

## WILLIAM CHANNING WOODBRIDGE'S LECTURE, 'ON VOCAL MUSIC AS A BRANCH OF COMMON EDUCATION', REVISITED

On 24 August 1830, William Channing Woodbridge (1794–1845) delivered a lecture in Representatives' Hall, Boston, before the American Institute of Instruction, entitled: 'On Vocal Music as a Branch of Common Education'.<sup>1</sup> Using a choir of boys directed by Lowell Mason to illustrate points of his speech, Woodbridge argued that vocal instruction should be offered as a regular part of the public school curriculum. He described the benefits of vocal music and its potential for mass instruction, and sketched a method whereby this instruction could be given.

Various references to this speech are found in the historical literature in music education.<sup>2</sup> While the lecture has been briefly described, attention has focused on a description of the surrounding historical events rather than an analysis of the lecture itself. As an *exposé* of a philosophy accepted more or less uncritically as the *raison d'être* for the American school music movement in the mid-nineteenth century, the Woodbridge lecture merits more than such cursory examination.<sup>3</sup>

The Woodbridge lecture is particularly interesting because it illustrates a more or less fully formulated 'productivist' or 'eclectic' philosophy of music education.<sup>4</sup> While he saw himself in the Pestalozzian tradition, Woodbridge nevertheless believed that the ideas of Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg (1771–1844) represented a distinct advance over those of the eminent Swiss educator, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827).<sup>5</sup>

### CONTEXT

William Channing Woodbridge was born in Medford, Conn., 18 December 1794.<sup>6</sup> Following his graduation from Yale College in 1811, he was the Principal of the Burlington Academy, NJ, from 1812 to 1814, when he returned to Yale, studying anatomy, chemistry and philosophy, together with theology under Timothy Dwight (1752–1817). Following Dwight's death, he entered Princeton Theological Seminary but remained there briefly, joining T. H. Gallaudet (1787–1851) at the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in Hartford, Conn., from December 1817 until October 1820, during which time,

in February 1819, he was licensed to preach by the Congregational Ministers of Hartford North Association.

His ill health led him to make three journeys to Europe: the first, from October 1820 till July 1821, during which time he visited Italy; the second, from November 1824 till the fall of 1829, during which time he visited a number of European countries; and the third from September 1835 till 1841.

Following his return to Hartford after his first European journey, he prepared two geography textbooks for publication: *Rudiments of Geography, on a New Plan, Designed to Assist the Memory by Comparison and Classification* (1821); and *Universal Geography, Ancient and Modern* (1824) to which Emma Willard (1787–1870) contributed a section on ancient geography.<sup>7</sup>

We are most interested in his second European journey, for it is during this time that Woodbridge came in contact with people whose ideas were to be influential in the formation of his philosophy of music education. Among others, he visited Pestalozzi in 1825, shortly before the closure of his institute at Yverdon,<sup>8</sup> Michael Traugott Pfeiffer (1771–1849), music teacher at Lenzburg, near Zürich,<sup>9</sup> Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836), Zürich publisher, composer and choral conductor,<sup>10</sup> and Fellenberg at his institute at Hofwyl, near Berne, Switzerland.<sup>11</sup> Apparently, Woodbridge visited Hofwyl three times: briefly, at Fellenberg's invitation, for three months in the summer of 1826 as visitor and instructor; from July 1828 to May 1829, studying Fellenberg's system of education; and from December 1835 to September 1837 during his third visit to Europe.<sup>12</sup> He also observed schools in various parts of Germany and Switzerland.<sup>13</sup>

Following his second European journey, Woodbridge settled in Boston. He purchased the *American Journal of Education*, changing its title to variants of the *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, and editing it from August 1830 to December 1836.<sup>14</sup> He was also active in various progressive educational associations including the Hartford Society for the Improvement of Common Schools, the American Institute of Instruction and the American Lyceum, and was instrumental in the formation of the Boston Academy of Music (incorporated in March 1833), serving initially as its Corresponding Secretary. By written and spoken word, he publicized and promoted various educational innovations and reforms, notably Fellenberg's ideas and institution at Hofwyl. In 1841, after his third European journey, Woodbridge returned to Boston where he died on 9 November 1845.

It is not surprising that Woodbridge reached the conclusion that Fellenberg's ideas on education were superior to those of Pestalozzi. He visited Yverdon briefly at a time when it no longer exemplified Pestalozzi's true intent and when it was in considerable disarray, contrasting it with Hofwyl, a thriving well-administered institution with an excellent reputation. He also spent much more time with Fellenberg than with Pestalozzi and was thus far more familiar with Fellenberg's approach to education than with that of Pestalozzi.<sup>15</sup>

According to Woodbridge, Fellenberg considered the aim of music education to be character or moral development rather than musical development *per se*.<sup>16</sup> While he believed that the development of taste was an important requirement for an educated person, and in music as an excellent vehicle through which taste could be developed, he saw the value of musical instruc-

tion in utilitarian rather than in musico-aesthetic terms, i.e. as a *means to an end*, rather than the *end* in itself.<sup>17</sup> While he considered music 'a lighter branch of study' suitable for times when the student needed a rest from more taxing intellectual effort,<sup>18</sup> he believed in a systematic and serious approach to music study.<sup>19</sup>

There was a clear performance emphasis in musical instruction at Hofwyl. Vocal and instrumental music were incorporated into the offerings of the school and musical performances were mounted by staff and students on a regular basis. The following account of a Sunday evening monthly concert is of interest.

We were invited to attend in the music-room at seven o'clock. The folding doors which separate this apartment from the dining-room were thrown open, and ample space was thus afforded for the accommodation of a large number of persons. On entering the dining-room we found it nearly filled with the audience, consisting of such masters and pupils of the three schools as took no share in the performance, the wives and children of some of the masters, the servants of the different establishments, the guests then staying at the Lehrer Haus, M. de Fellenberg, his daughters, son, and grand children.

The orchestra consisted of violins, tenor, violoncello, double base, trombone, clarionet, flute, trumpet, French horn. The chorus-singers were arranged on each side of the room, a pianoforte in the midst. The bill of the concert included one of Haydn's symphonies, the movements of which were played at four separate periods of the concert; an overture, composed by the conductor, who is the chief music-master; and a violin concerto, composed and played by another music-master. The choruses were from 'Wilhelm Tell', 'Mosè in Egitto', and an oratorio of Neukomm. Great attention was given to the music by the audience; even the younger children were very quiet, evidently influenced by the general decorum. Although it was apparent that the music gave pleasure, there was no applause, as M. de Fellenberg considers that the young and inexperienced can have no sound judgement, and therefore no authority to decide and approve publicly. When the concert was over, the performers adjourned to the saloon with the family and guests, and partook of tea, fruit, cakes, etc. These monthly concerts, with the rehearsals, form an admirable means of union amongst all ages and classes. I saw the son of a French noble singing in the choir, by the side of, and from the same book with, the son of a Swiss peasant. Many of the masters who were playing had been educated at Hofwyl, . . . More than 200 persons were assembled on this occasion, the inhabitants of Hofwyl, with the father of this large family in the midst of his adopted children.<sup>20</sup>

Woodbridge was especially impressed by the music he heard at Hofwyl. He writes:

But we were touched to the heart, when we heard its cheering, animating strains echoing from the walls of a school-room, and enlivening the school boy's hours of play—when we listened to the peasant childrens' songs as they went out to their morning occupation, and saw their hearts enkindled to the highest tones of music and poetry, by the setting sun, or

by the familiar objects of nature, each of which was made to echo some truth, or point to some duty, by an appropriate song.<sup>21</sup>

It was partly as a result of these experiences that he became convinced that every American student should have access to musical instruction in the public schools.

Woodbridge's eclectic approach to music instruction is also illustrated in the methods he selected: Michael Traugott Pfeiffer and Hans Georg Nägeli, *Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen pädagogisch begründet von Michael Traugott Pfeiffer, methodisch bearbeitet von Hans Georg Nägeli* (Zürich: H. G. Nägeli, 1810); and G. F. Kübler, *Anleitung zum Gesang-Unterrichte in Schulen* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler'schen Buchhandlung, 1826), among other materials he brought back to the United States.<sup>22</sup> Ellis has claimed that neither the Pfeiffer-Nägeli treatise nor that of Kübler are representative of true Pestalozzianism.<sup>23</sup> Pestalozzi did not pretend to be a musician, nor was the subject his prime consideration. Even in his endorsement of the *Gesangbildungslehre*, he relied upon the opinions of others about it. He writes that the work of Pfeiffer has 'been praised very highly by friends of my undertaking and by a great part of the public which has learned about it', and he does not deal with substantive issues arising in the work itself.<sup>24</sup> While Woodbridge accepted the *Gesangbildungslehre*, he did not feel compelled to slavishly follow Pfeiffer and Nägeli's methods of musical instruction, and he later suggested instructional activities of which they would not have approved.<sup>25</sup>

In spite of his pretended eclecticism, Woodbridge gave the impression that he was intent on preserving the 'purity' and integrity of the European materials he brought to the United States and that he was unwilling to entertain substantial modifications in them. A one-time collaborator, Elam Ives, Jr (1802-1864), wrote of him:

I had already discovered . . . that Mr. Woodbridge had fixed his heart upon attaining the glory of introducing a new era in music. He had no ear for music, and knew nothing of the science. We differed in some things. I had before seeing him, formed a method. He feared that I should make it too much *my own* and that it would not be the one he brought from Germany. Now the slightest acquaintance with the subject of *teaching* shows that it is not the *system* but the *Teacher* which is important.<sup>26</sup>

When Woodbridge arrived back in the United States in the fall of 1829, a 'common school movement' was in progress. Societies such as the Hartford Society for the Improvement of Common Schools formed by T. H. Gallaudet had sprung up.<sup>27</sup> In Massachusetts, this movement focused on the improvement of common schools, the development of free public schools, the improvement of teacher preparation and quality, the improvement of school curricula, the establishment of an improved financial base for schools, among other issues. Education in Boston was considered to be particularly progressive.<sup>28</sup>

Also, a religious revival termed the 'second great awakening' had spread

south and west from the New England states in the early part of the nineteenth century, bringing with it a renewed interest in religion and in church music.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, the American singing school movement which had spread throughout the United States during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, flowered in the formation of musical societies (e.g. the Handel and Haydn Society founded in Boston in 1815) and stimulated the development of church choirs.<sup>30</sup> This led, in turn, to an increased awareness of the importance of musical training, and to this end singing schools for children and adults were established in Boston in the 1820s.<sup>31</sup>

Change was also imminent in the professional musical life of Boston. Population growth, increased prosperity, the proliferation of musical societies, the improvement of church music and the building of performance facilities created an environment in which professional musicians were encouraged to establish residence in Boston, and in consequence there was a significant increase in the number of people employed in music-related occupations during the period 1830–1850.

It was in this context of changing orientation in education, religion, music and society in general, that Woodbridge delivered his lecture of approximately one hour's duration to a large group of teachers, administrators and 'friends' of education who had gathered at the inaugural meeting of the American Institute of Instruction in Representatives' Hall, Boston. Woodbridge invited Lowell Mason (1792–1872), already well known in Boston as a church musician, choral conductor and music teacher, to assist him with a children's choir singing illustrative songs interspersed throughout his lecture, Mason agreed to participate and prepared a small boys' choir to sing three two-part songs Woodbridge had given him.<sup>33</sup>

## CONTENT

The following analysis of the Woodbridge lecture will be based on the 1831 published version which is probably quite close to the lecture as originally delivered.<sup>34</sup> The lecture falls into four sections: the speaker's purpose; the objects and benefits of vocal music; the potential of vocal music for mass community education; and a sketch of a method for teaching vocal music by Pestalozzian principles. These will now be outlined.

Woodbridge states at the outset that the system of music education in several European countries warrants the attention of American educators, especially as Sunday schools have resulted in vocal music being more general, rather than the luxury which it had previously been considered. He outlines three objectives: to find a 'simple, rational', 'practicable' method of instruction in music; to identify and supply suitable music for vocal instruction which is 'simple without being infantile', 'elevated' and nevertheless within the experience of the students; and to awaken public interest and confidence in vocal music as a regular branch of the public school curriculum. While he has found a method of instruction and suitable musical materials in Switzerland and Germany, and while he has the support of music teachers willing to use them in the United States, he fears that the third objective will be the most difficult to achieve. His reason for presenting the lecture, therefore, is to con-

vince others of his objectives; to persuade teachers to introduce music into their schools and parents to support music instruction in the public schools. He believes that the most effective way of persuading his audience and winning his way to their 'indulgent feelings' is to illustrate his lecture with musical examples provided by a 'juvenile choir', and he calls on the choir to present their first song, 'The Morning Call'.

Several objectives of vocal instruction are then outlined: The immediate objective is 'to cultivate one of the faculties which our Creator, in his wisdom, has seen fit to bestow upon us'. 'To neglect it', he says, 'is to imply that it was unnecessary—that it is useless. It is to treat a noble gift in a manner which in any other case would be considered as disrespectful and ungrateful.'<sup>35</sup> He states that the Creator 'seems to have formed an immediate connexion between the ear and the heart' and that every feeling 'expresses itself by a tone, and every tone awakens again the feeling from which it sprung'.<sup>36</sup> He notes that in North America this gift has been spurned and treated with indifference and it is necessary for a return to simplicity in music and to train up whole communities from childhood, if music is again to be restored to 'its pristine beauty, and its soul-subduing power'. Woodbridge then outlines 'ultimate objects' of vocal instruction as follows: to improve church music; to refresh the mind; to improve the physical constitution;<sup>37</sup> to promote cheerfulness and mental health (here the choir interposes with 'The Garden'), and further; to develop character and morals;<sup>38</sup> to improve school discipline,<sup>39</sup> to cultivate 'habits of order, and obedience, and union' which will transfer to other areas of life as well; and to facilitate learning and retention of information.<sup>40</sup>

As music has the potential for positive or negative influence on moral development, Woodbridge then notes that great care needs to be given to the selection of songs with appropriate words. He says: 'Let us have hundreds of hymns, not merely sacred, but *moral, social, and national*, which shall convey elevated sentiments and stimulate to noble acts', especially songs which are associated with familiar objects and events, so that 'all nature is made vocal'.<sup>41</sup> The choir then sings 'The Rising Sun', illustrating the type of songs he considers appropriate for school use.

Woodbridge presents a series of seven arguments in favour of a universalistic rather than an elitist view of vocal instruction, designed to rebut the assertion that relatively few people possess a 'natural ear' and a 'natural voice', and that music education should be reserved for these few.

First, music cannot be described in words; sounds must be 'taught by examples, patiently repeated and carefully attended to, until the ear is familiar with them; and gradually extended, as its powers of discrimination are increased'.<sup>42</sup>

Second, unfair examples are used to show that few people possess a 'musical ear'—individuals who have had habits of singing and hearing music so long that they are no longer as 'susceptible' and 'flexible' as they once were. He argues that until he has seen individuals 'who were taught music as they were taught language, from their childhood, and who still cannot distinguish or imitate musical sounds', there is no good reason for believing that large numbers of individuals do not have musical ability or an 'ear for music'.<sup>43</sup> This does not negate the possibility of individual differences in musical ability.

Third, prominent music teachers believe that most people can be taught to sing.<sup>44</sup>

Fourth, from the evident similarity between singing and speaking, individuals who have learned to speak correctly should be able to learn to sing.<sup>45</sup>

Fifth, experiments which have been conducted to ascertain how large a portion of the community can be taught to sing have been 'desultory in their character, short in their duration, and generally conducted by unskilled hands . . . But the complete answer to all doubts on this point is furnished by the fact, that wherever the experiment has been made at the proper age, and in the proper manner, it has been successful'.<sup>46</sup>

Sixth, several 'distinguished' European educators believe in the value of mass vocal instruction, and the Prussian government has endorsed mass musical education.<sup>47</sup>

Seventh, recent successful experiments in the United States demonstrate the efficacy of mass musical education. Woodbridge refers to the 'Hartford Experiment' conducted by Elam Ives, Jr, in Hartford, Connecticut, then in progress.<sup>48</sup>

Woodbridge sketches a method of teaching vocal music based on the 'inductive system' of instruction developed by Pestalozzi and applied to music by Pfeiffer and Nägeli, referring to their 'manual of instruction on these principles in 1810' (*Gesangbildungslehre*). He summarizes seven principles underlying this system of instruction which, he claims, is 'acknowledged, in its fundamental principles, to be the only true one', as follows:

- (a) To teach *sounds before signs*; to make the child sing before he learns the written notes, or their names.
- (b) To *lead him to observe* by hearing and imitating sounds . . . *instead of explaining* these things to him: in short, to make him *active*, instead of *passive*, in learning.
- (c) *In teaching but one thing at a time*. *Rhythm, melody, expression*, are taught and practised separately, before the child is called to the difficult task of attending to all at once.
- (d) *In making them practise each step of each of these divisions, until they are masters of it, before passing to the next . . .*
- (e) In giving the *principles and theory after practice*, and as an induction from it.
- (f) In *analyzing and practising the elements of articulate sound*, in order to apply them to music.
- (g) Another peculiarity, which is not, however, essential to the system, is that the names of the notes correspond to those employed in instrumental music, and are derived from the letters with variations for sharps and flats; a method whose utility is questioned by some, but which is deemed very important by others.<sup>49</sup>

Woodbridge then describes the application of these principles to the teaching of rhythm and melody, illustrating the graduated level of difficulty in conceptualization and the attention to one element at a time. Rhythm is the starting point in musical instruction, as follows:

[The student] is first called upon to utter a *single distinct sound*, and then a letter or word. He is told that the one is called a musical tone, for which the note is the sign; and the other an articulate sound, used in speaking, for which letters are signs. He thus arrives at a simple conception of song, as distinguished from speech. He is then required to increase or diminish the length of the sound two fold or four fold and learns the appropriate signs for notes of different length. He discovers the importance of some standard of length for these notes, in order that many voices may sound in unison. His attention is called to the manner in which measure is employed to regulate movement in threshing, hammering, marching, etc. He is requested to unite with his companions in marching around the room, in movements of the hands and feet, in pronouncing words and syllables; and is thus easily led to appreciate and to practise the beating of time, an operation usually so mechanical and disagreeable to the novice in music. He is brought, by experiment and example, to perceive the agreeable effect that may be produced by a series of monotonous sounds, from the mere variation of length and accent. This encourages him to that course of practice which is necessary to produce accuracy in measure, and prepares him to make the proper use of melodious sounds.<sup>50</sup>

At every stage the student is taught to sing expressively, to understand the meaning of the text and to 'discover the connexion between the ear and the heart'. He learns that music 'like all other sciences, is a collection of facts, and of principles deduced from them, which it is completely in his power to observe, and to verify'.<sup>51</sup> Woodbridge concludes:

With a method like this, the rising generation may be prepared to occupy their hours of vacancy, to give delight to those around them, and to make the praise of God glorious; while their own views are enlarged, their capacities developed, and themselves trained to habits the most important, and feelings the most elevated.<sup>52</sup>

A comparison of the second section of the Woodbridge lecture relating to the objects of music (*Lecture*, pp. 7-13) and Letters XXIII and XXIV (*Letters from Hofwyl*, pp. 299-304) originally published in October 1832 as part of Woodbridge's 'Sketches of Hofwyl' series,<sup>53</sup> reveals a distinct similarity of ideas and demonstrates Fellenberg's influence on Woodbridge. In Letter XXIII, Woodbridge discusses a neglect in the development of good taste which he perceives in American society, the impact of the Reformation in going from one extreme or 'excess' in the arts to the other of a famine, and the apparent contradiction between the negative attitude toward the arts on the part of the Church and the preservation and utilization of music designed to promote religious experience in its services. Beauty in nature suggests to Woodbridge that a corresponding beauty in man-made things should be cultivated, thereby necessitating the cultivation of taste. Further, the aesthetic sense must contribute to moral development and the development of taste must be seen as a means to, rather than an end in itself. Great care must be taken, therefore, to ensure that feelings are not aroused in such a way or to such a degree that the purpose for which the arts exist is defeated. In Letter XXIV, dealing with



methods for the cultivation of imagination and taste, Woodbridge again emphasizes the importance of the development of taste for character development. In both letters, Woodbridge quotes the views of Dwight and Fellenberg,<sup>54</sup> and it is evident that he not only sees a correspondence in their views but he concurs with them as well.

There is a clear parallel between the philosophy of music developed in Letters XXIII and XXIV and the Woodbridge lecture—the notion of music as a gift of God, inspiring man to devotion, contributing to his character and moral development. Here is the key to the ‘productivist’ philosophy of music education. Music constitutes a means to an end—man’s expression of praise to his Creator; it is a *vehicle* whereby man’s relationship to God may be developed and expressed. While religious values are pre-eminent in the Woodbridge aesthetic,<sup>55</sup> the lecture is an expression of utilitarianism construed in more broadly humanistic rather than strictly religious terms.<sup>56</sup>

Woodbridge used three musical examples in his lecture: ‘The Morning Call’, ‘The Garden’ and ‘The Rising Sun’. While Nægeli is not credited either in the Woodbridge lecture, or in the subsequent publication of all three songs in the *Juvenile Lyre*,<sup>57</sup> Examples 1, 2 and 3 clearly show that these songs were edited versions of the original Nægeli songs, ‘Aufruf am Morgen’, ‘Das Gärtchen’, and ‘Die aufgehende Sonne’, respectively.

Several editorial changes are evident in a comparison of ‘Aufruf am Morgen’ and ‘The Morning Call’ (see Example 1). Relatively minor changes in ‘The Morning Call’ include: notation in the G clef rather than in the C clef; several changes in note values in measure two (third beat) and measures eight and nine;<sup>58</sup> and a pitch change in the alto in measure of thirteen. Other editorial changes reflect more important changes in interpretation in ‘The Morning Call’, notably, the deletion of the repeat signs and an additional measure (measure thirteen) added to all strophes.

Nægeli’s setting of Agricola’s poem in ‘Aufruf am Morgen’, particularly the repeat of measures two through twelve with the final ‘Schluss’ in measure thirteen, may be explained as follows. The first line of each stanza of Agricola’s poem is ‘Werdet wach’ (see Example 4 below). With the exception of the first stanza, Nægeli sets the text so that the first line of each stanza is treated as if it were the last line of the previous stanza; and the second line is treated as if it were the first line of the stanza, i.e. each strophe of the song begins in measure two, continuing through measure twelve, except in the last verse where measure thirteen is substituted for measure twelve.<sup>59</sup>

It appears that Nægeli’s intention may have been misconstrued in the English version, and that the English text may have been constructed to fit an incorrect musical interpretation of the original Nægeli song. It is possible that the English text (in which the first lines of each stanza are ‘Friends, awake’, ‘Brother, wake’, ‘Sister, wake’, ‘All, awake’, respectively), in place of the German ‘Werdet wach’, precluded the use of the first line of each stanza as the last line of the previous stanza, necessitating beginning each strophe at the anacrusis to measure one. However, there is still the anomaly of measure thirteen (the additional ‘wake’ with diminuendo marking following a dynamic climax in measure eleven), and the altered placement of the *pianissimo* from measure two in Nægeli’s original to the anacrusis to measure one of the English

version—changes which do not appear to be consonant with the meaning of the text.<sup>60</sup>

Several possible misprints and minor editorial changes are evident in a comparison of 'Das Gärtchen' and 'The Garden' (see Example 2).<sup>61</sup> Editorial changes in 'The Garden' include: notation in the G clef rather than in the C clef; the deletion of the tempo marking *Allegro*; and a change in note values in the alto (measure seven, second beat).

Similarly, minor editorial changes are evident in a comparison of 'Die aufgehende Sonne' and 'The Rising Sun' (see Example 3). Editorial changes in 'The Rising Sun' include: notation in the G clef rather than in the C clef, and transposition from D major to C major.

The editorship of the songs is unclear. Mason and Ives were jointly responsible for the editorship of the *Juvenile Lyre*, in which 'The Morning Call' and 'The Garden' (republished as three-parts SAB songs), and 'The Rising Sun' (republished as a two-part SA song with instrumental bass line) appear with two treble parts in more or less identical form to the version published in the Woodbridge lecture, suggesting that either Mason or Ives, or both, could have been responsible for the editing of the Nägeli songs. It is unlikely that 'The Morning Call', 'The Garden' and 'The Rising Sun' were edited by Ives during the spring and summer of 1830, and taken by Woodbridge to Boston, where he gave them to Mason who prepared the choral performance of the songs given on 24 August 1830.<sup>62</sup>

The authorship of the texts for the songs is also problematic. There are a variety of opinions: Ellis claims that the 'texts for sixty-two songs found in the *Juvenile Lyre* are taken from Sarah J. Hale's *Poems for [our] Children*'.<sup>63</sup> An examination of Hale's *Poems for our Children*<sup>64</sup> reveals, however, that the texts for 'The Morning Call', 'The Garden' and 'The Rising Sun' are not included. In the Preface to the *Juvenile Lyre* (p. v), it is stated that: most of the songs are translations from 'works which were collected by Rev. William C. Woodbridge, during a recent visit to Germany'; that Mr S. F. Smith 'of the Theological Seminary, Andover' is responsible for most of the translations; and that a number of poems by Sarah J. Hale and others have been set to original music and included in the collection. Alternatively, Ives claims that Deodatus Dutton, Jr (1808–1838),<sup>65</sup> 'versified most of the songs in a *free style*, yet he had no credit, while a (Mr. Smith) of Andover was trumpeted as the author of the Poetry'.<sup>66</sup> As yet, 'The Rising Sun', with words ascribed to 'Mrs. Sigourney' (Lydia Howard Huntley Sigourney, 1791–1865) is the only one of the three songs included in the Woodbridge lecture in which authorship of the text has been specifically documented.<sup>67</sup>

A comparison of the texts of 'The Morning Call', 'The Garden' and 'The Rising Sun', with those of 'Aufruf am Morgen', 'Das Gärtchen' and 'Die aufgehende Sonne', poems by Agricola, Seidel and Demme respectively, reveal that the English texts are clearly versifications of free translations from the German (see Examples 4, 5 and 6). Even in the case of 'The Rising Sun', it is evident that Mrs Signourney was responsible for an English versification of Demme's poem—the text for 'Die aufgehende Sonne'.<sup>68</sup> Dutton was probably responsible for the English versification of poems by Agricola and Seidel—the texts for 'Aufruf am Morgen' and 'Das Gärtchen' respectively—a conclusion

which appears to be consistent with Ives' personal testimony.

In subsequent verbal and written presentations Woodbridge repeated or restated much of what he had said in his lecture to the American Institute of Instruction. We have record of a concert on 10 September 1830, in Hartford, Connecticut, a month after his lecture, when Elam Ives, Jr, presented his children's vocal classes in concert and Woodbridge interspersed remarks on the importance of vocal music as a regular part of the public school curriculum.<sup>69</sup> In the 'Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the American Lyceum', held 3, 4 and 6 May 1833, it is recorded that on 4 May Woodbridge 'presented a printed essay on Vocal Music, as a branch of common education' which was referred to a committee which reported back to the Lyceum on 6 May.<sup>70</sup> The essay presented to the Lyceum was that printed in the May 1833 issue of the *American Annals of Education and Instruction*.<sup>71</sup>

Also, Woodbridge used material from his lecture in four articles published subsequently in the *American Annals of Education and Instruction*;<sup>72</sup> 'Music, as a Branch of Instruction in Common Schools' (September 1830);<sup>73</sup> 'Music, as a Branch of Common Education' (February 1831);<sup>74</sup> 'Music, as a Branch of Common Education' (June 1831);<sup>75</sup> and 'On Vocal Music as a Branch of Common Education' (May 1833).<sup>76</sup> The September 1830 piece was prepared before the August 1830 lecture and contains little new material. Woodbridge states that while music is regarded as a luxury of education in the United States, in Germany it is regarded as an essential. He briefly summarizes its objects 'as a means of cultivating one of the most important of our senses, of softening the character, and especially of preparing children to unite in the public worship of God'. He notes that in Germany, it is considered 'no more remarkable, and no more difficult, for children to read and write music, than language; and musical tones are made the means of associating valuable ideas with the common objects and phenomena of nature, and the ordinary events of life'. He then quotes the ordinance extracted from the Prussian Official Gazette (*Amts Blatt*), Cologne, 15 January 1828, to show the importance of music in the curriculum, and concludes by stressing the need for appropriate music and 'a simple, analytical course of instruction', both of which, he feels, will be supplied in the near future.<sup>77</sup>

The February 1831 article also quotes from the August 1830 lecture, dealing with the principal objects of vocal music and, similarly, contains little new material. Woodbridge emphasizes the importance of cultivating a faculty the Creator has given to mankind: 'To neglect it, is to imply that it was unnecessary; that it is useless. It is to treat a noble gift in a manner which involves ingratitude to the Giver'. He points out that singing contributes to physical health. Its ultimate object is 'to unite with our fellow men, in expressing our gratitude and love to our Heavenly Father'. It also gives intellectual repose, promotes cheerfulness, promotes moral and character development, cultivates habits of order, obedience and union, and promotes school discipline.<sup>78</sup>

The June 1831 article is based on the third section of the Woodbridge lecture dealing with the potential of vocal music for mass community instruction. Woodbridge presents a rebuttal against the view that music education cannot 'be extended to the mass of the community'. He argues that the terms of music have to be explained, and sounds 'must be taught by examples, patiently

repeated and carefully attended to, until the ear is familiar with them; and gradually extended, as its powers of discrimination are increased'. He also argues that unfair examples are used, and until he is 'presented with individuals who were taught music as they were taught language, from their childhood, and who still cannot distinguish or imitate musical sounds', he sees no reason why music is not within the grasp of the mass of the community. He allows, though, that there are differences in musical ability. Citing Pfeiffer and 'one who has taught four thousand pupils, and enjoys much reputation as an instructor' as examples of music teachers who have found that the vast majority of persons could be taught to sing, Woodbridge posits that 'he who has learned to *speak correctly*, may learn to sing'. He notes that music forms a part of common school education in Germany and Switzerland and cites Niemeyer, Schwartz and Denzel as examples of prominent German educators who believe in the importance of vocal music in education.<sup>79</sup>

The May 1833 article similarly draws heavily on previously published material, including the lecture. The opening paragraph is of interest:

Our feelings have been so deeply engaged in the introduction of vocal music as a branch of education, and we have been so anxious to see a store of suitable materials prepared for young musicians, which might prevent its being misdirected, that we have feared to intrude it too much upon the public. But the deep and extending interest in the subject, which is now excited among the friends of education, and the formation of an institution devoted to it, require that it should receive more attention. We have waited, in the hope that something would appear, from those more competent to treat this subject. But we are disappointed; and the misapprehensions which have been entertained by some concerning the views of those engaged in this cause, call for an immediate and full account of our opinions and reasons, although we shall be compelled to repeat much that we have previously said on the subject.<sup>80</sup>

Woodbridge gives several historical examples of the power of music and its use in history. Given such a powerful instrument, he argues, it cannot be wasted but may be made to exert a striking influence on character development. He refers to the power of music which he felt in Europe and the fact that it appeared to be '*the property of the people*'. Referring to the music at Hofwyl among other communities he has seen, he asks: 'Shall that which is deemed as essential to the education of the poor in Germany, as reading, be thought too expensive a superfluity for the American people?' He writes of his amazement at the musical knowledge he discovered among children in Germany and Switzerland and contrasts his American singing school experiences where, as a result of what he attributes to be poor methods of instruction, his fellow classmates and he reached the conclusion that the subject of music 'was too profound for our comprehension, and that it was reserved for the favored few who possessed the "musical ear," to fathom its mysteries'. He traces the events whereby a new and much improved system of instruction was being made available in the United States, notably, his meeting Pfeiffer and Nägeli, the experiments with Elam Ives, Jr, the lecture at the American Institute of Instruction, the work of Lowell Mason, the publication of the *Juvenile Lyre*,

the various teachers who were now using the method of instruction (i.e. Hastings, Ives, Webb) and the formation of the Boston Academy of Music. He then reiterates the objects of vocal instruction, restating his belief that vocal music should not be reserved for a select few, and presenting his evidence for this belief, concluding:

Such are the arguments, and such is the testimony in favor of *the introduction of vocal music as a branch of common education*. For ourselves, we consider it as fully established both from reason and experience, *that it is perfectly practicable, that it would promote materially the good order and discipline of our schools, and produce happy and lasting effects upon the character of the pupils*; and we earnestly recommend the subject to the attention of every parent, teacher, and friend of education.<sup>81</sup>

In summary, we have established three things concerning the content of the Woodbridge lecture: it represents a 'productivist' or 'eclectic' philosophy of school music rooted in religious and moral values and influenced by the ideas of Fellenberg, among others; the musical examples in the lecture are edited Nägeli songs with English versifications of the original German texts; and the lecture represents a more or less fully formulated philosophical statement, in that subsequent published articles on school music by Woodbridge are largely repetitive of lecture material.

#### COMMENTARY

We will examine five assumptions in the Woodbridge lecture. First, *all children should have musical instruction*. The reasons cited are two-fold: (a) music has utilitarian value for the individual and for society; and (b) musical talent is widespread in the population (in varying degree) and is not limited to a select few. Mass musical instruction is therefore both *desirable* and *practicable*.

We may conceive of two different views of musical value: on the one hand, *aesthetic* value, construed in either absolute or referential terms but nevertheless relating to the 'formal' elements of music *per se*; on the other hand, *utilitarian* value, relating to the 'functional' elements of music. Woodbridge clearly espoused utilitarianism and his lecture constituted the rationale subsequently adopted by protagonists of the school music movement, contributing to the widespread mid-nineteenth-century belief in the social values of music.<sup>82</sup> Societal values and priorities, however, change through time, and a system of music education predicated on a philosophy of utilitarianism is, in consequence, integrally linked to these social changes.<sup>83</sup>

The idea that musical talent is widespread in the population, and that 'he who has learned to *speak correctly*, may learn to *sing*' became generally accepted.<sup>84</sup> Stone attributes the cult of 'amateurism' and the belief in 'everyman' as 'the source of musical culture' (which he believes retarded the development of professionalism in American music until the end of the nineteenth century) to this belief in musical egalitarianism.<sup>85</sup> There were, however, those who protested this notion. One critic describes the impact of indiscriminate musical instruction by means of the following scenario:

Here are two boys occupying adjacent seats and perhaps singing from one book. In the face of one, the physiognomist desires traces of a spiritual organization and refinement wholly wanting in the other. Let him station himself near these boys, and, if he listens attentively, he will find that external appearances have not deceived him. To speak plainly, one of them has a 'musical ear'; the other has not. The result is, a continual contest between the true and false intonation. The evil effect of all this is, to blunt the finer sensibilities of the former individual, while the latter (being unconscious of his error) is hardly susceptible of improvement, for musicians well know that if a person has a radically deficient 'ear', no amount of training will make him a reliable singer.<sup>86</sup>

The second assumption in the Woodbridge lecture is that *there is only one true and correct method of vocal instruction*.<sup>87</sup> The reasons why the 'analytic-deductive' method endorsed by Woodbridge is correct, are: (a) the method 'works' as school practice in Germany and Switzerland and Ives' 'Hartford Experiment' demonstrate; (b) prominent persons attest to its validity; and (c) it simplifies and rationalizes the study of music and therefore we 'know' it is right.

The evidence for the practicability of the method presented in the lecture was biased in favour of schools and school systems which had been influenced by Pestalozzianism, notably Hofwyl and the 'improved' schools of Germany and Switzerland. Further, the 'Hartford Experiment' with Elam Ives, Jr, had been of short duration and was currently in progress at the time the lecture was delivered. Certainly, the effects of cultural crossover between Germany and the United States should have made careful experimentation in the United States imperative. Further, the incomplete 'Hartford Experiment' did not take account of the 'Hawthorne Effect' whereby change, in and of itself, may be desirable. The evidence for the method's practicability was therefore unreliable.

Further, the testimony of the 'expert witnesses' to the method cited in the lecture was somewhat biased, since they included several proponents of Pestalozzianism and only two musicians—Pfeiffer and Nägeli, authors of the method in question.<sup>88</sup> Woodbridge refers to the materials he had brought with him as 'the music and the system of Switzerland', implying that the method in his possession was used in all the schools in Germany and Switzerland, something which was simply not true. Other better musical textbooks were available for selection than those Woodbridge had chosen.<sup>89</sup>

The search for a 'musical El Dorado'—the one true method of music instruction—has historically characterized music education. An illuminating comment published in the *English Journal of Education* (1846) suggests that such a methodological 'high road' is ever elusive. Referring to various methods of musical instruction, the writer inquires:

Who has not heard of Wilhelm, and Hickson, and Mainzer, and Glover? And who has not witnessed the intemperate zeal with which the particular devotees to each system have advocated their respective claims to excellence and perfection? How many, burning with eager hope, have rejoiced in the supposed fact that at length a musical El Dorado has been found

out, and that their approach to knowledge of the science has been smoothed and facilitated; in short, that there has been at length discovered that grand object of every one's search, a royal road? And, lastly, who has not witnessed the depressed spirits and elongated countenances of those who, animated with delusive expectations, have at length found out, to their great distress, the nature of the '*ignis fatuus*' upon which they have built their hopes?<sup>90</sup>

There were a few individuals who protested the methods employed by such followers of Woodbridge as Lowell Mason, noting Mason's unprofessionalism: the editing of materials without giving appropriate credit to the authors; the misinforming of the public as to the source of the method and its relationship to Pestalozzi; and the foisting of an inferior method on the public school system, among other issues. One writer comments:

Hundreds of music teachers have stated that they could not follow the Manual in their schools . . . because it was positively *defective*. And yet this is the system which teachers are compelled to use in the Boston Schools! The idea of 'Pestalozzian' System of Instruction, we are constrained to say, is all a humbug. We have no such system of musical instruction in our schools. We believe that we have, so far as it deserves a name, a kind of synthetic plan, quite superficial, and in some respects, radically opposite to a Pestalozzian, or inductive method.<sup>91</sup>

The third assumption in the Woodbridge lecture is that *music should be offered as a regular branch of instruction in the public schools*. There are several reasons why this should be the case: (a) music is an important subject and all children should have instruction in it; (b) methods used in the singing schools are outdated and ineffective and the singing schools should be abandoned in favour of public school instruction where, if the recommended method is followed, instructional problems inherent in singing schools will be solved; (c) in countries where music is offered as a regular part of the public school curriculum, instruction is very effective; and (d) the democratic ideal in American society presupposes that if music is considered an important subject of study for all children, it should be included as a regular subject in public school instruction.

In his lecture, Woodbridge stresses the importance of mass musical instruction offered within the public schools. The arguments he presents, however, might also apply to other subjects in the school curriculum, namely, art, drama, physical education, industrial education, among others. There are many other subjects which could conceivably be offered within the school curriculum.<sup>92</sup> The inclusion of certain subjects within the curriculum presumes that the society or social group responsible for education has determined that some subjects of study are more important than others. The inclusion of music within the school curriculum presumes that it is more important, for utilitarian reasons, aesthetic reasons, or both, than other subjects of study which may perforce be excluded from the curriculum.

The eminent sociologist, Professor Pitirim Sorokin, has suggested that societies change through time in the measure of agreement in which values are

held.<sup>93</sup> He has identified two polarities—the ideational phase, in which there is a large measure of agreement on social mores and values, and the sensate phase, in which there is relatively little agreement. His theory has important implications for school music. In the ideational phase, there will be considerable agreement on the value of musical instruction, whereas in the sensate phase, there will be comparatively little agreement, and it will be far more difficult to establish the relative importance of music among other possible school subjects.

While contemporary philosophical thinking within music education appears to be predicated on aesthetic rather than utilitarian values,<sup>94</sup> it is clear that Woodbridge believed, like Plato and Luther, in the importance of justifying the utilitarian values of music, evidently presuming that they constituted a more potent rationale for mass musical instruction than did aesthetic values. We may speculate that the absence of agreement respecting utilitarian values of music, characteristic of contemporary music education and of Sorokin's sensate phase of society, has created a void in the rationale for school music. School musicians searching for an effective *raison d'être* have therefore been forced to substitute aesthetic values as the compelling reason why music should be taught in contemporary public schools. Apparently, Woodbridge did not face this problem—witness the widespread public support for the utilitarian values of music instruction expressed in his lecture.

It is clear that Woodbridge had a negative attitude toward singing schools as a result of his personal experience. He writes:

In common with our companions, we attended many successive 'quarters at singing school,' the only privilege allowed to our nobler sex. But there we found ourselves called upon to perform certain mechanical movements, at the sight of certain signs, while we understood neither the reason nor the connection, of our successive manoeuvres of the hand and voice. We attained, in this way, skill enough to amuse ourselves—to make us wish for more—and especially to make us desire the power of self-improvement. But the whole subject was wrapped up in a mass of technical terms, to which even our knowledge of Latin and Greek gave us no clue . . . and we were compelled at length to the mortifying conclusion that the subject was too profound for our comprehension, and that it was reserved for the favored few who possessed the 'musical ear,' to fathom its mysteries. We gave it up in despair, and left the school with little more than the cabalistical key to this noble science, which is found in the table of flats and sharps—'If F be sharp, Mi is in F,'—and other rules and definitions of our venerable singing books.<sup>95</sup>

There may well have been good cause for Woodbridge's disillusionment with singing schools, especially if, as Elam Ives, Jr, claims, he did not have a 'musical ear'. He certainly did not know the rules for Mi in his table of sharps and flats!

While Nathaniel Gould has painted a bleak picture of the singing schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, no doubt based upon personal experience, there probably were other singing schools offering high quality instruction under excellent conditions.<sup>96</sup> Certainly, the singing schools in the eigh-



teenth and early nineteenth centuries, despite their 'home grown' methods and variable quality of instruction, made a significant contribution toward the creation of a climate of interest in music prevalent in Boston, c. 1830.<sup>97</sup> The singing school represented an adaptation of musical instruction in a frontier rural society of which it was an expression and to which it contributed, not only musically and culturally, but socially and educationally as well. It approached the democratic ideal in a pragmatic way—attracting those who were motivated to learn, yet distinguishing between students in respect of musical ability. Further, it was a 'musical institution' geared toward musical ends, and not necessitating compromise within an educational framework geared to other objectives as well. The singing school movement stressed performance and musical literacy, and while the reality may have been a long way from the ideal, nevertheless the subsequent development of musical societies as an outgrowth of the singing schools, and the improvement in quality and scope of musical performance are certainly no mean achievements. While the much maligned 'fasola' approach to sight-singing in typical use in the singing schools may have had its drawbacks, and the level of musical education of singing school masters may generally have been low, there were substantial innovations which seem to have been overlooked by music educators, notably the potential utility of 'shape notes' as visual aids in pitch recognition.<sup>98</sup> In spite of these more positive aspects, Woodbridge elected to abandon the singing schools as the means by which mass vocal instruction would be given, in favour of what he considered to be a more progressive approach, namely, the incorporation of vocal instruction as an element in the public school curriculum. Not only did he propose to discard the *methods* of instruction employed in the singing schools, but also the *institutions themselves*.

Woodbridge may have overstated the case in pointing to schools in Germany as an ideal in music education.<sup>99</sup> While Pestalozzian reforms benefited German music education and mass vocal instruction in the schools was more widespread in Germany than in the United States, the examples he cites of a high level of musical knowledge among German school children may have been atypical.<sup>100</sup> Yet Woodbridge believed that the public school constituted the ideal vehicle for music education. Both the school music movement and the public school movement represented, for him, a common rationale—that of productivism. He recognized that these movements reflected the prevailing notions of egalitarianism, democracy and expansionism in American society.

The fourth assumption in the Woodbridge lecture is that the *public-at-large must be convinced of the importance of music as a subject of study*. This was based on his belief that society, through the weight of public opinion, must ultimately determine the function of the public school, reflected in its curriculum. His recognition of this principle is clearly shown in the following description of his reasons for giving the lecture:

It was the desire to convince others of the importance and practicability of giving instruction to children in music, and thus to obtain coadjutors in the cause, and if possible to persuade every teacher to endeavour to introduce it into his school, and every parent to provide the necessary means of instruction for his children.<sup>101</sup>

Woodbridge recognized that he would have to find common ground between his philosophy of music education and the values current in society, and articulate a rationale to which his audience could relate. His argument concerning the utility of vocal instruction for the improvement of church music, for example, would strike a responsive chord in his audience, many of whom were interested in or involved in the life of the Church. Yet his rationale had a broader humanistic aim which would ensure a wider base of public support.

The fifth assumption in the Woodbridge lecture is that the *public-at-large will be convinced through demonstration and reiteration of a rationale*. This was based on his belief that: (a) the public must have a reason why music must be introduced into the public schools; (b) they will believe the evidence of their senses; and (c) demonstration will arouse their feelings and cause them to act.

Woodbridge presented a reasoned discourse, mustering a battery of arguments constituting reasons for the importance of music, the objects of music, the practicability of mass instruction in music and the importance of offering music as a regular subject in the school curriculum. But he went beyond simply presenting a rational argument. He wished to appeal to the 'indulgent feelings' of his audience because he knew that if he could move their hearts as well as their minds, he might stir them to action. He therefore chose to include musical illustrations by a boys' choir, knowing that the mere sight of a choir of boys singing angelically under the direction of Lowell Mason and performing two-part music probably by memory, would stir the audience emotionally. He would give them a concrete example—a demonstration of the abstract notion of which he was speaking, appealing, therefore, to their senses as well as to their minds.

This demonstration accomplished other objectives beyond merely illustrating the type of music consonant with Woodbridge's philosophy. It suggested that the results achieved by Mason would be those which might be expected from all children if vocal music were introduced into the schools. It also gave added credibility to Woodbridge's thesis. Here was an established musician lending support to Woodbridge by contributing musical illustrations for his lecture. The fact that Mason joined Woodbridge in his lecture suggests that he was acquainted with the method and materials advocated by Woodbridge; more importantly, that he believed that music should be introduced into the public schools as a regular subject. The very fact of the collaboration itself must have had a considerable impact on the audience.

Woodbridge was strongly convinced as to the importance of introducing vocal music into the public school curriculum, and determined that he would succeed in his task. He later wrote concerning the Boston Academy of Music:

We are sure our readers will rejoice with us in the progress of this institution, and we now consider the measures begun, which will secure the object on which our heart was fixed six years since, and which we determined never to abandon—the introduction of *vocal music, as a branch of common school education*.<sup>102</sup>

While he was disappointed in the response to his lecture, especially on the part of musicians, Woodbridge's conviction led him to reiterate his philosophy through articles in the *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, to

assist in the establishment of the Boston Academy of Music (which had as one of its objectives the introduction of vocal music as a regular subject in the public schools),<sup>103</sup> and to agitate for the introduction of vocal music into the public schools, in speeches on the subject. The lecture itself was not 'epoch making', but rather a cog in the wheel of a series of political events oiled by the persistence and political astuteness of William Channing Woodbridge.<sup>104</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> William Channing Woodbridge, *A Lecture on Vocal Music as a Branch of Common Education. Delivered in the Representatives' Hall, Boston, August 24, 1830, Before the American Institute of Instruction* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little and Wilkins, 1831), cited hereafter as Woodbridge, *Lecture*.

<sup>2</sup> See Howard E. Ellis, 'The Influence of Pestalozzianism on Instruction in Music', Diss., U. of Michigan, 1957, pp. 137-40; Carol Ann Pemberton, 'Lowell Mason: His Life and Work', Diss., U. of Minnesota, 1971, pp. 162-4; John J. Silantien, 'The Contributions of William Channing Woodbridge to American Music Education', *Contributions to Music Education* No. 4 (Winter 1976), p. 84, cited hereafter as Silantien (1976); Lloyd F. Sunderman, 'The Era of Beginnings in American Music Education (1830-1840)', *Journal of Research in Music Education* 4 (1956), p. 33; Lloyd F. Sunderman, *Historical Foundations of Music Education in the United States* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1971), pp. 43-4; Bruce Dunbar Wilson, 'A Documentary History of Music in the Public Schools of the City of Boston, 1830-1850', Diss., U. of Michigan, 1973; I, p. 25; II, pp. 1-26, containing the text of the lecture.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the American school music movement as both a contributor to, and reflection of prevailing mid-nineteenth-century American beliefs in the social values of music, see James H. Stone, 'Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Beliefs in the Social Values of Music', *Musical Quarterly* 43 (1957), 38-49.

<sup>4</sup> Woodbridge outlines the basic tenets of 'productivism' and distinguishes 'productivism and 'Pestalozzianism' in *Letters from Hofwyl by a Parent, on the Educational Institutions of De Fellenberg, with an Appendix Containing Woodbridge's Sketches of Hofwyl, Reprinted from the Annals of Education* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842), hereafter cited as *Letters from Hofwyl*, Letter I, pp. 225-33, as follows: (1) Productivism represents an *eclectic* approach in which ideas are selected from the preceding contributions of what he terms the 'humanist', 'philanthropist' and 'Pestalozzian' 'educational schools'; (2) Productivism represents an emphasis on *balance*, i.e. between pure and applied knowledge in the curriculum, and between deductive and inductive methods of instruction—a balance which, he claims, is lacking in Pestalozzianism; (3) Productivism represents a *binary* or two-phase educational process, rather than the unitary approach envisaged by the Pestalozzians—the two phases being the '*period of development*' which is 'devoted to *developing the faculties and forming the habits of the mind*, in order to *prepare it as an instrument for future operations*', and the '*period of acquisition*' 'in which the *mind is more especially called upon to exercise the powers which have been previously developed and cultivated, in the acquisition of such positive knowledge as may prepare the individual for life and action*' (*Letters from Hofwyl*, p. 230). The section of this letter in which the 'productivist' and 'Pestalozzian' schools were distinguished, was omitted from the earlier published versions. See *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, NS 1 (1830), 347-54; 3rd ser., Introductory Number 1 (1831), 9-15.

<sup>5</sup> Woodbridge has been characterized as a protagonist of Pestalozzianism in the United States by: Thomas A. Barlow (*Pestalozzi and American Education*, Boulder, Colo.: Este Es Press, 1977); Ellis (1957); Eloise Hayes ('Pestalozzianism, A Foundation of the Public School System in the United States', Diss., U. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1954); W. S. Munroe (*History of the Pestalozzian Movement in the United States*, Syracuse: Bardeen, 1907); Silantien (1976, pp. 77-93); and Käte Silber (*Pestalozzi, The Man and His Work*, 2nd ed., London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 313), among others. The evidence I have examined suggests, however, that scholars may have under-estimated the divergence of Woodbridge's ideas from the mainstream of Pestalozzianism. Indeed, Woodbridge may have downplayed the differences between 'productivism' and 'Pestalozzianism: in order to popularize his educational views in the United States by passing them off as 'Pestalozzian'.

<sup>6</sup> For biographical information see: W. A. Alcott, 'William Channing Woodbridge', *American Journal of Education* 5 (1858), 51–64; John J. Silantien, 'William Channing Woodbridge: His Life and Contributions to American Music Education', Master's Thesis, Catholic University of America, 1972, cited hereafter as Silantien (1972); Harris Elwood Starr, 'Woodbridge, William Channing', *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1936, XX, 484–5.

<sup>7</sup> See Preface to William C. Woodbridge, *Rudiments of Geography on a New Plan, Designed to Assist the Memory by Comparison and Classification; With Numerous Engravings of Manners, Customs and Curiosities. Accompanied With an Atlas, Exhibiting the Prevailing Religions, Forms of Government, Degrees of Civilization, and the Comparative Size of Towns, Rivers and Mountains*, 2nd ed. (Hartford: Samuel G. Goodrich, 1822) pp. xi, xii. Silantien (1972, pp. 21, 22), presents evidence of a testimonial by Emma Willard's husband that Woodbridge pirated Willard's system.

<sup>8</sup> See J. A. Green, *Life and Work of Pestalozzi* (London: W. B. Clive, 1913); Michael Heaford, *Pestalozzi. His Thought and Relevance Today* (London: Methuen, 1967), pp. 29–35; Pestalozzianum und Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, eds, *Pestalozzi and His Times. A Pictorial Record* (Zürich: Buchdruckerei Berichthaus; NY: G. E. Stechert and Co., 1928), Silber, pp. 206–25.

<sup>9</sup> See Hugo Löbmann, *Die 'Gesangbildungslehre' nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen, von Michael Traugott Pfeiffer und Hans Georg Nägeli in Ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Aesthetik, der Geschichte der Pädagogik und der Musik*, Diss., Leipzig, 1908 (Leipzig: Germania, 1908), pp. 54–9, Bernarr Rainbow, 'Pfeiffer, (Johann) Michael Traugott', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1980, XIV, 611; Hans Peter Schanzlin, 'Pfeiffer, Michael Traugott', *Die Musik Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1962, X, 1169.

<sup>10</sup> 'Hans Georg Hägeli', *American Journal of Education* 7 (1859), 300; Luise Marretta-Schär, 'Nägeli, Hans Georg', *The New Grove*, XIII, 15; Löbmann, pp. 50–3; Hans Peter Schanzlin and Georg Walter, 'Nägeli, Hans Georg', *Die Musik Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1961, IX, 1245–8.

<sup>11</sup> For a description of Hofwyl, see a series of articles by William Channing Woodbridge in the *American Annals of Education and Instruction* (or variant titles) including: 'Sketches of the Fellenberg Institution at Hofwyl, in a Series of Letters to a Friend', published monthly from August 1830 through November 1831; and other articles and letters on Hofwyl in November and December 1831, January, April, July and December 1832, June 1834, and March, June, July and August 1836. These were subsequently republished in *Letters from Hofwyl*. See the plans for Hofwyl and Meykirch, respectively, in: 'Editor's Address', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, NS 1 (1830), p. 324; 'Sketches of Hofwyl', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 1 (1831), p. 191. Also, see 'Biographical Sketch of Fellenberg', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, NS 1 (1830), pp. 341–7; 'John Griscom's Report on the Agricultural School of Emanuel de Fellenberg at Hofwyl, Switzerland' (1818), in Sol Cohen, ed., *Education in the United States. A Documentary History* (NY: Random House, 1974, II, 853–6).

<sup>12</sup> See Alcott, p. 57; William Channing Woodbridge, 'Correspondence of the Editor', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 6 (1836), 188–92; 'Editorial Notice', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 7 (1837), 572.

<sup>13</sup> From 1808–1810, the Prussian government sent seventeen young men, teachers and prospective teachers, to Yverdon at government expense, in order that they might study the Pestalozzian system of education and introduce it into Prussian schools. See Barlow, p. 17; 'Course of Instruction in the Primary Schools of Germany', *American Journal of Education* 8 (1860), pp. 377, 396; 'Pestalozzi and the Schools of Germany', *American Journal of Education* 4 (1858), pp. 353, 355; Issue No. 11 of *Connecticut Common School Journal* 1 (1839), devoted to 'an exposition of the Common School system of Prussia'. Woodbridge was impressed by the standard of musical instruction in the Swiss and German schools he observed, later remarking that he and his school fellows would have regarded the compositional skills of students in these schools to be 'a certain evidence of witchcraft in a school-boy'; (William Channing Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music as a Branch of Common Education', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 3, 1833, p. 199), hereafter cited as Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music'. For a discussion of the influence of Pestalozzianism in German school music, see George Schünemann, *Geschichte der Deutschen Schulmusik* (Leipzig: Fr Kistner and C. F. W. Siegel), ch. 5. A more general discussion of the impact of Pestalozzianism on nineteenth-century German education is found in Friedrich Paulsen, *German Education Past and Present* (1908, rpt. NY: AMS Press, 1976).

<sup>14</sup> Woodbridge was listed as 'foreign editor' from January 1837 to May 1837, and as 'foreign correspondent' in June 1837. The January 1838 issue was the first issue in which William A. Alcott

(who had 'conducted' the journal since January 1837) was specifically named as 'Editor'. In view of the variety of titles for individual issues during the period (1830-1838), the journal will hereafter be cited as *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, rather than the specific variant title in each case.

<sup>15</sup> The full extent of Pestalozzi's views on education was not grasped by his disciples, and many of his writings were not known in his lifetime. The Cotta Edition of his collected words (*Pestalozzi's Sämtliche Schriften*, 15 vols, Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1819-1826) and the Seyffarth Edition (Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed., L. W. Seyffarth, 12 vols, Liegnitz: Carl Seyffarth, 1899-1902) are incomplete. Pestalozzian scholarship has been aided by the publication of the Critical Edition of his work, as yet incomplete. See Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *Sämtliche Werke*, eds, Artur Buchenau, Eduard Spranger, Hans Stettbacher, Kritische Ausgabe, 28 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1927- ), XVII B and 3 vols of *Briefe Pestalozzi* incomplete; and his letters (Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *Sämtliche Briefe*, eds, Pestalozzianum and Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, 13 vols, Zürich: Orell Füssli, 1946-1971). Of the various protagonists of Pestalozzianism, in the United States, Joseph Neef (1770-1854) seemed to capture the spirit of Pestalozzi's educational ideas. See Joseph Neef, *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education, Founded on an Analysis of the Human Faculties, and Natural Reason, Suitable for the Offspring of a Free People and for all Rational Beings* (Philadelphia: printed for the Author, 1808); Gerald Lee Gutek, *Joseph Neef. The Americanization of Pestalozzianism* (University, Alabama: University of Alabama, 1978).

<sup>16</sup> *Letters from Hofwyl*, Letter XXIII, pp. 300, 301; Letter XXIV, p. 303.

<sup>17</sup> *Letters from Hofwyl*, Letter XXXII, p. 335; Letter XXXIV, p. 340.

<sup>18</sup> *Letters from Hofwyl*, Letter VI, p. 246.

<sup>19</sup> *Letters from Hofwyl*, Letter XIX, pp. 291, 292; Letter XXIV, p. 303.

<sup>20</sup> *Letters from Hofwyl*, pp. 120-2; Letter XXIV, p. 304; Letter XI, p. 263.

<sup>21</sup> Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music', pp. 197, 198.

<sup>22</sup> Woodbridge had lessons and cards prepared by Nägeli for use by music teachers. See Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music', p. 201.

<sup>23</sup> See Ellis, chs 2, 3, 5.

<sup>24</sup> See 'Heinrich Pestalozzi an seine Freunde über die Herausgabe einer Gesangbildungslehre', Pestalozzi, *Sämtliche Werke*, Kritische Ausgabe, XXI, pp. 233-5; and an English translation in Ellis, pp. 318-21. Pestalozzi probably recognized that his ideas could potentially be translated into a variety of methods, and that each subject could be taught from a variety of approaches while still retaining the basic principles in his philosophy. Instructional method was one of other broader educational issues which occupied Pestalozzi's attention. Many of his disciples failed to grasp this wider totality, focusing instead on the development of a curriculum in their respective subject specialties, based upon what they understood to be Pestalozzian principles. Upon receiving his endorsement of their work, they and their followers might then defend this method as if it would have been the only one of which Pestalozzi would have approved.

<sup>25</sup> See Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 23; Ellis, p. 139.

<sup>26</sup> Letter, E. Ives, Jr., to Rev. N. E. Cornwall, 19 September 1844, quoted in Silantien (1976), p. 83.

<sup>27</sup> Alcott, p. 58.

<sup>28</sup> See 'Boston Schools', *American Journal of Education* 5 (1830), 151-3; 'View of the Comparative State of Instruction in the United States and in Europe', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 2 (1832), 329-36; Cohen, II, pp. 1244-53; Cohen, III, pp. 1286-9.

<sup>29</sup> The following are useful sources on the 'Great Awakenings': C. C. Goen, ed., *The Great Awakening*, Vol. IV of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972); Robert T. Handy, ed., *Religion in the American Experience: The Pluralistic Life* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), pp. 67-84; Alan E. Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966); Alan E. Heimert and Percy Miller, eds, *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967); Darrett B. Rutman, *The Great Awakening, Event and Exegesis* (NY: Wiley, 1970); William W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), ch. 9; William W. Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840* (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), pp. 146-59; Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening. A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield* (Boston: Tappan and Dennet; NY: Josiah Adams, 1842).

<sup>30</sup> For a discussion of the American singing school movement, see Alan C. Buechner, 'Yankee Singing Schools and the Golden Age of Choral Music in New England, 1760-1800', Diss., Harvard U., 1960; Gilbert Chase, *America's Music from the Pilgrims to the Present* (NY, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill, 1955); Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music* (NY: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1953); Henry Wilder Foote, *Musical Life in Boston in the 18th Century* (Worcester, Mass.: The American Antiquarian Society, 1940); Henry Wilder Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940); Nathaniel Duren Gould, *Church Music in America. Comprising Its History and Its Peculiarities at Different Periods, With Cursory Remarks on Its Legitimate Use and Its Abuse; With Notices of the Schools, Composers, Teachers and Societies* (Boston: A. N. Johnson, 1853). Studies of instruction books used in singing schools include those by: Allen Britton, 'Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-books to 1800', Diss., U. of Michigan, 1949; Robert W. John, 'A History of School Vocal Instruction Books in the United States', Diss., Indiana U., 1953, pp. 164-177. Also, see *History of the Handel and Haydn Society, of Boston, Massachusetts . . .* 2 vols (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1883-1934).

<sup>31</sup> Nathaniel D. Gould (1781-1864) operated singing schools for adults and children in Boston during the 1820s (Gould, p. 239). About 1830, Lowell Mason was teaching 150-200 pupils rudimentary music reading and elementary rules of singing in one-hour classes per week, out of school hours, gratuitously, in an effort to improve his church choir and congregational singing (Pemberton, p. 161; Wilson, I, pp. 26, 27).

<sup>32</sup> Paul Eric Paige ('Musical Organizations in Boston: 1830-1850', Diss., Boston U., 1967, p. 34, Table I) estimates an increase of from 62 to 466 persons employed in music-related occupations in Boston, including an increase in music teachers from seven to ninety-one over the period, 1830-1850. Also, see Donald A. Nitz, 'Community Musical Societies in Massachusetts to 1840', Diss., Boston U., 1964; J. W. Thompson, 'Music and Musical Activities in New England, 1800-1838', Diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1962; Amelia Vincent, 'Music in Boston, 1825-1830', Master's Thesis, Boston U., 1942; Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston*, 4 vols (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1881).

<sup>33</sup> See Charles Northend, *The Annals of the American Institute of Instruction, Being a Record of its Doings for 54 years, from 1830 till 1883* (New Britain, Conn.: n.p., 1884); Theodore F. Seward, *The Educational Work of Dr. Lowell Mason*, n.p., n.d. (1885?), a copy in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music', p. 202.

<sup>34</sup> See Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 4, n.

<sup>35</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 7.

<sup>36</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 6.

<sup>37</sup> Woodbridge cites the opinion of a well-known physician, Dr Benjamin Rush (1745-1813). See Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 9, for a quotation from Benjamin Rush, *Thoughts Upon Female Education, Accommodated to the Present State of Society, Manners, and Government, in the United States of America, Addressed to the Visitors of the Young Ladies' Academy in Philadelphia, 28 July, 1787, At the Close of the Quarterly Examination . . .* (Philadelphia: Prichard and Hall, 1787), p. 10.

<sup>38</sup> See Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 11, for a quotation from Martin Luther (1483-1546) respecting the impact of music on moral development, apparently derived from Luther's foreword in Georg Rhau, *Symphoniae jucundae*, ed. Hans Albrecht, Musikdrucke, 3 (1538; rpt. Basel, London, NY: Barenreiter; St Louis: Concordia, 1959), p. XV, and an English translation in *Luther's Works*, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold, American ed., LIII (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), pp. 323-4. I am indebted to Prof. E. J. Furcha of the Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, for his assistance in identifying the source of this quotation. Other useful references for Luther's views on music include Walter E. Buszin, 'Luther on Music', *Musical Quarterly* 32 (1946), 80-97; Eva Marie Grew, 'Martin Luther and Music', *Music and Letters* 19 (1939), 67-78; Theodore Hoelty-Nickel, 'Luther and Music', *Luther and Culture*, Martin Luther Lectures, 4 (Decorah: Luther College Press, 1960), pp. 145-211; Robin A. Leaver and Ann Bond, 'Luther, Martin', *The New Grove*, XI, 365-71; Paul Nettl, *Luther and Music*, trans. Frida Best and Ralph Wood (1948; rpt. NY: Russell and Russell, 1967); Joe E. Tarry, 'Music in the Educational Philosophy of Martin Luther', *Journal of Research in Music Education* 21 (1973), 355-65.

<sup>39</sup> Woodbridge (*Lecture*, p. 12) attributes the following quotation to Plato (427-347 BC):

Bodily exercise is the sister of pure and simple music; and as exercise imparts health to the body, so music imparts the power of self-government to the soul.

This is apparently derived from Plato's *Republic* (Book 3, 404E). See *The Republic of Plato*, trans. Francis M. Cornford (1941; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) p. 92. I am indebted to Prof. J. Walker of the Department of Philosophy, McGill University, for his assistance in identifying the source of this quotation. For a discussion of Plato's conception of harmony of soul and body, and the role of music and gymnastics in effecting this balance, see Edward A. Littman, *Musical Thought in Ancient Greece* (NY and London: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 37.

<sup>40</sup> In his statement, 'Let me make the ballads of a nation, and you may make their laws' (*Lecture*, p. 12), Woodbridge paraphrases a maxim quoted by Benjamin Rush (*Thoughts Upon Female Education*, p. 20), of obscure origin (see *The Home Book of Quotations Classical and Modern*, Selected and Arranged by Burton Stevenson, 10th ed., NY: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1967, p. 123).

<sup>41</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 14.

<sup>43</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 15.

<sup>44</sup> Woodbridge refers to Johann Jakob Wehrli (1790–1855), a teacher at Hofwyl, Pfeiffer, and 'several of the most experienced teachers of music in our own country' including one 'who has taught four thousand pupils, and enjoys much reputation as an instructor'—probably referring to Lowell Mason. For biographical information on Wehrli, see: 'Jacob Vehrli, at Hofwyl and Kruitzingen', *American Journal of Education* 3 (1857), 389–96; 'Wehrli, Johann Jakob', *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, 1974, XX, 111; 'Wehrli, Johann-Jakob', *Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse*, 1933, VII, 256–7.

<sup>45</sup> Woodbridge cites James Chapman (fl. 1818), James Rush (1786–1869) and Jonathan Barber (1784–1864) as authorities for the thesis that speech and song are essentially similar.

Rev. James Chapman, a long-time elocution teacher in Edinburgh, believed that rhythmic and melodic elements were common to both speech and music, and that a study of speech and music would be mutually beneficial. He based the system of speech-sound notation in his treatise entitled, *The Original Rhythmical Grammar of the English Language: or, The Art of Reading and Speaking, on the Principles of the Music of Speech* (Edinburgh: printed for James Robertson, 1821, p. xiii), on an essay by Joshua Steele (1700–1791) entitled, *Prosodia Rationalis; or, An Essay Towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech, to be Expressed and Perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Nichols, 1779), the second edition of an earlier work (*An Essay Towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech to be Expressed and Perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols*, London: printed by W. Bowyer and J. Nichols for J. Almon, 1775).

For a biographical sketch of Dr James Rush, MD, see, Richard H. Shryock, 'Rush, James', *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1935, XVI, 231. His treatise entitled, *The Philosophy of the Human Voice: Embracing Its Physiological History; Together With a System of Principles by Which Criticism in the Art of Elocution may be Rendered Intelligible, and Instruction, Definite and Comprehensive. To Which is Added a Brief Analysis of Song and Recitative* (Philadelphia: J. Maxwell, 1827), achieved considerable popularity (having gone through six editions by 1867). In the section entitled, 'A Brief Analysis of Song and Recitative', he outlined several characteristics common to speech and song.

Dr Jonathan Barber, MD, a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, a teacher of elocution at Yale and Harvard, and an admirer of Rush's *Philosophy of the Human Voice*, authored several works on elocution, including: *Elementary Analysis of Some Principal Phenomena of Oral Language, as Contra-distinguished from Graphic Composition: With a View to the Improvement of Public Speaking and Reading* (Washington: William Cooper Jr, 1824); *A Grammar of Elocution: Containing the Principles of the Arts of Reading and Speaking; Illustrated by Appropriate Exercises and Examples, Adapted to Colleges, Schools and Private Instruction: The Whole Arranged in the Order in Which it is Taught at Yale College* (New Haven: A. H. Maltby, 1830). See Rev. of *A Grammar of Elocution* . . ., Jonathan Barber, *North American Review* 34 (1832), 494–502, Barber attempted a practical demonstration of Rush's theory that speech and song share similar characteristics.

<sup>46</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, pp. 17, 18.

<sup>47</sup> Woodbridge (*Lecture*, pp. 18, 19) cites the opinions of Niemeyer, 'one of the most celebrated writers on education in Prussia'—probably referring to August Hermann Niemeyer (1754–1828), prominent Protestant university professor of theology and pedagogy (see Binder, 'Niemeyer, August Hermann', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 1886, XXIII, 677–9); Schwartz, 'one of the surviving fathers of education in Germany'—probably referring to Friedrich Heinrich Christian Schwartz (1766–1837), Lutheran university professor of theology and pedagogy, who was influ-

enced by the naturalistic educational ideas of Locke and Rousseau (see von Weech, 'Schwartz, Friedrich Heinrich Christian', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 1891, XXXIII, 235-6); Denzel, 'a veteran of this cause, who has been employed in organizing the school system of two of the German States'—referring to Bernhard Gottlieb Denzel (1773-1838), well known as a Pestalozzian educator (see Arnold Stenzel, 'Denzel, Bernhard Gottlieb', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 1957, III, 603-4); Harnisch, 'a distinguished educator of Prussia', referring to Wilhelm Harnisch (1781-1864), an educator and proponent of Pestalozzianism (see Werner Lenartz, 'Harnisch, Wilhelm', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 1966, VII, 693), citing Richter—probably Johann Paul Friedrich Richter (1763-1826), a writer and philosopher who was influenced by Rousseau and Pestalozzi (see Franz Muncker, 'Richter, Johann Paul Friedrich', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 1889, XXVIII, 467-85). Woodbridge also quotes the opinions of Fellenberg, Wehrli, Pfeiffer and Nägeli. To him, the endorsement of mass musical instruction by the Prussian government is 'decisive evidence' of the importance of school music. See the quotation from the Prussian Official Gazette (*Amts Blatt*), Cologne, 15 January 1828, in Woodbridge, *Lecture*, pp. 19, 20. In his subsequent Letter of Introduction for Lowell Mason to twenty-four European-Educators, 1837 (in Sprague Hall Library Manuscripts, Yale University), Woodbridge lists Denzel, Wehrli, Fellenberg, Nägeli and Pfeiffer, among others.

<sup>48</sup> See 'Boston Academy of Music First Annual Report', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser. (1833), p. 374; Robert W. John, 'Elam Ives and the Pestalozzian Philosophy of Musical Education', *Journal of Research in Music Education* 8 (1960), 45-50; Silantien (1972), p. 71; Silantien (1976), pp. 80-4; Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 21; Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music', p. 201.

<sup>49</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 22.

<sup>50</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 23.

<sup>51</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>52</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 25.






<sup>53</sup> *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 2 (1832), pp. 492-7.

<sup>54</sup> See *Letters from Hofwyl*, Appendix. Fellenberg is quoted in Letter XXIII, pp. 300, 301; Letter XXIV, pp. 303, 304. Dwight is quoted in Letter XXIII, p. 301. For a biography of Dwight, see Harris Elwood Starr, 'Dwight, Timothy', *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1930, V, 573-7.

<sup>55</sup> An examination of the evidence in Letters XXIII and XXIV (*Letters from Hofwyl*) suggests that it was not merely a political ploy on Woodbridge's part to incorporate arguments in his lecture respecting the utility of school vocal instruction in stimulating church music, but rather it was an expression of the underlying assumptions of his philosophy of music.

<sup>56</sup> Woodbridge recommends sacred and devotional, moral, patriotic, and nature-oriented songs as appropriate school music repertoire. See the musical examples in Woodbridge, *Lecture*: 'The Morning Call', p. 5; 'The Garden', p. 10; and 'The Rising Sun', pp. 13, 14.

<sup>57</sup> Lowell Mason and Elam Ives, Jr, *Juvenile Lyre: Or Hymns and Songs, Religious, Moral, and Cheerful, Set to Appropriate Music. For the Use of Primary and Common Schools* (Boston: Richardson, Lord and Holbrook; Hartford: N. and F. J. Huntington, 1832), pp. 9, 10, 67. A third part has been added to the original two-part songs.

<sup>58</sup> In measure two (third beat), Nägeli's figure  is altered to , probably to accord with the figure  established in the anacrusis to measure one. In measures eight and nine, Nägeli's figure  tied over the bar line, and sung to the word 'Tag', is altered to a , not tied over the bar line, and sung to the word 'star'. This change probably results from a change in the text: Nägeli probably uses a tied figure to indicate that the word 'Tag' should be sung for a full measure, with the consonant 'g' placed on the first beat of measure nine, whereas the tie becomes superfluous when singing the word 'star'.

<sup>59</sup> This explanation is also consistent with Nägeli's dynamic markings. The first line of stanza one: 'Werdet wach: (anacrusis to measure one) is probably understood as *mezzo-forte* or *forte*, with terraced dynamics more or less consonant with the phrase structure, from *pianissimo* (measure two), *piano* (measure four), *mezzo-forte* (measure six), *forte* (measure nine), to *fortissimo* (measure eleven).

<sup>60</sup> In a subsequent version of 'The Morning Call' (*Juvenile Lyre*, p. 9), the anacrusis to measure one is marked *mezzo-forte*; and measure thirteen is marked *pianissimo*.

<sup>61</sup> In a subsequent version of 'The Garden' (*Juvenile Lyre*, p. 10), the misprints in measures one, three and five have been corrected.

<sup>62</sup> The suggestion that Ives was responsible for editing the Nägeli songs in the spring or early



summer of 1830, is based on several pieces of evidence: Ives' chronology of events leading up to the publication of the *Juvenile Lyre* (see Letter, E. Ives, Jr, to Rev. N. E. Cornwall, 19 September 1844, quoted in Silantien, 1976, pp. 82–4), the publication of 'The Morning Call' and 'The Rising Sun' in identical form to the Woodbridge Lecture, in September 1830 (see 'Music, as a Branch of Instruction in Common Schools', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, NS 1, 1830, pp. 419, 420), necessitating that the editing of the songs be completed by late August or early September 1830, in order to go to press in September 1830—rather early for Mason to have been involved. The constraints of time, as well as Ives' involvement in the Hartford experiment during the summer of 1830, with the possibility that he may have used these songs in his classes, strengthens the case for Ives as the editor of the Nägeli songs performed in the Woodbridge lecture.

<sup>63</sup> See Ellis (1957, p. 147). As there are only sixty-two songs in the *Juvenile Lyre*, and as 'The Morning Call', 'The Garden' and 'The Rising Sun' are three of those songs, we assume that Ellis attributes the authorship of these texts to Hale. For biographical information on Hale, see Norma R. Fryatt, *Sarah Josepha Hale: The Life and Times of a Nineteenth-Century Career Woman* (NY: Hawthorn, 1975); Bertha Monica Stearns, 'Hale, Sarah Josepha Buell', *American Dictionary of Biography*, 1932, VIII, 111–12.

<sup>64</sup> See Sarah J. Hale, *Poems for Our Children: Including 'Mary Had a Little Lamb,' Designed for Families, Sabbath Schools, and Infant Schools. Written to Inculcate Moral Truths and Virtuous Sentiments* (1830; rpt. Boston: R. W. Hale, 1916).

<sup>65</sup> For a biographical sketch of Dutton, see Frank J. Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music* (NY: Russell and Russell, 1967), pp. 247, 248.

<sup>66</sup> Letter, E. Ives, Jr, to Rev. N. E. Cornwall, 19 September, 1844, quoted in Silantien, 1976, p. 83. The original letter is missing from the Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., attempts to locate it having failed, I assume, though, that while Silantien has deciphered Ives' hand-writing to refer to 'a Mrs. ——— of Andover', Ives was probably referring to 'a Mr. Smith of Andover'.

<sup>67</sup> E. Ives, Jr, *The Musical Spelling-Book: A New Method of Instruction in the Rudiments of Music; Together with Musical Recreations as a Relief from Study*, 6th ed. (NY: D. Burgess and Co., 1853), p. 136. I am indebted to Marcie-Ann Gilsig for this reference. For biographical information on Lydia Howard Huntley Sigourney, see Gordon S. Haight, *Mrs. Sigourney, The Sweet Singer of Hartford* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930); Gordon S. Haight, 'Sigourney, Lydia Howard Huntley', *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1935, XVII, 155–6.

<sup>68</sup> In Example 6, the second stanza of Demme's poem has not been included in 'The Rising Sun'. In the subsequent published versions (*Juvenile Lyre*, p. 67; *The Musical Spelling-Book*, p. 136), the second stanza is included:

O Welcome, glorious image  
Of Justice reconciled;  
So great and so majestic,  
But yet so soft and mild.

The inclusion of this verse clearly strengthens the case for the assumption that Mrs Sigourney was responsible for an English versification of the German.

<sup>69</sup> See *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford), Tuesday, 14 September, 1830.

<sup>70</sup> See 'Proceedings of the American Lyceum', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 3 (1833), pp. 352, 356.

<sup>71</sup> See Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music' (1833), p. 193. Compare the content of the Committee Report to the American Lyceum in 'Proceedings of the American Lyceum', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 3 (1833), p. 356.

<sup>72</sup> This is in addition to the publication of the lecture in identical form in: *The Introductory Discourse and Lectures Delivered in Boston, Before the Convention of Teachers and Other Friends of Education, Assembled to Form the American Institute of Instruction. August, 1830* (Boston: Published under the Direction of the Board of Censors, 1831) (see Wilson, II, pp. 4–26); and in the Woodbridge lecture.

<sup>73</sup> 'Music, as a Branch of Instruction in Common Schools', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, NS 1 (1830), 417–20.

<sup>74</sup> 'Music, as a Branch of Common Education', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 1 (1831), 64–7.

<sup>75</sup> 'Music, as a Branch of Common Education', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 1 (1831), 269–73.

<sup>76</sup> Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music', 193–212.

<sup>77</sup> Compare with Woodbridge, *Lecture*, pp. 1, 4, 18, 19, 20, showing that much of the material in the September (1830) article appears in quoted or summarized form in the Woodbridge lecture. New Material includes an extended version of the ordinance, extracted from the Prussian Official Gazette (*Amts Blatt*), Cologne, 15 January 1828. Two songs, 'The Rising Sun' and 'The Morning Call', also appear in the September (1830) article (pp. 419, 420).

<sup>78</sup> Compare with Woodbridge, *Lecture*, pp. 7–12, showing that much of the material in the February (1831) article is either quoted or summarized from the lecture. Woodbridge notes: 'A part of this article is extracted from an address delivered before the Boston Convention of Teachers, in August, 1830, and published in the series of lectures.' ('Music, as a Branch of Common Education', 1831, p. 67). New material includes a quotation from Wehrli's journal of his school at Hofwyl.

<sup>79</sup> Compare with Woodbridge, *Lecture*, pp. 14–19, showing that much of the material in the June 1831 article is either quoted or paraphrased from the lecture.

<sup>80</sup> Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music', p. 193. In this piece, the principal arguments in the lecture are included, with some paraphrasing and quotation evident. New material includes a discussion of events surrounding the introduction of a new method of musical instruction into the United States.

<sup>81</sup> Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music', p. 12.

<sup>82</sup> For example, see 'On The Influence of Music', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 5 (1835), 507–10.

<sup>83</sup> In an editorial from the *Musical Gazette* 4 (15 June 1849), p. 9, (see Wilson, II, p. 261), these societal changes along with concomitant changes in public interest in music education are alluded to:

It may be fancy on our part, but it seems to us that public interest in the subject of general musical cultivation has very much declined within the past two or three years; and it also seems to us, sometimes, that there is not the interest felt in the subject of church music that there was a few years since. Certainly, in this vicinity, there is a great difference, we hope it is not so everywhere, notwithstanding the number of letters which we receive from subscribers, with the postscript 'There is very little interest felt in the subject of music in this vicinity'. A dozen years since, it seemed as if the cultivation of music among all classes of the community was a subject in which everybody felt a deep interest.

<sup>84</sup> See Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 17. Various articles published in the *American Annals of Education and Instruction* exemplify this philosophy, viz., 'Singing in Schools' (3rd ser., 1, 1831, 167–70, 211–14); 'Musical Talent' (3rd ser., 1, 1831, 518–21); and 'Vocal Music' (3rd ser., 5, 1835, 225–9).

<sup>85</sup> See Stone, pp. 42, 43, 49.

<sup>86</sup> 'Music in the Public Schools', *Dwight's Journal of Music* 10 (1857), p. 178. An alternative elitist approach is recommended as follows:

First of all, the music teacher should take the name of every boy in school under twelve years of age who, upon trial, gives evidence of extraordinary musical capacity . . . Observation and experience indicate that, out of two hundred pupils, he would find about thirty who would come up to the mark. He should then consult their wishes, and only those who are strongly inclined to devote special attention to the cultivation of music as a science should be retained. This second process would most likely reduce his class to about twenty, a very convenient number. This class should practise one hour daily, separate from the rest of the school. (p. 178)

<sup>87</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 22. He believed that the materials he had brought with him from Europe represented the correct approach to musical instruction.

<sup>88</sup> During his lecture, Woodbridge appeals to authorities such as Barber, Chapman, Denzel, Fellenberg, Harnisch, Ives, Luther, Mason, Nägeli, Niemeyer, Plato, Pfeiffer, Richter, Rush (Jr and Sr), Schwartz and Wehrli. A contemporary British reviewer of the papers read at the American Institute of Instruction, found that they evidenced 'a feebleness of thought, a seeking of shelter under names and authorities, and often a kind of inaccuracy, which though not very great in degree, is a decisive proof of incomplete knowledge'. ('Introductory Discourse and Lectures Delivered in Boston', rev. of *The Introductory Discourse and Lectures Delivered in Boston, Before the Convention of Teachers and Other Friends of Education, Assembled to Form the*

*American Institute of Instruction. August, 1830.* Published under the Direction of the Board of Censors, *Quarterly Journal of Education* 3, 1832, p. 58).

<sup>89</sup> See Ellis, ch. 3, and Schünemann, ch. 5, for a discussion of other extant textbooks from which Woodbridge could have selected. Woodbridge fails to mention that the *Gesangbildungslehre* had received somewhat mixed reviews, in spite of Nägeli's efforts to promote it. Also, J. W. Moore (*Encyclopaedia of Music*, Boston: John P. Jewett, 1854, p. 770) refers to Ives' assertion that the 'so-called Pestalozzian System' of musical instruction used at Hofwyl, was 'never adopted by the musicians of Germany, but was repudiated by the professor at the Fellenberg School, when Mr. Woodbridge was there'.

<sup>90</sup> 'On Simplifying Instruction in Vocal Music', *English Journal of Education* 4 (1846), p. 360.

<sup>91</sup> 'Music in the Boston Schools', *American Journal of Music, and Musical Visitor* 4 (1845), p. 43 (see Wilson, II, p. 257). Other criticisms of unprofessionalism were levelled at Mason by G. W. Lucas (*American Journal of Music, and Musical Visitor* 4, 1845, p. 97).

<sup>92</sup> About the same time, arguments were being made for the inclusion of other subjects in the common school curriculum, namely, William A. Alcott, 'On the Study of Physiology as a Branch of Common Education', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 3 (1833), 385-403. In an article entitled: 'What Branches Should be Taught in Common Schools?' (*American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 8, 1838, 145-53), the dilemma between subjects which could be argued to be desirable, and the limitations of time to do justice to those subjects already included in the school curriculum, is noted.

<sup>93</sup> See Henry Zentner, 'Sorokin's Analysis of Time and Space', *Sorokin and Sociology: Essays in Honour of Professor Pitirim Sorokin*, eds, G. C. Hallen and R. Prasad (Moti Katra, Agra-3 India: Satish, 1972).

<sup>94</sup> For a discussion of the shift in emphasis from a utilitarian to an aesthetic rationale for music education, see Michael M. Mark, 'The Evolution of Music Education Philosophy from Utilitarian to Aesthetic', *Journal of Research in Music Education* 30 (1982), 15-21.

<sup>95</sup> Woodbridge, 'On Vocal Music', p. 199.

<sup>96</sup> See Ellinwood, p. 22; Gould, ch. 5.

<sup>97</sup> Nicholas E. Tawa (*Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans. The Parlor Song in America, 1790-1860*, Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980, p. 53) claims that the 'surge of interest in parlor song, from 1820 to 1860' was partly due to the influence of the singing schools, and the availability of inexpensive singing lessons. He notes that parlour songs were sometimes included in the singing school repertoire in order to attract members.

<sup>98</sup> See Chase, ch. 10; Harry Eskew, 'Shape Note Hymnody', *The New Grove*, XVII, 223-8. George H. Kyme ('An Experiment in Teaching Children to Read Music with Shape Notes', *Journal of Research in Music Education* 8, 1960, 3-8), suggests that shape note instruction may be superior to other methods of sight singing instruction, including *sol-fa*. Further experimentation is warranted.

<sup>99</sup> For a brief account of music in the Prussian educational system c. 1839, see: 'Primary or Common School Education in Prussia', *Connecticut Common School Journal* 1 (1839), p. 123; 'On the Seminaries for School-Masters for the Working Classes in Prussia', *Connecticut Common School Journal* 1 (1839), pp. 126, 127.

<sup>100</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 18; 'On Vocal Music', pp. 199, 200.

<sup>101</sup> Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 4.

<sup>102</sup> 'Boston Academy of Music', *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 3rd ser., 5 (1835), p. 330.

<sup>103</sup> See Samuel A. Eliot, *Address Before the Boston Academy of Music on the Opening of the Odeon, August 5, 1835* (Boston: Perkins, Marvin and Co., 1835), p. 4; Wilson, II, p. 29.

<sup>104</sup> See Estelle R. Jorgensen, 'Engineering Change in Music Education: A Model of the Political Process Underlying the Boston School Music Movement (1829-1838)', *Journal of Research in Music Education* 31 (1983), 67-75.

STUDIES IN MUSIC

**Example 1: A comparison of 'Aufruf am Morgen' and 'The Morning Call'**  
 'Aufruf am Morgen' (*Gesangbildungslehre*, Beilage B, p. 7, XIII)

Allegretto

Wer-det wach! In das O- stens dunk-ler Fer- ne löscht das

hel- le Licht der Ster- ne schon der jun- ge Tag.

Wer-det wach! wer-det wach! wach!

Schluss.

'The Morning Call' (Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 5)

Allegretto

Friends, a- wake! From its slum- ber now a- wak- ing, Tho' the

east- ern dark-ness break- ing, See the morn- ing star!

Friends, a- wake, Friends, a- wake wake.

**Example 2:** A comparison of 'Das Gärtchen' and 'The Garden'  
 'Das Gärtchen' (*Gesangbildungslehre*, Beilage B, p. 3, V)

*Allegro*

Kommt, Schwe - stern und Brü - der! ins Gärt - chen zu  
 gehn, da Blü - hen nun wie - der die Blu - men so schön .

The image shows a musical score for 'Das Gärtchen' in 3/8 time, marked 'Allegro'. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has two staves: the upper staff is the vocal line and the lower staff is the piano accompaniment. The lyrics are 'Kommt, Schwe - stern und Brü - der! ins Gärt - chen zu'. The second system also has two staves, with the vocal line on top and piano accompaniment below. The lyrics are 'gehn, da Blü - hen nun wie - der die Blu - men so schön .'. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#).

'The Garden' (Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 10)\*

O come to the gar - den, dear mates of the  
 school, and rove through the bow - ers so fra - grant and cool .

The image shows a musical score for 'The Garden' in 3/8 time. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has two staves: the upper staff is the vocal line and the lower staff is the piano accompaniment. The lyrics are 'O come to the gar - den, dear mates of the'. The second system also has two staves, with the vocal line on top and piano accompaniment below. The lyrics are 'school, and rove through the bow - ers so fra - grant and cool .'. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#).

\* Syllabification mine. Misprints in the original: *alto*, ms. 1, 3rd beat is an F#; *soprano*, ms. 3, tail missing on the ♭; *soprano*, ms. 5, 1st beat, 2nd ♭ is a C#.

STUDIES IN MUSIC

**Example 3:** A comparison of 'Die aufgehende Sonne' and 'The Rising Sun'  
'Die aufgehende Sonne: (*Gesangbildungslehre*, Beilage B, p. 1, I)

Andante

In Mor- gen-roth ge- klei- det be- ginnt sie ih- ren  
lauf, die schö- ne, gro- sse Son- ne, wie herr- lich geht sie auf!

The image shows a musical score for 'Die aufgehende Sonne'. It consists of two systems of music. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first system contains the lyrics 'In Mor- gen-roth ge- klei- det be- ginnt sie ih- ren' and the second system contains 'lauf, die schö- ne, gro- sse Son- ne, wie herr- lich geht sie auf!'.

'The Rising Sun' (Woodbridge, *Lecture*, p. 13)\*

Andante

A- ray'd in robes of morn- ing, His dai- ly course to  
run, The world with light a- dorn- ing be- hold the ris- ing sun.

The image shows a musical score for 'The Rising Sun'. It consists of two systems of music. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first system contains the lyrics 'A- ray'd in robes of morn- ing, His dai- ly course to' and the second system contains 'run, The world with light a- dorn- ing be- hold the ris- ing sun.'.

\* Syllabification mine. Misprint in *alto*, ms. 7, tail missing on F.

**Example 4:** A comparison of the texts of 'Aufruf am Morgen' and 'The Morning Call'

'Aufruf am Morgen' ( <i>Gesangbildungslehre</i> , Beilage B, p. 7, XIII)	Translation of 'Aufruf am Morgen' (Robert Gray)	'The Morning Call' (Woodbridge, <i>Lecture</i> , p. 5)
Werdet wach! In des Ostens dunkler Ferne Löscht das helle Licht der Sterne Schon der junge Tag. Werdet wach! werdet wach.	Awake! In the distant darkness of the East Dim already the stars' bright light With the new day. Awake! Awake!	Friends, awake! From its slumbers now awaking, Thro' the eastern darkness breaking, See the morning star! Friends awake! Friends awake — wake!
Werdet wach! Von der Schlummerstätte schwinget Sich die Lerche hoch, und singet Ihren Trillerschlag.	Awake! The skylark soars high up From its place of rest, and sings Its warbling cry.	Brother, wake! Hark the cheerful lark is singing, And the hills and dales are ringing With her joyful hymn.
Werdet wach! Alles regt sich schon und lebet Alles hüpfet und sinnt und strebet Reuen Freuden nach.	Awake! Already all stirs and is alive Leaps and ponders and strives After new joys.	Sister, wake! Everything is now reviving— Everyone around is striving, In some new pursuit.
Werdet wach! Hohe, süsse Himmelswonne Taucht der Strahl der Morgensonne In des Lebens Bach.	Awake! The sky's high, sweet delights The morning sun's rays plunge In the stream of life.	All awake! See! the sun with splendor beaming, O'er the distant waters streaming, Pours his glorious light.
Agricola		

**Example 5:** A comparison of the texts of 'Das Gärtchen' and 'The Garden'

'Das Gärtchen' ( <i>Gesangbildungslehre</i> , Beilage B, p. 3, V)	Translation of 'Das Gärtchen' (Robert Gray)	'The Garden' (Woodbridge, <i>Lecture</i> , p. 10)
Kommt, Schwestern und Brüder! Ins Gärtchen zu gehn, Da blühen nun wieder Die Blumen so schön.	Come brothers and sisters Into the little garden let us go There the flowers are blooming So prettily again.	O come to the garden, dear mates of the school, And rove through the bowers so fragrant and cool.
Wir wollen sie pflücken In kindlicher Lust, Mit ihnen zu schmücken Das Haar and die Brust.	We want to gather them With childlike pleasure, And use them to adorn Our hair and our breast.	We'll gather the lily and jessamine fair, And twine them with roses to garland our hair.
Wir stecken die Pflanze Und Zwiebel dabei, Zum Strausse, zum Kranze Im künftigen Mai.	We plant the flowers And bulbs close by, For bouquets, for garlands In the coming May.	We'll cull all the sweets to make a bouquet To give to our teacher this warm summer day.
Wir graben, und streuen Den Saamen hinein, Uns künft'ig zu freuen Und fröhlich zu sein.	We dig and scatter The seeds below, So that later happy And merry we'll be.	Then hie to our school-room, with joy and with glee, And sing our sweet ballads, So happy are we.
Dann gehen wir wieder Zur Schule zurück, Und singen uns Lieder Von Jugend und Glück.	And then we return To school once again, Singing songs Of youth and joy.	
Seidel		

**Example 6:** A comparison of the texts of 'Die aufgehende Sonne' and 'The Rising Sun'

'Die aufgehende Sonne' ( <i>Gesangbildungslehre</i> , Beilage B, p. 1, 1)	Translation of 'Die Aufgehende Sonne' (Robert Gray)	'The Rising Sun' (Woodbridge, <i>Lecture</i> , p. 13)
In Morgenroth gekleidet Beginnt sie ihren Lauf, Die schöne, gross Sonne, Wie herrlich geht sie auf!	Garbed in dawn's rose She begins her ascent, The beautiful, great sun, How magnificently she rises!	Array'd in robes of morning His daily course to run, The world with light adorning— Behold the rising sun.
Willkommen uns, willkommen, Des guten Gottes Bild! So gross und so erhaben, Und doch so sanft und mild!	Welcome, we welcome The good Lord's image! So great and so majestic, And yet so soft and mild!	With grateful hearts and voices, We hail they kindly rays; All nature now rejoices, And sings thy Maker's praise.
Wie frisch hervor ins Leben Sich alles, alles drängt? Wie schön an jedem Gräschen Des Thaues Perle hängt!	How fresh everything forces Its way into life! How beautiful the pearls of dew Hang on the grass!	O shed thy radiance o'er us, And cheer each youthful mind; Like thee our Lord is glorious, Like thee our God is kind.
Der dich erschuf, o Sonne! Wie freundlich muss er sein! O lasst uns ihm, ihr Brüder! Ein reines Leben weihn.	Your creator, o sun! How kind he must be! O brothers, let us devote A pure life to him!	O shed thy radiance o'er us, And cheer each youthful mind; Like thee our Lord is glorious, Like thee our God is kind.

Demme