. See Matthew Greenall, "Rutter, John," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/48584 (accessed July 10, 2013). His "discovery" of the 1893 version was widely publicized in American newspapers and a great deal of excitement and anticipation awaited the release of his published edition. Although the existence of surviving source material for this version had in fact been known to Fauré scholars for many years, in practical terms it had lain fallow at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and Rutter was the first to make such a restoration. One article published in the *New York Times* states that "Mr. Rutter's own detective work had uncovered the 1893 version of the Requiem," and even quotes the "author of the Grove article" [Nectoux] that "a restoration of this version 'would be feasible and interesting.'" Gerald Gold, "Record Notes: New Life for a Rare Requiem," *The New York Times*, Aug. 11, 1985, H25 and H30. Experts considered Rutter's edition to be unscholarly, and Nectoux eventually published his own edition in 1998. Nevertheless, Rutter's name quickly became associated with the work and he "made himself almost synonymous with the Fauré Requiem," releasing a recording of his edition, performed by the Cambridge Singers, on his private label, Collegium Records, in 1985; it was the first recording of the Requiem available on CD, as well as LP and cassette, contributing to its broader dissemination. He published a short article on his reconstruction process in the *American Organist*, which served as both self-promotion for Rutter, and to establish a degree of "ownership" of the piece. See John Rutter, "In Search of the Real Fauré Requiem." *American Organist* 18, no. 11 (November 1984): 58–61. Michael Kimmelman remarked, "Mr. Rutter has apparently done for Fauré what various scholars have so successfully done for Baroque and classical composers: give listeners something new by uncovering what is old." Michael Kimmelman, "Fauré Requiem Restyled for Chamber Orchestra," *The New York Times*, May 12, 1988, C20. Within months of its release at least 7,000 copies of the recording Rutter made with the Cambridge Singers had been sold on CD in Europe—a significantly larger number than most classical CDs at that time. American distributor Stan Schmidt was originally hopeful that 4,000 copies would be sold in the United States, an estimate that was soon eclipsed by far. See Gold, "Record Notes: New Life for a Rare Requiem," H25.

[38] Homer Ulrich, *Survey of Choral Music* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973), 170–72; Dennis Shrock, *Choral Repertoire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 430–34; Steinberg, *Choral Masterworks*, 131–37; Robert J. Summer, "Gabriel Fauré *Requiem,* Op. 48, Historical Perspective," in *Choral Masterworks from Bach to Britten* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2007), 119–25.

musicians. [39] In fact, it has proved to be a staple for community "summer sing" events since at least 1959.[40] Nevertheless, the Fauré Requiem has reached an even broader audience in recent decades in two different contexts: 1) as a focal work for memorial and benefit concerts in the U.S.; and 2) in popular culture, in television and film scores for which excerpts (primarily the "Pie Jesu" and especially "In paradisum") have been used to evoke a variety of emotional responses in diverse scenarios. The quantity of data that I have already gathered for both these

[39] The range and melodic content of the work, in both the choral and solo (soprano and baritone) parts and the orchestral parts, which often double the voices, have led to its designation as "medium" difficulty level for adult choirs, or even "easy" or "medium easy." Of course, this does not take into account the degree of musicality required to render a quality performance of the work. Individual portions (e.g., the "Introit" and "Kyrie") are recommended for junior high and high school choruses, and certainly the "Pie Jesu" solo has been included on the recitals of countless young singers of both genders (it was originally intended for a boy treble: see Nectoux, *A Musical Life*, 122). "Introit and Kyrie" are listed as "easy" for adult choruses, and "medium" for junior high and high school choruses. See "Introit and Kyrie (Faure Requiem)," *Hinshaw Music*, http://www.hinshawmusic.com/search_results.php?keyword=faure&search=Search (accessed July 8, 2013). The complete Requiem is also included on the "Two-Year Colleges R&S (Repertoire and Standards) – Extended Works" list compiled by the American Choral Directors Association. See *American Choral Directors Association*, "Two-Year Colleges R&S (Repertoire and Standards) – Extended Works." *American Choral Directors Association*, http://acda.org/files/Two-Year_College_Extended_Choral_Works.pdf (accessed July 8, 2013). According to the guidelines of the ACDA, the recommended works for two-year colleges "must in themselves encourage healthful, musical, intelligent, and beautiful choral singing in well-guided two-year college choral programs," and the inclusion of Fauré's Requiem on this list suggests its appropriateness for freshman and sophomore college choirs, and perhaps ambitious high school choirs as well. Hinshaw rates the complete Requiem as "Medium Adult" level. See "Requiem Faure," *Hinshaw Music*, http://www.hinshawmusic.com/search_results.php?keyword=faure&search=Search (accessed July 8, 2013). The recommendation as a mid-level piece speaks to its availability to amateur choirs, while also standing as a widely-performed concert work by choirs possessing high levels of professional musicianship.

[40] The earliest summer sing featuring the Fauré Requiem was hosted by the Dessoff Choirs in New York City, 1959, and was advertised as a "reading of the Faure Requiem and short works of Bach and contemporary Spanish composers." See "Music Programs of the Week," *The New York Times*, June 21, 1959, X8. The event was led by Hugh Ross, director of the Dessoff Choir, and was held in what is now the location of the New York City Center. The ensemble's summer sing event became traditional among amateur choral singers in New York and the surrounding area, and was quickly joined by similar events by other ensembles, most notably the New York Choral Society. The Fauré Requiem became well-known to the singers who participated regularly in these sings over the next decade, as it was often featured as a focus work. For example see "Music Programs," *The New York Times*, June 4, 1961, X10; "Music Programs in New York and out of Town," *The New York Times*, July 19, 1964, X8; and "Master Work Seminar Sing Summer Sings," *The New York Times*, May 18, 1969, D20. The Fauré Requiem is accessible enough for singers of all levels to learn quickly and with some confidence. While certainly highly challenging works are often selected for a community sing, particularly the requiems of Mozart and Brahms, Orff's *Carmina Burana*, Vivaldi's *Gloria*, or the Verdi Requiem, the average participant finds a different and more immediate sense of enjoyment and satisfaction in a piece that they, as an amateur, do not find technically exclusionary. Rick Rosen, the artistic director of the Bucks County-area *a cappella* ensemble Cordus Mundi, asserts that the goal of this particular kind of performance is to yield a "musically gratifying experience for every singer" regardless of personal level of experience or musicianship. See "Cordus Mundi Summer Sing – Faure Requiem," *Chorus America*, https://www.chorusamerica.org/calendar/cordus-mundi-summer-sing-faure-requiem (accessed August 1, 2013).

categories far exceeds what I am able to include in the present study; however, I will highlight some of the most notable examples in order to illustrate how far Fauré's American reception has come since the foundational performances given in Boston beginning in the 1890s.

Benefit Concerts and *In memoriam*

Since the First World War, Americans have organized musical events to raise funds and boost morale for communities affected by war or other calamities, both at home and abroad (an early landmark of this kind was Fritz Kreisler's performance with the BSO in December 1917 to benefit those affected by the Halifax Explosion in Nova Scotia).[41] By the Second World War, such events had become a widespread phenomenon, and large-scale efforts by musicians in aid of a particular social cause began to be established as a tradition in this country; over time, fund-raising concerts of this kind regularly expanded beyond war to encompass famine, disease, and disaster relief efforts.[42] Stravinsky and Lily Pons were among the celebrity musicians to organize benefit concerts in the United States during the Second World War, along with numerous others.[43] The Stravinsky and Pons events followed the general model established by this time, which featured a miscellany of works, typically programmed to highlight the talents of the headline performers, and bearing little relevance to the fund-raising cause itself (though the

[41] "Kreisler May Play for Halifax Sufferers," *Hartford Courant*, December 13, 1917, 10. More broadly, recitals were often advertised in the BSO programs, newspapers, and local bulletins during that period to raise funds for Edith Wharton's war charities.

[42] Beginning with the concert to benefit refugees from Bangladesh (1971), and continuing through Live Aid for famine in Ethiopia (1985), the Concert for New York following the September 11 attacks (2001), and concerts for various natural disasters (tsunamis, earthquakes, hurricanes) between 2004 and 2012, musicians have maintained and expanded a tradition of celebrity-driven benefit concerts to raise funds and awareness, as well as honoring those affected by such events.

[43] Stravinsky worked with members of the BSO to organize a performance to benefit the Committee for Relief in Allied Countries as well as musicians and their families affected by the war. Works included Stravinsky's *Dunbarton Oaks*, *Histoire du Soldat*, Octet for Winds, and Two-Piano Concerto. See "Benefit by Stravinsky," *The New York Times*, February 11, 1940, 133. Lily Pons performed with pianist George Copeland and the BSO (dir. Koussevitzky) to benefit four charities for French aid in America. See "Lily Pons to Sing Here in Benefit Concert," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 14, 1940, 10. Popular musicians and entertainers were also involved in such efforts: see, for instance, Kenneth H. Marcus, "The Seriousness of Comedy: The Benefit Concerts of Jack Benny and Danny Kaye," *American Music* 25, No. 2 (Summer 2007): 137–68.

February 1940 performance of Stravinsky's *Histoire du Soldat* is an exception to this rule). However, musical works selected in particular to inspire an emotional response (and presumably more monetary donations) began to appear on these programs more frequently even before the U.S. entered the war. A portion of the Brahms Requiem was included on a concert to benefit Lithuanian war relief efforts in November 1940, and Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* was performed in New York in December for the benefit of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, in a concert that was broadcast on NBC radio and was widely promoted as music that reflects the world's tragedy (even though it is not a Requiem Mass).[44] The requiems of Berlioz, Verdi, and Britten later entered the memorial musical repertoire; however, it was the Fauré Requiem that was eventually recognized by many as the most effective and practical choice for performance in benefit or memorial events. Nadia Boulanger was the first to conduct it as part of a fundraising effort, for the Polish Relief Benefit Concert given in Potsdam, NY, in April 1941.[45]

There are several reasons for which the Fauré Requiem is a particularly appropriate selection for such concerts. Aesthetically, the work has a wide appeal in its relatively simple beauty, its intimate quality, and its overall evocation of a restful spirituality. It does not include a "Dies Irae" movement, as do most other Latin-texted requiems, and by excluding these elements of wrath and the terror of death, the music is able to offer a unique kind of solace to its audience. To recall Copland's words from 1924, "…nothing could better exemplify [Fauré's] humble, modest attitude towards life than this 'Requiem' where 'no inquietude or agitation disturbs the profound meditation."[46] This particular character is often noted though comparisons of Fauré's

[44] "Jordan Hall Lithuanian Benefit Concert," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 18, 1940, 4; O. D., "Beethoven Mass Led by Toscanini," *The New York Times*, December 29, 1940, 24.

[45] Gary A. Galo, "Nadia Boulanger: The Polish Relief Benefit Concert (4 April 1941)," *ARSC Journal* 38, no. 2 (2007): 183–93.

[46] Copland, "Gabriel Fauré: A Neglected Master," 578–79.

Requiem to that of Berlioz, which could hardly be more different.[47] Both Steinberg and Shrock have addressed the fact that Fauré specifically disliked the dramatic effects Berlioz achieved in his work, and that Fauré's personal beliefs about death as a gentle, joyful release drastically conflict with Berlioz's approach. Both authors emphasize Fauré's intentions in his far more placid setting by citing the composer's own words: "It has been said that my *Requiem* …is a lullaby of death. It is thus that I see death: as a happy deliverance, an aspiration towards happiness above, rather than as a painful experience."[48] Fauré expresses these ideas with both grace and elegance throughout his Requiem, which, as he wrote to Eugène Ysaÿe, he wanted to be "as GENTLE as I am myself!!"[49]

Beyond its gentle beauty, the performability of the Requiem accords well with the needs of organizing a memorial or benefit concert. Often, a natural disaster or other large-scale tragedy inspires the need or desire to raise both awareness and financial support quickly, thus many such events are planned within weeks or, in some cases, days of the catastrophe. The Fauré Requiem is relatively simple to prepare, both in its overall level of difficulty and in the necessary performing forces. It is a substantial composition, but of a duration that enables other works to be programmed alongside while allowing it to remain the centerpiece of the event.[50] The music itself can be learned fairly quickly, even by amateur community or church choirs—the kinds of ensemble that most frequently become involved with this sort of fund-raising event.[51] Even the two solos can be assigned with relative ease, with soprano and baritone soloists generally not difficult to find; the "Pie Jesu" is certainly in the standard repertoire of most sopranos.

[47] Berlioz's *Grande Messe des Morts* (1837) features an expanded orchestra, and is more than twice as long as Fauré's Requiem on average.

[48] Quoted in Steinberg, *Choral Masterworks*, 132, and Shrock, *Choral Repertoire*, 432.

[49] Quoted in translation in Steinberg, *Choral Masterworks*, 133.

[50] Many memorial concerts have, for instance, featured Fauré's Requiem alongside his *Cantique de Jean Racine*, or Mozart's *Ave Verum Corpus*, among various other small-scale choral or instrumental works.

[51] This also contributed to its popularity as a summer sing event: see fn40.

Additionally, it offers a level of flexibility in personnel requirements that other large-scale works typically lack, particularly regarding the forces required to render an acceptable performance. It may be accompanied by piano or organ alone, or with chamber orchestra, or with a full-size orchestra; a selection of solo instrumentalists might even be utilized instead.[52] Because the instrumental parts frequently double the vocal lines, a convincing performance can be rendered with a variety of ensembles. The number of choral singers required is also flexible, allowing anything from a small chamber choir to a large ensemble made up of several individual choirs, depending on the size of the venue in which the concert is held, or the nature of the event. The flexibility of the work also extends to the general purpose of the performance. Since the early 1990s, the Requiem has served as the centerpiece for numerous benefit and memorial concerts in the U.S., in support of diverse local, national, and global causes. Although the text is liturgical, this particular example of memorial music easily transfers from the church to any secular venue, whether it is a school auditorium, a town hall, or a large-scale concert hall.

In a memorable response to the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Leonard Bernstein promised that, "This will be our reply to violence: To make music more intensely, more beautifully, more devotedly than ever before."[53] One of the most poignant uses of Fauré's exceptionally gentle Requiem has been to bring solace and repose to a community following an event involving large-scale violence. For instance, in 1992 musicians in San Diego organized a performance of Fauré's Requiem at the St. James Episcopal Church in La Jolla, in the wake of

[52] For instance, one performance in Plymouth, MA., March 21, 2015, was accompanied by piano, violins, and cello, as. See "Fauré's 'Requiem' Performance," *Wicked Local Plymouth*, http://plymouth.wickedlocal.com/article/20150320/NEWS/150317662/12581 (accessed May 6, 2015).

[53] Leonard Bernstein, remarks made at the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York, November 25, 1963.

the Los Angeles Riots triggered by the Rodney King case.[54] In a response to an inquiry from the author, director Stephen Sturk cited the beauty and accessibility of the Requiem as qualities that identified it as the ideal choice for a relatively impromptu performance of this sort.[55] San Diego Opera soprano Virginia Sublett, who conceived the idea of the concert, also reflected on the selection of this piece:

> Fauré allows the listeners to feel their loss but leaves them with an extraordinary sense of comfort and the confidence that whatever has happened in the short term, in the long term all will be well. What more needs to be said after his setting of "In paradisum?"[56]

The concert was appropriately advertised as "music with a conscience"; Sublett, Sturk, and many other musicians from the San Diego area donated their services, and all proceeds went to the relief fund administered by the Episcopal Bishop of Los Angeles to benefit city residents affected by the riots.[57] Though funds were indeed raised, through free-will donations, far more significant was the emotional impact on the participants and those in attendance. In a spiritual sense, this music was approached as a way of bringing together one community during a time of suffering, conflict, and unrest.

On a much larger scale, the Requiem was similarly used in memorial concerts following September 11, 2001, beginning that year, and continuing as part of memorial events in the years that followed. The immediate organization of numerous local and national fundraising efforts, including some celebrity-driven events (e.g., the Concert for New York City), reflected the

[54] The concert was given on August 16, 1992, in the St. James Episcopal Church (La Jolla, CA) under the direction of Stephen Sturk. The program included the Requiem along with the *Cantique de Jean Racine* and Durufle's *Ubi Caritas*. See Kenneth Herman, "A Chamber Music Series with a Charitable Heart," *Los Angeles Times*, July 25, 1992.

[55] Email correspondence from Dr. Stephen Sturk, July 31, 2013.

[56] Email correspondence from Virginia Sublett, July 31, 2013.

[57] See Herman, "A Chamber Music Series."

urgent desire to assist those directly affected.[58] This support extended beyond the practical element of financial need, and in many cases the primary focus turned toward honoring those lost, as well as offering a degree of comfort and solace to those in attendance. In some cases, there was the additional element of a specific local connection through an individual member or members of the community who had been directly affected; the implication is that by ministering to these individuals, a gradual healing process could begin through a sort of communal catharsis. For example, at the State University of New York, Potsdam, a memorial concert was organized in the weeks after September 11; the concert was given in honor of all those lost that day, but it also had a personal relevance to one senior music student, whose father was killed in the attacks. Like Stephen Sturk, Daniel Gordon, Director of SUNY's Crane School of Music, cited the beauty and accessibility of the Fauré Requiem as qualities that commended it for this concert.[59] An even more important factor, however, was the underlying spiritual quality of the work, and this was borne out by the performance. Not only were the participants ministering as a community to one individual student, but in Gordon's judgment the particular quality of the work also seemed to encourage a catharsis to take place among the participants as well as the audience during the performance.[60]

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[58] The Concert for New York City, Madison Square Garden, October 20, 2001. See Jon Pareles, "Pops Icons Grapple with New Role," *The New York Times*, October 22, 2001, E1. The Concert for New York City, Madison Square Garden, October 20, 2001. The event was organized by Paul McCartney, and included performances by popular music artists, comedians, screenings of short films, and various speeches.

[59] Daniel Gordon (SUNY Postsdam), interview by Joel Hurd, North Country Public Radio. SUNY Potsdam, October 25, 2001. "The Fauré Requiem, unlike many of the other requiem masses in the choral literature, is very hopeful, very uplifting. There's no 'Dies irae' movement, so the whole issue of the day of wrath and the day of reckoning that is usually associated with requiem masses was just not present in this work, so we thought this would be the more appropriate piece that we could perform." Gordon also cites practicality as a reason for the selection, acknowledging that many of the participants, including SUNY music students and faculty, as well as members of the broader community, had previously performed the work and were familiar with it; this was important since the musicians had approximately eight hours of rehearsal time before the performance.

[60] Ibid.

On the first anniversary of the September 11 attacks, the most ambitious musical tribute actually featured the Mozart Requiem, which choral ensembles around the world performed on September 11, 2002 in a so-called "Rolling Requiem"; however, other ensembles chose the Fauré Requiem to mark the anniversary instead.[61] According to many involved in the Fauré events, the qualities of solace, restfulness, and even joy amid death abound in this music, which lends itself quite naturally to an occasion that centers on healing and consolation. Over the years, the Fauré Requiem has been selected frequently as the focal work to mark the 9/11 anniversary, in formal concerts, community "sing" events, and as a part of remembrance services.[62] In an article for the *Miami Local Music Examiner* Hector Barrera, a member of the Master Chorale of South Florida and music critic for the journal, calls the work a "consoling and melodic masterpiece," and one that is "truly an appropriate work for such an occasion."[63] He continues, "I

[61] The "Rolling Requiem," September 11, 2002, was inspired by a performance of the work by the Seattle Symphony Chorale in January 2002, and became a high-profile global tribute through which musicians around the world were united in a common cause through the work of a universally familiar composer. Each choir that participated in the "Rolling Requiem" around the world began its performance at 8:46am (local time), to mark the moment the first plane hit the World Trade Center the previous year. See "Mozart's Requiem: A Tribute," *Examiner.com*, September 1, 2010, http://www.examiner.com/article/mozart-s-requiem-a-tribute (accessed April 2, 2013). For the ten-year anniversary, another large-scale Mozart Requiem event was organized, this time exclusively within the United States; see "9/11/11 Project: A National Requiem of Remembrance," *San Francisco Classical Voice*, https://www.sfcv.org/event/oakland-symphony-chorus/the-91111-project-a-national-requiem-of-remembrance (accessed May 1, 2015).

[62] The fact that the tenth anniversary fell on a Sunday allowed a natural opportunity for churches across the nation to include a September 11 memorial within their regular services, and many included special musical selections such as the Fauré Requiem, in part or in its entirety. New York City hosted various memorial events that week, and several included the Fauré Requiem; on September 11 itself there was a performance at St. James Church Roman Catholic Church in Lower Manhattan, as part of the regular church service and advertised as a public event open to all, and another in midtown at St. Bartholomew's Church. See "Remembering 9/11: Events, Tributes and Performances," *Viator Travel Blog*, http://travelblog.viator.com/remembering-911-events/ (accessed July 30, 2013). Musicians from New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia performed at the Trinity Church (NYC) on Friday, September 9, 2011 in a lengthy program of choral music with the Fauré Requiem as its centerpiece. The program also included selections from the Brahms Requiem, Bernstein's *Chichester Psalms*, anthems by Thompson, Rorem, and Lukas Foss, and selections from Bach's B Minor Mass. Grammy-winning violinist Gil Shaham performed in this concert, titled "Remember to Love." This was one of many concerts given that week across the country carrying the theme of remembrance, and reflecting the familiar motto "Never Forget" associated with September 11. See Daniel J. Wakin, "Remembering 9/11 with Bach and Brahms," *The New York Times*, September 2, 2011, C1.

[63] Hector Barrera, "Trinity Episcopal Cathedral to commemorate 9/11 with Fauré Requiem," *Examiner*, September 6, 2011, http://www.examiner.com/article/trinity-episcopal-cathedral-to-commemorate-9-11-with-faur-requiem (accessed July 30, 2013).

don't believe there's a more fitting tribute to those touched by the events of September 11th, 2001 than the performance of Fauré Requiem."[64] Jacob Stockinger, longtime arts and music critic in Wisconsin, considers it as one of the musical works that best memorializes the events of of September 11.[65]

The Requiem's role within the memorial concert tradition extends much further than the context of man-made violence and its aftermath: its broad recognition as music that embodies an element of spiritual healing is reflected by its repeated selection as the centerpiece for fundraising events across the country in the wake of a natural disaster at home or abroad, as well as in support of the ongoing needs of local communities. Between 2004 and 2012 a series of catastrophic natural disasters occurred in the Far East, the United States, and Haiti. These events inspired an especially vigorous response by countless organizations motivated by their common desire to bring relief to those in need. Through such fundraising events, Americans observing the effects of disaster from an enviably safe distance found a way to offer both financial assistance and a sense of extended community to those suffering. The Fauré Requiem was included, either in its entirety or in the form of extracts, in numerous American concerts designed for this purpose, in support of those affected by Hurricane Katrina (2005) and Hurricane Sandy (2012) in the U.S., by tsunamis in Sumatra (2004) and Japan (2011), and by earthquakes in Sichuan, China (2008) and Haiti (2010). New England Conservatory student L. Rhett Lei explains his choice of the Fauré Requiem, which he paired with Brahms's *Tragic Overture*, for a benefit concert that he organized following the earthquake in his native Sichaun:

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Stockinger also names J. S. Bach's "Sheep May Safely Graze," selections from the Well-Tempered Clavier Book I, Mozart's *Ave Verum Corpus*, and Barber's *Adagio for Strings*. See Jacob Stockinger, "What Classical Music Best Memorializes the Terrorist Attacks of 9/11?" *The Well-Tempered Ear*, September 11, 2012, http://welltempered.wordpress.com/2012/09/11/what-classical-music-best-memorializes-the-terrorist-attacks-of-911/ (accessed July 31, 2013).

> This concert has an idea of transfiguration. The Brahms tragic overture has the earth-shattering dynamic and force, which seems to depict the unexpected catastrophe that occurred in Sichuan. Fauré's Requiem is regarded as the sweetest and most celestial requiem ever written. It is like the music sequel to the Brahms Tragic Overture. The Requiem doesn't continue the chaos in the tragic overture, but transfigures as it moves forward, eventually ending in perpetual peace.[66]

The concept of transcending chaos and reaching this state of "perpetual peace" underlines the choice of the Fauré Requiem to bring solace to those facing tragedy and loss. Lei's suggestion that this music could be considered a continuation of the *Tragic Overture*, and as part of an overarching theme of transfiguration, is not unlike Daniel Gordon's hope that it could bring about the catharsis he wished for his performers and audience in Potsdam. Beyond the immediate purpose of offering support and comfort in the moment, both directors utilized this music as a catalyst to help those involved move beyond a state of tragedy and begin the process of healing.

In addition to responding to specific extraordinary events, American communities of one kind or another have often rallied around humanitarian causes that seek to inspire a broader social impact, and have organized artistic events in support of such efforts. Efforts to raise funds for the ongoing financial support of medical research into particular diseases frequently enlist wide support; in some cases these may involve a community member who is currently fighting a disease, or be given in the memory of someone who has lost their battle the illness. Since the 1990s, there has been a proliferation of benefit and memorial concerts, in the domains of both art music and mainstream popular music, organized to raise awareness of and money for specific illnesses in desperate need of research funds. In several instances, the Fauré Requiem has served as a poignant centerpiece for such events, including benefits for research into AIDS, Alzheimer's

[66] Ibid.

disease, and various cancers.[67] Fundraising efforts that have a strong local connection are particularly effective in mobilizing emotional, political, and financial support across communities. From rebuilding historic landmarks, to providing ongoing support for local interest groups, the Fauré Requiem has been placed at the heart of a variety of such events across the years.[68] And even closer to home, as it were, community choral ensembles have often performed the Requiem in concerts for their own benefit, in the hope of attracting interest and financial support for their ongoing musical endeavors – here the medium perfectly matches the message, in the use of a musical performance to raise funds for further music-making.[69]

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[67] For instance, House of Clouds, an ensemble composed of Yale music alumni, organized the concert "For Hope and Harmony" to benefit the Pancreatic Cancer Action Network (February 5, 2011, Christ Church, New Haven, CT). See "Of Hope and Harmony," *The House of Clouds*, http://thehouseofclouds.wordpress.com/ (accessed July 25, 2013). Later that month, ensembles from three Cincinnati-area high schools performed the Fauré Requiem with the Sycamore Group orchestra in a concert to benefit the Breast Cancer Alliance of Greater Cincinnati and the Alzheimer's Association (February 26, 2011: Good Shepherd Lutheran Church, Cincinnati, OH). See Erika Daggett, "Sycamore Performance Benefits Breast Cancer and Alzheimer Organizations," *Cincinnati.com*, February 14, 2011, http://local.cincinnati.com/share/story/177182 (accessed July 25, 2013). And in May 2013 Albany-area high school musicians joined the Albany Pro Musica in "A Concert to Honor and Remember," which brought in donations for the Dana Farber Cancer Research Institute and Leukemia Lymphoma Society (May 17, 2013; Massry Center for the Arts, Albany, NY). See "A Concert to Honor and Remember," *Hopestrong*, http://hopestrong.weebly.com/ (accessed July 25, 2013).

[68] For instance, in New Rochelle, NY the historic Union Baptist Church (built in 1904) had been completely destroyed by fire on February 14, 2011; a benefit concert was given on April 30 by the New York Festival Singers (dir. Joseph Jones) as part of its outreach program, and featured the Fauré Requiem and Mozart's *Ave Verum Corpus* to help fund the rebuilding of the Church. See Sara B. Caldwell, "Multi-Alarm Blaze at Union Baptist Church in New Rochelle," *New Rochelle Patch*, June 2, 2011, http://newrochelle.patch.com/groups/police-and-fire/p/multi-alarm-blaze-at-union-baptist-church-in-new-rochelle (accessed August 1, 2013), and "Benefit for Union Baptist Church," *New York Festival Singers*, http://www.newyorkfestivalsingers.org/page8.html (accessed July 30, 2013).

[69] Three events in the 1990s featured the Fauré Requiem for this purpose. The Boston-based Chorus pro Music (dir. Jeffrey Rink) performed it in 1991 specifically to raise funds for future performances following the ensemble's "ambitious season of blockbuster works." See "Faure 'Requiem' to the Rescue for Chorus pro Musica," *Boston Globe*, June 21, 1991. The context of this event reflects the fact that a performance of the Requiem can be staged at a minimal cost and can even be expected to have a positive financial outcome in the process. In 1992 the Taghkanic Chorale performed the work to benefit the Manhattanville College Music Scholarship Fund. See "MUSIC; Tchaikovsky and 'Mambo Madness,'" *The New York Times*, October 11, 1992, 2. In like manner, the Adult Choir of the Christ Church in Rye, NY performed the Requiems of both Fauré and Duruflé in 1997 to benefit the music program within the church. See R. S., "Spoken commentary to accompany concert," *The New York Times*, March 9, 1997, WC13. In each of these examples, the Requiem was selected for its public appeal and was performed as "music for the sake of music." The work continues to benefit the future of music ensembles and programs, as well as musical community outreach efforts. For example, in April 2013 students of the Washington College Music Department were joined by the Chester River Chorale in a performance of the Requiem and a variety of other works in a large-scale concert to benefit the "12@ Hotchkiss Noon Hour Concert Series." The annual noon-time concert

It is testament to the unique combination of qualities embodied in it that the Fauré Requiem, a work neither typical of its genre nor by a composer in the very first rank of familiarity for American audiences, should have developed such wide currency in its ability to bring together communities on so many different levels. While its appeal in this context is based in part on considerations of practical music-making, it has also established a strong presence in settings quite divorced from live performance.

The Requiem as Film Music

In addition to its prominent place in American humanitarian activities, the Requiem has played diverse roles in the very different world of commercial film and television scores. The ability of music to complement action and narrative was recognized from the earliest dramatic representations, and with the advent of film in the twentieth century, the new medium was able to draw on a wide range of possibilities, most richly developed in the music dramas of Wagner.[70] As the film industry developed, composers and music directors took on an increasingly important role in connecting the musical score to the dramatic action, a topic that has been addressed in a number of important studies over the years.[71] While many of today's film scores employ newly-

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series offers "a way to cater to the growing interest, curiosity, and excitement in classical music throughout the campus community." See "In Major Collaboration April 26, Washington College Music Department to Perform Fauré's Requiem and More," *Chestertown Spy* (April 16, 2013), http://chestertownspy.com/2013/04/16/in-major-collaboration-april-26-washington-college-music-department-to-perform-faures-requiem-and-more/ (accessed July 30, 2013).

[70] For instance, see "Wagner's Prelude," in *Reel Music*, 3–9; and *Beyond the Soundtrack*, 14–17. For silent films, the music was performed live and frequently included a combination of improvisation by a solo pianist, pre-existing familiar musical material, or newly-composed music for that particular film. Saint-Saëns is recognized as one of the first art composers to approach film music through his work on the 1908 French film, *L'assassinat du Duc de Guise*. See Mervyn Cooke, *A History of Film Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 14–15.

[71] For a general history of film music see ibid., and Mervyn Cooke, "Film Music," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09647 (accessed August 9, 2015); Roger Hickman, *Reel Music: Exploring 100 Years of Film Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2006); Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer, and Richard Leppert, eds., *Beyond the Soundtrack: Representing Music in Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); James Wierzbicki, Nathan Platte, and Colin Roust, eds., *The Routledge Film Music Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2012); and James Wierzbicki, ed., *Music, Sound and*

composed musical selections, written specifically for that one film, it is not uncommon to encounter existing musical works as well. Fauré's music has been incorporated into film scores since as early as 1931, with a number of his *mélodies*, the *Pavane*, and excerpts from his theatrical incidental music, the *Dolly* Suite, and the Requiem employed in a variety of dramatic situations, from love stories and documentaries to action and horror films.[72] The Requiem, particularly the "In paradisum" and "Pie Jesu" movements, has had an especially large and varied presence in this regard, gaining momentum in the 1990s alongside its broader growth in popularity in the U.S. Between 1995 and 2010 at least four mainstream American films incorporated excerpts into their soundtracks: *Lord of Illusions* (1995), *The Thin Red Line* (1998), *S1m0ne* (2002), and *Salt* (2010).[73] All four films utilize the "In paradisum," and *S1m0ne* also includes the "Pie Jesu"; in each example, the careful placement of this music not only highlights generically the scene that it accompanies, lifting it into a dramatic register distinct from the surrounding scenes, but also seems to exploit the music's presumed "emotional currency" for affect.[74] The use of this music in a number of very different films underlines its flexibility and

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Filmmakers: Sonic Style in Cinema (New York: Routledge, 2012). For a specific discussion of diegetic film music see Irene Kahn Atkins, *Source Music in Motion Pictures* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1983).

[72] See "Gabriel Fauré," *International Movie Database*, http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0269214/ (accessed May 12, 2015).

[73] I am including in this discussion only films that were produced by American companies; I am excluding those released in this country but produced elsewhere.

[74] The theory of a physical and emotional response to music is certainly not a new concept; however, the widely-publicized findings of several psychological studies from the early 1980s through the 1990s possibly stimulated the marketing and use of music to garner a particular emotional response. This contributed to the development of music therapy in helping those overcome trauma, or to improve their daily quality of life in the treatment of stress disorders, impaired memory recall, and even in the learning process of children (the so-called "Mozart Effect"). Such findings were published in numerous American self-help books and other popular sources, with titles such as *Tune Your Brain*, *The Mozart Effect*, and *This Is Your Brain on Music*, among countless others. Elizabeth Miles, *Tune Your Brain: Using Music to Manage Your Mind, Body, and Mood* (New York: The Berkeley Publishing Group, 1997); Don Campbell, *The Mozart Effect: Tapping the Power of Music to Heal the Body, Strengthen the Mind, and Unlock the Creative Spirit* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1997); Daniel J. Levitin, *This Is Your Brain on Music* (New York: Penguin Group, 2006).

assumed effectiveness in evoking a particular emotional response from the audience, regardless of the broader context.

The first of these films, *Lord of Illusions*, places "In paradisum" in its most natural milieu, as part of a funeral scene.[75] The story centers on the ongoing pursuit by private investigator Harry D'Amour (Scott Bakula) of a magic cult that threatens the illusionist Philip Swann (Kevin J. O'Connor), whom D'Amour has been hired to protect. As Swann's onstage performance leads to a murderous sequence of events, he fakes his own death as a way of putting an end to the harassment. "In paradisum" plays as Swann's casket is carried from the church to the hearse (topped with a gaudy swan made of white flowers). Here, it is presented as non-diegetic music, and is thus for the exclusive benefit of the film audience rather than the on-screen characters. This is a horror film, replete with violence and unsubtle gore, and despite the immediate context of a funeral, it seems an unlikely setting in which to hear any portion of this gentle Requiem. The incorporation of art music that vividly contrasts with the on-screen drama, however, is quite common in the genres of horror and action films, and often seems intended to introduce either a jolt of contradiction, or an elevation of emotional tone (both of which can seem gratuitous if not handled carefully), in order to intensify the impact of on-screen dramatic action.

Simon Boswell's musical score suggests the tradition of the *film noir*, and includes a vast array of selections from Boswell's original compositions, old radio hits, American traditional melodies, and art music, in each case used to establish a broader atmosphere rather than a direct

[75] *Lord of Illusions*, dir. Clive Barker, music Simon Boswell, United Artists, Aug. 25, 1995 (worldwide unavailable, $13,294,422 domestic). "*Lord of Illusions*," *Box Office Mojo*, http://www.boxofficemojo.com./movies/?id=lordofillusions.htm (accessed May 19, 2015).

connection to the plot.[76] The funeral scene is not the first time Swann's character has been associated with art music. For instance, as the camera enters Swann's private office, a portion of Elgar's *The Dream of Gerontius* plays, offering a potential allusion to death and judgement for those who know the oratorio, but more likely evoking for most audience members a generic suggestion of the character's somewhat lofty, aloof disposition that becomes apparent as the story progresses. In the office scene, the character's utter lack of expression creates an immediate sense of disconnection with the affecting music; the later presentation of "In paradisum" has a similar effect when paired with the visual elements of Swann's funeral. Beyond the superficial elements of the funeral attire, church/cemetery setting, the casket, and the hearse, the scene lacks a general sense of solemnity. The day is sunny and clear, those in attendance are engaging in casual conversation, in some cases smiling, and very little attention is given to Swann's casket, aside from the paparazzi who take photographs. Through the disjunction of the events and the emotions in this scene, Fauré's "In paradisum" essentially loses its inherent quality of purity: it becomes another element of the absurd, an emotionless presentation that has little bearing on the visual image.[77]

While *Lord of Illusions* incorporates "In paradisum" into its obvious context as funeral music, in *The Thin Red Line* (1998) there is far greater artistic depth and careful consideration in

[76] Critics were quick to identify deeper connections between *Lord of Illusions* and the *film noir* tradition of the 1940s and 1950s upon its release; for example, see Richard Harrington, "*Lord of Illusions* (R)," *The Washington Post*, August 25, 1995, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/movies/videos/lordofillusionsrharrington_c029f4.htm (accessed May 2015).

[77] A similar disjunction can be observed in the television crime drama *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*. The episode "Double Cross" (Season 7, episode 5, October 19, 2006, CBS) incorporates "In paradisum" into a scene in which a young lounge singer has been murdered inside a Catholic church. "In paradisum" plays as non-diegetic music during an ascetic scene in which a female character conducts an autopsy on the victim, and is visibly unaffected by the process. It is interesting to note the setting, which is in a morgue rather than the church that has featured so prominently throughout the episode. The overall effect is a clear disjunction between the music and the on-screen drama, as in *Lord of Illusions*; in each instance those in the presence of death seem exceptionally unaffected by it, almost to a fault, and the music serves to sharpen this dichotomy.

its placement and particular relationship to the drama.[78] In this action-drama film set during the Second World War, which combines violence and death with deeply-felt human emotions throughout the story, the gentle "In paradisum" is heard at the very beginning of the film. There is no hint of death initially; in fact, the scene is quite beautiful and serene, abounding with imagery of living nature. The main character, a young American soldier (Private Witt), kayaks in the South Pacific near Australia on a clear, sunny day. He observes young native children playing in the calm water; the forest is lush around him, and his interaction with the others on the water is light and playful. The ethereal beauty of "In paradisum" sets the atmosphere, and Witt, as the narrator, implicitly makes a more direct connection with the music, as he recounts the story of his dying mother, who told him that she did not fear death. There is no hint of the terror that Witt will soon encounter, even though his military identification tags are clearly visible throughout the scene, in a seemingly deliberate presentation. His youth and innocence, as well as his joy in living, are all reflected in the overall quality of the scene.

"In paradisum" stands in stark contrast to the greater part of the film's action, which soon turns to extreme violence and terror. In this case, Fauré's music seems to depict the purity of young life. The audience observes the development of Witt's character across the span of the film, from the innocence of the opening scene to his eventual violent death at the hands of the Japanese soldiers. In the penultimate scene, following several moments of deepening silence, Witt, a sole American solider surrounded by the enemy, is vividly shot in the back. We immediately shift to a reprise of the opening of the film, with the visual aspects presented almost element by element, although Witt is now in the water, swimming and playing with the native

[78] *The Thin Red Line*, dir. Terrance Malick, music: Hans Zimmer, 20th Century Fox,, Dec. 25, 1998 ($98,126,565 worldwide; $36,400,491 domestic). "*The Thin Red Line*," *Box Office Mojo*, http://www.boxofficemojo.com./movies/?id=thinredline.htm (accessed May 19, 2015).

children, rather than in the kayak. At this point "In paradisum" has been replaced by a simple instrumental suggestion of its general style and mood, a musical transformation that is particularly notable given the evident care with which the original scene is being both recreated but also subtly recast. At this point, Witt has effectively entered into his own paradise, and the change of his position within the scene as well as the musical alteration seem deliberately connected. One possible interpretation is that "In paradisum" is used to represent a prelapsarian life as in the Garden of Eden, with the childlike innocence of a lullaby, rather than life after death, as such. However, it could also be considered a foreshadowing from the very beginning of the film of Witt's eventual fate, particularly through the reference to his mother's death. Had "In paradisum" been used again explicitly in Witt's death scene, its presence would have been far more transparent than its absence, and perhaps less richly meaningful in relation to the narrative.

In films such as *Lord of Illusions* and *The Thin Red Line*, "In paradisum" is clearly connected in some way to the dramatic action taking place on the screen; however, it has also been incorporated into far more incongruous situations, for the effect of parody. This is the case with *S1m0ne* (2002), which includes not only "In paradisum," but also "Pie Jesu" in unexpected and absurd scenarios. The film is intended as a parody of the out-of-control public idolization of an overly-pampered movie star, and, more broadly, of the art-film genre itself.[79] Al Pacino stars as Viktor Taransky, a failing art-film director; he represents a stereotypical version of this kind of director, just as his on-screen audience represents a stereotypical art film crowd.[80].In an attempt to revive his career, Taransky uses a computer program to create a simulated woman,

[79] *S1mOne*, dir. Andrew Niccol, music Carter Burwell, New Line Cinema, Aug. 23, 2002 ($19,576,023 worldwide; $9,688,676 domestic). "*S1m0ne*," *Box Office Mojo*, http://www.boxofficemojo.com./movies/?id=simone.htm (accessed May 19, 2015).

[80] These stereotypes are partly illustrated through Taransky's approach to his work, which is governed by a heavy-handed imposition of his artistic "vision," his exaggeratedly poetic film titles, and his general isolation from others as an artist.

Simone, to "star" in his films (the 1 and 0 that substitute for the 'i' and 'o' in her name in the film's title represent her origins in binary code). He incorporates her realistically-animated image into existing film footage, controlling every aspect of her being and her on-screen actions, including speech, physical gestures, and even the nuances of her emotional responses. The result is so effective that Simone becomes an instant international super-star through her virtual presence in Taranksy's films "*Sunrise Sunset*" and "*Eternity Forever*," both astonishing successes, and later in "*I Am a Pig*," through which he attempts to destroy and discredit Simone, whose fictional existence has come to plague him, overshadowing his own success through the near-mythological status that she holds in the eyes and hearts of those who idolize her.

Taranksy's films, of which we are shown significant portions in the course of *S1m0ne*, emphasize elements commonly associated with art films: starkly simple sets and costumes; poetic statements and extravagant metaphor; abstract symbolism; disjunctions of scenario and character response, through either a disproportionate emotional reaction or none at all; and "elevated" music, often ethereal and sublimely beautiful, to enhance the on-screen dramatic action.[81] The Requiem excerpts appear in two very different contexts in this film: in the first as a parody for us, but as sincere artistic expression for Taransky; and in the second, as a parody for both us and Taransky, who uses this music to alienate his on-screen audience (i.e., "diegetic parody"). In both cases, we experience the overall effect in a darkly comedic context, while Taransky's audience expresses a genuine emotional response, manipulated by him.

"In paradisum" appears in Taransky's film "*Eternity Forever*," and the connection between the musical selection and the title of the film is obvious. We first encounter this piece as

[81] For instance, Taransky uses Barber's *Adagio for Strings* in his first film starring Simone, *Sunrise Sunset*. The perception of "nostalgia, peacefulness, and wonder" has been explored in relation to "sad" film music. See K. Vuoskoski Jonna, William F. Thompson, Doris McIlwain, and Tuomas Eerola, "Who Enjoys Listening to Sad Music and Why?" *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 29, no. 3 (February 2012): 311–17.

part of Taransky's editing process of the final scene, and we observe his method of manipulating every aspect of Simone, from her on-screen position, to the tone of her voice, her mannerisms, and even the quality of her tears. The scene embodies elements of stark simplicity, distance, and isolation: on an open lot with a wide bridge in the distance, Simone and her male co-star, both dressed in black, are positioned on either side of a classic black Alfa Romeo, which Simone eventually drives into the distance, following her extravagant poetic assertion, "…love is like a wildflower, but that flower can only grow at the edge of a very high cliff." The quality of the music matches the simplicity of the scene perfectly, and Taransky's on-screen audience is visibly and unequivocally moved, going on to give him and the film a standing ovation in the theater. While the piece itself is certainly not illogical in its relation to the concept of "eternity," and Taransky uses it in all seriousness, we cannot help but observe this scene, overloaded with what have become clichés of the art-film genre, as a blatant satire, and more than anything else it is the presence of Fauré's exceptionally beautiful music that confirms its absurdity.[82] The importance of "In paradisum" is underlined by its use as the representative theme from "*Eternity Forever*" at the Academy Awards ceremony later in the film.

[82] "Pie Jesu" has also been used in television satire, on an episode *South Park*. This animated series on Comedy Central is known for its combination of Rabelaisian humor with layers of clever detail and obscure references to history, literature, art, and music, all embedded within a parody of current events and trends. In the episode "Lice Capades" (Season 11, episode 3, March 21, 2007, Comedy Central) the people of South Park are sent into a collective panic because of an outbreak of head lice among their children. A large-scale action plan is put into place to resolve the infestation and restore order. In an absurdly poignant scene, the featured louse, Travis, begins to succumb to the treatment applied to one child's head. The music that accompanies this scene is a portion of Fauré's "Pie Jesu," which continues to play as Travis is carried away to another thriving location by a fly that resembles his late wife. It is a moment of implied death and resurrection, and the pure beauty of Fauré's music almost lets the audience forget that the character on screen is a mere louse in an anthropomorphic form. The absurdity of the scene is similar to that of the "*I Am a Pig*" scene in *S1m0ne*. The disjunction of the scenario and the effect of the music in this case mirrors the power of film music to manipulate the emotions of the audience, regardless of its dramatic context. At a general level "Lice Capades" is a clear parody of the kind of high-budget, overblown action film represented in my discussion here by *Salt*, though some have also suggested the apocalyptic global-warming drama *The Day After Tomorrow* (2004) as a more specific target. See "*South Park*, 'Lice Capades,' 2007," on *International Movie Database*, accessed May 19, 2015, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0983724/movieconnections. While the *South Park* episode is an example of the highly irreverent possibilities in the use (or some might say, abuse) of exquisitely beautiful music, other American television series have incorporated portions of the Requiem into contexts more in keeping with the original intention of the work, though manipulated into a tool of dramatic disjunction: see, for instance, the *CSI* episode discussed in fn77.

Over the course of *S1m0ne* Taransky grows more resentful toward his creation's success and finds her "existence" increasingly burdensome. He sets out to destroy her, but this proves to be an impossible task. One of his most vivid attempts to discredit Simone's reputation is the creation of a film called "*I Am a Pig*," which is billed as "starring and directed by Simone." This time Taransky selects "Pie Jesu" for the final scene, which features Simone, dressed in a white wedding dress and veil, but crawling through mud, surrounded by pigs, and, most outrageously of all, eating their slop with them. Taransky's on-screen audience is visibly and audibly disgusted by the scene—yet when the film ends and the credit "Directed by Simone" appears on the screen, the response is uproariously enthusiastic. The scene is entirely without a larger context. The fact that Simone's character is dressed in wedding attire might account for the choice of "Pie Jesu," which by the early 2000s had become a popular (if textually odd) choice for wedding music. However, it could also be considered as an example of pure absurdity: the disjunction of the delicate beauty of Fauré's music both with the filth of the scene, and with the repulsion the audience feels for what they are viewing, if not for their beloved star herself.

An important distinction to make between the use of Fauré's music in *S1m0ne* and in *Lord of Illusions* and *The Thin Red Line* is that while in the latter two films "In paradisum" appears purely as underscored music, and is thus not heard by the on-screen characters, in *S1m0ne* both extracts from the Requiem invoke multiple different levels of subject position and attendant meaning. We are able to observe its use as non-diegetic underscored music in Taransky's films, but also as diegetic music in *S1m0ne,* to which both Taransky and his on-screen audience respond independently (and we also witness Taransky's reactions to the audience response). To the extent that the music Taransky chooses for his films might easily be recognized as "typical art-film music"—in terms of classical selections that are probably vaguely

familiar if not immediately recognizable, and which evoke a distinct emotional register—the use of Fauré's music in this bitingly satirical film raises broader questions about the role of classical music in recent popular culture. Although such questions cannot detain us here, they merit a fuller consideration in their own right.

In contrast with *S1m0ne*, the Russian spy action film *Salt* (2010), starring Angelina Jolie, uses "In paradisum," in a relatively uncomplicated manner—indeed, of the four films considered here, it is the only one to employ the music for a primarily diegetic function.[83] It accompanies an early scene in the film, the funeral of the assassinated American Vice President, which takes place in the large, beautiful St. Bartholomew's Church in Manhattan.[84] In this case, the mere thirty seconds of music that we hear, sung by a church choir and delicately accompanied by the organ, creates a suspended moment of ethereal peace that is suddenly shattered by terrifying, chaotic destruction, as the Russian President is assassinated in the midst of the service. As if to underline the point, the violence is in fact initiated by Jolie's character firing her gun at the organ, causing the instrument to be heard suddenly as loud, discordant, and terrifying—everything "In paradisum" is not. This shocking change of mood, completely unexpected by those in attendance at the funeral, foretells the destruction that follows. Here, "In paradisum" is presented primarily as diegetic music, yet it also serves a dual purpose within the drama. The funeral attendees are only aware of the music in its funeral context; they are blissfully unaware of the events that are taking place beyond their sight and hearing, and certainly of the violent events that are about to unfold before them. The film audience, however, has learned earlier of

[83] *Salt*, dir. Phillip Noyce, music James Newton Howard, Columbia Pictures, July 23, 2010. ($293,503,354 worldwide, $118,311,368 domestic). "*Salt*," *Box Office Mojo*, http://www.boxofficemojo.com./movies/?id=salt10.htm (accessed May 19, 2015).

[84] The Fauré Requiem has been performed many times at St. Bartholomew's Church in NYC, including as part of 9/11 commemorations: see fn62.

the assassination plot, and although we are not certain that it will proceed as planned, our anticipation of likely violence imparts an extra edge of poignancy to the musical moment, and a suspenseful sense of "calm before the storm."

A large part of the American audience for mainstream cultural production experiences art music primarily through its use in films and their associated soundtracks, and thus becomes familiar with it outside its original context of concert halls or opera houses.[85] The inherent qualities of Fauré's Requiem, and its assumed power to evoke an emotional response (whether in parallel or in opposition to the apparent meaning of events on screen), have made it a popular choice for makers of films and television programs, but they have in turn invested it with a much wider range of interpretations than it might receive in more purely musical contexts.[86] The films discussed above offer a sample of the vastly different kinds of scenarios in which the same music might be encountered and absorbed (often on a subliminal level, no doubt). To be sure, Fauré's music is probably less overtly recognizable for a mainstream audience than, say, Handel's *Messiah*, or some of the well-known works of Mozart or Beethoven; and many who are unfamiliar with Fauré as an individual composer might hear "In paradisum" or "Pie Jesu" as generic "art music," or assume that it is music newly composed for a specific film. Nevertheless, taking into account the box-office takings for these films and the sheer number of people who have seen them, they have probably generated the broadest exposure that Fauré's music has ever

[85] For example, "In paradisum" appears on the official soundtrack of *Lord of Illusions*, and on the compilation album *Classical Masterpieces as Heard in Horror Movies* (in connection with *Lord of Illusions*), X5 Music Group B00534LTGW, CD, 2011. It also appears on *Classical Masterpieces as Heard in Thrillers* (in connection with *Salt*), X5 Music Group, B004WVIBKQ, CD, 2011; *Classics at the Movies: War* (in connection with *The Thin Red Line*), Naxos 8.556808, CD, 2002, and numerous other war-themed albums; and *Twenty-First Century Cinema Classics* (in connection with *S1m0ne*), Naxos 8.556698, CD, 2003. In the case of the *Classical Masterpieces* albums, both were released by X5 Music Group in 2011, an example of the marketing in different packages of not only the same piece, but the same recording of that piece.

[86] Cooke establishes a broader function of film music, in that is "[humanizes] the artificial image on the screen." He also cites Claudia Gorbman's assessment of the use of film music to render the audience "emotionally malleable." The kind of music selected to achieve these effects, and the decision to use it as either diegetic or underscored music, certainly depends on the type of movie, the character, and the scene. See Cooke, "Film Music."

received in this country (and possibly worldwide), even if many members of the audience have no other knowledge of the composer or his music.[87]

Conclusion

The Requiem was not among the works that early American critics, from Philip Hale to Aaron Copland, predicted would earn Fauré long-term recognition; they were convinced that Fauré's fame would rest on his *mélodies* and chamber works. Nevertheless, they could hardly have anticipated many of the developments, particularly in popular culture, that have made possible the popularity that the Requiem enjoys today, and they were certainly right that the songs and chamber music would continue to form the foundation of his reputation with performers and concert audiences. The importance of the premieres given in Boston during Fauré's lifetime, and of the specific contributions made by individuals such as Charles Loeffler, Félix Fox, Wallace Goodrich, and others, as well as ensembles such as Ysaÿe Quartet, the Kneisel Quartet, and the BSO, can hardly be overstated in any reckoning of the active promotion of Fauré to Americans during that early period. With the exception of *The Birth of Venus*, many of the works first heard on those concerts, particularly the First Violin Sonata, the piano quartets, the *Pelléas et Mélisande* suite, and, of course, the numerous solo piano works and *mélodies*, have maintained a consistent presence in American concert programs and educational curricula. The BSO continues

[87] In addition to film and television scores and soundtrack albums, Fauré's music has been included on numerous themed compilation albums not derived from the cinema. This has become a major trend among record labels, seemingly as a way of generating additional sales from material already in their catalog. In some cases, the same music can be pressed into service for sharply contrasting, even contradictory themes; this has certainly been true for the Fauré Requiem, which has been featured in some unlikely contexts given its funerary origins. Perhaps not surprisingly, the "In paradisum" has featured on albums marketed for meditation; more problematic, perhaps, is its inclusion in albums for children (*In the Nursery: Music for Baby*, Virgin Classics, 61825, CD, 2004, and *Classical Music for Little Princesses*, Decca Crossover, 4807930, CD, 2013). The "Pie Jesu" has been offered as both Christmas music (*The Ultimate Classical Christmas Album of All Time*, Sony 87771, CD, 2002) and wedding music (*A Bride's Guide to Wedding Music,* Naxos Special Products 8503134, CD, 2002). Darker in implication, but closer to the original context of the music, is the presence of portions of the Requiem on death-themed albums: for instance, the "Sanctus" on *Music to Die For*, Naxos 8557411, CD, 2003, "In paradisum," on *Funeral Music*, EMI Classics 82046, CD, 2005 (this also includes Fauré's *Pavane* and *Elégie*), and "In paradisum," on *Stairway to Heaven*, Choir of Trinity College, dir. Richard Marlow, Conifer 51521, CD, 1995.

to perform on occasion the *Pelléas* suite as part of their Symphony Hall and summer repertoire; it was a particular a favorite of BSO director Seiji Ozawa (b. 1935), who frequently programmed Fauré's music during his tenure and conducted the suite no fewer than ten times between 1986 and 1995—a remarkable number, given the amount of repertoire that BSO now has at its disposal.[88] Members of the orchestra have also performed excerpts from *Pelléas* arranged for chamber ensemble, along with the *Élégie*, the piano quartets, and the posthumous string quartet.[89] The Requiem, despite its comparatively late introduction to American audiences, has become the primary vessel for Fauré's mainstream popularity; its presence beyond traditional concert programs, in benefit and memorial concerts, casual summer sing events, and certainly in film and television scores, may understandably bring to mind Fauré's own assertion that he had composed the Requiem "pour le plaisir," even though he surely did not anticipate how popular the work would become, whatever pleasure it brought to him. Whether *The Birth of Venus* will ever reclaim the footing it tentatively established in the Boston area before the First World War, beginning with the Worcester Music Festival in 1902, is difficult to predict, particularly since it currently remains largely "off the radar" of choral musicians and is simply not performed or recorded enough to stimulate a renewed wave of interest in it. Of the works introduced long after Fauré's death, *Pénélope* has remained a relative obscurity in the opera repertoire since its concert performance at the Fauré Festival in 1945; however, a fully-staged production was given in October 2015, as part of the conference *Effable and Ineffable: Gabriel Fauré and the Limits of*

[88] Seiji Ozawa, director of the BSO (1973–2002), conducted the suite at Symphony Hall three times in November 1986, at Tanglewood on August 17, 1991, and six times in April 1995 at Symphony Hall. He also programmed orchestral arrangements of the *Dolly* suite, op. 56, the *Pavane*, op. 50, and *Masques et Bergamasques*, op. 112, on various occasions. More recently James DePriest and Jun Märkl conducted the BSO in performances of the *Pelléas* suite in 2000 and 2002, respectively. See "Performance History Search," Boston Symphony Orchestra, accessed May 20, 2015, http://archives.bso.org/.

[89] For example, "Sicilienne," from Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80, arr. cello and piano, members of the BSO (Bethany Congregational Church, Quincy, MA, November 20, 2005); *Elégie*, op. 24, with Yo-Yo Ma, BSO, dir. Julian Kuerti (Tanglewood, Lenox, MA, August 9, 2009); and String Quartet in E minor, op. 121, members of the BSO (Symphony Hall, February 11, 2011.) See ibid.

Criticism, at the University of Washington in Seattle. Perhaps this will mark the beginning of a new life for *Pénélope*.

Fauré scholarship remains an active field, both in the United States and Europe, as is suggested by a number of recent historical and analytical writings, scholarly editions of the music, and the conference in Seattle.[90] Looking ahead to 2024, the next major Fauré anniversary, one may expect a wide range of new research as we approach the centennial of his death. Given the number of promising topics that I have had to omit from the present study due to constraints of time, space, and scope, it would appear that there is still a great deal of work to be done in assessing and understanding Fauré's American reception. In my future research, I plan to expand upon a number of the topics that I have addressed here (e.g., in-depth studies of individual performers in Boston who contributed to Fauré's reception; his Boston connections, especially the close interactions between Loeffler, John Singer Sargent, and Isabella Stewart Gardner in relation to their common interest in Fauré; the Requiem in benefit and memorial concerts; Fauré's music in popular culture) as well as other topics reaching beyond the 1945 boundary (e.g., the BSO and its ongoing interest in Fauré), and beyond the geographical scope of Boston (e.g., Fauré reception in cities that did not manifest an explicit Francophile orientation during this early period; activities in the San Francisco Bay Area during the Mills College tenure of Darius Milhaud, who greatly admired Fauré). From the 1890s, Americans encountered Fauré's music, with particular frequency in Francophile Boston, at a time in which the musical life in the U.S. was just beginning to flourish. As Ralph Waldo Emerson had suggested in 1838, the

[90] A revised edition of *Gabriel Fauré, A Guide to Research* was published by Edward R. Phillips in 2011. Substantial new editions of Fauré's music include the *Complete Works* edition for Bärenreiter Verlag (under Jean-Michel Nectoux as General Editor); this collection, still in progress, will include twenty-eight volumes, the first of which was published in 2010. A series of critical editions has been prepared by Roy Howat and Emily Kilpatrick for Peters; this includes piano works, chamber music, arrangements, and volumes of *mélodies*.

country's cultural status was essentially an empty vase to be filled;[91] decades later, as Americans actively looked toward European archetypes for cultural guidance, Boston in particular adopted French music, art, and literature as its model. Over time, that metaphorical vase was filled, and at least one distinctive bloom in it represented the contributions of Gabriel Fauré and of those who admired him and valued his music in this country.

[91] Clarke, *Essays on American Music*, 73. See also Chapter 2, fn2.

Appendix 1. Boston Venues Discussed in this Study[1]

Venue	Description
Association Hall	Boylston St., Boston's primary multi-purpose meeting place; active in the second half of the nineteenth century; in addition to musical performances, political conventions, religious meetings, workers' unions, public lectures, classes, and other diverse events.
Boston Music Hall	1 Hamilton Pl.; opened in 1852; seating capacity approx. 2,700; the earliest formal concerts and lectures were held here; The first concert organ in the United States; it was later the first home of the BSO until Symphony Hall opened in 1900; converted into the Orpheum Theater and became the center for Vaudeville performances; the Orpheum remains in use today for popular events.
Boston Opera House	Huntington Ave. and Opera Pl.; opened in 1909; seating capacity approx. 3,000; performances of plays, operas, concerts, recitals, and other events.
Boston Theater	Washington St. and Mason St.; in operation 1854–1925; a significant part of Boston's earliest cultural landscape; recognized for its elegant structure and décor.
Chickering Hall	First established in 1883 on Tremont St.; occupied a floor in the Chickering & Sons store; seating capacity approx. 465; served as one of the primary recital venues in the city during the last decades of the nineteenth century; was replaced by a new Chickering Hall at 239 Huntington Avenue across from Symphony Hall in 1901, active until 1912 at which point it changed to the St. James Theater; seating capacity approx. 800; numerous important soloists and chamber ensembles appeared at both locations.
Copley Plaza Hotel	138 St. James Avenue; Fairmount Copley Plaza; opened in 1912; various guest artists appeared for private and public performances.
Ford Hall	15 Ashburton Pl.; opened in 1908; multi-use space that featured musical performances, lectures, and other gatherings.
Hotel Somerset	416 Commonwealth Avenue; opened in 1897; luxury hotel that frequently hosted small private and public performances.
Hotel Tuileries	270 Commonwealth Ave; referred to as “the Tuileries”; elegant hotel with several small public and private performance spaces; reflects Boston’s general interest in establishing French elegance for elite residents and visitors (after the Palais des Tuileries in Paris).

[1] Information about these venues compiled from *Clark's Boston Blue Book* (Boston, 1905), the historical document “List of Licensed Public Halls of a Capacity of 400 and Over” (Boston, 1919), and descriptions published in Boston newspapers and *Musical America.*

Jordan Hall	294 Huntington Ave; opened in 1903 under the auspices of Eben D. Jordan; seating capacity approx. 1,050; New England Conservatory's primary recital and concert space; lectures, recitals, concerts; celebrity performers; various American premieres; still recognized as a world-class performance space for its superb acoustics, along with nearby Symphony Hall.
Mechanics Hall (Worcester, MA)	321 Main St, Worcester, MA; opened in 1857; seating capacity approx. 1,600; largely funded by the Mechanics Association of Worcester; multiple-use space; lectures, recitals, and concerts; later, movies, dances, and other community events; also served as a general meeting place over the years. Considered today among the finest acoustics in the world for musical performances.
Potter Hall	177 Huntington Avenue, Boston; opened in 1903 in the New Century Building; seating capacity approx. 650; theater and musical performances.
Sanders Theater	45 Quincy St., Cambridge; in operation since 1875; seating capacity approx. 1,100; Harvard's primary venue for concerts, public lectures, and ceremonies; the Boston Symphony Orchestra frequently performed there in addition to its regular concerts at Symphony Hall.
Sleeper Hall	New England Conservatory; one of several small recital halls active at the school before Jordan Hall.
St. James Theater	239 Huntington Avenue; formerly Chickering Hall; active as a playhouse and cinema 1912–29, then converted into the Uptown Theater; located across from Symphony Hall.
Steinert Hall	162 Boylston St.; opened in 1896 in the M. Steinert and Sons building; a premier recital location in Boston; seating capacity approx. 650; known for its outstanding acoustics; essentially out of use since the 1940s, although some recordings have been made there since then.
Symphony Hall	301 Massachusetts Avenue; opened in 1900; seating capacity approx. 2,560; designed to replace the Boston Music Hall as the permanent home of the Boston Symphony Orchestra; funded primarily by Henry Lee Higginson and the Harvard Musical Association.
Tremont Temple	88 Tremont Street; opened in 1839; Baptist Church services; also musical performances, lectures, and other public and private events.
Union Hall	48 Boylston St.; in use in the 1890s and early-twentieth century; seating capacity approx. 500; multi-use meeting space; musical performances, rallies, church services, and classes (including public singing classes).

Appendix 2. American Publications of Fauré's Music through 1925[1]

Date	Volume Title	Publisher
1894	"Aurore"[2] (arr. violin and piano), in *Thirty-Seven Violin Pieces You Like to Play* (ed. Arthur Hartmann)	G. Schirmer Inc.
1900	*Romance sans paroles* [*Romances sans paroles*, op. 17, no. 3], in *Eight Piano Pieces by French Composers* (ed. Isidore Philipp)	Oliver Ditson & Co.
	"Au cimetière" and "Clair de lune," in *Famous Composers and their Works* (ed. Louis Elson, Philip Hale, and John Knowles Paine)	J. B. Millet
	Berceuse, op. 16 (for violin or cello and piano)	G. Schirmer Inc.
	Birth of Venus, op. 29 (trans. Theodore Baker)	G. Schirmer Inc.
1902	"Après un rêve," in *Thirty-Five Songs for Soprano or Tenor* Series: Treasury of Modern Song	G. Schirmer Inc.
1904	"Clair de lune" (trans. Alexander Blaess)	Oliver Ditson & Co.
	"Les berceaux" (trans. Isabella G. Parker)	Oliver Ditson & Co.
	"Les berceaux," "Roses d'Ispahan," and "Clair de lune," in *Modern French Songs* Vol. 1 (ed. Philip Hale; trans. Isabella G. Parker and Alexander Blaess)	Oliver Ditson & Co.
1905	*Madrigal*, op. 35 (trans. Henry G. Chapman)	G. Schirmer Inc.
	The Brook (*Ruisseau*), op. 22 (trans. Theodore Baker) Series: Choral Art Society of Boston	Boston Music Co.

[1] I have included the opus number when the publication included it. Individual *mélodies* were often published without their opus number.
[2] I have placed the titles of all *mélodies* in quotation marks for the purpose of immediate genre identification.

1906	*Romance sans paroles*, op. 17, no. 3 (ed. Isidore Philipp)	Oliver Ditson & Co.
	Fourth Barcarolle, op. 44 (ed. Isidore Philipp)	Oliver Ditson & Co.
	Romance sans paroles, op. 17, no. 3, and Fourth Barcarolle, op. 44, in *Anthology of French Piano Music* Vol. 2: Modern Composers (ed. Isidore Philipp; trans. Charles Fonteyn Manney) [Includes a brief biography and photograph of each composer. The Fauré selections are referred to as "two little masterpieces by Gabriel Fauré."]	Oliver Ditson & Co.
1907	Piano Quintet in D Minor, op. 89 [First edition]	G. Schirmer Inc.
1908	"Les berceaux" (ed. H. Clough-Leigher; trans. M. Louise Baum) Series: *Selections from the Repertoire of Mme. Marcella Sembrich*	Boston Music Co.
1909	*Berceuse*, Op. 16 (arr. organ), in *Preludes, Offertories and Postludes for the Organ* (ed. Harry Rowe Shelley)	G. Schirmer Inc.
1910	Impromptu No. 2 in F minor (ed. Henry Cosnett)	Boston Music Co.
	"Veilles-tu, ma senteur du soleil" [from *La chanson d'Eve*, op. 95]	Boston Music Co.
1911	"Les berceaux," in *Album of Songs by Composers of the Neo-French School*: *For Medium Voice and Piano Accompaniment* (ed. H. Clough-Leigher; trans. M. Louise Baum)	Boston Music Co.
	Romance sans paroles, op. 17, no. 3 (arr. organ) (ed. A. H. Ryder; transc. Charles Quef)	Boston Music Co.
1912	"Après un rêve" (trans. Henry G. Chapman)	G. Schirmer Inc.
	"Après un rêve," in *Anthology of modern French song : A Collection of Thirty-Nine Songs with Piano Accompaniment by Modern French Composers* (ed. Max Spicker)	G. Schirmer Inc.

1913	"Les berceaux" (trans. Isabella G. Parker)	Oliver Ditson & Co.
	"Clair de lune" (trans. Alexander Blaess)	Oliver Ditson & Co.
	"Les Roses d'Ispahan" (trans. Alexander Blaess)	Oliver Ditson & Co.
	Adagietto (arr. organ) [from *Huit pieces brèves*, op. 84] (ed. Henry Clough Leighter; transc., Charles Quef)	Boston Music Co.
1914	"Les berceaux," in *Laurel Songs: [for] Unchanged Voices* (ed. M. Teresa Armitage)	C. C. Birchard (Boston)
	Élégie, op. 24 (ed. Alwin Schröder)	Boston Music Co.
	Lamento, op. 4 no. 1 ["Chanson du pêcheur"] (arr. cello and piano), in *Alwin Schroeder's Solo Concert Repertoire for Violoncello & Piano* (ed. Alwin Schröder)	Boston Music Co.
1915	"Nell" (ed. Henry Clough-Leighter; trans. John Gould Fletcher)	Boston Music Co.
1915	"Soir" (ed. Henry Clough-Leighter; trans. John Gould Fletcher)	Boston Music Co.
1915	"Nell," "Les roses d'Ispahan," "Rêve d'amour," "Les berceaux," "Prison," and "Soir," in *Fauré Six Songs* (ed. Henry Clough-Leighter; trans. John Gould Fletcher)	Boston Music Co.
1915	*Adagietto* (arr. organ) [from *Huit pieces brèves*, op. 84] and *Romance sans paroles* no. 3 (arr. organ), in *Emmanuel Organ Book: For Church Service & Recital* Vol. 2 (ed. Henry Clough Leighter; transc., Charles Quef)	Boston Music Co.
1916	"Slumber-song" ["Berceuse" from the *Dolly* Suite, op. 56], in *Album of Solo Pieces for the Harp* (ed. Annie Louise David)	Boston Music Co.
	"Soir" (arr. violin and piano) (ed. Albert Stoessel)	Boston Music Co.
	"Les berceaux," "Nell," and "Les roses d'Ispahan," in *My Favorite French Songs* Vol. 1 (selected by Emma Calvé; trans. Isabella G. Parker, Charles Fonteyn Manney, and Alexander Blaess)	Oliver Ditson & Co.

1918	“The Cradles” [“Les berceaux”], in *Three-Part Song for Women's Voices* (ed. Henry Clough Leighter; trans. J. G. Fletcher)	Boston Music Co.
1919	Violin Sonata in A major, op. 13 (ed. Charles Martin Loeffler)	Boston Music Co.
	“Soir” (arr. violin and piano), in *Modern Violin Album: Twelve Compositions for Violin and Piano* (ed. Carl Engel)	Boston Music Co.
1921	*Bless the Lord, O my soul* (Psalm 103) [contrafactum of *O Salutaris*] (adapted by E. B. Melville, D. D. [Carl Engel])	Boston Music Co.
	Quintet no. 2, op. 115 [reprint: Durand]	G. Schirmer Inc.
1922	Nocturne, op. 43 no. 2 (arr. violin and piano) (ed. Arthur Hartmann) Series: Old and modern classics arranged and edited for violin and piano by famous artists	G. Schirmer Inc.
1925	“Nell” and “Après un rêve,” in *Free Settings of Favorite Melodies: For Piano Solo* (ed. Percy Grainger)	G. Schirmer Inc.

Appendix 3. Boston Performances of Fauré's Music, 1892–1925[1]

Year	Date	Work(s) Performed	Featured Performer(s)	Venue
1892	January 28	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Charles Martin Loeffler, violin (Carl Baermann, piano)	Union Hall
	December 1	"Au cimetière" "Clair de lune"	Lena Little, soprano	Chickering Hall
1897	December 16	*Élégie*, op. 24	Hugh Codman, violin (Mary A. Stowell, piano)	Steinert Hall
1898	February 17	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Eugène Ysaÿe, violin (Raoul Pugno, piano)	Boston Music Hall
	April 23	First Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15	Ysaÿe Quartet with Max Bendix, piano	Boston Music Hall
	November 28	"Le secret" "Rencontre"	Theodore Byard, baritone (George Proctor, piano)	Steinert Hall
	December 8	"Rencontre"	Theodore Byard, baritone (George Proctor, piano)	Sanders Theater
1899	January 21	"En prière"	Blanche Marchesi, soprano	Steinert Hall

[1] With the exception of the performance of *The Birth of Venus* at the Worcester Music Festival in 1902, this appendix includes public performances given in Boston concert venues (or Sanders Theater in Cambridge) during the regular concert season (October through May) 1892–1925. Although there is a five-year gap following the first public performances of Fauré's music in Boston, private performances in the city did sometimes include Fauré's music, as is evident by comments made in the society columns in the local newspapers; these performances are not included in the present study. Performances include those primarily advertised in the Boston Symphony Orchestra concert programs, or advertised/reviewed in the *Boston Daily Globe*, the *Boston Journal*, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, the *Cambridge Chronicle*, and the "Musical Boston" section of *Musical America*. For compositions with piano accompaniment I have included the name of the pianist, when known. Some works for solo piano or voice are not specified in advertisements or concert reviews, but documentation supports that at least one selection by Fauré within that genre was included on the program. Some *mélodies* listed here are part of Fauré's song cycles (e.g., "Mandoline," from *Cinq Mélodies de Venise*, op. 58; "Rencontre" and "Toujours,"from *Poème d'un Jour*, op. 21); however, in the interest of simplicity of presentation I have included only the titles of the individual *mélodies*, in quotation marks. (See Appendix 1 for a description of each performance venue, and Appendix 4 for performers' biographies.)

1900	March 12	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Franz Kneisel, violin (Antoinette Szumowska, piano)	Association Hall
	November 10	Third Nocturne in A-Flat Major, op. 33, no. 3 Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Félix Fox, piano	Steinert Hall
	November 20	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Heinrich Gebhard, piano	Steinert Hall
	November 26	"Les berceaux"	Myron L. Whitney, baritone	Steinert Hall
1901	December 31	First Barcarolle in A minor, op. 26	Félix Fox, piano	Steinert Hall
1902	January 25	"Ave verum corpus," op. 65, no 1	Lucille Sisson, soprano Genevieve Sisson, alto	Sleeper Hall (NEC)
	February 26	unlisted songs	Esther Palliser, mezzo-soprano (Alfred De Voto, piano)	Chickering Hall
	April 11	"Rencontre" "Fleur jetée" "Les berceaux"	Florence Hartmann, soprano (Alfred De Voto, piano)	Chickering Hall
	April 9	*The Birth of Venus*, op. 29	NEC chorus and orchestra dir. Wallace Goodrich	New England Conservatory
	April 12	Incidental music, *Pelléas et Mélisande*	Play directed by Mrs. Patrick Campbell	Boston Theater
	April 30	*Madrigal*, op. 35	Choral Art Society dir. Wallace Goodrich (Henrich Gebhard, piano)	Chickering Hall
	October 3	*The Birth of Venus*, op. 29	Worcester Music Festival Chorus and Orchestra dir. Wallace Goodrich	Mechanics Hall (Worcester, MA)
	December 3	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Heinrich Gebhard, piano	Steinert Hall
	December 9	unlisted songs	Madame Alexander-Marius, voice	Steinert Hall

1903	March 30	*Le ruisseau*, op. 22	Choral Art Society dir. Wallace Goodrich	Chickering Hall
	December 3	*Pavane*, op. 50 *Huit pièces brèves*, op. 84, no. 8 *Valse-caprice*, op. 59, no. 3	Heinrich Gebhard, piano	Steinert Hall
	December 5	*Thème et variations*, op. 73	Harold Bauer, piano	Steinert Hall
	December 18	*Madrigal*, op. 35	Choral Art Society dir. Wallace Goodrich	Jordan Hall
1904	January 25	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Carl Barth, violin (Antoinette Szumowska, piano)	Jordan Hall
	February 11	"Lydia"	William Kittredge, tenor (Laura Hawkins, piano)	Steinert Hall
	March 10	"Au cimetière" "Rencontre" "Les roses d'Ispahan"	Julie Wyman, contralto	Sanders Theater
	March 21	"Après un rêve" "Dans les ruines d'une abbaye"	William Kittredge, tenor (Laura Hawkins, piano)	The Tuileries
	March 23	Second Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 45	Arbós Quartet with Heinrich Gebhard, piano	Jordan Hall
	April 25	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Louis Bachner, piano	Steinert Hall
	April 25	*Huit pièces brèves*, op. 84, no. 3	Jessie Davis, piano	Chickering Hall
	December 16–17	Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80	Boston Symphony Orchestra dir. Wilhelm Gericke	Symphony Hall
1905	February 21	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Félix Fox, piano	Steinert Hall
	March 26	unlisted songs	Charles Gilbert, baritone	Chickering Hall
	May 5	unlisted piano works	Lewis Williams, piano	Steinert Hall

(cont'd)	November 22	Nocturne in D-flat Major[2]	Raoul Pugno, piano	Jordan Hall
	December 1–2	Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80	Boston Symphony Orchestra dir. Vincent d'Indy (guest)	Symphony Hall
	December 4	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Harold Bauer, piano	Jordan Hall
	December 18	Nocturne (unspecified)	Alfred De Voto, piano	Potter Hall
1906	January 2	*Pavane*, op. 50	Orchestral Club of Boston	Potter Hall
	March 11	unlisted piano works	Alfred De Voto, piano	Chickering Hall
	March 18	*Élégie*, op. 24	Elsa Ruegger, cello (H. G. Tucker, piano)	Chickering Hall
	March 30	*Le ruisseau*, op. 22	Choral Art Society dir. Wallace Goodrich	Jordan Hall
	November 20	Fourth Impromptu in D-flat Major, op. 91 *Trois romances sans paroles*, op. 17, no. 3	Félix Fox, piano	Chickering Hall
	November 23	"Rencontre"	Emilio de Gogorza, baritone	Chickering Hall
	December 2	"Les berceaux" op. 23, no. 1	Bertha Cushing Child, contralto (Arthur Colburn, piano)	Chickering Hall
1907	January 3	Seventh Barcarolle in D minor, op. 90	Félix Fox, piano	Steinert Hall
	January 10	Nocturne (unspecified)	Antoinette Szumowska, piano	Steinert Hall
	February 23	"Automne" "Toujours" "Clair de Lune"	John Braun, tenor (Ellis Clark Hammann, piano)	Potter Hall

[2] There is some confusion regarding which nocturne was indeed performed on that concert, as the number of the nocturne is not included and the only existing review lists it as op. 36. However, Fauré's only D-flat major nocturne is actually op. 63. It is possible the numbers were reversed, or that Pugno actually performed the Fourth Nocturne in E-flat Major, op. 36. Both had been published by then.

(cont'd)	February 25	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Willy Hess, violin (Ossip Gabrilowitsch, piano)	Chickering Hall
	February 27	*Andante*, op. 75	Charles S. Johnson, violin	Steinert Hall
	March 18	*Romance*, op. 28	Nina Fletcher, violin (Charles Anthony, piano)	Potter Hall
	June 4	*Élégie*, op. 24	Ralph Smalley, cello (Alfred De Voto, piano)	Steinert Hall
	October 28	Impromptu (unspecified)	Olga Samaroff, piano	Chickering Hall
	October 29	unlisted piano works	Leland Hall, piano	Steinert Hall
	November 25	Fourth Nocturne in E-Flat Major, op. 36	Félix Fox, piano	Steinert Hall
	December 10	Piano Quintet in D minor, op. 89	Kneisel Quartet with Heinrich Gebhard, piano	Chickering Hall
1908	January 5	Romance (unspecified selection from Romances sans paroles, op. 17)	Félix Fox, piano	Symphony Hall
	January 6	unlisted songs	Charles W. Clark, baritone	Chickering Hall
	January 20	Second Impromptu in F minor, op. 31	Francis Weaver, piano	Jordan Hall
	February 10	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Carl Wendling, violin (George Proctor, piano)	Hotel Somerset
	March 31	*The Birth of Venus*, op. 29	Cecilia Society dir. Wallace Goodrich	Jordan Hall
	November 6	"Les berceaux"	Marcella Sembrich, soprano	Symphony Hall
1909	January 18	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Heinrich Gebhard, piano	Steinert Hall
	January 26	Advertised as Adagio op. 36 [this opus is the Fourth Nocturne in E-Flat Major]	New England Conservatory Orchestra	Symphony Hall

(cont'd)	January 31	unlisted songs	Ernestine Gauthier, mezzo-contralto (George Proctor, piano)	Chickering Hall
	February 8	Nocturne (unspecified)	Germaine Arnaud, piano	Jordan Hall
	April 15	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Carl Barth, violin (Heinrich Gebhard, piano)	Chickering Hall
	May 8	Impromptu (unspecified)	Van Denman Thompson, piano	Jordan Hall
	October 15	unlisted songs	Geraldine Farrar, soprano (Olga Samaroff, piano)	Symphony Hall
	November 9	Fourth Nocturne in E-Flat Major, op. 36	Carlo Buonamici, piano	Steinert Hall
1910	January 19	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	William Traupe, violin (Arthur Shepherd, piano)	Jordan Hall
	February 5	*Élégie*, op. 24	Virginia Stickney, cello (Marion Lina Tufts, piano)	Steinert Hall
	April 12	Fourth Nocturne in E-Flat Major, op. 36	Carlo Buonamici, piano	Steinert Hall
	April 21	"Le secret"	Mrs. Gaines, voice (Mr. Gaines, piano)	Steinert Hall
	April 25	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Ellen Scranton Stites, violin (Herbert Seiler, piano)	Steinert Hall
	April 25	*Élégie*, op. 24	Cello Class of Josef Adamowski (NEC)	Jordan Hall
	November 15	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Antoinette Szumowska, piano	Steinert Hall
	November 22	unlisted songs	Jeanne Jomelli, soprano	Jordan Hall
1911	February 28	Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80	Boston Opera House Orchestra dir. André Caplet	Boston Opera House
	March 1	*Le ruisseau*, op. 22	Musical Art Club Chorus dir. Chalmers Clifton	Jordan Hall
	March 16	"Les berceaux"	Edmond Clément, tenor	Jordan Hall

(cont'd)	March 17–18	Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80	Boston Symphony Orchestra dir. Max Fiedler	Symphony Hall
	November 4	"Le secret"	Edmond Clément, tenor (Frank La Forge, piano)	Symphony Hall
1912	January 21	Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80 (concert)	Boston Opera House Orchestra dir. André Caplet	Boston Opera House
	January 30	Incidental music, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80 (play)	Boston Opera House Orchestra dir. André Caplet	Boston Opera House
	February 1	unlisted songs	Lilla Ormond, mezzo-soprano (Mrs. Charles A. White, piano)	Steinert Hall
	February 15	*Élégie*, op. 24	Alwin Schroeder, cello (Kurt Fischer, piano)	Steinert Hall
	March 25	Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Gertrude Marshall, violin (Heinrich Gebhard, piano)	Steinert Hall
	April 12	Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Eugène Ysaÿe, violin (Camille Decreus, piano)	Symphony Hall
	October 16	"Après un rêve"	Agnes D. Reid, mezzo-soprano	Jordan Hall
1913	December 17	*Élégie*, op. 24	Beatrice Harrison, cello	Jordan Hall
	January 11	*Berceuse*, op. 16	William Morse Rummell, violin	Symphony Hall
	January 31	*Romance*, op. 28	Jacques Thibaud, violin (Carlos Salzedo, piano)	Jordan Hall
1914	March 1	*Sicilienne*, op. 78	Horace Britt, cello	Boston Opera House
	April 9	Impromptu (unspecified)	Jessie Davis, piano	Copley Plaza Hotel
	April 23	"Rêve d'amour"	George Mitchell, tenor (Félix Fox, piano)	Steinert Hall
	November 11	unlisted piano works	Edith Thompson, piano	Steinert Hall

(cont'd)	December 12	unlisted songs	Clara Clemens Gabrilowitsch, contralto (Ossip Gabrilowitsch, piano)	Jordan Hall
1915	January 28	"Les roses d'Ispahan" "Les berceaux"	Bernice Fisher, soprano	Tremont Temple
	February 11	unlisted songs	Clara Clemens Gabrilowitsch, contralto (Kurt Schindler, piano)	Steinert Hall
	February 14	"Clair de lune" (arr. violin)	Louis Pellegrini, violin	Ford Hall
	March 3	"Après un rêve"	Mary Fay [Sherwood], soprano (Mrs. Dudley T. Fitts, piano)	Longy Club
	March 28	Romance [unspecified selection from *Romances sans paroles*, op. 17]	Ossip Gabrilowitsch, piano	Symphony Hall
	April 26	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Heinrich Gebhard, piano	Copley Plaza Hotel
	November 28	"Les berceaux"	Clarisse Coudert, voice	Symphony Hall
	December 9	unlisted piano works	Heinrich Gebhard, piano	Jordan Hall
	December 15	"Au cimetière"	Povla Frisch, soprano (Jean Verd, piano)	Jordan Hall
1916	February 17	"Clair de lune"	Povla Frisch, soprano (Jean Verd, piano)	Jordan Hall
	March 7	*Berceuse*, op. 16	Katharine Kemp Stillings, violin (S. C. Colburn, piano)	Steinert Hall
	March 20	"Prison" "Toujours"	Clara Clemens, contralto (Ethel Newcomb, piano)	Jordan Hall
	March 23	unlisted songs	Laura Littlefield, soprano	Steinert Hall
	March 23	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Claire Forbes, piano	Jordan Hall

(cont'd)	April 4	Barcarolle (unspecified)	Félix Fox, piano	Jordan Hall
	April 17	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Claire Forbes, piano	Jordan Hall
	November 6	unlisted songs	Marcia van Dresser, soprano (Ethel Cave Cole, piano)	Jordan Hall
	December 24	unlisted song (arr. violin)	Jacques Thibaud, violin (George Copeland, piano)	Symphony Hall
1917	January 15	"Soir"	Martha Atwood-Baker, soprano (George Copeland, piano)	Jordan Hall
	February 6	Impromptu (unspecified)	Ruth Lavers, piano	Steinert Hall
	March 1	"Soir"	Martha Atwood-Baker, soprano (William Weston, piano)	Steinert Hall
	March 4	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Eugène Ysaÿe, violin (Maurice Dambois, piano)	Symphony Hall
	March 16	*Berceuse*, op. 16	Eugene Ysaÿe, violin (Maurice Dambois, piano)	Symphony Hall
	March 24	"Clair de lune" "Soir"	Susan Metcalfe-Casals, soprano (Ruth Deyo, piano)	Jordan Hall
	April 16	unlisted songs	Martha Atwood-Baker, soprano (George Copland, piano)	Jordan Hall
	June 8	unlisted songs	Virginia O'Brien, soprano (Dorothy Blake, piano)	Recital Hall (NEC)
	November 26	"Après us rêve" "Barcarolle" "Mandoline"	Gabrielle Gills, soprano (Ethel Cave Cole, piano)	Jordan Hall
	December 11	"Rêve d'amour" (listed as "S'il est un charmant gazon")	Leila Holterhoff, soprano (Mary Wells Capewell, piano)	Steinert Hall
1918	January 3	Second Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 45	American String Quartette with Heinrich Gebhard, piano	Jordan Hall

(cont'd)	January 17	*Élégie*, op. 24	Gladys Berry, cello (Helen Tiffany, piano)	Steinert Hall
	January 23	"Mandoline"	Gabrielle Gills, soprano (Joseph Bonnet, piano)	Symphony Hall
	March 3	"Mandoline"	Marcia van Dresser, soprano (Kurt Schindler, piano)	Symphony Hall
	December 10	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op. 31	Heinrich Gebhard, piano	Steinert Hall
1919	February 14–15	Suite *Shylock*, op. 57	Boston Symphony Orchestra dir. Henri Rabaud	Symphony Hall
	March 12	Third Impromptu in A-flat Major, op. 3 Fifth Impromptu in F-sharp Minor, op. 102	Sam Charles, piano	Steinert Hall
	March 28–29	Prelude to *Pénélope*	Boston Symphony Orchestra dir. Henri Rabaud	Symphony Hall
	April 10	First Nocturne in E-Flat Major, op. 33, no. 1	Marjorie Church, piano	Steinert Hall
	June 19	"Soir"	(Helen Sheffield, piano)	Jordan Hall
	November 24	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Robert Gundersen, violin (Hans Ebell, piano)	Steinert Hall
	December 18	unlisted songs	Phoebe Crosby, soprano (Emil Polak, piano)	Jordan Hall
1920	January 14	"Chanson d'amour"	Barbara Maurel, mezzo-soprano	Jordan Hall
	January 21	"Les roses d'Ispahan" "Notre amour"	Bernice Fischer-Butler, voice (Henry Gideon, piano)	Jordan Hall
	February 10	"Après un rêve"	Gertrude Tingley, contralto (Mrs. Dudley Fitts, piano)	Jordan Hall
	March 23	"Le secret"	Mrs. Stanley Ross Fisher, soprano (Mrs. Dudley Fitts, piano)	Steinert Hall

(cont'd)	April 6	"Automne"	Lawrence Haynes, tenor (Malcolm Lang, piano)	Jordan Hall
	April 28	*Élégie*, op. 24	Marion Moorhouse, cello	Jordan Hall
	October 14	"Mandoline"	Charles Hackett, tenor	Symphony Hall
	November 3	"Les berceaux"	Maria Conde, soprano (James Ecker, piano)	Steinert Hall
1921	January 17	Second Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 45	American String Quartette with John Beach, piano	Steinert Hall
	January 25	"Les roses d'Ispahan"	Lawrence Haynes, tenor (Malcolm Lang, piano)	Jordan Hall
	February 18	unlisted songs	Lawrence Haynes, tenor (Malcolm Lang, piano)	Steinert Hall
1922	January 7	Fourth Nocturne in E-flat Major, op. 36	Donald Smith, piano	Recital Hall (NEC)
	February 25	"Les berceaux"	Yvonne Legrand, soprano (Marie Mikova, piano)	Jordan Hall
	May 12	*Le ruisseau*, op. 22	New England Conservatory Women's Chorus (Agnes Bevington, piano)	Jordan Hall
	November 26	*Berceuse*, op. 16	Jascha Heifetz, violin (Samuel Chotzinoff, piano)	Symphony Hall
1923	January 9	"Nell"	G. Roberts Lunger, baritone	Jordan Hall
	January 7	"Clair de lune"	Roland Hayes, tenor	Symphony Hall
	February 13	"Après us rêve"	Gladys Berry, cello (Margaret Gorham Glaser, piano)	Steinert Hall
	April 5	"Hail, Goddess Ascending," from *The Birth of Venus*, op. 29	Frieda Hempel, soprano	Symphony Hall

(cont'd)	October 30	Second Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 45	Durrell String Quartet with Harrison Potter, piano	Jordan Hall
	November 23–24	Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80	Boston Symphony Orchestra dir. Pierre Monteux	Symphony Hall
	December 2	"Clair de lune"	Roland Hayes, tenor	Symphony Hall
	December 6	Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80	Boston Symphony Orchestra dir. Pierre Monteux	Sanders Theater
	December 18	"Fileuse" from Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80 (arr. cello, R. Ronchini)	Georges Miquelle, cello (Renee Longy-Miquelle, piano)	Steinert Hall
1924	October 21	"Après un Rêve"	John McCormack, tenor (Lauri Kennedy, piano)	Symphony Hall
	October 22	"Fileuse" from Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80 (arr. violin)	Socrate Barozzi, violin (Carl Lamson, piano)	Jordan Hall
	December 5–6	Prelude to *Pénélope* *Élégie*, op. 24	Boston Symphony Orchestra dir. Serge Koussevitzky with Jean Bedetti, cello	Symphony Hall
	December 11	Second Impromptu in F Minor, op.	Catherine Carver, piano	Jordan Hall
1925	January 20	"Automne"	Suzanne Dabney, soprano	Jordan Hall
	February 10	*Papillons*, op. 77	Pablo Casals, cello	Symphony Hall
	February 20	Barcarolle (unspecified) Nocturne (unspecified)	L. F. Motte-Lacroix, piano	Jordan Hall
	February 26	*Berceuse*, op. 16	Francis MacMillen, violin	Symphony Hall

(cont'd)	March 15	Suite *Pelléas et Mélisande*, op. 80	People's Symphony Orchestra dir. Emil Mollenhauer	St. James Theater
	April 14	First Violin Sonata in A Major, op. 13	Godfrey Wetterlow, violin (Charles Touchette, piano)	Jordan Hall
	April 25	"Les roses d'Ispahan" "Nell"	Lillian Prudden, soprano (W. D. Strong, piano)	Jordan Hall

Appendix 4. Performers of Fauré's Music in Boston, 1892–1925[1]

Performer	Brief Biography
Adamowski, Josef (1862–1930)	Polish-American cellist; studied in Warsaw and Crakow; member of the BSO; member of the Adamowski Quartet; professor of cello at the New England Conservatory; married to prominent pianist Antoinetta Szumowska.
Alexander-Marius, Emilie (1853–1922?)	French-born singer, instructor of voice, and music critic; well-known in Boston as a performer specializing in French repertoire; was given the French title Officer of Public Instruction (1904) for her active promotion of French music; contributed to newspapers in Paris and Boston throughout her career; most often credited as "Madame Alexander-Marius."
American String Quartette (est. 1908)	All-female string quartet sponsored, promoted, and coached by prominent violinist Charles Martin Loeffler; led by Loeffler's prized student, violinist Gertrude Marshall, for the duration of the ensemble; other members varied over the years; active through the early-1920s.
Arbós Quartet (est. 1903)	String quartet led by Enrique Arbós (1863–1939), Spanish violinist, composer, and conductor; Arbós was the concert master for the BSO (1903–04) and was active in Boston as a recital performer during that year; the Quartet disbanded upon Arbós's departure from Boston in 1904.
Arnaud, Germaine (1892–1958)	French-born pianist, singer, and actress; studied at the Paris Conservatoire beginning at age 9; won Premier Prix for piano performance at age 12; active as a concert pianist in the U.S. and Europe; later turned her focus to film acting.
Atwood-Baker, Martha (1886–1950)	American soprano; studied at New England Conservatory and in Europe; performed with the Metropolitan Opera; recitals during her tenure there; performed with pianist George Copeland; soloist with the BSO; performed exclusively on the radio following her retirement from the Metropolitan Opera; established the Cape Cod Institute of Music (1938).

[1] This information is drawn from dictionaries and encyclopedias of music, genealogy sites, newspaper archives, concert programs, and obituaries. When I have been unable to ascertain the birth and death years, I have included the years in which the performer is known to have been active. I have omitted the names of the pianists who performed exclusively as recital accompanists; however, I have included those who performed as featured pianists in chamber ensembles.

Bachner, Louis (1882–1945)	American pianist and teacher; studied in Paris with Howard Bauer, and in Berlin; performed widely in Boston, including as a soloist with the BSO; held teaching positions at the Peabody Institute of Music (piano), and in State Academy of Music in Berlin (voice); author of the book *Dynamic Singing* (1944); a well-known concert pianist in his youth in Europe and the United States; later known as the "coach of noted singers," including several of the Metropolitan Opera.
Barozzi, Socrate (1893–1973)	Romanian-born violinist; member of the BSO (1920–23); later played with the Cleveland Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic; notable soloist throughout the U.S. and Europe.
Barth, Carl (b. 1869; fl. 1894–37)	German-born violinist and cellist; studied at Harvard; professor of cello at the New England Conservatory; member of the BSO (1894–37); active recitalist in Boston during the first decade of the century; performed with Antoinette Szumowska.
Bauer, Harold (1873–1951)	English pianist, studied in Paris with Ignacy Jan Paderewski; toured throughout Europe then settled in Boston in 1908; frequent performances there including with the BSO; also performed regularly in New York City, and later in Miami; professor of piano at the Manhattan School of Music; conducted master classes at the University of Miami; held a variety of guest or honorary positions at the Hartt School of Music, Juilliard, Boston Conservatory, and Peabody.
Beach, John (1877–1953)	American pianist and composer; studied piano at New England Conservatory then in Paris with Harold Bauer; performed regularly in Boston upon his return, although his focus was on composition; the influence of French composers, namely Debussy and Satie, has been noted in his composition style.
Bedetti, Jean (1884–1973)	French cellist. Studied in Lyons and at the Conservatoire de Paris. Principal cellist at the *Opéra comique*; soloist with the Cologne Orchestra. Invited to Boston by Pierre Monteux in 1919 and performed with the BSO (principal cello) for twenty-nine seasons. Recorded Fauré's *Élégie*, op. 24, with the BSO, dir. Koussevitzky, for RCA Victor in 1930; following his retirement, he moved to Miami, FL, where he spent the remainder of his life.
Bendix, Max (1866–1945)	American pianist, violinist, composer, and conductor. Concertmaster for the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra and other American orchestras in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. Active as a soloist and collaborator with numerous ensembles, perhaps most notably the Ysaÿe Quartet during the early part of his career.
Berry, Gladys (fl. 1906–1925)	American cellist; active in Boston as a recitalist between 1906 and 1925.

Boston Cecilia Society (est. 1886)	Founded in 1886; conducted by B.J. Lang for 33 years, followed by Wallace Goodrich; contributed significantly to building the choral repertoire in the city; unfamiliar older works and new modern works; gave the American premieres of Beethoven's Missa Solemnis, Dvořák's Requiem (under the composer's baton), Stravinsky's Symphony of Psalms, and other notable works.
Boston Opera House Orchestra (est. 1909)	House ensemble for the Boston Opera Company (active 1909–15); also performed stand-alone concerts, many carrying a French theme; directed by French conductor André Caplet for four seasons (1910–14); Caplet occasionally shared his duties with Wallace Goodrich and select others; strong presence of French works (both vocal and instrumental).
Boston Symphony Orchestra (est. 1881)	Founded in 1881 through the patronage of Major Henry Lee Higginson, who continued his role as primary financial supporter of the ensemble until 1919; players mostly imported from Europe; many fine soloists; known for work ethic, quality of performance, traditional and new concert works introduced to American audiences; guest artists featured regularly and guest conductors occasionally.
Boston Symphony Quartet (est. 1906)	Established in 1906 by Willy Hess and other members of the BSO; membership varied over the years, its members drawn from active players in the BSO; supported by Henry Lee Higginson in order to foster chamber music performances in the city.
Braun, John F. (fl. 1906–17)	American tenor and teacher; active in Philadelphia music pedagogical societies; President of the Philadelphia Community Singing Association (1917); guest of honor at The Sixth Annual Dinner of the Philadelphia Music Teachers' Association that year.
Britt, Horace (1881–1971)	Belgian cellist; studied at the Paris Conservatoire; soloist and chamber music player in America and throughout Europe; principal cellist for the Chicago, San Francisco, and Philadelphia symphonies, and the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra; taught at Curtis Institute, the Longy School of Music; was professor emeritus at University of Texas, Austin at the time of his death.
Buonamici, Carlo (1875–1920)	Italian pianist and teacher; studied in Munich and Boston with Carl Baermann; co-founded the Fox-Buonamici School of Piano with Félix Fox in 1898; often performed with Fox, the Kneisel Quartet, and other Boston musicians; soloist with the BSO.
Byard, Theordore (1871–1931)	English baritone opera singer; first appearance in Boston in November 1898 was well-advertised, if not entirely successful; performed with Franz Kneisel and George Proctor.
Caplet, André (1878–1925)	French composer and conductor; studied composition at the Paris Conservatoire; won the Prix de Rome over Ravel (1901); orchestrated works by Debussy; active in Boston 1910–14; director of Boston Opera House Orchestra.

Carver, Catherine (1909–1995)	American pianist; child prodigy, active recitalist since age 8; studied at Juilliard.
Casals, Pablo (1876–1973)	Spanish (Catalan) cellist, conductor, and pedagogue; performed regularly in Paris, London, Barcelona, and Madrid; numerous American tours; performed with Alfred Cortot, Harld Bauer, Jacques Thibaud, and others; married American singer Susan Metcalfe-Casals.
Charles, Sam (fl. 1910–1920)	American pianist and conductor; active in Boston as a recitalist and accompanist.
Choral Art Society (est. 1901)	Organized in 1901 by Wallace Goodrich; originally intended for the amateur study and performance of works by Palestrina, Bach, and other early composers of vocal works; strong interest in a cappella performances; quickly expanded the repertoire to include modern choral works; many choral ensembles have taken this name over the years.
Church, Marjorie (1892–1953)	American concert pianist and pedagogue; studied in Vienna with Leopold Godowsky; active recitalist in the Boston area; soloist with the BSO; professor of piano at the Longy School.
Clark, Charles W. (1865–1925)	American baritone and pedagogue; studied voice at the Paris Conservatoire, where he gave a noted solo recital in 1904; successful in the U.S. and Europe for his oratorio and opera performances as well as his solo recitals; recognized for his performances of modern art songs.
Clemens Gabrilowitsch, Clara (1874–1962)	American contralto; daughter of Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain); active recitalist in New York and Boston, and in married to Russian concert pianist Ossip Gabrilowitsch.
Clément, Edmond (1867–1928)	French tenor; studied voice at the Paris Conservatoire; performed throughout Europe, including at the Opéra Comique; sang with the Metropolitan Opera (1909–10); active as a recitalist in Boston (1911–13); returned to America following WWI and performed regularly until 1927.
Clifton, Chalmers (1889–1966)	American composer and conductor; Harvard graduate (1912); director of the Musical Art Club Chorus.
Codman, Hugh (1875–1946)	French-born violinist; settled in Boston with his family at age 9; showed promise as a violinist from an early age; later studied in Berlin with Julius Eichberg; active in Boston as a recitalist.
Conde, Maria (1893–1972)	Born Ernestine Cobern Beyer; American coloratura soprano and author or children's literature; active as a singer in New York and Boston ca. 1917–ca. 1920.
Coudert, Clarisse (1878–1955)	Jeanne Clarisse Coudert; American socialite and singer; first wife of Vogue magazine owner Condé Nast; recitalist in New York and Boston.

Crosby, Phoebe (fl. 1919–51)	American soprano; studied for one year at the New England Conservatory; debut recital in Boston in 1919; quickly grew popular as a recitalist in opera singer, performing with various American opera companies until 1951 at which point she focused solely on teaching; toured the U.S. and Europe at various points during her career.
Cushing Child, Bertha (1871–1933)	American contralto and instructor of voice; studied voice in Paris; active in Boston as a recitalist, opera singer, and soloist with the BSO and the Handel and Haydn Society; returned to Paris for several years late in her life.
Dabney, Suzanne (fl. 1923–38)	American soprano; active in Boston as a recitalist and soloist with the McDowell Club; performed in the first Wolfsohn Series concerts (1924–25) organized by prominent arts manager Aaron Richmond.
Dambois, Maurice (1889–1969)	Belgian pianist and cellist; member of the Trio de la Cour de Belgique; performed with the Ysaÿe Quartet; recitalist in New York and Boston, as well as other major cities in the United States; technique on both instruments was admired in reviews, although some have remarked on his overly-sentimental *portamento* cello.
Davis, Jessie (fl. 1900–18)	American pianist and instructor; active in Boston as a recitalist and accompanist; performed with violinist Hugh Codman.
de Gogorza, Emilio (1874–1949)	American baritone and pedagogue; studied voice in Spain; prominent recitalist in America; professor of voice at the Curtis Institute; made various recordings for the Victor Talking Machine Company in the early-20th century; prominent students include Samuel Barber among others.
De Voto, Alfred (1875–1933)	American pianist and pedagogue; professor of piano at New England Conservatory; active as an accompanist and recitalist in Boston; performed with a variety of prominent musicians, including the Kneisel Quartet.
d'Indy, Vincent (1851–1931)	French composer, conductor, and pedagogue; co-founded the Schola Cantorum in Paris (1894); American tour in 1905, during which he appeared as guest conductor of the BSO, at the invitation of Charles Martin Loeffler.
Durrell String Quartet (est. 1919)	Established in 1919 by Josephine Durrell and Edith Robound, violins; Anna Golden, viola; Mildred Ridley, cello; active through the 1930s with varied membership; performed widely in New York and Boston; made at least one recording for RCA Victor in 1929. Associated with the Harvard Musical Association, McDowell Club, and the Boston Musical Association.
Farrar, Geraldine (1882–1967)	American soprano opera singer, recitalist, and film actress; studied voice in New York, Paris, and Berlin; performed with the Metropolitan Opera under Toscanini and others from 1906–22.

Fiedler, Max (1859–1939)	German conductor, composer, and pianist; conducted several notable European orchestras before taking a position as director of the BSO (1908–12); recognized for his interpretation of German repertoire, particularly Brahms, although he brought modern French and Russian works to the BSO.
Fisher, Bernice (1889–1946)	American soprano; sometimes credited as Bernice Fisher Butler; soloist with a variety of ensembles and recitalist in Boston in the 1920s–30s.
Fisher, Mrs. Stanley Ross (b. 1879; fl. 1920–31)	Estelle C. Fisher; American dramatic soprano and socialite; wife of Reverend Stanley Ross; recitalist and musical theater productions; compiled musical material for an operetta, *The Lass*, in 1931.
Fletcher, Nina (1884–1959)	American violinist and instructor; studied with Charles Martin Loeffler; active as a recitalist in Boston; performed with Heinrich Gebhard and others.
Forbes, Claire (fl. 1916–32)	American concert pianist and instructor; studied with Heinrich Gebhard; recitalist; soloist with the BSO.
Fox, Félix (1876–1947)	German-born pianist and teacher; spent most of his career in Boston; worked with Carlo Buonamici (formed a piano school together); focus was largely on Edward MacDowell's works; often included Fauré's piano works in his recitals; prepared editions for the Boston Music Company.
Frisch, Povla (1881–1960)	Danish-born soprano; studied piano in Copenhagen and voice in Paris, where she became a notable figure in the musical world through a number of important performances; first Boston performance in 1915; traveled between the U.S. and Europe after WWI; eventually settled in Maine; recognized for her selective and diverse recital programs and her interpretation of songs in any language; especially fond of Fauré, Debussy, and Schumann; published "Analysis of the Interpretation of Song" in *Musical America* (1941); numerous notable students, including Leontyne Price.
Gabrilowitsch, Ossip (1878-1936)	Russian concert pianist, married to contralto Clara Clemens, with whom he often performed; following several years in Munich, he and his wife conducted an American tour during WWI during which they collaborated with numerous prominent musicians; director of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra (1918–36).
Gaines ("Mrs. Gaines") (fl. 1910)	Presumably an amateur singer; various references to "Mr. and Mrs. Gaines" in social columns of Boston newspapers during this era; presumably socialites; no further information is known; performed together in at least one recital in Boston; Mrs. Gaines, voice; Mr. Gaines, piano.
Gauthier, Ernestine (1880–1988)	American "mezzo-contralto"; studied voice in Paris; performed at the Savoy Theater in London and the Boston Opera Company; active in Boston and New York as a recitalist; recognized for her interpretations of modern French song.

Gebhard, Heinrich (1876–1963)	German-born pianist and composer; lived in Boston since age 10; studied in Vienna; friend of Loeffler; they performed together in Gardner's home; debuted as soloist with the BSO in 1900. Prominent students included Leonard Bernstein. Gebhard's *The Art of Pedaling* was published soon after his death (1963).
Gericke, Wilhelm (1845–1925)	Austrian conductor; studied at the Vienna Conservatory; active in Vienna and Boston; two separate terms as director of the BSO (1884–89, and 1898–1906); recognized for establishing a rigorous rehearsal style in the ensemble and elevating the repertoire and quality to musicianship.
Gilbert, Charles (1867–1910)	French baritone; studied at the Paris Conservatoire; performed in productions at the Opéra Comique; spent the last ten years of his life in New York, where he performed in productions at the Manhattan Opera House and as a regular member of the Metropolitan Opera Company; also a popular recitalist in New York and Boston.
Gills, Gabrielle (1880–after 1938)	French soprano and instructor of voice; frequent performer in Parisian salons; performed at the Opéra Comique; Fauré dedicated the song "La messagère" from the cycle *Le Jardin clos*, op. 106, to Gills in 1914; her American tour in 1917 was sponsored by the French-American Association for Musical Art; taught voice at the École Normale de Musique.
Goodrich, Wallace (1871–1952)	American choral conductor, organist, pedagogue, and music critic; studied with George Chadwick at NEC; also studied at the Paris Conservatoire (with Widor) and in Munich; noted conductor of the Boston Cecilia Society, the Choral Art Society, and the Boston Opera Company; recognized for his interest in modern choral works.
Gundersen, Robert (1895–1941)	American violinist; member of the BSO and the Boston Pops; performed with the Gundersen String Quartet and as a solo recitalist.
Hackett, Charles (1889–1942)	American tenor; studied at the New England Conservatory and later in Florence; primarily known for his performances with the Metropolitan Opera and the Lyric Opera of Chicago; also performed in American cities as a recitalist; recorded for Edison and Columbia.
Hall, Leland (1883–1957)	American pianist, instructor of piano, and music editor; recitalist in Boston, then professor of music at University of Wisconsin; published *Pianoforte and Chamber Music*, vol. 7 in the Art of Music series (1915) and *Listeners' Music* (1937).
Harrison, Beatrice (1892–1965)	English cellist; studied at the Royal College of Music and in Berlin; especially recognized for her interpretations of Delius and Elgar; active recitalist and concert soloist; also known for her radio performances and recordings; American tour in 1913.

Hartmann, Florence (b. 1860; fl. 1890–1902)	American soprano; active recitalist in Boston; soloist with the Handel and Haydn Society; performed with the Kneisel Quartet.
Hayes, Roland (1887–1977)	American tenor; one of the first successful black concert singers in the U.S.; several recordings of art music and spirituals; first American tour (1916–19); performed in major performance venues and at colleges; well-received by audiences and critics in Boston.
Haynes, Lawrence (b. 1893; fl. 1915–28)	American tenor; recitalist in Boston; strong interest in modern French song as is underlined by his final recital in Boston, which exclusively featured works of Fauré, Debussy, Duparc, Franck, and Ravel.
Heifetz, Jascha (1901–1987)	Lithuanian-born violinist and instructor of violin; child prodigy; studied at the St. Petersburg Conservatory; performed throughout Europe; active in the U.S. as a concert soloist and recitalist since 1917; performed with numerous prominent musicians; made various recordings into the 1970s, including Fauré's First Violin Sonata, op. 13 (1957).
Hempel, Frieda (1885–1955)	German soprano; studied at the Leipzig Conservatory; popular opera singer in Germany and the U.S.; performed at the Metropolitan Opera (1912–19); successful recitals in New York and Boston; several recordings for Odeon and RCA Victor.
Hess, Willy (1859–1939)	German-born violinist and violist; concert master of the BSO (1904–10); member of the Boston Symphony Quartet; professor of violin at Harvard.
Holterhoff, Leila (1885–after 1926)	American soprano, pianist, and author; credited as “the Blind Soprano”; studied voice in Paris, Florence, and Berlin; first American concert tour (1916–17) included appearances in Boston, New York, and throughout the Midwest; continued to perform as a recitalist and lecturer over the next decade.
Johnson, Charles S. (fl. 1900–10)	American violinist and organist; musical director and organist of Second Universalist Church, Boston.
Jomelli, Jeanne (1879–1932)	Dutch-born French dramatic soprano and actress; studied acting with Sarah Bernhardt and voice with Blanche Marchesi; performed widely as an opera singer including at the Metropolitan Opera, La Scala, and Covent Garden.
Kemp Stillings, Katharine (1889–1967)	American violinist and instructor; generally credited as Kemp Stillings; studied with Joseph Joachim in Berlin and Leopold Auer at the St. Petersburg Conservatory; toured widely in Europe, South America, and the U.S.; taught at College for Women of Rutgers University, Lighthouse School for the Blind, and the Ely School in CT; numerous master classes; eventually blind due to illness.
Kittredge, William (fl. 1895–1905)	American tenor and instructor of voice; performances in New York and Boston.

Kneisel Quartet (est. 1885)	One of the leading string quartets in the U.S. (1885–1917); led by Franz Kneisel, first violinist for the duration of the ensemble; other members varied; toured the U.S. and Europe.
Kneisel, Franz (1865–1926)	Romanian-born American violinist and instructor of violin; active in Boston; leader of the Kneisel Quartet; studied in Bucharest and Vienna; violinist with the BSO; concertmaster then conductor of the Worcester Festival Orchestra.
Koussevitzky, Serge (1874–1951)	Russian conductor, composer, and double-bass player; director of the BSO (1924–1949); recognized for expanding the repertoire of the BSO; commissioned numerous works that are now part of the standing repertoire; supported new works through the Koussevitzky Music Foundations; notable students included Bernstein and others.
Lavers, Ruth (b. 1896; fl. 1905–1917)	American pianist, organist, and instructor of piano; child prodigy; studied with Carlo Buonamici; active concert soloist and recitalist since age 8.
Legrand, Yvonne (b. 1892; fl. 1922)	French soprano; arrived in the U.S. in 1919; only one recital is known.
Little, Lena (b. 1860; fl. 1880–1905)	American mezzo-soprano; closely associated with Isabella Stewart Gardner; soloist with the Symphony Society and Philharmonic Society in NYC; recitalist; performed with pianist George Proctor.
Littlefield, Laura (b. 1882; fl. 1916–29)	American lyric soprano; active recitalist in New England, especially Boston; soloist with the Cecilia Society, the Longy Club, the BSO, and the New Haven Symphony; numerous recordings for RCA Victor (1917–29).
Loeffler, Charles Martin (1861-1935)	German-born American violinist and composer. Studied in Paris; one of Boston's most prominent concert violinists and pedagogue; one of Fauré's most noted American advocates; gave the American premiere of the First Violin Sonata, op. 13 (1892) and later edited the work for the Boston Music Co. (1919).
Lunger, G. Roberts (1891–1957)	American baritone and conductor; active recitalist in Boston; soloist with the Cecilia Society; coach of the M.I.T. Glee Club; conductor of the ERA Civic Chorus of Boston.
MacMillen, Francis (1885–1973)	American-born violinist and instructor of violin; spent majority of his childhood and early career in Europe, where he toured widely since age 11; active in the U.S. since his enormously successful first American tour in 1906.
Marchesi, Blanche (1863–1940)	French mezzo-soprano and instructor of voice; studied violin as a child in Frankfurt and Paris; opera singer recognized for her performances of Wagner; better known for her interpretive skills than her vocal technique.
Marshall, Gertrude (1887–after 1951)	American violinist; sometimes credited as Gertrude Marshall Wit; one of Charles Martin Loeffler's prized students in Boston; leader of the American String Quartette; solo recitalist.

Maurel, Barbara (1888–after 1947)	German-born mezzo-soprano; numerous recordings for RCA Victor and Columbia; performed regularly on CBS radio.
McCormack, John (1884–1945)	Irish tenor; opera singer and recitalist; also known for popular music performances; studied in Milan with Vincenzo Sabatini; performed in Australia with the Melba Opera, in France at Monte Carlo, and London at the Royal Albert Hall; active in America since 1909; various recordings for Odeon and RCA Victor.
Metcalfe-Casals, Susan (1878–1959)	American mezzo-soprano; active recitalist in New York and Boston; wife of cellist Pablo Casals; toured and performed widely with Casals, including numerous performances in Europe, where they live for decades; recognized for her diverse art song repertoire.
Miquelle, Georges (1894–1977)	French cellist; studied at the Paris Conservatoire; toured America with the French Military Band toward the end of WWI; husband of Renée Longy Miquelle (daughter of Georges Longy and director of the Longy School); soloist with the BSO and Detroit Symphony Orchestra; solo recitalist and chamber music collaborator; performed with various notable musicians, including Ossip Gabrilowitsch; taught at the Eastman School of Music (1954–66).
Mitchell, George (fl. 1911–16)	American tenor; active in Boston and New York as a recitalist; performed with Félix Fox.
Monteux, Pierre (1875–1964)	French conductor, string player, and instructor of conducting; studied at the Paris Conservatoire; director of the Ballets Russes Orchestra (1911–17), the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra (1917–19) and the BSO (1919–24); recognized for his interpretations of both German and French repertoire.
Moorhouse, Marion (fl. 1914–39)	American cellist; active as a recitalist in Boston and member of the Colpitt trio (along with Adeline Packard, violin, and Jane Russell Colpitt, piano), which performed throughout New England.
Motte-Lacroix, Louis-Ferdinand (1880–1959)	French pianist and composer; studied at the Paris Conservatoire; recitalist and private instructor of piano in Paris; closely associated with the Spanish composer Frederic Mompou; professor of piano at the New England Conservatory in the 1920s.
Musical Art Club (est. 1909)	One of many amateur choral ensembles in Boston; led by Arthur Shepherd, American composer and conductor; active during Shepherd's tenure as professor of composition at the New England Conservatory (1909–20); strong interest in modern French composers.
New England Conservatory Women's Chorus	One of many permanent choral ensembles present at the New England Conservatory.
O'Brien, Virginia (1897–1987)	American soprano and actress; studied at the New England Conservatory; performed in musical comedies in the Boston area for several years; later appeared on television; also credited as Virginia Brian.

Orchestral Club of Boston (est. 1899)	Founded by Georges Longy in 1899 as the second iteration of an amateur orchestra in Boston; supported by Isabella Stewart Gardner, who held the position as Vice President of the association.
Ormond, Lilla (1883–1976)	American mezzo-soprano and composer; recitalist in the Boston area; soloist at the Worcester Music Festival (1908); also performed several times with the BSO.
Palliser, Esther (1872–1925)	American mezzo-soprano; opera performances in Boston as well as for the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company and Covent Garden; numerous recitals in Boston and New York in the early-1900s before settling in Los Angeles, where she continued her career.
Pellegrini, Louis (fl. 1906–15)	American violinist; recitalist in the Boston area.
People's Symphony Orchestra (est. 1921)	High-level amateur orchestra active in the 1920s; formed in 1921 essentially to provide more opportunities for working-class Bostonians to hear formal concerts; all duties were performed on a volunteer basis, although low-cost ticket sales provided some financial supports; directed by Emil Mollenhauer, also the director of the Handel and Haydn Society; players were mostly former players of the BSO or the Boston Opera House. Performed at smaller venues in Boston, such as the St. James Theater or Convention Hall.
Potter, Harrison (1891–1984)	American pianist; studied in Boston with Félix Fox and in Paris with Isidor Philipp; taught at the Fox-Buonamici Piano School; active recitalist and accompanist in the Boston area; performed with chamber ensembles, including the Durrell String Quartet.
Prudden, Lillian (fl. 1914–30)	American soprano; studied at Smith College; active recitalist in the Boston-area; performed with the Musical Association of Radcliffe College.
Pugno, Raoul (1852–1914)	French pianist, organist, composer, and instructor of piano; studied at the Paris Conservatoire; professor of harmony and piano there; performed throughout Europe and the U.S. as a concert pianist, recitalist, and with chamber ensembles; performed with Eugène Ysaÿe; known for his interpretations of Mozart, as well as modern French composers, including Fauré, Saint-Saëns, etc.
Rabaud, Henri (1873–1949)	French conductor, composer, and cellist; studied at the Paris Conservatoire, where he later became professor of cello; conducted at the Opéra-Comique (1908–14) and the Paris Opéra (1914–18); director of the BSO for one season (1918–19) following Muck's deportation; succeeded Fauré as the director of the Conservatoire following his retirement in 1920.
Reid, Agnes D. (fl. 1913–15)	American mezzo-soprano; studied at the New England Conservatory.
Ritchie, Albany (fl. 1909)	English violinist; performed with Germaine Arnaud, with whom he gave a series of recitals in the U.S. in 1909.

Ruegger, Elsa (1881–1924)	Swiss-born Belgian cellist; first American tour in the late-1890s; performed with numerous chamber ensembles and orchestras, including the BSO for the first time in 1899.
Rummell, William Morse (1882–1918)	German-born violinist; recitalist throughout the U.S., especially Boston, New York, and Chicago.
Samaroff, Olga (1880–1949)	American pianist, instructor, and critic; born in Texas as Lucy Mary Agnes Hickenlooper; toured the U.S. and Europe following her debut at Carnegie Hall in 1905; made several recordings for RCA Victor in the 1920s; taught at the Philadelphia Conservatory and Juilliard; wrote music criticism for the New York Evening Post; various master classes and some early televised appearances.
Schroeder, Alwin (1855–1928)	"Schröder" in printed editions; German-born cellist, pedagogue, and music editor; studied in Berlin and taught at the Leipzig Conservatory; cellist for the Kneisel Quartet (1891–1907); member of the BSO (including cello section leader) with some breaks from 1891–1925; edited Fauré's *Élégie* for the Boston Music Co. (1914); compiled a collection of etudes *170 Foundation Studies for Violoncello* (1916).
Scranton Stites, Ellen (1884–1974)	American violinist; active as a recitalist and concert soloist in U.S. cities since approx. 1910.
Sembrich, Marcella (1858–1935)	Polish coloratura soprano and pedagogue; studied in Milan; performed widely in opera performances throughout Europe, and at the Metropolitan Opera in (1893, 1898–09); various recitals in U.S. cities; highly regarded for her vocal pedagogy; taught at the Curtis Institute and at Juilliard; made several recordings for RCA Victor.
Sherwood, Mary Fay (b. 1860; fl. 1904–16)	American soprano; sometimes credited as Mary Fay; minstrel shows in Boston; recitalist; performed with the Longy Club and other ensembles; performed with Félix Fox and others.
Sisson, Genevieve (1880–1955)	American mezzo-soprano; amateur church musician and recitalist; performed with her sister Lucille.
Sisson, Lucille (1876–1936)	American soprano; amateur church musician and recitalist; performed with her sister Genevieve in the first years of the century.
Smalley, Ralph (1879–1957)	American cellist and instructor; studied at the New England Conservatory; member of the BSO; professor of cello at Wellesley College.
Smith, Donald (fl. 1922–24)	American pianist and instructor; studied at the New England Conservatory (grad. 1922).

Stickney, Virginia (1886–1972)	American cellist and instructor; studied with Josef Adamowski at the New England Conservatory (grad. 1910); also taught at NEC; recitalist in Boston; leader of the Virginia Stickney Trio (1914); performed widely with other chamber ensembles.
Szumowska, Antoinette (1868–1938)	Polish-born pianist and instructor; studied in Warsaw with Paderewski and others; married to cellist Josef Adamowska; concert performances throughout Europe, including at the Lamoureux Concerts in Paris; prominent figure in American music scene; soloist with the BSO and other American orchestras; performed with notable chamber ensembles, including the Kneisel Quartet ; professor of piano at New England Conservatory.
Thibaud, Jacques (1880–1953)	French violinist; studied at the Paris Conservatoire; performed as a recitalist and with chamber ensembles throughout his career; performed frequently with Alfred Cortot and Pablo Casals; American tours in 1903 and 1914.
Thompson, Edith (fl. 1904–23)	American pianist; toured the U.S. widely; studied with Edward MacDowell; returned to Boston annually for recitals; soloist with the BSO and other American orchestras and chamber ensembles, including the Kneisel Quartet.
Thompson, Van Denman (1890–1968)	American pianist, organist, composer, and instructor; studied at the New England Conservatory of Music, Harvard University, and the Colby Academy; professor of organ and later director of the De Pauw School of Music.
Tingley, Gertrude (fl. 1920–61)	American contralto; recitalist and church musician in the Boston area; professor of voice at the Boston College of Music and Boston University; active in the National Association of Teachers of Singing, for which she served as Chair in 1961.
Traupe, William (1881–1933)	German-born violinist; member of the BSO (1900–21) and the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra (1921–33).
van Dresser, Marcia (1877–1937)	American soprano and actress; recitalist, opera, and oratorio singer; studied in the U.S. and German; performed with the Metropolitan Opera, the Chicago Opera Company, and the Bostonians; frequent solo performances in the U.S. and Europe; recital programs demonstrate an interest in modern French music, especially that of Debussy and Fauré.
Weaver, Francis (fl. 1908–09)	American pianist and instructor; sometimes credited as “the Blind Paderewski”; studied at the Perkins Institute for the Blind and the New England Conservatory; performed in formal recitals as well as Boston-area Vaudeville shows.
Wendling, Carl (1875–1962)	German violinist and instructor; concert master for the BSO (1904–05 season); leader of the Wendling Quartet; solo recitalist; performed with pianist George Proctor; active in Boston until 1909, at which point he took a position at the Stuttgart Conservatory.

Wetterlow, Godfrey (1901–1978)	American violinist; studied at the New England Conservatory with Timothee Adamowski; performances in Boston in the early-1920s; later, radio producer and founder of the Godfrey Wetterlow Company.
Whitney, Myron L. (b. 1860; fl. 1900)	American baritone and instructor; active in Boston ca. 1900; not the same baritone opera singer Myron W. Whitney.
Williams, Lewis (b. 1878; fl. 1900–05)	American pianist; studied at Harvard University (grad. 1900); recitalist and accompanist in Boston.
Worcester Music Festival Chorus (est. 1858)	Chorus established for the first Worcester Music Festival in 1858, along with the Orchestra; as many as four hundred singers at once; primarily amateur singers drawn from New England and New York; regularly performed traditional large-scale choral works, such as the Messiah; repertoire expanded to include modern choral works by American and European composers.
Worcester Music Festival Orchestra (est. 1858)	Orchestra established for the first Worcester Music Festival in 1858, along with the Festival Chorus; primarily amateur players, and later members of the BSO.
Wyman, Julie (1860–1907)	American contralto; studied with Blanche Marchesi; active in the U.S. and Canada in the 1890s; soloist for the Worcester Music Festival (1894); numerous recitals; performed with the Kneisel Quartet.
Ysaÿe Quartet (est. 1886)	String quartet led by Eugène Ysaÿe; established in Brussels in 1886; all members associated with the Brussels Conservatory; toured Europe and the U.S., where they gave premieres of modern French works, including Fauré's First Piano Quintet, op. 89 (Brussels, 1906).
Ysaÿe, Eugène (1858–1931)	Belgian violinist; leader of the Ysaÿe Quartet; closely associated with Fauré and performed with him in Paris; the First Violin Sonata, op. 13 and the *Berceuse*, op. 16 were both part of Ysaÿe's solo repertoire.

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