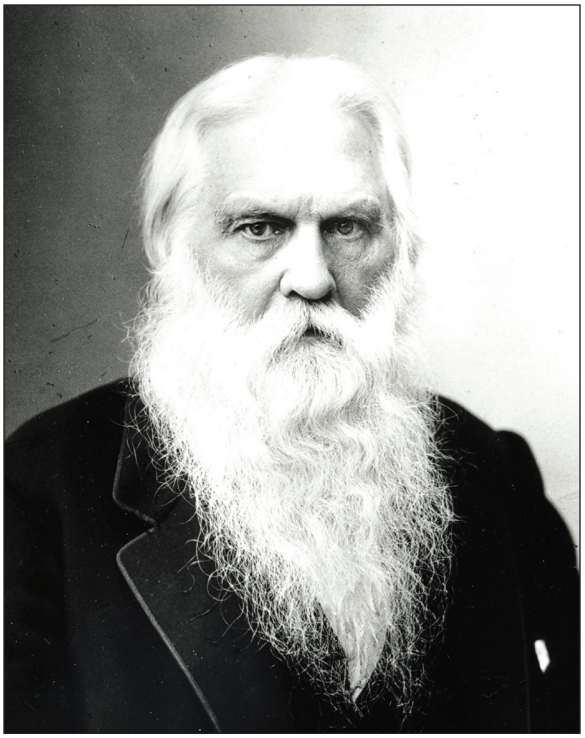
A.W. Thayer, Dwight's "Diarist," and Foreign Correspondent: Beethoven's Biographer as Choral Critic[1]

Grant W. Cook III

In 1852 John Sullivan Dwight (1813–1893), the first major American-born music critic, founded the influential *Dwight's Journal of Music, A Paper of Art and Literature*. His stable of writers included the illustrious American Beethoven biographer Alexander Wheelock Thayer (1817–1897), who contributed numerous articles, reviews, and letters from America and Europe.[1] "My writings have been almost exclusively for periodicals," acknowledged Thayer in August 1878, "especially for Dwight's Journal of Music and the New York Tribune."[2] Thayer's contributions span the entire twenty-nine-year run of *Dwight's Journal*, which was published in Boston from April 1852 to September 1881. According to Michael Ochs, "through 1861, Thayer produced more column-inches in the pages of *Dwight's* than anyone save the prolific Dwight himself."[3] Specifically, a substantial



Photograph of A.W. Thayer from 1897 by E. F. Zieber, Berlin and Hamburg

The CHORAL SCHOLAR
The Online Journal of the National Collegiate Choral Organization

Volume 2, Number 1 *Spring 2010*

1 A preliminary version of this article was read at the Allegheny Chapter of the American Musicological Society at Kent State University in April 2008.

2 Alexander Wheelock Thayer (hereafter AWT) to Hermann Deiters, August 1, 1878, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven,* ed. Elliot Forbes (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), viii; hereafter cited as Thayer-Forbes.

3 Michael Ochs, "A. W. Thayer, the Diarist, and the Late Mr. Brown: A Bibliography of Writings in *Dwight's Journal of Music*," in *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Phyllis Benjamin, 78–95 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Music, 1984).

portion of these writings reveals Thayer to be an astute and lively music critic, armed with a keen intellect, an incomparable knowledge of music literature, and a healthy and cynical sense of humor. Curiously, however, Thayer's discriminating criticism has continued to languish in uneventful obscurity since the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

The focus of this study is Thayer's concert reviews of some of the most celebrated European choral organizations of the nineteenth century, essayed during his residencies abroad. While centered in Berlin, Thayer attended countless performances by the Singakademie, Domchor, Sternscher Gesangverein, and Jähnscher Gesangverein; while in London he witnessed performances by the Sacred Harmonic Society and the Henry Leslie Choir, to name a few. Writing primarily under the "Diarist" pseudonym, Thayer provided Dwight's readers with detailed accounts of these performances that, in general, went beyond most newspaper reviews of the time. He often included in his reports the number of performers, exact seating of the choir and orchestra, impressions of the conductor and soloists, observations of the audience, and an assessment of the performance venue's acoustics. Moreover, he frequently addressed the intricate nuances of choral singing, including blend, balance, tone, intonation, dynamics, ensemble, diction, and the like.[4] Beyond this, Thayer often waxed poetically about the music itself. In this study I present examples of these accounts, excised from the pages of *Dwight's Journal of Music*, and, whenever possible, the reminiscences and recollections of contemporary critics and musicians, which help to illuminate Thayer's eye-witness testimony.

• • • •

In the July 8, 1854 issue of his *Journal*, John Sullivan Dwight announced Thayer's departure for Europe:

> Our friend the 'Diarist' (whom we may as well call by his true name, ALEXANDER WHEELOCK THAYER, esq., recently of the New York Tribune), has taken passage for next Saturday [July 15, 1854] in the good ship 'Orpheus'—appropriate name!—for Bremen. For several years he has been engaged in collecting and digesting the materials for a Life of Beethoven; and with a view to the further prosecution of those inquiries, as well as for the recreation of a brain long overtaxed, he now revisits Germany… Success go with him![5]

Thayer and his traveling companion, the American organist, choirmaster, composer, and teacher, Henry Wilson (1828–1878),[6] arrived in their city of destination, Berlin, sometime in mid to late August. Thayer himself reported that he was quite ill upon his arrival, and that he subsequently came under the care of one Dr.

[4] Although Thayer received no formal musical training, he was, at times, a practicing choral conductor and singing school teacher and from January 10, 1845, a member of the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston. See Harriet F. Bacon, "Personnel recollections of Natick," in *The Historical Collections of the Historical, Natural History and Library Society* (South Natick, MA, 1909–10), 40; *New York Musical World* 17, no. 327 (July 4, 1857): 422; Charles C. Perkins and John Sullivan Dwight, *History of the Handel and Haydn Society* vol. 1 (Boston: Alfred Mudge, 1883–1913; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), Appendices, 33; and H. Earle Johnson, *Hallelujah, Amen! The Story of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston* (Boston: B. Humphries, 1965; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1981), 84–85.

[5] "For Europe!" *Dwight's Journal of Music* 5, no. 14 (July 8, 1854): 111. This was in fact Thayer's second trans-Atlantic voyage. In April 1849 Thayer sailed for Europe to study German and prepare a corrected translation of Anton Felix Schindler's *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*. See Grant William Cook III, "Alexander Wheelock Thayer: A New Biographical Sketch," *The Beethoven Journal* 17, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 3.

[6] Frances Hall Johnson, *Musical Memories of Hartford* (Hartford, CT, 1931; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1970), 17–8. See also Waldo Selden Pratt, ed., American Supplement of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945): 406.

Meyer.[7] His health restored, Thayer left Berlin in mid September for western Germany, where he "carefully examined the antiquarian catalogues of the principal booksellers with a view to their musical works for sale."[8] His six-week sojourn included a brief stop in Frankfurt, where, on October 19 and 20, he spent "several hours" with the Moravian violinist, conductor, writer, and Beethoven biographer Anton Felix Schindler (1795–1864).[9] Thayer's mission in western Germany complete, he returned to Berlin, arriving no later than November 4.[10] With the exception of a short visit to Leipzig in June 1855,[11] he remained in Berlin for the next fifteen months, working primarily in the Royal Library, where he examined—among other precious documents—Beethoven's conversation books.[12] Moreover, he immersed himself in the city's bustling music scene.

"Last evening [November 21, 1854] I renewed my acquaintance—a pleasant one too—with the Berlin Sing-Akademie," recalled Thayer.[13] The program opened under the baton of the Akademie's assistant conductor, Martin Blumner (1827–1901), who conducted his own setting of Psalm 103. Principal conductor Eduard Grell (1800–1886) continued with performances of Felix Mendelssohn's *Lauda Sion*, op. 73, and Luigi Cherubini's *Requiem* in C minor.[14] The Berlin Symphoniekapelle, which was widely known throughout the city for its high standard of performance, provided the orchestral forces.[15] "In the perfection of time, tune, crescendo and diminuendo, piano and forte; in short, in the perfection of drill, exhibited in the performance of the Berlin choir, the hearer has a delight indescribable," wrote Thayer.

> Mr. Director Grell stands in front, calm as a statue, knowing that the slightest indication of his baton will be obeyed instantly; the singers are so many parts of the huge instrument which he is to play; be his idea of the music right or wrong, he is the director and his word is law. The result is, that orchestra and chorus combined strive but to perfect the grand result. They sing and play as if they love it. They have been rehearsing for months, and have rehearsed with their hired orchestra until all is perfect, cost what it may; and now, at their first concert of the season, there are—I counted them—two hundred and fifty in the audience! So that money is no object with the Sing-Akademie.[16]

In addition to his performance evaluation, Thayer was careful to document in his report the size of the choir and the exact seating of the choir and orchestra, writing:

> The sopranos and altos occupy the entire width of the stage…their successive seats

[7] AWT, "Diary Abroad, No. 1 [series 1]," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 6, no. 2 (October 14, 1854): 11.

[8] AWT, "Foreign Correspondence," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 6, no. 9 (December 2, 1854): 67.

[9] AWT, "From Frankfurt on the Main," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 6, no. 8 (November 25, 1854): 60.

[10] AWT, "Foreign Correspondence," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 6, no. 9 (December 2, 1854): 66.

[11] AWT, "Letter from Leipzig," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 7, no. 15 (July, 14, 1855): 118; "From Leipzig," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 7, no. 16 (July 21, 1855): 127.

[12] Thayer-Forbes, vii.

[13] AWT, "Musical Correspondence (Berlin, November 22, 1854)," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 6, no. 14 (January 6, 1855): 108.

[14] Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842) composed a second Requiem (D minor) for male chorus and orchestra in 1836.

[15] The Berlin Symphoniekapelle was founded in 1843 by the German conductor Karl Liebig (1808–1872).

[16] AWT, "Musical Correspondence (Berlin, November 22, 1854)," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 6, no. 14 (January 6, 1855): 108. *New York Tribune* critic Henry Edward Krehbiel (1854–1923) wrote in 1844 that "in the purity of its aims, the zeal with which it prosecuted them, and the harmonious spirit which pervades all its doings, the *Singakademie* has remained a model for all singing societies up to the present time." See *Notes on the Cultivation of Choral Music and the Oratorio Society of New York* (New York: Edward Schuberth & Co., 1884): 25.

> rising very gradually, just enough to give the singers a good view of their conductor. I made them out (both parts) to be about 134 in number. Then came the tenors and basses, also extending entirely across the room, and then on the nearly level part of the stage, behind all the singers, came the stringed instruments, in two lines, also extending quite across; and last of all, the other and more noisy members of the orchestra.[17]

For many years Thayer had attended concerts in Boston, New York, and various European cities, and he was convinced that placing the chorus in front of the orchestra was the optimal arrangement for performing large-scale choral-orchestral works. Following a performance of *Elijah* given by the Sacred Harmonic Society at London's Exeter Hall in March 1861, Thayer wrote:

> What I never saw in Germany is universally the practice here as with us, viz., bringing the orchestra in front and forcing the singers to sing *through* the crash of the instruments. I, decidedly, as an auditor, and still more as a chorus singer prefer the German method of placing the orchestra in the rear, bringing down the center part of the string band only. With the accompaniment behind, the voices are supported and kept in time much better, besides the singer feels the pleasure in his work, impossible when he stands away up there by the organ and can hear nothing of the leading melody and of the harmony of which he is apart. It seems to me radically wrong—the English and American arrangement of the stage and the musical forces upon it.[18]

Also of interest here is Thayer's comparison of the Berlin Singakademie to Boston's venerable Handel and Haydn Society. "Last night I noted the voices specially, and reaffirm my former statement, that no chorus can show better *voices* than our choruses in Boston," concluded Thayer.

> But we sometimes want a "back bone" in the sopranos, of long experienced singers. Thanks to a band of noble women, the alto of the Handel and Haydn [Society] last winter had no cause to be ashamed, even when compared with the famous Sing-Akademie. So too with the noble and old Handel and Haydn Bass, unrivalled in my experience. But the tenor—there have always been too many dummies, too many who cannot read the music, and have neither ear nor voice if they could. And yet what a superb tenor might that be if the weeds were rooted out and the wheat cultivated.[19]

On Thursday evening, December 7, Thayer attended a benefit concert at the Royal Opera House in Berlin, given to assist the struggling people of Silesia, who had recently suffered immense losses due to powerful rains.[20] Court Kapellmeister Karl Gottfried Wilhelm Taubert (1811–1891) conducted the Royal Orchestra, members of the Singakademie, and the Stern and Jähn Singing Societies[21] in a performance of Beethoven's *Symphony No. 9*, the Overture to Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, and Felix Mendelssohn's *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*, op. 60. When Thayer arrived to take his seat in the balcony, he found that the chorus and orchestra were already in place. "What a magnificent spectacle," recalled Thayer. "The huge stage was fitted up with seats rising gently to its very rear, and those were filled by more than 275 sopranos and altos, and

---

17 Ibid.

18 AWT, "The Diarist in London," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 19, no. 19 (August 10, 1861): 147. For a detailed discussion of nineteenth-century concert seating plans, see Daniel J. Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century: Size, Proportions, and Seating* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986).

19 Ibid.

20 "The people of Silesia have been inundated by powerful rains" wrote Thayer, "and have suffered immense loss—estimated at from fifteen to twenty million dollars. The poorer classes suffer sadly…" ("Diary Abroad, No. 1 [series 1]," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 6, no. 2 [October 14, 1854]: 12).

21 The Sternscher Gesangverein, founded in 1847 by Julius Stern (1820–1883), and the Jähnsscher Gesangverein, founded in 1845 by Friedrich Wilhelm Jähns (1809–1888).

as near as I could make out, some 175 tenors and basses — the sum total, by my reckoning, not far from 450; the orchestra below numbered between 70 and 80."[22] In spite of the relatively large choral force, Thayer noted that its "effect…was often enfeebled by its position between the flies, with all those huge open spaces to catch, retain, deaden or disperse the sound." The placement of the chorus, however, was not the only drawback to the pleasure of the evening. According the "Diarist" "there was a want of proper ventilation, of which there is practically no knowledge here [in Germany]. With the immense audience, filling almost every seat in the house — indeed all were taken, though a few were not occupied — the heat and foul air became at length almost unbearable."[23]

One can only begin to imagine the true extent of Thayer's delight that winter evening in Berlin, for it was in fact the Beethoven biographer's first complete hearing of the Ninth Symphony. "I know not what to record of the effect of this great work upon me," wrote Thayer. "I found afterward that it excited me like champagne, and it was long after midnight before I slept."[24] With respect to Mendelssohn's *Walpurgisnacht*, Thayer wrote: "[it] belongs to Mendelssohn's noblest creations; I have no brains left to try to say anything about. Why cannot some *poet* make English of the poem, and one of the choral societies of Boston sing it?"[25] The renowned soprano Johanna Wagner (1826–1894), the adopted daughter of Richard Wagner's elder brother Albert and member of the Berlin Hofoper from 1850 to 1861, was the only soloist given by name. Thayer concluded his account of the concert, writing: "In a word, this was an evening, which is an era in a man's life."

Writing from Berlin in March 1865 Dwight's foreign correspondent "M" compared the "respective merits of the two rival vocal societies," the Sternscher Gesangverein and the Singakademie:

> In point of execution, it would be difficult to give preference to either; but in quality of material I would award the palm decidedly to the Sternsche Verein, its chorus consisting of far younger and fresher voices than that of the Sing-Akademie, of which it was said ten or fifteen years ago, that sundry members had recently celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their membership. These have naturally been replaced by younger singers, but a large portion of the performers are rapidly approaching the same honorable period.[26]

It is interesting to note that one of the performances "M" used to formulate his comparison was the Berlin premiere of Bach's *Magnificat*, given by the Sternscher Gesangverein. "All I can say in conclusion," wrote Dwight's correspondent, "is that ever since I heard the *Magnificat*, I have been longing to hear it again. I have tried to make myself familiar with it through the piano score, but I find no end yet to the beauties which crowd upon me whenever I hold communion with it, and I can wish my musical friends nothing better than a speedy opportunity to make acquaintance with this, one of the grandest works of one of the grandest masters."[27] The program also included *Requiem für ein Kind* by the German pianist, composer, and critic Ludwig Ehlert (1825–1884), Mendelssohn's Psalm 114, op. 51, and Beethoven's Choral Fantasia, op. 80.

---

22 AWT, "Diary Abroad, No. 8 [series 1]," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 6, no. 16 (January 20, 1855): 123.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., 124.

25 The Sacred Music Society of Philadelphia gave the American premiere of Mendelssohn's *First Walpurgis Night to Goethe's Ballad*, op. 60 (revised version, Leipzig, 1843; London, 1844), on November 30, 1848. Benjamin J. Lang (1837–1909) conducted the Boston premiere on May 3, 1862 (H. Earle Johnson, *First Performances in America to 1900* [Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1979], 254–55). For a review of the Boston premiere see *Dwight's Journal of Music* 21, no. 6 (May 10, 1862): 46.

26 "Musical Correspondance," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 25, no. 2 (April 15, 1865): 12.

27 Ibid., 13.

Incapacitated by severe headaches, Thayer returned to America in the spring of 1856, where he remained for approximately two years.[28] In the summer of 1858, largely funded by the eminent American music educator Lowell Mason (1792–1872) and his maternal aunt, Mehetable Adams (1792–1877), of Cambridge, Massachusetts, Thayer again departed for Europe in search of Beethoveniana and to purchase books and musical collections on behalf of the Boston Public Library. *Dwight's Journal of Music* noted his departure: "Our 'Diarist,' Mr. ALEXANDER WHEELOCK THAYER, sailed from New York on Wednesday [July 7, 1858], in the good ship 'Athena,' for Bremen, *via* London. He will devote the coming year, in Germany—principally in Berlin and Vienna—to the completion of his long expected Life of Beethoven. In the meantime look for some interesting correspondence from him in these pages…."[29] Thayer's traveling companion on this occasion was none other than the fledgling American organist John Knowles Paine (1839–1906), who, at the insistence of his Dresden-trained teacher Hermann Kotzschmar (1829–1909), was headed to Europe to further his musical education. After four weeks at sea, the two companions arrived in London, where they remained for two weeks.[30]

On Sunday, August 15—the Feast of the Assumption—Thayer and Paine crossed over the Thames to Southwark, where they attended the eleven o'clock a.m. "Solemn Pontifical Mass" at St. George's Cathedral. The Cathedral choir, comprised solely of men and boys, performed Meyer Lutz's[31] *Tota pulcra* and Johann Nepomuk Hummel's Mass in E flat, op. 80, with orchestral accompaniment. "We were… pleased at hearing Hummel's fine mass really finely given," recalled Thayer.[32] More exciting than the Mass itself, however, was the announcement by the preacher that Mozart's *Requiem* would be sung during funeral services in the Cathedral on Thursday, August 19.[33] "The first thought was, I hope the Athena will not get off until Friday! Happily she did not, and on Thursday we were early at the church," wrote Thayer.[34] Nearly two weeks after the service, Thayer reflected on the experience, writing:

> I have heard the *Requiem* under a variety of circumstances, as a concert piece by hundreds of singers, and by small societies; as a mere mass for an individual, who had died far away; and now at last as part of the funeral services, with the coffin in front of the high altar, surrounded with candles, ornamented with crucifixes, and black trimmings and drapery hanging about the chancel. The forms of the church have long since lost all novelty for me, and I find no difficulty—nay, I involuntarily for the time being, fall into a mood sympathetic with those about me. Hence I sat not as a critical auditor, as did a large number of others who were there with their copies of the *Requiem* (Novello's edition)—some of whom quite offended even me by their careless demeanor—but felt sobered and in a fit frame of mind to let Mozart speak his repentance, sorrow and awful conception of the judgment, right from his heart to mine.

---

[28] Thayer-Forbes, vii.

[29] "Musical Chit-Chat," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 13, no. 15 (July 10, 1858): 118.

[30] See Grant William Cook III, "Dwight's 'Diarist' and 'John, a Portland Boy:' The 1858 Trans-Atlantic Voyage of Alexander Wheelock Thayer and John Knowles Paine," *The Beethoven Journal* 23, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 4–14.

[31] The German-born English composer, conductor, and organist Meyer Lutz (1828–1903) was the first to hold the post of organist and choirmaster at St. George's Cathedral in Southwark, where, from 1848 to 1874, he gave performances of numerous orchestral masses, including his own, with professional forces.

[32] AWT, "The Diarist Abroad," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 14, no. 2 (October 9, 1858): 218.

[33] John Schmidt inadvertently mistakes both the date and place of the Requiem service, giving "Sunday, 15 August" and "Southward," respectively. See *The Life and Works of John Knowles Paine* [Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1979], 34.

[34] AWT, "The Diarist Abroad," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 14, no. 2 (October 9, 1858): 218.

> It is one thing to hear this music in our [Boston] Music Hall, with great Italian singers and songstresses, and with the Handel and Haydn Society for a chorus; it is a very different thing to hear it as a part of the church ritual. It was useless to resist it. 'John' soon had his face hid, and so was mine before half a dozen stanzas of the *Dies Irae* were finished. Neither could laugh at the other for his red eyes.
>
> And yet the choir was not large, the orchestra not large, and there were no women singers. But the bass soloist sang well, the tenor very well — he had a really fine voice, with something in it, however, that spoke of Germany — the orchestra played beautifully — and as to that boy who sang the soprano solos, he was wonderful![35]

Their two-week layover in London complete, Thayer and Paine continued on to Berlin, arriving there on Friday, August 27.[36] Once again, Thayer quickly immersed himself in Berlin's teeming musical life, attending countless performances by some of the leading artists and musical organizations of the day.

On January 4, 1859, Thayer attended a performance of early music given by the Domchor. The program included a setting of the *Ave regina coelorum* by Tomàs Luis de Victoria (1548–1611), a *Kyrie* by Giovanni Matteo Asola (1532–1609), Antonio Benelli's (1771–1830) *Adoramus te, Christe*, as well as unidentified works by Johannes Eccard (1553–1611), Melchior Franck (c. 1579–1639), Giovanni Andrea Fioroni (1715/16–1778), and Felix Mendelssohn.[37] According to Thayer the ranks were "pretty full"; he counted fifty-eight boys (sopranos and altos) and approximately thirty-two men (tenors and basses). "One or two points, minute but not therefore insignificant, are worthy of notice," recalled Thayer.

> The choir is arranged in four slightly curving lines, each line just enough raised to sing freely over the heads of that in front, and affording every individual a clear view of the conductor, who, of course, stands in the centre. The result is the highest precision, as everyone takes his own time directly from the baton, and the greatest blending possible of voices. Again no one, not seated close to the choir, perceives when and how the pitch is given. There is no sounding of the pitchpipe, or pianoforte, no audible tone given by the conductor. Each has his own music, makes himself perfectly ready, while sitting. Then, at a slight sign all rise together and the music "streams" forth.[38]

Thayer continued his assessment, writing: "I can say nothing new about such music. I can only repeat that no reader, who has never heard the like, can form any due conception of it, either in regard to the style of the music, the effect of the boy choir, or the perfection of the performance."[39] Finally, before bringing his thoughts to a close, Thayer seized the opportunity to indict the Boston choral community: "Why can we not have something like this kind in Boston? I will stake my character for truth on the assertion that our city can furnish as good materials for such a choir as Berlin. If it was not for the impossibility of finding men and boys with time, patience and perseverance to go through the needful course of study and practice, we might have such a choir. But here is just the trouble!"[40]

Curiously, Thayer failed to mention the conductor by name. In 1843 August Heinrich Neithardt (1793–1861) was appointed assistant

35 Ibid.

36 AWT, "Musical Correspondence (Berlin, September 17, [1858])," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 14, no. 5 (October 30, 1858): 244. "Three weeks to-day in Berlin again," wrote Thayer on Friday, September 17; this pinpoints his arrival in that city on Friday, August 27.

37 The program also included two keyboard works: J. S. Bach's Italian Concerto, BWV 971, and Beethoven's Six Variations on an Original Theme in F, op. 34, both played by the celebrated German pianist Hans von Bülow (1830–1894).

38 AWT, "Musical Correspondence (Berlin, February 4, 1859)," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 14, no. 23 (March 5, 1859): 388.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

director of music at the Berlin Cathedral, where he founded a regular choir of about eighty singers by uniting the scholars and seminarists who sang in the ordinary cathedral service with the smaller court chapel choir; in 1845 he was promoted to director of music at the cathedral. According to Sir George Grove, Neithardt "was a remarkably able conductor, indefatigable in drilling his choir and in providing them with masterpieces of all schools."[41]

Thayer's good friend and benefactor Lowell Mason heard the Domchor in Berlin in April 1852 and concluded that it was "the best" choir he had ever heard. "It is hardly necessary to say," wrote Mason,

> that its members seem to be perfect with respect to all the technicals [*sic*] of singing, such as the formation of the voice, utterance of words, and tone, time, tune, pitch &c. To all these things they have been *trained*; they have formed correct habits with regard to them, so that singing out of time or tune, falling from the pitch, bad tone, or inarticulate delivery of words or of tones, are never expected, thought of, or heard, and certainly would not be tolerated for a moment. They have a regular conductor who stands in view of all the members, directs time, and indicates such other things as are usual with the baton. But it is not only with these preliminary pre-requisites that the members of the choir are familiar; they seem to know what belongs to the higher departments of taste and expression, and in their performances they make such a practical application of the dynamic degrees and tones, as to bring out in a much more satisfactory manner than is often heard, the signs of deep internal feeling…. I presume there is no choir to be found in which a higher degree of excellence exists than in that of the Dom-Kirche; it is certainly much in advance of such of the English cathedral choirs as we have heard. The union or blending of voices by which true chorus effect is produced, and without which it cannot exist, is realized in a high degree.[42]

"On the evening of April 16 [1859]," recalled Thayer, "I listened with every nerve strained to the utmost attention to the mightiest musical work in some respects to which I ever listened—Beethoven's great Mass in D."[43] The performance that evening by the Sternscher Gesangverein and the Berlin Symphoniekapelle left an indelible mark on Thayer, who shortly after leaving the Singakademie building "began to feel how deeply it had taken hold of [him], through the weariness and exhaustion which followed." In addition, Thayer had high praise for the performers, writing: "I began to feel how great the excellence of the society which sung it, how remarkable the talents of [Julius] Stern as a conductor, to be able to produce such a work in such a manner." In conclusion, Thayer wrote: "To me this Mass stands apart and above all other masses, as the Ninth Symphony above all other symphonies, as the *Messiah* and *Israel in Egypt* above all other oratorios."

C. F. Weitzmann, critic for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, echoed Thayer's impression of the evening's performance, writing:

> When a competent artist succeeds in performing Beethoven's greatest but most challenging musical creation in such a way that the perfection of the performance corresponds to the perfection of the content, then he deserves the recognition and the gratitude

[41] George Grove, "Neithardt, August Heinrich," in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove (London and New York: Macmillan, 1898), 2: 451; see also George Grove and Michael Musgrave, "Neithardt, August Heinrich," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (London and New York: Macmillan, 2001), 17: 746.

[42] Lowell Mason, *Musical Letters from Abroad* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1854), 111–12.

[43] AWT, "The Diarist Abroad [series 3]," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 15, no. 14 (July 2, 1859): 111. The *Missa solemnis* in D, op. 123, was dedicated to Archduke Rudolf of Austria (1788–1831), who for many years was a close friend and leading patron of Beethoven, as well as his one composition student. Originally the Mass was written for the Archduke's enthronement as Archbishop and Cardinal of Olmütz in March 1820; however, the work was not ready in time for the ceremony.

> of the entire musical world as it sees its greatest master so worthily honored through him. Music Director Julius Stern had, for many years, schooled the members of his choirs to ever greater performances and was able to win them over in such a way to the above mentioned work, that they shrank from no efforts to gradually arrive at a complete understanding of it. The choirs consisted mostly of young and fresh voices, which were so intensely sympathetic toward the complex content of the masterwork that they had not the least difficulty in conquering its intricacies and were able to add the truest and most heartfelt expression to their pure and certain tones…. The Liebig Orchestra again successfully defended its well deserved fame through the artistic zeal which it demonstrated both in learning and then in performing this sublime creation, and so the assembled listeners were moved and stirred most deeply by the power of the mystically unfolding powerful harmonies which accompany the sacred text of the mass.[44]

The very next evening Thayer attended a performance of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, where he encountered an auditor from the previous night's performance of the *Missa solemnis*. "I am not carried away with [Bach's *Passion*], my heart remains cold," wrote Thayer.

> Then, too, the conductor had thrown me into no favorable frame of mind by his conduct the evening before; when he sat at the Beethoven Mass, with a score before him not far from me and discussed points in it aloud to his neighbor, even in its wonderful 'Benedictus.' It annoyed me to see such a man the next evening conducting. Moreover, how could one be very much struck by this work of Bach, twenty-four hours after that performance of Stern's Singing Society?[45]

Thayer recorded first hearing excerpts from the *Missa solemnis*—the Kyrie and the Gloria—at a concert given by the Sternscher Gesangverein on March 8, 1855, which, according to the various Berlin newspapers, was the work's public premiere in that city. "What a concert," exclaimed Thayer. "It is surely a record-worthy event when one hears for the first time—though only two numbers—of that work of Beethoven which he himself declares his 'greatest and most successful.'"[46] The program also included two works for violin and orchestra played by the Austro-Hungarian violinist Joseph Joachim (1831–1907): Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in E minor, op. 64, and Beethoven's Romance in F major, op. 50. The other choral works on the program included Mendelssohn's Psalm 114, op. 51, and Beethoven's Choral Fantasia, op. 80, featuring soloist Clara Schumann (1819–1896). Thayer first heard Schumann perform on December 16, 1854, in Berlin, where she and Joachim were engaged for a three-concert series at the Singakademie.[47] Almost one year later, on the evening of November 4, 1855, Thayer was invited to tea with the family Grimm of *Grimm's Fairy Tales*; it was on this occasion that he was personally introduced to both Schumann and Joachim, whom he affectionately referred to as "the object of [his] musical enthusiasm." From

---

[44] C. F. Weitzmann, "Beethoven's 'Missa solemnis'," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 50, no. 16 (April 1859): 202.

[45] AWT, "The Diarist Abroad [series 3]," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 15, no. 15 (July 9, 1859): 116.

[46] AWT, "Musical Correspondence [Berlin, March 9, 1855]," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 7, no. 2 (April 14, 1855): 12. Two letters written by Beethoven in the summer of 1822 confirm Thayer's statement. In a letter to his former piano student Ferdinand Ries (1784–1838) in London, dated July 6, 1822, Beethoven wrote: "My greatest work is a grand Mass which I recently composed…" (Emily Anderson, trans. and ed., *The Letters of Beethoven*, [London: Macmillan, 1961], 2: 954). Approximately two months later, on September 13, 1822, Beethoven wrote to the music publisher Nikolaus Simrock (1752–1833) in Bonn that the *Missa solemnis* "is perhaps the greatest [work] I have ever written" (Anderson, 2: 968; see also Thayer-Forbes, 787).

[47] See Grant William Cook III, "Selected Critical Writings of Alexander Wheelock Thayer Published in *Dwight's Journal of Music* from 1852 to 1861: An Annotated Edition" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 2001), 165-72.

that time forward, Thayer counted them among his dearest friends, fondly recalling in his later years the kindness shown to him by Clara Schumann during visits to her Berlin home.[48]

Not all of the Sternscher Gesangverein's performances were formal in nature. Dwight's New York correspondent "t" spent six months in Europe in the summer of 1864 and reported on a private "festival" given by the Society in the village of Treptow, situated approximately five miles southeast of Berlin on the banks of the Spree; tickets for the festival were not sold to the general public, but distributed by the members to their friends. According to "t"

> Table by table was set in the town and under the trees of a large coffee-garden, and at these sat the youth and beauty and fashion of Berlin, the ladies enlivening the picture with their gay, light summer dresses, and the flower gardens attached to their bonnets. A dozen short pieces were down on the programme [*sic*], and were excellently sung by the Society, but the best part of the entertainment occurred in the intermission, when a select chorus went out upon the river in two large gondolas, and there, floating about, surrounded by innumerable smaller crafts of all shapes and kinds, sang half a dozen of the sweetest "Volkslieder" or melodies of like character. It was a charming picture—the boats upon the water, the crowds upon both shores, the pretty landscape surrounding it all—a picture which is not easily forgotten.[49]

On January 29, 1861, after lengthy residencies in Vienna and Paris, Thayer arrived in London.[50] The English music critic Henry Fothergill Chorley announced his arrival in the *London Athenaeum*:

> Mr. Thayer, the American gentleman who has been for years collecting materials for a life of Beethoven in all parts of the Continent, is now in England, with a view of making researches here. His gatherings, we believe, have been extensive, and made with a scrupulous desire for accuracy. It would be only courteous in any real admirer of music and of Beethoven, belonging to this country, who may have contributions in store, to afford this gentleman the opportunity of examining them. We shall be happy, in default of better means, to be the medium of communication with him.[51]

It was during his approximately six-month stay in London that Thayer met the distinguished English music historian, Sir George Grove (1825–1900), with whom he developed a close and enduring friendship.[52]

"A long desired gratification—Elijah at Exeter hall," exclaimed Thayer.[53] The performance by the Sacred Harmonic Society took place on March 8, 1861, and by all accounts was exceptional. Thayer praised the execution of the large chorus, writing: "At this performance of Elijah, with all its difficult recitative choruses,[54] no slip, no want of precision in attacking the rough points, marred the beauty of the performance. All went smoothly, all with a power and grandeur, which would warrant very strong terms of eulogy. The six hundred singers moved with the steadiness and precision of

---

[48] Details of this encounter are given in a letter from AWT to Edward Speyer (Trieste, January 28, 1890), Music Division, Library of Congress, ML95. T368. See also Edward Speyer, *My Life and Friends* (London: R. Cobden-Sanderson Ltd, 1937), 37–44.

[49] "New York, Dec. 27, 1862," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 22, no. 14 (January 3, 1863): 318.

[50] AWT, "The Diarist in London," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 19, no. 17 (July 27, 1861): 130.

[51] Reprinted in *Dwight's Journal of Music* 18, no. 21 (February 23, 1861): 383.

[52] Charles L. Graves, *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove* (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1903), 439–40. Thayer recalled his first meeting with Grove, writing: "I had the happiness to find not only a scholar and a gentleman, but a devoted admirer of Bach, Beethoven, Handel, Mozart, &c." See "The Diarist in London," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 19, no. 20 [August 17, 1861]: 153.

[53] AWT, "The Diarist in London," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 19, no. 19 (August 10, 1861): 147.

[54] Presumably a reference to the so-called "Baal" choruses, which are connected musically to several of Elijah's recitatives.

a vocal quartet."[55] Likewise, a reviewer for *The* [*London*] *Times* wrote: "Probably no finer performance of Elijah has been heard in London than that which took place last night in Exeter Hall…. The chorus was unexceptionally superb…The Sacred Harmonic Society never did itself more credit."[56]

Furthermore, Thayer concluded that on the whole the Sacred Harmonic Society comprised "the finest body of chorus singers" he had ever heard, not excepting Berlin's Sing-Akademie and Sternscher Gesangverein and Boston's Handel and Haydn Society. "The alto in proportion to the other parts of the Sacred Harmonic Society," concluded Thayer, "is not so fine as it is (or was) in the Handel and Haydn Society — the bass not finer. But the tenors and trebles leave ours far, far behind; and as to the singing as a whole — well, when some English singer again appears in our oratorios in Boston, and praises up to the skies our chorus — just turn your back upon him and tell him, that there is such a thing as going too far in absurd flattery, even for us!"

The celebrated English baritone Sir Charles Santley (1834–1922) sang the title part. "He had rarely appeared in oratorio to such uniform advantage," concluded *The Times*, "the recitatives, from first to last, being impressively and forcibly enunciated, the airs without exception, admirably sung."[57] The Czech pianist Whilhelm Kuhe (1823–1912) heard both Joseph Staudigl (1807–1861), the first Elijah, and Carl Formes (1815–1889)[58] — two of the greatest basses of the nineteenth century — sing the part of Elijah, and concluded that Santley "completely eclipsed" them both, adding: "The ring of his marvelous voice, his perfect phrasing, his true devotional feeling, placed him head and shoulders above all his predecessors within my recollection."[59] Also of particular note was the performance of contralto Charlotte Helen Sainton-Dolby (1821–1885), who, according to the reviewer for *The Times*, "gave the air 'O! rest in the Lord' with such incomparable expression that the audience set conventional etiquette at defiance, and insisted upon a repetition."[60] In April 1847 Mendelssohn conducted six performances of *Elijah* in England, including a performance at Exeter Hall before Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. According to Kuhe, "The performance was the occasion of the first triumph of Charlotte Dolby, a charming young English contralto, whose singing of the aria, 'O rest in the Lord,' has never been surpassed."[61] Sainton-Dolby, herself, recalled this particular performance, writing: "After I had sung 'O rest in the Lord,' Mendelssohn turned to me with tears in his eyes and said, with his bright frankness of manner, 'Thank you from my heart, Miss Dolby.' I shall never forget that look of brightness."[62] The other soloists for the performance included soprano Euphrosyne Parepa-Rosa (1836–1874) and tenor Sims Reeves (1818–1900). "Take them together I have nowhere at

---

55 AWT, "The Diarist in London," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 19, no. 19 (August 10, 1861): 147.

56 *The* [*London*] *Times* (March 9, 1861): 5.

57 Ibid.

58 Thayer reported meeting Formes on a boat trip down the Rhine from Frankfurt to Bonn via Mainz and Kolblenz in August 1860. Formes told Thayer that he was to sail for America on the first of September. See AWT, "The Diarist Abroad [series 3]," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 18, no. 2 (October 13, 1860): 225.

59 Wilhelm Kuhe, *My Musical Recollections* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896), 77-8. Santley sang *Elijah* at the Birmingham Festival almost continually from 1861 to 1891 and at the Crystal Palace Handel Festival.

60 *The* [*London*] *Times* (March 9, 1861): 5.

61 Kuhe, *My Musical Recollections*, 93.

62 F.G. Edwards, *The History of Mendelssohn's Oratorio 'Elijah'* (London and New York: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1896; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1976), 123. Mendelssohn, impressed by her singing, arranged for her to appear during the winter of 1845–46 at the Leipzig Gewandhaus Concerts. In addition, the composer dedicated the English edition of his Six Songs, op. 57, to her, and wrote the contralto part of *Elijah* with her in mind.

home or in Germany, heard the parts so well given," concluded Thayer.[63]

Interestingly, Thayer failed to mention the conductor, Sir Michael Costa (1808–1884), who led the Sacred Harmonic Society from 1848 until its demise in 1882. *The Times* reviewer simply wrote that Costa "conducted throughout with vigor and [the] ability for which he is noted."[64] At one time the English conductor and composer of Italian birth was head of the Birmingham Festival and three of the most important musical institutions in London, namely, the Philharmonic Society, the Royal Italian Opera, and the Sacred Harmonic Society. According to music critic James William Davison, Costa "was at the top of his profession, organizing, marshalling and directing the operation of the principal musical forces in England, conducting Meyerbeer's operas, Handel's oratorios and Beethoven's symphonies, without rival.… Costa was a man of strength, order and discipline, a man 'born to command' as the cant phrase goes. He could command himself and others."[65]

In January 1853 Lowell Mason was centered in London and heard the Sacred Harmonic Society perform Mendelssohn's *Christus*, op. 97, Louis Spohr's *Die letzten Dinge*, and excerpts from Handel's *Samson*. Like Thayer, Mason was duly impressed, writing: "It afforded some of the best specimens of solo, quartet and chorus singing which we have ever heard. It was performed with admirable promptitude and exactness, as is everything else that is brought under the baton of Mr. Costa."[66] One of the city's other large choral societies, the London Sacred Harmonic Society,[67] however, did not receive high marks from Mason, who attended a rehearsal at Exeter Hall in August 1852:

> There were about one hundred and fifty members of the choir present at the meeting of the *London Sacred Harmonic Society*, with an accompaniment of about twenty stringed instruments. A new Anthem, by Dr. Elvey,[68] of Windsor, was sung, and also Mozart's Twelfth Mass.[69] The performance was decidedly poor—vastly inferior to the German choruses which we have recently described. The *time* was tolerably well kept, but *tune* was far enough from accuracy. The same feeling about for the pitch, and uncertainty of tone, was observable in the more difficult modulations, which is so common with our untrained New England choirs; with this difference, however, that *we* occasionally stop to correct a badly-intoned passage, whereas *here* it was passed over as if unobserved, or as if such a dissonant performance had become a matter of habit. There was, too, an absence of all those things that go to make up a good choral performance, as *Forte* and *Piano*, *Sforzando*, *Syncopated accent*, *distinctness and clearness of vocal utterance*, *&c.* The leader [Joseph Surman] would occasionally sing out at the top of his voice, "Piano," but he did not seem to expect that attention would be given to what he said, and kept on, *under a press of sail*, until another opportunity should occur for calling out with like result.
>
> This was, indeed a rehearsal; but if the choir is permitted to sing *thus* in rehearsal, will they not form habits that will prevent improvement, and will not the public performances be of the same general character?[70]

---

[63] AWT, "The Diarist in London," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 19, no. 19 (August 10, 1861): 147.

[64] *The* [*London*] *Times* (March 9, 1861): 5.

[65] Henry Davison, ed., *From Mendelssohn to Wagner: Being the Memoirs of J. W. Davison* (London: Wm. Reeves, 1912), 108.

[66] Lowell Mason, *Musical Letters from Abroad*, 299.

[67] London also boasted a third major choral society, the Harmonic Union, which was under the direction of the German-born, English conductor and composer Sir Julius Benedict (1804–1885).

[68] The English organist and church music composer Stephen Elvey (1805–1860) received a Mus. D. from Oxford in 1838 and was choragus (choral leader) at Oxford from 1848 to 1860.

[69] H. C. Robbins Landon has confirmed that the Mass in G, K. Anh. 232, published by Novello as No. 12 (the "Twelfth Mass") and attributed to Mozart, is actually by Wenzel Müller (1767–1835), the celebrated composer of German light opera. See *The Mozart Compendium* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1990], 352.

[70] Lowell Mason, *Musical Letters from Abroad*, 164.

Of quite a different ilk was the eighty-voice Henry Leslie Choir, which was founded in 1855 by the English conductor and composer Henry David Leslie (1822–1896). The Choir, which specialized in traditional English choral music, quickly became one of the premiere choral ensembles in London, and in 1878 won first prize at the International Choral Competition held at the Paris Exhibition. According to the English music critic and singing master Hermann Klein, the Henry Leslie Choir was "the most wonderful embodiment of a perfect choral ensemble that London ever possessed."[71] Leslie "was a master of his job," wrote Percy Scholes, "[and] soon established a quite new standard of execution."[72] The following anecdote from one of Leslie's choristers offers a valuable glimpse into his rehearsal demeanor:

> We often had to read new music through, and he would beat time without stopping for corrections; but when the piece was finished he would turn to the first page again, and with stentorian voice would thunder forth "Soprani first page, second line, fourth bar, third note, what is it?" A timid treble voice would reply, "F, Mr. Leslie." "F what?" would be the stern demand. "F sharp, sir!" "Then why did you sing F natural?" Mr. Leslie, as conductor, was a martinet. There was a tradition in the choir that he once fined Mrs. Leslie sixpence for talking at rehearsal.[73]

Dwight's "Diarist" heard the Henry Leslie Choir in concert on March 21, 1861, in London's St. James Hall.[74] The program included English madrigals by Thomas Morley (1557/8–1602), Thomas Ravenscroft (c. 1582–c. 1635), John Wilbye (1574–1638), and Robert Lucas Pearsall (1795–1856). Perhaps most notable among the madrigals performed that evening was Thomas Weelkes's *As Vesta was from Latmos hill descending* from *The Triumphs of Oriana* (1601). Partsongs and glees by the likes of Walter Cecil MacFarren (1826–1905), William Horsley (1774–1858), Samuel Reay (1822–1905), Sir Henry Rowley Bishop (1786–1855), and Leslie, himself, filled out the program. One seemingly out-of-place work was Mendelssohn's Psalm 43, op. 78, no. 2, which Thayer concluded "was not effective…having heard it sung by the Dom Chor, it is not exactly fitted for women's voices, but its execution was superb."[75] As for the rest of the program, Thayer concluded that

> it was the most perfect choral singing I ever heard in my life from a mixed choir; the Dom Chor in Berlin, being the only one I ever heard to rival it, but that we know is a boy choir. To one so passionately fond of glees and madrigals, as I am, it is worth coming to London just to hear once. Such precision, such perfect time, such crescendos, diminuendos, pianissimos, such enunciation of the words, nowhere have I heard anything like it…. Nothing I ever heard in Boston or New York could do more than give a faint idea of such glee and madrigal singing.[76]

Indeed, the Henry Leslie Choir was known for its superb execution and ensemble. "The rise of artistic and refined part-singing in this country," wrote F. A. Bridge, "is undoubtedly to be dated from the formation of Mr. Leslie's Choir."[77] According to the English pianist,

---

71 Hermann Klein, *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London*, 1870–1900 (New York: The Century Co., 1903), 429.

72 Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music, 1844-1944*, (London: Novello and Oxford University Press, 1947), 1: 29.

73 "Notes on Mr. Leslie and his Choir," *The Musical Herald* (March 2, 1896): 73.

74 AWT, "The Diarist in London," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 19, no. 20 (August 17, 1861): 154.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid. *The Musical Times* (August 1, 1882): 443, however, did not always favor Leslie's extreme dynamic contrasts, writing: "The singing under Mr. Leslie was marked by a refinement so elaborated and by devices so measured as to make the effect somewhat mechanical. We refer especially to the abuse of the *crescendo* and *sforzando*, which were employed with tiresome frequency and often with exasperating regularity."

77 F. A. Bridge, "A Brief History of Mr. Leslie's Choir from its Formation to its Dissolution," *The Musical Times* (November 1, 1880): 562. The Henry Leslie Choir was dissolved in 1880, but reformed

composer, and teacher John Francis Barnett (1837–1916), "among the distinguishing features of the Henry Leslie Choir were the charming *nuances* of light and shade that one noticed in the rendering of the part-songs and madrigals performed. The beauty of tone of the voices was likewise very remarkable."[78] After the group's dissolution in 1887, *The Musical Times* wrote: "Perfection of *ensemble*, refinement, and strict observance of light and shade now characterize the performances of younger choirs, whereas, formerly, Mr. Leslie's singers stood alone in these matters."[79]

• • • •

In 1998 Mark N. Grant published *Maestros of the Pen: A History of Classical Music Criticism in America*, which has been described as "a comprehensive portrait gallery of our significant music critics." Curiously, Thayer's name appears just once in this 374-page study—a cursory reference to his connection to John Sullivan Dwight and his *Journal of Music*. Widening the lens, however, to include Thayer among the ranks of the pre-eminent American music critics, both past and present, seems reasonable enough, particularly given his importance as an American individualist, writer, and distinguished biographer, as well as his voluminous body of music criticism published in *Dwight's Journal of Music*, the foremost American music journal of its day.

In sum, Alexander Wheelock Thayer's critical writings published in *Dwight's Journal of Music* flesh out a documentary picture of choral performance in the third quarter of the nineteenth century and bring the revered and well-known biographer of Beethoven into light with other eminent music critics of the period.

TCS

Works Cited

Anderson, Emily, trans. and ed. *The Letters of Beethoven*. 3 vols. London: Macmillan, 1961.

Bacon, Harriet F. "Personnel Recollections of Natick," In *The Historical Collections of the Historical, Natural History and Library Society*. 2 vols. South Natick, MA: 1909–10.

Barnett, John Francis. *Musical Reminiscences and Impressions*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.

Bridge, F. A. "A Brief History of the Mr. Leslie's Choir from its Formation to its Dissolution." *The* [*London*] *Musical Times* (November 1, 1880): 562.

Cook, Grant William. "Alexander Wheelock Thayer: A New Biographical Sketch." *The Beethoven Journal* 17, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 2–11.

———. "Dwight's 'Diarist' and 'John, a Portland Boy:' The 1858 Trans-Atlantic Voyage of Alexander Wheelock Thayer and John Knowles Paine." *The Beethoven Journal* 23, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 4–14.

---

in 1882 under the baton of the transplanted Italian conductor and singing-master Alberto Randegger (1832–1911). Leslie again assumed his position as conductor from 1885 until 1887, after which time the group permanently disbanded. For additional information on the history of the Henry Leslie Choir see John Silantien, "The Part-Song in England" (D.M.A. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1980).

[78] John Francis Barnett, *Musical Reminiscences and Impressions* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), 130.

[79] *The Musical Times* (May 1, 1887): 281.

———. "Selected Critical Writings of Alexander Wheelock Thayer Published in *Dwight's Journal of Music* from 1852 to 1861: An Annotated Edition." Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 2001.

Davison, Henry, ed. *From Mendelssohn to Wagner: Being the Memoirs of J. W. Davison*. London: Wm. Reeves, 1912.

Dwight, John Sullivan, ed. *Dwight's Journal of Music, A paper of Art and Literature*. 41 vols. Boston: E. L. Balch, 1852–1857; Oliver Ditson & Co., 1858–1878; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1879–1881. Reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1968.

Edwards, F. G. *The History of Mendelssohn's Oratorio 'Elijah.'* London and New York: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1896. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1976.

Grant, Mark N. *Maestros of the Pen: A History of Classical Music Criticism in America*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.

Graves, Charles L. *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove*. London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1903.

Grove, George. "Neithardt, August Heinrich" In A Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Ed. George Grove. London and New York: Macmillan, 1898. 2: 451.

Johnson, Frances Hall. *Musical Memories of Hartford*. Hartford, CT, 1931. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1970.

Johnson, H. Earle. *Hallelujah, Amen! The Story of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston*. Boston: B. Humphries, 1965. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1981.

———. *First Performances in America to 1900*. Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1979.

Klein, Hermann. *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London, 1870–1900*. New York: The Century Co., 1903.

Koury, Daniel J. *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century: Size, Proportions, and Seating*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986.

Kuhe, Wilhelm. *My Musical Recollections*. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896.

Mason, Lowell. *Musical Letters from Abroad*. New York: Mason Brothers, 1854.

Ochs, Michael. "A. W. Thayer, the Diarist, and the Late Mr. Brown: A Bibliography of Writings in *Dwight's Journal of Music*." In *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Phyllis Benjamin. Cambridge: Harvard University Department of Music, 1984.

Perkins, Charles C. and John Sullivan Dwight. *History of the Handel and Haydn Society*. Vol. 1. Boston: Alfred Mudge, 1883–1913. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1977.

Pratt, Waldo Selden, ed. American Supplement of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 3rd ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945.

Schmidt, John C. *The Life and Works of John Knowles Paine*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1979.

Scholes, Percy. *The Mirror of Music, 1844–1944*. 2 vols. London: Novello and Oxford University Press, 1947.

Silantien, John. "The Part-Song in England." D.M.A. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1980.

Speyer, Edward. *My Life and Friends*. London: R. Cobden-Sanderson Ltd., 1937.

Thayer, Alexander Wheelock. *Life of Beethoven*. Rev. and ed. Elliot Forbes. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967.

The [*London*] *Times*

The [*London*] *Musical Times*

The New York Musical World

Weitzmann, C.F. "Beethoven's 'Missa solemnis'." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 50, no. 16 (April 1859): 202–3.

TCS