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If a manuscript is accepted for publication by the editorial committee, the author will be asked to supply a brief biographical paragraph and an electronic mail attachment with the text, sent to thomas.riis@colorado.edu. Once accepted, the preparation of final copy in electronic form will require the following: abstract of no more than 200 words; article text in MSWord including notes and references (preferably as a .doc file). Musical examples and figures for final production should be high resolution (at least 300 dpi) images.

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Paul Miller

Serial Minimalist or Minimal Serialist? The Music of John McGuire

Of all the musical innovations by American composers, few have enjoyed a success comparable to minimalism, which began to make a recognizable appearance on the landscape in the 1960s. Minimalist works have resonated for decades in the American musical landscape, spawned an offshoot that has become known as “postminimalism,” and influenced composers of art and popular music around the globe. Often portrayed as a reaction against the perceived hegemony of American academic serialism (which was itself—as the story goes—rooted in a peculiar mélange of European serialism and early twentieth-century American experimentalism), minimalism has left an indelible mark on world musical culture of the last fifty years.

In contrast to the often straightforwardly plain-worded creeds of early minimalist composers, critical reaction to their music is anything but simple. Initially encountering stiff resistance from established academic authorities but simultaneously enjoying surprising success among audiences, minimal music first aligned itself to anti-establishment forces. Over time, the landscape has changed and minimalism has more recently generated belated but genuine interest among several serious scholars and critics. If reactions to this music sometimes seem scattered, disorganized or confused, it is perhaps an accurate reflection of the complex relationship it has had with the public, the media, and the academy.

One area in particular that has proven problematic for critics and musicians has been negotiating the boundary between minimalist and serial music. This complicated relationship has generated starkly different views. While some have characterized serialism and minimalism as antitheses, others have noted parallels—if not in aesthetics, then at least in certain methods and

techniques. In general, the fault lines occur mostly between American and European critics, which is not surprising since European serial and minimal composers often took a different approach than their American counterparts. Correspondingly, American writers tend to emphasize the differences between minimal and serial music, while European writers often see similarities.

My goal in this essay is not to judge the validity of one musical aesthetic over another, nor to take anything away from the notably successful artistic projects of minimalist, postminimalist or any other “newly accessible” composers. Rather, I hope to draw attention to the permeability of the categories “minimal” and “serial” by exploring the work of a New York-based American composer, John McGuire (b. 1942). McGuire’s music, unequivocally branded “postminimal” by one of the most ardent critics in the literature,¹ is little known outside a small circle of enthusiasts, a condition not so unusual for a serious composer today. Yet his international career is emblematic of the opportunities musicians have to absorb ideas from different cultures and therefore relevant to the experiences many American composers negotiate today. McGuire’s approach crosses between the minimalist and serial worlds in many unusual and unexpected ways, as we shall see. By analyzing two of his works in some depth, I will locate more concretely some areas where “minimal” and “serial” music(s) might intersect, and suggest that there is perhaps a more porous boundary between American and European art music than is generally portrayed.

1.

Most scholars agree that La Monte Young played a pivotal role in the formation of the American minimalist style.² While Michael Nyman first aligned the composer’s interest in music as performance art with the Fluxus movement,³ Young’s radical handling of temporality—as amply demonstrated in his much-cited *Trio* (1958)—initially placed him in a category all by himself. While Riley’s *In C* (1964) served as another exemplary minimalist work, Young was the movement’s “father figure” to a certain extent.⁴ The term “minimalism,” of course, derives from an earlier trend in the visual arts that was appropriated by writers on music, often to the dismay of the composers themselves.⁵ Often Nyman is credited again as one of the first to connect the word “minimal” with music.⁶ Most scholars group the music of Steve Reich and Philip Glass with Young and Riley, and their oeuvres have become the core repertoire in the early minimalist movement of the 1960s and ’70s.

When exploring the literature documenting minimalist history, one inevitably encounters a thread that contrasts its musical aesthetics against a particular perception of 1950s and ’60s academic serial music.

Like Cageian indeterminacy, [the early phases of American musical minimalism] represent an American reaction to the serial models of modernism offered by European composers such as Pierre Boulez and Karlheinz Stockhausen, and by American serialists such as Milton Babbitt. [Young, Reilly, Reich and Glass] have criticized serialism, in particular, as irrelevant not only to their own concerns but also as a musical, and cultural, mistake.⁷

The Minimalist painting of Newman, Reinhardt and others arose amid the proliferating and fetishized complexity of Abstract Expressionist gesturalism. The Minimalist music of Young and others arose during the hegemony of serialism, in which they had been trained and were assumed, as “serious” rather than “popular” composers, to continue.⁸

For years, devotees of contemporary music had been forced to accept the “uptown sound” as the only legitimate path for progressive music in the classical tradition . . . But with minimalism, the tables turned.⁹

No longer can [minimalism] simply be considered a musical knickknack created to counter complex abstract music.¹⁰

Serialism and Cage gave me something to push *against*.¹¹

What was it that set minimal music apart from American serial music? According to Johnson, the minimalist *style* can be described as formally continuous, bright in timbre, harmonically simple, slow in harmonic rhythm, and favoring brief melodic passages. However, Johnson preferred to describe minimalism as a *technique* or *methodology*.¹² Along these same lines, Warburton proposed a toolbox of techniques that he contends can be used to describe minimalist music.¹³ In addition to these writers’ observations, one of the central tenets of early minimalist composers is the idea that musical processes should be easily understandable by listeners.¹⁴ This stands in contrast to the perception that serial composers were not as willing to allow the listener to discover aurally the engine driving the musical structure.¹⁵ But at least one commentator seems skeptical that merely listing a series of traits or techniques can adequately define minimalism at all: “No list of ‘typical characteristics’ can serve as a foolproof test of what is minimal and what is not.”¹⁶

Like minimalism, scholars differ in their views of serialism. Marcus Bandur poetically stated that it is simply “a philosophy of life.”¹⁷ Another has written that serialism is “a method of composition in which a fixed permutation, or series, of elements is referential (i.e., the handling of those elements in the composition is governed, to some extent and in some manner, by the series).”¹⁸ The general understanding in America is that the serial umbrella

embraces twelve-tone works of the second Viennese school as well as post-war works that were influenced by that repertoire. But in Europe, the term usually refers only to music composed after World War II. Delaere is representative of the most common European train of thought when he writes that serialism is a synthesis of Webern's row technique and Messiaen's parametric thinking.¹⁹ According to Straus, few American composers serialized musical domains other than pitch, and therefore serialism in the United States was much more focused on ordering pitch structures than it was in Europe.²⁰

The ideas associated with the first wave of minimalism were enough to sustain considerable interest for some time. But the sound of simple melodic patterns repeated over and over again may have engendered some sense that there was nowhere left to go.²¹ At least for one writer, Glass's aggressive arpeggiations appeared as "grandiose pretensions propped up by materials too weak to support the ambition".²² Several critics noticed a second stylistic shift occurring around 1980: ". . . *something* has happened to the movement originally known as minimalism."²³ The new sound was soon dubbed "postminimalism."²⁴ The loose-knit group of composers associated with this style—chief among them John Adams—did not achieve as high a degree of stylistic homogeneity as the original quartet of minimalists, but the roots of their aesthetics undoubtedly lie with their predecessors. Again, the term "postminimalism" originated in the art world long before it was applied to music.²⁵ According to Gann, postminimalist music relies "on minimalism's steady beat, diatonic tonality, and even formal archetypes," but also invites an "inclusiveness bringing together ideas from a daunting array of musical sources."²⁶ This "big-tent" definition leaves the possibility open for many composers' music to fall into the postminimalist camp.

Curiously, Gann also defined postminimalist aesthetics as yet another response to the serialist sound: ". . . postminimalism is also...a continuing reaction against the ugly discontinuity and fragmentation of academic music of the twelve-tone school."²⁷ Was the first wave of minimalism not powerful enough to efface the supposed serial "cancer"? The politics of categorization have led to the use of even stronger terms to assess the situation.²⁸ Postminimalism and minimalism have been linked to a discernable trend toward "accessibility"²⁹—and, at one extreme, writers have even gone so far as to read the alleged historical discontinuity that gave rise to minimalism in evangelical or scatological terms. According to one critic, the great majority of serious composers have "defected from their Modernist training," thereby being "converted in reverse";³⁰ another states that the deliberate "lack of meaning" in minimalism is a "much needed detergent for new music's soiled linen."³¹

To what degree, then, were the minimalists really initiating a musical “re-boot”? While it is clear that some practitioners—especially Glass—expressed a vivid revulsion to the widely held perception of serialism that was common at the time,³² a number of writers have viewed the first spectacular flowering of minimalism not so much as a Kuhnian paradigm shift, but more as a reorientation of musical style.

Joseph Straus’s historical narrative calls into question the reading of minimalism as entirely discontinuous from the music of the past. In his recent study of American serial music, Straus writes, “. . . our standard accounts of American music since World War II have favored a linear narrative within which each new approach effectively effaces whatever came before. The reality is messier.”³³ He argues that even if one returns to consonance, linearity, regular rhythmic pulse, and other musical elements thought of as traditional, “. . . it is hard to imagine the recent work of, for example, John Corigliano, Christopher Rouse, Joan Tower, or John Harbison, without sensing the impact of generations of atonal and twelve-tone composition.”³⁴

While acknowledging their aesthetic differences, Straus identifies three aspects in which minimal and serial music often share methodology: the “use of precompositional plans, the propensity towards systematic exploration of a musical domain, and the maintenance of serial ordering.”³⁵ Other critics have arrived at similar conclusions. Potter writes that

Just as Boulez and Cage found common ground in the late 1940s and early 1950s with their use of procedures the details of which were generated by forces outside their conscious control, so it is possible to make connections between integral serialism and minimalism: a commitment to the consequences of rigorous application of processes independent, to a significant degree, of the composer’s note-to-note control is evidently the key here.³⁶

Even Gann, whose enthusiasm for postminimalist and “totalist” music is never in any doubt, surprisingly asserted that

. . . minimalism and serialism are but opposite sides of the same coin, as notable for their similarities as for their differences. One can imagine some 22nd century musicologist lumping them together as part of the same phenomenon . . .³⁷

Along the same lines, Reich wrote that “the distinctive thing about musical processes is that they determine all the note-to-note details and the over all form simultaneously.”³⁸ Substitute the words “a series” for “musical processes,” and one can transform Reich’s statement into something sounding like an orthodox serialist manifesto. Whittall suggested that Reich’s attempts to

“simplify—or subvert” serialism could be understood within the orbit of serialism itself, and simply include techniques such as the avoidance of traditional twelve-tone operations and the repetition of a row over and over again.³⁹ In Grimshaw’s provocative account of Young’s early work, the author suggests that invariant pitch relationships created by serial operations might be a point of contact between serial music and the development of the minimalist aesthetic.⁴⁰ These citations lend credence to the notion that at least to a certain extent, conscious or not, minimalist composers were perhaps “enrich[ing] or inflect[ing] an already existent language,”⁴¹ but doing so in a way that countered the style or “sound” that had become associated with it in a musical culture.

If several writers in the Anglo-American tradition express the idea that history may be more continuous than it appears at first glance, those from the European continent have argued an even closer connection. The view of the situation from Europe is relevant to minimalist aesthetics for at least two reasons. First, some scholars boldly claim that European approaches to composition around 1951 actually contained the seeds of minimalism. Second, there has been significant cross-fertilization across the ocean: American minimalist works spread to Europe almost as quickly as European serialist music appeared in the United States a decade earlier.

Perhaps the strongest European arguments for a serial/minimal “goûts-réunis” can be found in studies of Karel Goeyvaerts’s music. Goeyvaerts was one of the prime innovators of “total serialism,” or “integral serialism” as it is sometimes known in America (and simply “serialism” as is generally referred to in Europe). The connection between the European version of serialism and American minimalism centers around Goeyvaerts’s concept of “static music,” revealed in his extensive correspondence with Stockhausen.⁴² The following excerpt, taken from a letter to Stockhausen dated 9 September 1953, clarifies Goeyvaerts’s view.

My principle imagines a series of identical sounds, only proportionally enlarged and contracted in time and space . . . These expansions and contractions are merely a result of ‘optical fields’ of time and space. They have no independent existence. The full significance of this principle is that, without building a particular form, it is possible to propose an interpretation of space and time that is absolutely static.⁴³

As Delaere, Beirens, and Staples argue, for Goeyvaerts “both techniques (i.e., serialism and minimalism) were merely subcategories of a ‘static music.’”⁴⁴ The authors characterize Goeyvaerts as a composer who began as a “serialist” and then moved toward writing music that developed into a “personal,

‘post-minimalist’ variant.”⁴⁵ Indeed, Goeyvaerts can come across as an innovator in both styles: his *Composition No. 2 for 13 Instruments* (1951) is often thought of as the first European serial work,⁴⁶ whereas his *Composition No. 4 for Dead Tones* (1952)—a piece which only uses four different tones—already inhabits a gray area between a kind of proto-minimalist aesthetic and recently established serial procedures.⁴⁷

Nyman characterizes another European viewpoint when he summarizes Merten’s interpretation of minimalism’s history.

... the conceptual, procedural, structural and temporal pre-occupations of [minimalist] composers is [sic] not viewed as arising from a radical break with, and separation from recent European musical tradition, but simply as a logical continuation of that tradition.⁴⁸

Mertens, along with other writers on the continent, has noted how the continuous, slowly changing nature of the structures in much minimalist music invite comparison with the sensation many feel of “frozen time” in some pre-war twelve-tone music, especially that of Webern. If one steps back from the glassy surface of works such as Webern’s *Variations op. 27*, it is perhaps possible to hear that “the continuous discontinuity of the individual elements guarantees the indivisible continuity of the whole.”⁴⁹ From this unusual perspective, some serial music seems aesthetically less distant from minimalist music than one might suppose.⁵⁰

Did serialism, by containing the roots of its own demise,⁵¹ abruptly give way to minimalism in the 1960s? Or is the serial method so open-ended—so general in its application—that some minimalist works can be said to be “special cases” of serialism, or even be heard as outgrowths of certain twelve-tone methods? Whatever the case, it should be clear from the analysis above that history is more complex than many have imagined, and that for many writers, serialism and minimalism are intertwined in subtle ways. The analyses offered below in sections 3 and 4 will examine two works of a composer who seems to have his feet firmly planted in *both* serial and minimal worlds—whose style and methods cross over the divide that some have erected. First, we shall examine McGuire’s unique career, in order better to understand how his experiences may have shaped his approach.

2.

John McGuire was born in 1942 in California.⁵² At an early age, McGuire saw the 1950 film *Young Man with a Horn* starring Kirk Douglas, Lauren Bacall, and Doris Day. The movie so inspired him that he, like the film’s protagonist, desired to take up the trumpet. Soon he began studying the piano. His train-

ing was in the classical tradition, and in short order he was playing works by classical and early Romantic composers. At age twelve, McGuire picked up the French horn, a connection he maintained for many years. Later he featured the instrument in several mature compositions. Among the many works that made an impression on him in his youth, McGuire recalls Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* as one of the most important.

After high school, McGuire enrolled at Occidental College in Los Angeles. Encouraged by one of his professors, Cora Burt Lauridsen (b. 1912), he soon gravitated toward a composition major. McGuire's principal composition teacher at this time was Robert Gross (1914–1983), a virtuoso violinist who, among other things, gave the first performance of Roger Sessions's violin concerto in 1940. At Occidental, McGuire proved himself to be unusually self-motivated, and steeped himself in as much music and literature as he could find in the library. Particularly influential were Hindemith's exercises in two-part writing from *The Craft of Musical Composition* and Saltzer's *Structural Hearing*. During the summers, McGuire studied at USC with Halsey Stephens (1908–1989) and Ingolf Dahl (1912–1970).

While at Occidental, McGuire happened one day to hear a piece that startled him. Lauridsen played Robert Craft's recording of Stockhausen's wind quintet *Zeitmasse* (1955–56) in class. At the time, he had never quite heard anything like it. Soon he started listening to other works by Stockhausen, including *Gesang der Jünglinge* (1955–56) and *Kontakte* (1958–60). McGuire's friends at nearby Pomona College were also listening to the European avant-garde, and they shared their discoveries with each other outside of class.

Most of McGuire's compositions as an undergraduate took the form of exercises derived from the techniques and styles of Bartok, Stravinsky, and Webern. He also read Henry Cowell's theories of composition, but his teachers often discouraged him from pursuing their implications much further. McGuire cites Dahl as particularly helpful in developing a facility with the 12-tone technique. On the other hand, Dahl persuaded McGuire to compose his only sonata form piece. Along with these lessons, McGuire studied Leopold Spinner's (1906–1980) short book on twelve-tone composition. As a senior, McGuire wrote a paper on Webern's *String Quartet op. 28*—a work analyzed by Spinner, but also by Stockhausen in his essay "Structure and Experiential Time."⁵³ By the time McGuire completed college in 1964, he was well acquainted with the music of Stockhausen and Boulez, but didn't quite know what to make of it all.

In fall 1964, McGuire continued his studies as a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley with Seymour Shifrin. Shifrin himself was a

student of William Schuman. During his first year at Berkeley, McGuire composed a large orchestral piece which owed much of its language to Stravinsky, Webern, and Boulez. Wishing to augment the experience he was having at Berkeley, McGuire asked the charismatic Karl Kohn (b. 1926), a Viennese émigré who taught at Pomona College, for composition lessons. In summer 1965, McGuire drove to Claremont every week to meet with Kohn. The following year, McGuire wrote a piece called *Divergences* for two string trios and piano, which was composed under the influence of Kohn and Henryk Górecki (1933–2010).

The most valuable aspect of McGuire's education at Berkeley was his contact with other composers of similar interests. One friend in particular, Charles Boone, organized listening sessions in San Francisco where one person presented music he or she had discovered, and everyone would listen and comment. It was at one of these gatherings that McGuire heard the music of Krzysztof Penderecki (b. 1933), a discovery that would soon have great significance for the direction of his education.

Having been steeped in the sounds and theories of European avant-garde music that were available in the United States at the time, it was almost inevitable that McGuire became interested in the Darmstadt Vacation Courses for New Music in Germany. In order to study in Germany, he successfully applied for a Hertz scholarship. This allowed McGuire not only to participate in the 1966 Darmstadt courses but also to stay in Europe for a year to study composition.⁵⁴ He arrived two weeks early to study at the library in Darmstadt. Having been given a friendly reception by the administration, McGuire learned that Penderecki would be teaching at the Folkwang Hochschule in Essen. After the 1966 Darmstadt courses, which went by as something of a whirlwind for him (though he did attend lectures by Ligeti, Kagel, and Stockhausen), McGuire traveled briefly to Munich and Warsaw, returning to Essen to begin work with Penderecki.

In Essen, McGuire took two weekly one-hour composition lessons with Penderecki. Occasionally this time was extended for informal chats about new music over coffee. Work consisted of detailed practice of counterpoint and orchestration. In particular, McGuire became an expert in writing Bach style fugues, an idiom in which Penderecki was fluent. During these studies, McGuire composed a string quartet called *Cadenza* (1966), which came about owing to a suggestion by Penderecki. The concept was to write fifty short "musical sketches," spread them out on the floor, and "see how they would fit together." The motivation behind this exercise owes something to Stockhausen's "variable form" and ideas from tape composition. During this

time, McGuire had constructed a written study score of Stockhausen's *Gesang der Jünglinge* using his own graphic notation. The notation he used, along with his teacher's suggestions, appear in *Cadenza*.

McGuire returned to Darmstadt the following summer in 1967. Earlier that year, Stockhausen held a noteworthy seminar at the University of California, Davis,⁵⁵ but returned to Germany after the semester was over so he could teach at Darmstadt. That summer saw the creation of the work *Ensemble*, a piece collectively composed by the composition students of Stockhausen's studio under the master's guidance.⁵⁶ For three hours each day, the twelve composers in Stockhausen's seminar worked on an installation piece which included twelve tape samples and twelve live musicians. In a letter they received before the courses, students were encouraged to put anything they wanted to on their pre-recorded tape. The idea was somehow to integrate one's tape sounds with music from a live musician.⁵⁷ Then, the participants—with Stockhausen's guidance—took the project a step further, and integrated each duo with the other eleven, creating a "composition of compositions." During the four-hour performance, the audience came and went as they pleased. Unfortunately, McGuire became ill and couldn't participate in many of the seminars, but he did manage at the last minute to put together a contribution to the project.⁵⁸

In graduate school, McGuire received three scholarships from Berkeley and a Fulbright (which he was unable to make use of since he was not allowed to receive funds from two sources simultaneously.) This generous income stream allowed him to study with Penderecki until 1968, and to participate a third time at Darmstadt. This time he was able to take part fully in Stockhausen's project, *Musik für ein Haus* ("Music for a House"). By this time, Stockhausen had moved on to creating "Intuitive Music"—that is, music without a score or even specific performing directions.⁵⁹ At least on the surface, the goal in 1968 was much the same as in 1967: to create a collaborative four-hour installation piece. The young composers in Stockhausen's seminar wrote their own "text pieces" based on the style of Stockhausen's *Aus den sieben Tagen* ("From the Seven Days," 1968). Small ensembles were arranged in the rooms of a house in Darmstadt. Each room had a kind of "musical window" into the others, since sounds from any space could be piped in or sent off to any other room. McGuire's short essay about the project and his role in it shows his evident enthusiasm.⁶⁰

Upon completing his studies with Penderecki and at Darmstadt, McGuire returned to Berkeley in 1969. He had been working since 1966 on a piece called *Decay* for eight French horns. The piece—which features an impres-



Example 1. John McGuire at the 1968 Darmstadt Courses. McGuire is pictured on the far right (alone) while Stockhausen is in the white shirt at the lower left. Copyright ©Archive of the Stockhausen Foundation for Music, Kürten, Germany (www.stockhausen.org).

sive array of extended techniques unique to the horn—consists of a process which plays out in sixteen “frames.” Periodic, synchronous, pitched events gradually decay into aperiodic, asynchronous noises. *Decay* was his final piece as a graduate student. After obtaining his master’s degree from Berkeley in 1970, McGuire returned to Europe, this time for a much more extended stay.

McGuire found his way back to Essen, but soon he was visiting Utrecht twice weekly. In the Netherlands he attended a course at the Institute of Sonology, where he studied Gottfried Michael Koenig’s approach to composition. Most of Koenig’s lectures centered around two subjects: voltage control electronics and algorithmic composition. Koenig’s thinking reinforced the change that overtook McGuire’s composition around 1970. When he was still living in Berkeley, McGuire worked with a friend, Alden Jenks, who built “electronic gadgets.”⁶¹ After these experiments with electronics, McGuire conceived of a piece dominated by repeating patterns. Thus, McGuire’s composition *Frieze* for four pianos (1969–74), a 22-minute work which features continual dissonant, repeating shimmering patterns, was actually born in Berkeley, not in Europe. Koenig’s understanding of voltage control reinforced McGuire’s

aesthetic change. McGuire cites his experimentation with voltage control more than the sounds of minimalist music in the California air as the prime reason why his style changed.

Occasionally when McGuire played hooky from the lectures of Diderik Wagenaar (b. 1946) and Otto Laske (b. 1936), he experimented with the electronic equipment in a nearby open studio at the Institute of Sonology. Another opportunity to experiment with technology came at the Feedback Studio, a small independent electronic studio set up by his friends David Johnson, Rolf Gehlhaar, and Johannes Fritsch in Cologne.⁶² A significant amount of music and literature came out of the Feedback Studio, which was formed by the three Stockhausen students after their monumental series of performances at the German Pavilion at the 1970 Osaka World's Fair.⁶³

In order to facilitate his ability to compose an electronic piece, McGuire enrolled in a course at the Cologne Hochschule für Musik from 1975 to 1977.⁶⁴ Although his official teacher was the electronic composer Hans Ulrich Humpert, McGuire's "advisor" was hardly ever around. Instead, McGuire worked principally with Marcel Schmidt, the sound engineer at the Hochschule. The piece McGuire composed was *Pulse Music 1* (1975–76), a work in which his new aesthetic first appeared. *Pulse Music 1*, which lasts approximately twenty-one minutes, is a vigorous exploration in the combinatorial possibilities of different pulse streams and tempo relationships.⁶⁵ Its tonal centers slowly cycle through the circle of fifths, a practice that can be heard in McGuire's compositions to the present day. The vertical pitch material is also constructed from consonant intervals.⁶⁶ Tempo relationships correspond to simple whole-number ratios, which also organize the pitch domain. The repetitive patterns in *Pulse Music 1* were composed during a three-month period where McGuire sat at the keyboard improvising patterns and then working them out in loops at the Feedback Studio.

Pulse Music 2 (1975–77), written at about the same time as *Pulse Music 1*, is a work for small orchestra. Unfortunately, the recording of it was lost in McGuire's recent apartment fire. According to the composer, the piece is unique in his oeuvre as it "consists of a single, uncontradicted [sic] progression of durations." The object was to create something that was "simultaneously directional and cyclic." The third work in the set, *Pulse Music 3*, was realized in 1978 under significantly different circumstances, McGuire having received a commission from the West German Radio (WDR). The terms of the commission allowed McGuire to work on the Synthi 100, at that time one of the most advanced analog synthesizers of the day.⁶⁷ Volker Müller, a very able and accomplished studio technician and also a part the Stockhausen

circle, assisted McGuire. This quadrophonic piece brings a sense of spatial movement to the pulse streams that McGuire was becoming adept at manipulating. More analysis of *Pulse Music 3* will be offered in the following section.

Simultaneously with work on his *Pulse Music* series, McGuire composed *48 Variations for Two Pianos* (1976–80). Herbert Henck, another musician in the Stockhausen circle, commissioned the piece and later recorded it with Deborah Richards. An hour-long work that features many of the undulating repeating patterns McGuire earlier worked out while improvising on the piano, *48 Variations* exhibits McGuire's most complex multilayered time organization. As a result of the sixteen layers of temporal structure, the listener is invited to construct his or her own set of relationships. Since the sound-world is so complex, the listener is faced with a sort of "perceptual indeterminacy" in the composer's words. Yet like the *Pulse Music* set, *48 Variations* utilizes a pitch language derived mostly from consonant intervals.⁶⁸

His next work, *Music for Horns, Pianos and Cymbals* (1981) was commissioned by the Ensemble Köln.⁶⁹ A thirteen-minute piece for mixed ensemble, McGuire wrote it in only six months, a greatly compressed schedule by his standards. The work translates his interest in exploring various complex overlapping pulse streams to an instrumental context. This experimentation led him to compose the chamber orchestra piece *Cadence Music* (1982–85, originally titled *Crossfades and Cadences*), which catalogues his experience handling complex pulse streams and orchestration up to that time. Another commission from the WDR soon materialized for the electronic work *Vanishing Points* (1985–88). The most obvious feature of *Vanishing Points* is its complex sequence of *accelerandi* and *ritardandi*, something McGuire had not systematically explored up to that point. The goal was to create various perceptible audible "perspectives," the way a painter might do when expressing the three-dimensional world on a flat canvas. McGuire was able once again to work with Volker Müller on the project. *Vanishing Points* was composed on new Yamaha digital equipment that was installed at the studio.

A third WDR commission allowed McGuire to compose his first "solo" and his first vocal piece, *A Cappella* (1990–97). Again he was able to work with Müller on the project. This piece was written for his wife, Beth Griffith, a singer and a native Texan who had moved to Munich in 1975, relocating to Cologne in 1976. Griffith impressed many composers, including Kagel, for her flexible and sonorous voice as well as her unusual willingness to try new music. In *A Cappella*, McGuire recorded Griffith singing a variety of vowel

sounds and then mixed the samples together in a vibrant, colorful panorama. Since there are many irregularities inherent in producing stable pitch when singing isolated vowel samples, McGuire worked fiendishly with Müller in “straightening out” the attack transients of the recorded samples, so that a more pure intonation might be audible. McGuire describes the work as like “bending a coat hanger with your bare hands to straighten it out.” Software that might have made the work easier was not up to the artistic standards McGuire had set at the time.

With *A Cappella*, McGuire began to make more elaborate variations on his trademark harmonic progression through the circle of fifths. Already in *Cadence Music* the bass cycle of fifths that gives the work its fundamental structure is somewhat obscured by the addition of a stepwise series of passing tones that is inserted between each fifth. In *A Cappella*, each of the thirteen sections alternates between a pair of fifths in the circle.⁷⁰ The rhythmic structure is also—for the first time—derived from the Fibonacci series.⁷¹ Shortly after completing *A Cappella* in 1998, the McGuires made a rather dramatic change in living circumstances, by moving to New York City in order to take advantage of educational opportunities for their children.

McGuire soon obtained a job teaching composition at Columbia University, holding a position as a faculty adjunct for five semesters. Among his duties were teaching courses on music composed after 1945 and guiding several composition students. In the same period, McGuire composed a work originally titled *Contradance*, later changed to *Exchanges* (1998–2002), for string quartet and soprano solo. In *Exchanges*, McGuire again used the Fibonacci series to derive time structures, but also discovered a way to make more sophisticated relationships in tempo changes. The recording, by Julia Rempé and the Pellegrini Quartet, bears witness to the kaleidoscopic effects McGuire was able to attain by rapid tempo changes.

In the years since he moved to New York City, McGuire has been active on a number of projects, including *Ordinary Measures* (2004–5) commissioned by the Norwegian ensemble “Nordic Voices,” a vocal sextet affiliated with Dartmouth University. Another work, *Marking Time* (2009), was commissioned by the Arts Foundation of Nordrhein-Westfalen. McGuire has recently completed a new work for double string trio titled *Jump Cuts*. As with *A Cappella* and *Exchanges*, *Jump Cuts* again incorporates the Fibonacci series as a generator of rhythmic patterns.

Seen from the current perspective, McGuire’s work seems to fall roughly into three stylistic periods. The first, extending from his graduate studies in California roughly to *Frieze*, was concerned with assimilating the language of

the European avant-garde. As he began experimenting with electronic composition and conceived the *Pulse Music* series, McGuire moved into a second stylistic period. In this group of works, his first designs for a piece were always temporal, and the predominant harmonic language consonant. Sections of these pieces might be described as “Moments,” governed by a one-element series.⁷² This period features most of his electronic compositions. As he explored this aesthetic, he began to experiment with a more nuanced approach to the basic circle-of-fifths progressions that provided the harmonic backbone of the piece, a procedure already evident in *Cadence Music* but coming through even more clearly in *A Cappella*. A more fluid, continuous sequence of musical sections gives his music the impression of greater freedom and subtlety in what might be called his third period. This span (c. 1982–present) also includes his only vocal works.

Having spent so many of his formative years either studying with European expatriates in California or working on the continent of Europe itself begs the question as to how “American” McGuire really is. While defining criteria for an “American” composer opens the door to many issues which are far too nettlesome for the present discussion, it would be false not to acknowledge McGuire’s debt to European taste, especially that of the Darmstadt flavor.

Nevertheless, there are several aspects of McGuire’s career and his music that would likely not have appeared without ties to the United States. Despite the rigorous plans he creates for each composition, he often cites the importance of experimentation, improvisation, and trial-and-error in deriving the fundamental musical matter. This orientation relates to several minimalist composers, such as Steve Reich, who composed much of his early music in the company of his ensemble, “as a group,” and improvised patterns collectively before committing a work to paper.⁷³ Second, as we shall see, many ideas McGuire uses in composition (especially with regard to tempo) trace back to suggestions made by Henry Cowell in his book *New Musical Resources* (1930). Third, much of McGuire’s music from 1975 onwards sounds to many listeners as distinctly minimal or postminimal. Critics, especially Gann, have invariably grouped his music together with American post-minimal composers. Fourth, McGuire’s extensive studies in Europe would not have been possible without the kick-start furnished by American institutions, such as the University of California. Fifth, McGuire has actually lived a majority of his life on American soil, in California and in New York City. Sixth, McGuire feels a strong connection to certain American visual artists: he cites Donald Judd (1928–1944) and Dan Flavin (1933–1996) as particularly influential. Finally, McGuire says he feels most at home in Los Angeles, where he grew up in the 1950s and ’60s.

The techniques and methods McGuire uses to create his music are even less well known than the arch of his career, and considerably more difficult to do justice to. The next two sections are devoted to preliminary analyses of two significant works, *Pulse Music 3* and *Cadence Music*. These pieces were chosen for analysis because the only significant published material relates to them; furthermore, they seem to be pivotal works in the composer's oeuvre.

3.

Pulse Music 3 was the culmination of the series of three "Pulse" compositions where McGuire explored the idea of superimposed and interrelated pulse streams from different perspectives. The third piece in the set was composed at the electronic studio of the West German Radio (WDR) from July 1978 to January 1979. McGuire wrote an analysis of the work, which is available online and in print.⁷⁴ It originated as an aural image of pulse streams continuously moving at different speeds from left to right and front to rear from the listener's perspective.⁷⁵ Notably, McGuire's initial impression was not one of pitch, melody, or harmony, but rather of motion.

For those accustomed to works with a great deal of tonal variation, certain aspects of *Pulse Music 3* may initially strike one as naïve. The most basic large-scale pitch structure can be easily described. It simply consists of two counterclockwise cycles through the circle of fifths, beginning on F and ending one fifth shy of completing the second cycle (on C instead of F). There are 24 large formal blocks in the piece, which following McGuire, I call "sections."⁷⁶ There is no overt teleology in the work.⁷⁷ The internal pitch content of these sections—while quite active rhythmically—consists of rapidly alternating, shimmering sounds that are voiced in fourths or fifths, making for an open, consonant sound.

Beneath these surface observations lies a considerably more complex structure. The work is fundamentally constructed of three musical layers, which can be referred to as I, II, and III. Layer I, the highest and most rapidly sounding pitch layer, includes a pulse stream which moves from front to rear in the apparent spatial field. Two pitches alternate sounding in layer I; they remain the same throughout each section, so the effect is something like a tremolo between two notes. Layer II is the most complex, and is divided into two sub-layers (IIa and IIb). These layers are melodically elaborated with a pattern that McGuire worked out in a lengthy experimental phase of composition. Unlike layers I and III, the sounds in layer II give the illusion that they move from left to right in physical space. Layer III is a slowed-down version of layer I, but with different pitches. This layer is difficult to hear, but it is

meant to create the impression that the entire texture is in a state of constant dynamic flux. Like layer I, layer III moves virtually through space from the front to the rear of the hall. The easily audible low bass sounds are part of a separate “drone package,” and forms a kind of “sound wall” in the composer’s words.

The three layers are related through a system of correspondences based on whole-number ratios. By taking the ratio 3:5 as a starting point, McGuire was able to derive a series of coincident and product frequencies.⁷⁸ The *product* of 3Hz and 5Hz (15Hz) generates the fastest-level pulse stream, whereas the *coincident* relationship (1Hz) produces the slowest-level stream. Thus, with any two generating frequencies, two more frequencies can be readily formed. Layer I contains the product pulse streams, layers IIa and IIb contain the generating streams, and layer III has the coincident streams.

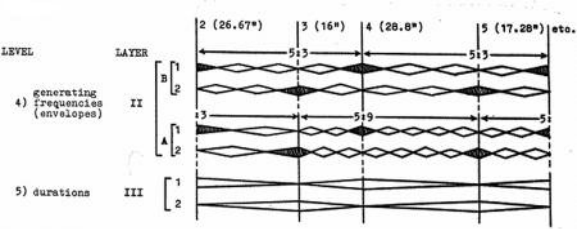
In each section, dynamic envelopes are applied to the pulse streams. McGuire’s sketch, reproduced below, elucidates the calculation which necessitates a differentiation between *layers* and *levels*. As mentioned above, two generating frequencies, 3Hz and 5Hz, will produce a product relationship of 15Hz and a coincident relationship of 1 Hz. If this coincident relationship is then thought of as a *product frequency itself*, then it is generated by pulses at frequencies of 3 and 5 seconds.⁷⁹ Finally, the coincident frequency of the two new generating pulses is 15 seconds. These longer duration pulse streams define the longest dynamic envelopes. Since the two pairs of generating frequencies each count as only one level, we are left with a total of seven frequencies that produce five levels. The total set of seven frequencies and five levels, containing all the pulses and their envelopes, is called a “constellation.” Each constellation contains the material for exactly one section.

With the internal temporal structure of each section now in order, McGuire turned to the question of how to make a logical succession from one constellation to the next. This was accomplished by holding over one pulse

LEVEL		pulse	env	LAYER
1) product frequency		15Hz		
2) generating frequencies		5Hz 3Hz		I
3) coincidence frequency = product frequency		1Hz = 1"		IIA IIB
4) generating frequencies		3" 5"		III
5) duration		15"		

Example 2. McGuire’s calculations of the pulse durations in the various levels and layers in *Pulse Music 3*. Copyright ©John McGuire.

stream from each pair of envelopes from one section to the next. A new pulse stream in the following section then produces a different whole-number ratio with the one that was held over. In McGuire’s sketch below, he shows how it is possible for a duration ration of 5:3 to overlap with a ratio of 5:9 (the 3 of 5:3 overlapping with the 5 of 5:9) so that both continuity and variation are achieved.⁸⁰



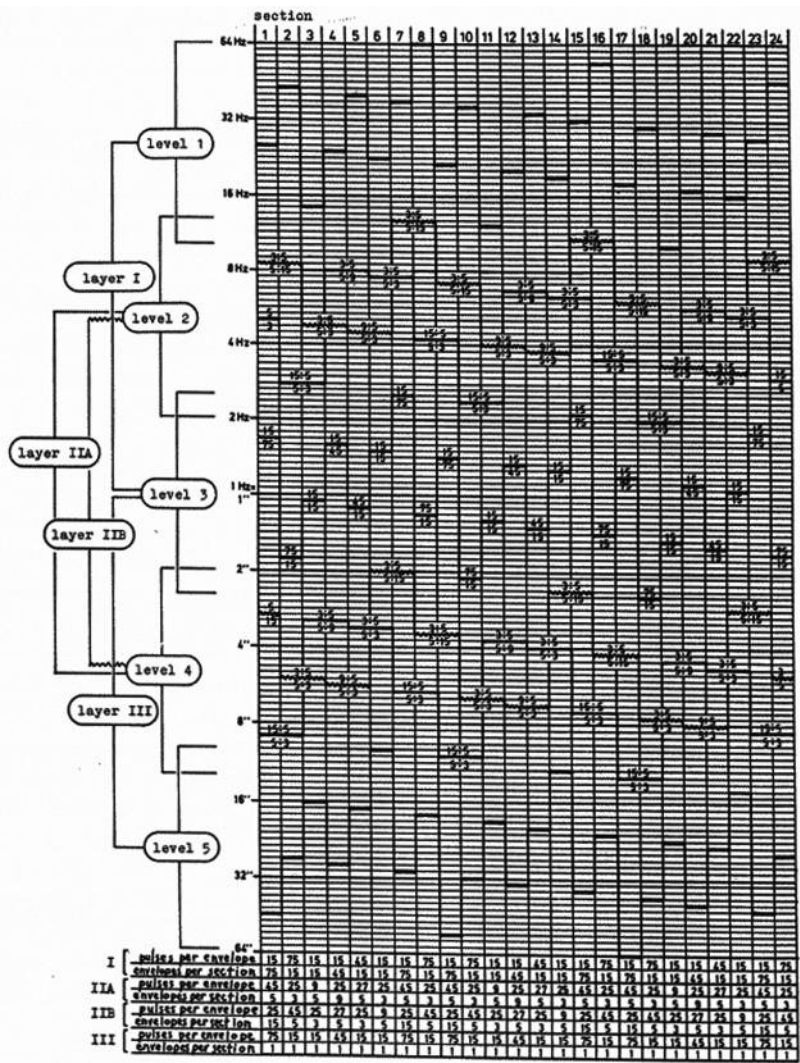
Example 3. McGuire’s technique of connecting adjacent constellations by relating dynamic envelopes across formal boundaries. Copyright ©John McGuire.

It is important to understand that the durations of the sections in seconds, given at the top of Example 3, do not correspond with actual durations in the final, realized work. At the time he made the sketch, McGuire assumed that the highest product frequency would be 64 Hz. As he moved closer to production, he altered this to 72 Hz. So, instead of sections 2 through 5 having base durations 26.67, 16, 28.8, and 17.28 seconds, they are really about 23.6, 14.1, 25.2, and 15.2 seconds. These base durations are derived from a logarithmic scale of “steps” interspersed between a twelve-octave set of durations, from 72 Hz to 57 seconds.⁸¹ The derivation process is illustrated in Table 1.

12 Octave Time Scale		Chromatic Time Scale	Used in Section(s)	Section	Measured Duration	Base Duration	Number of Times Repeated
In Hz	In Seconds	Lowest 4 Octaves			in seconds		
72	0.014	7.110	—	1	118.6	40.22	3
36	0.028	7.533	—	2	70.7	23.92	3
18	0.056	7.981	13	3	42.3	14.22	3
9	0.111	8.455	—	4	75.6	25.34	3
4.5	0.222	8.958	6	5	44.9	15.07	3
2.25	0.444	9.491	—	6	44.4	8.958	5
1.125	0.889	10.06	—	7	26.6	26.84	1
0.563	1.778	10.65	14	8	78.9	15.96	5
0.281	3.55	11.29	—	9	47.0	47.83	1
0.141	7.11	11.96	—	10	84.3	28.44	3
0.070	14.22	12.67	22	11	16.5	16.91	1
0.035	28.44	13.42	—	12	90.2	30.13	3
0.018	56.88	14.22	3	13	17.8	17.92	1
		15.07	5, 23	14	53.1	10.65	5
		15.96	8	15	31.4	31.92	1
		16.91	11	16	93.8	18.98	5
		17.91	—	17	56.1	56.88	1
		18.98	16	18	100.1	33.82	3
		20.11	19	19	20.0	20.11	1
		21.31	—	20	35.7	35.83	1
		22.57	24	21	21.2	21.31	1
		23.92	2	22	63.1	12.67	5
		25.34	4	23	75.3	15.07	5
		26.84	7	24	111.7	22.57	5
		28.44	10				
		30.13	12, 15				
		31.92	—				
		33.82	18				
		35.83	20				
		37.96	—				
		40.22	1				
		42.61	—				
		45.15	—				
		47.83	9				
		50.67	—				
		53.69	—				
		56.88	17				

Table 1. Derivation of Section Durations and Time Structure in *Pulse Music 3*.

During the realization process in the studio, McGuire decided to repeat sections 1 through 5, 10, 12, and 18. Therefore, the base durations of those sections are multiplied by 3 yielding durations of 118.6, 70.7, 42.3, etc., seconds. These values are essentially the same as the measured values one can hear on the recording, as can be seen in the table above. Other sections are repeated as well, as shown. The entire system of pulse streams, along with the “modulations” that connect one constellation to the next, is shown in Example 4.



Example 4. Entire system of pulse streams in *Pulse Music 3*, including modulations. Copyright ©John McGuire.

Lastly, McGuire turned his attention to the pitch structure. For each section, a diatonic hexachord serves as the source of the mix of overtones in each pitch, as well as the fundamental pitches for the mixtures themselves. To create enough separation between pulse streams, the notes of the hexachord—when realized as a pitch stream—are voiced in two pairs of fifths that lie a minor third apart. For example, section 1 (with a bass note of F) utilizes the source hexachord C—D—E—F—G—A, but the voicing is (from bottom to

top) D—A / F—C // A—E / C—G. Although there are five common tones between hexachords that are adjacent on the circle of fifths, McGuire decided to voice the constellations so that four of the notes in layer II continue from one section to the next, and four change. This is possible because of the parsimonious voice-leading that is so easily obtainable from juxtaposing two such hexachords, and simultaneously the large number of tones that can potentially be held in common. The process is illustrated by this example.

Example 5. Pitch material in the 24 sections of *Pulse Music 3*. Copyright ©John McGuire.

The greatest melodic elaboration within a constellation takes place in layers Ila and Ilb. The added figuration takes the shape of a nine-element pulse wave pattern whose contour rises three times. When the retrograde of the pattern follows its original statement, the figuration returns to the register in which it originated. By splitting layers Ila and Ilb each into two sub-layers, McGuire was able to interweave two vertical pairs of fifths (or fourths) together: for example in section 3, G—D // C—G.⁸² Although the contour of the figuration never changes in any of the 24 sections, listeners can perceive variations on the pattern because of the differing way that it interacts with other pulse layers in each section.

Example 6. Pitch material in sub-layers Ila and Ilb. Copyright ©John McGuire.

As my analysis shows, the compositional planning for *Pulse Music 3* was elaborate, yet it did not exclude the possibility for improvisation or alteration during the production process. The idea of basing both the pitch and time structures on the same numerical ratios is a surprisingly novel outgrowth of Stockhausen's techniques, most notably those used in his work *Gruppen* (1955–57).⁸³ Although their methods are closely related, the aesthetic gulf between *Gruppen* and *Pulse Music 3* could not be greater.

Despite McGuire's efforts to voice constellations so that each pulse stream is perceptible, one may speculate to what degree the individual coincident pulse streams fuse together, and produce the illusion of a single, composite rhythmic pattern. Such patterns often seem to arise spontaneously in repeated listening to the work. McGuire muses on this question in the last part of his analysis, and his continued interest in the phenomenon can be seen and heard in *Cadence Music*, to which we now turn our attention.

4.

Cadence Music (1982–85) is a chamber work for twenty-one instruments.⁸⁴ While it bears certain similarities to *Pulse Music 3*, a number of new features enter into the work.⁸⁵ As before, McGuire began with an aural "image" of pulse streams. In *Cadence Music*, McGuire devised a compositional system that would take advantage of the effect of "second generation phenomena" which arise naturally when hearing several simultaneous pulse streams. Fundamentally, *Cadence Music* consists of four main pulse levels. Levels 3 and 4, which serve as the generators, each contain two steady pulse streams (a) and (b). Coincident pulses of unequal duration form out of the composite structure of steady streams.⁸⁶ In *Cadence Music*, these resultant pulses produce the next set of pulse streams, which are expressed in levels 1 and 2. This is illustrated in Example 7.⁸⁷

As can be seen in McGuire's sketch 1, level 4 contains the longest duration pulses. Layer 4(a) contains dotted double-whole notes tied to dotted whole notes, whereas layer 4(b) contains dotted double-whole notes. The rhythmic relationship of 4(a) and 4(b) is simply 2:3. But the composite pulse stream forms a pattern of 2:1:1:2. Divisions of this stream are used to produce the steady pulses on level 2. On level 2, the pulse streams consist of a bar (b) of three half notes and an antibar (a) of dotted quarter notes, producing the relationship 18:24 (or 3:4 in simplest terms). However, a set of three pulses (three half notes) in layer (b) equals the shortest resultant rhythmic value of level 4—the ":1" dotted whole note value. The same process is used to derive level 1 from level 3, except that the ratios are reversed: on level 3 the composite pulse ratio 8:6 (4:3) produces a 72:48 (3:2) ratio of pulses in level

1. CADENCE MUSIC Rhythmic structures, section 1

DAR $\frac{1}{2}$
T = 135

1 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

(1) tempo
a) ad tempo
3-2 resultate
b) bar
a) ad bar
3-4 resultate
(4) ad
(6) b-
3-4 resultate
(4) H.O.
(6) H.
each. resultate
resultate 3:
3 → 1
resultate 4:
(4) → 2
each. resultate

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

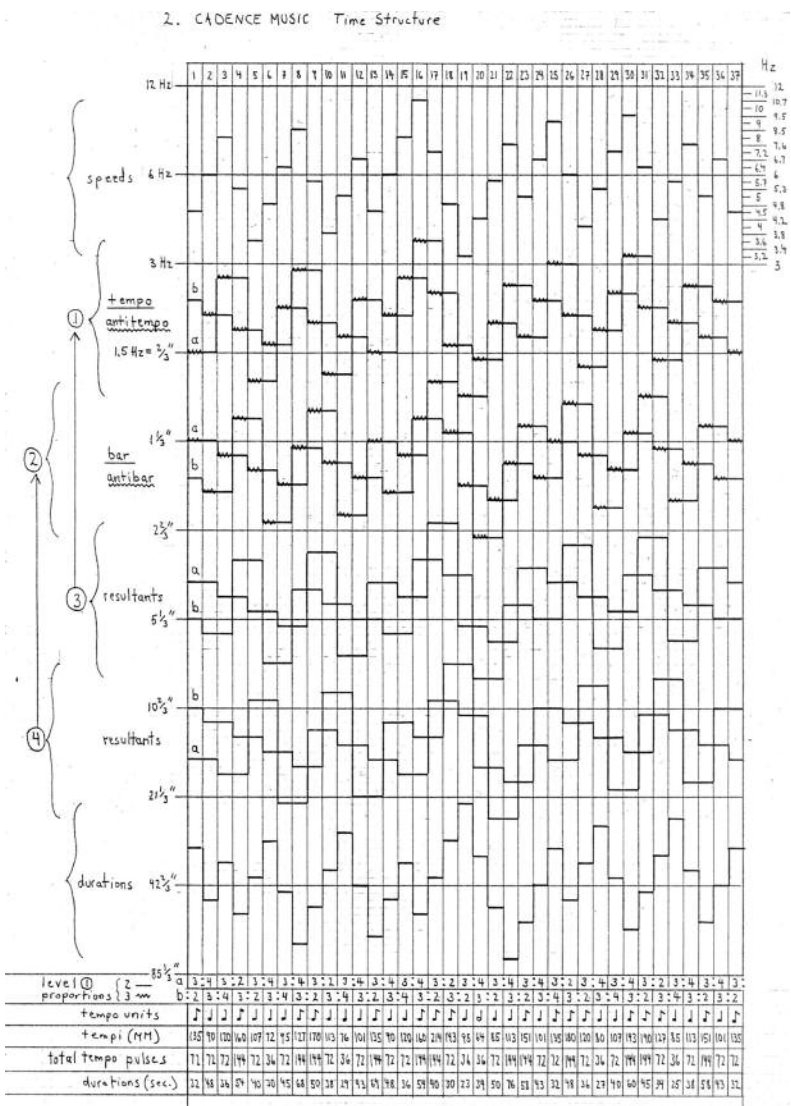
a b
18
24
(6)
8
6
(3)
2
3
(1)

Example 7. Sketch for *Cadence Music* showing pulse streams in section 1. Copyright ©John Mcquire.

1. Since the pulses produced in level 1 are shorter in duration than those produced in level 2, McGuire referred to them as a *tempo*, whereas those in level 2 are called *bars*.⁸⁸ McGuire's method of deriving layers 1 and 2 from the composite pulse streams of higher-level structures differs considerably from *Pulse Music* 3 because the resultant layers have unequal rhythmic values.

In order to enliven the foreground texture, McGuire turned back to where he started—levels 3 and 4. At the bottom of sketch 1, we note that the resultant rhythmic pattern of level 3 (3:1:2:2:1:3) generates the rate at which *pulses from levels 1 and 2 swap*. This means that the tempo and antitempo pulse streams from level 1 alternate, creating *mixed streams* α and β , following the pattern of composite pulses in layer 3. In the same way, the bar and antibar pulse streams of level 2 alternate (forming their own α and β) at the rate of the composite pulse streams of level 4. This results in a middleground-level metrical dissonance, since two repetitions of the resultant of level 3 (9:3:6:6:3:9, or simply 3:1:2:2:1:3) are simultaneously juxtaposed against one longer level 4 pattern of 24:12:12:24 (simply 2:1:1:2). The alteration of mixed streams α and β contributes much to the impression one may have of metrical ambiguity in *Cadence Music*. In fact, the pulse streams are steady, but because of the swapping, one stream may be momentarily perceived as more prominent than another.

If we turn our attention to the section-to-section connections in *Cadence Music*, we find that they are an outgrowth of the techniques used in *Pulse Music* 3. Referring to McGuire's second sketch for *Cadence Music*, we find another grid at the bottom. Instead of relating sections by tempo proportions of 3:5, 5:9, etc., all of the tempo modulations in *Cadence Music* are either by 3:2 or 3:4 ratios. However, the counting pulse ("tempo unit") often changes between sections. The tempo change between sections 1 and 2 is shown as a 3:4 relationship, which would equal a modulation from M.M. 135 to 180 if the eighth-note tempo unit remained the same. However, the *tempo unit* changes from an eighth note to a quarter note, causing the tempo change to be from M.M. 135 to 90 instead. The choice to change the "tempo unit" emphasizes the tempo "octave" that the current section is in. So, tempos between M.M. 60 and 120 are always counted in quarter notes, whereas those between 121 and 240 are counted in eighths. In order to use a third tempo unit once, McGuire assigned the half-note unit to section 20, which has a tempo of 64 (rounded up from 63.5).⁸⁹ Together with the number of total tempo pulses (which are always either 36, 72, or 144), it is now simple to calculate the duration of each section in seconds.⁹⁰ The tempo scale, once again, is logarithmic.



can best be seen by examining McGuire's third sketch. Instrumental combinations are highlighted in rectangles which were added to the sketch.

3. CADENCE MUSIC Exchange patterns, sections I-VI (Score, pp. 1-11)

WOODWINDS

PF/STRINGS

RESOURCES

Form

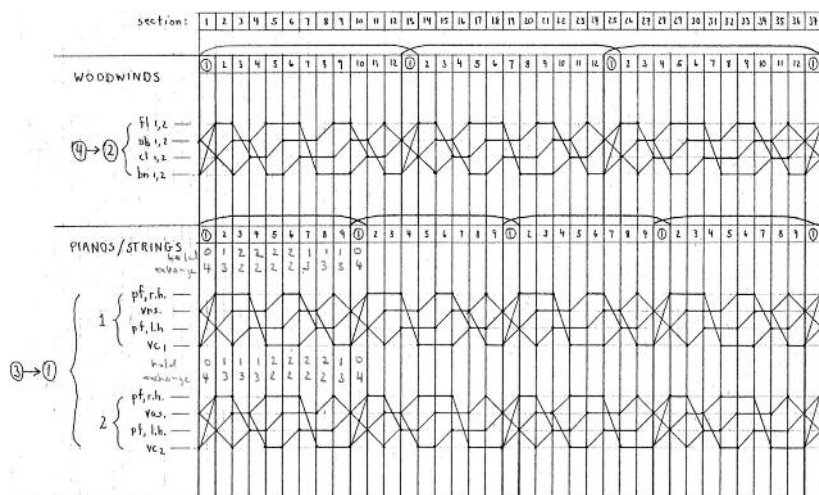
Tempo

Volume

Page 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

Example 9. Sketch for the orchestration of sections I through VI in *Cadence Music*. Instrumental combinations that cut across formal boundaries are highlighted in boxes, which have been added to the sketch. Copyright ©John McGuire.

The orchestration itself is subject to an elaborate pattern of instrumental swaps which allows the maximum amount of timbral change to occur at large-scale formal junctures. As shown in an excerpt from McGuire's fourth sketch, the entire span of 37 sections is divided into three cycles of twelve orchestration changes in the woodwind section, and four cycles of nine orchestration changes in the piano and string section. These cycles are shown with slurs over the small circled numbers that indicate sections. The changes in orchestration form the large-scale formal structure 3:4, as shown in the sketch.



Example 10. Sketch of instrumental “color cycles” through *Cadence Music*.
Copyright ©John McGuire.

The French horn, tom-toms, and vibraphone play a role together as a rhythm group. Their “rotational” deployment can be seen at the bottom of sketch 3. In each of the 37 sections, the woodwind structure (either 2:1:1:2 or 3:1:2:2:1:3) is enhanced by the rhythm group. The second “auxiliary” instrumental section—bass piano (one player plays the notes in the lowest octave of the piano), contrabass, and celeste—only articulate resultant rhythms on level 3 of the time structure.

McGuire's sketch for orchestration changes is again reminiscent of one of Stockhausen's sketches, notably *Kurzwellen*.⁹¹ However, McGuire adapts this novel graphic notation for an entirely different purpose. Whereas Stockhausen's diagrams indicate the level of change between different parameters of sound such as volume, pitch, or number of formal structures, McGuire's related symbols indicate the cyclical change of orchestration.

Like *Pulse Music 3*, pitch material is treated last in the *Cadence Music* sketches. This turns out to be considerably simpler than *Pulse Music 3*. On the most fundamental level, three counterclockwise cycles through the circle of fifths serve as bass notes, with each section starting on one of those notes. But since there are 37 sections—not 36—the work ends with the same sequence of four bass notes on which it began: **G**—F—E—D. Either major or minor triads are voiced above the bass notes. The voicing of the chords changes in relation to the ability of the various instruments to carry the lines comfortably—analogueous to a revolving barber shop pole—so one never notices a discontinuity in the descent.⁹²

The bass motion of *Cadence Music* is unexpected and significant. Instead of simply leaping from one bass note to another directly, McGuire fills in the descending fifth with stepwise motion. As we saw above, the rhythmic group of instruments articulates either a 2:1:1:2 or 3:1:2:2:1:3 structure for each section, similar to the structure of the woodwind section. If this rhythmic structure is 2:1:1:2, McGuire fills in the gap of the perfect fifth between each section by stepwise motion. If, on the other hand, the structure is 3:1:2:2:1:3, there are six notes that need to be fit into the span of a fifth. This explains why occasionally there are “bumps” in the descent (e.g., C—B-flat—A—**B-flat**—A—G // F). On his fifth sketch (Example 11), McGuire only shows the 2:1:1:2 structure in each section which, when applied to the bass descent, appears to result only in a diatonic scale segment. Therefore, with regard to the bass line, this sketch shows a simplified version of what *Cadence Music* ultimately became.

5. CADENCE MUSIC Circle of Fifths / Spiral

Sections (1-37)

11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2
12	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14
24	34	33	32	31	30	29	28	27	26
36	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Example 11. Sketch of the pitch material in *Cadence Music*. Copyright ©John McGuire.

Is there is a pattern to the insertion of bumps? My analysis, shown in Table 2, makes it clear that there is indeed a subtle, large-scale structure which results in a large-scale 4:3 relationship and a nearly symmetrical pattern of “bumps.”

Segment	Sequence of Chords McGuire's Section Designations Given Above + or M = major triad; - or m = minor. Bumps indicated in small boxes		Number of Chord Changes Between Bumps
I	1 ~ 2:1:1:2 G+ F+ e- d- C+ Bb+ a- Bb+ a- g-	2 ~ 3:1:2:2:1:3 C+ Bb+ a- g- f-	[7]
II	3 F+ Eb+ d- c-	4 Bb+ Ab+ g- Ab+ g- f-	[8]
III	5 Eb+ Db+ c- Db+ c- bb-	6 Ab+ Gb+ f- eb-	4
IV	7 Db+ B+ a# g# F# E+ d# E+ d# c#	8 F# E+ d# E+ d# c#	12
V	9 B+ A+ g# A+ g# f# E+ D+ c# D+ c# b-	10 E+ D+ c# D+ c# b-	4,4
VI	11 A+ G+ f# e- D+ C+ b- a-	12 D+ C+ b- a-	12
VII	13 G+ F+ e- F+ e- d- C+ Bb+ a- Bb+ a- g-	14 C+ Bb+ a- Bb+ a- g-	4
VIII	15 F+ Eb+ d- c- Bb+ Ab+ g- Ab+ g- f-	16 Bb+ Ab+ g- Ab+ g- f-	8
IX	17 Eb+ Db+ c- Db+ c- bb-	18 Ab+ Gb+ f- Gb+ f- eb-	4,4
X	19 C# B+ a# g# F# E+ d# c#	20 F# E+ d# c#	16
XI	21 B+ A+ g# f# E+ D+ c# D+ c# b-	22 E+ D+ c# D+ c# b-	
XII	23 A+ G+ f# G+ f# e- D+ C+ b- C+ b- a-	24 D+ C+ b- C+ b- a-	4,4
XIII	25 G+ F+ e- d- C+ Bb+ a- Bb+ a- g-	26 C+ Bb+ a- Bb+ a- g-	8
XIV	27 F+ Eb+ d- Eb+ d- c- Bb+ Ab+ g- f-	28 Bb+ Ab+ g- Ab+ g- f-	4
XV	29 Eb+ Db+ c- bb- Ab+ Gb+ f- Gb+ f- eb-	30 Ab+ Gb+ f- Gb+ f- eb-	12
XVI	31 C# B+ a# B+ a# g# F# E+ d# E+ d# c#	32 F# E+ d# E+ d# c#	4,4
XVII	33 B+ A+ g# f# E+ D+ c# b-	34 E+ D+ c# b-	12
XVIII	35 A+ G+ f# G+ f# e- D+ C+ b- C+ b- a-	36 D+ C+ b- C+ b- a-	4
XIX	37 G+ F+ e- d-		[5]
Occurrence of G and C#/D# segments is related by 4:3.		Number of times that there are 4 chord changes between bumps: " " 8 chord changes between bumps: " " 12 chord changes between bumps: " " 16 chord changes between bumps:	12 2 4 1

Table 2. Alternative Structural Reading of *Cadence Music*.

As my analysis suggests, it is possible to hear *Cadence Music* as a series of eighteen descending diatonic scales (and a nineteenth scale segment), each a whole step apart. In fact, my first impression of the work as a listener was along these lines. Further contributing to the plausibility of this alternate hearing, the bass notes in each descending scale always support the identical sequence of major and minor triads—i.e., (neglecting bumps) MMmmMMmm. If the piece is heard this way, the descending C-sharp/D-flat scale segments (IV, X, XVI)—which lie a tritone away from the G segments (I, VII, XIII, XIX)—articulate a more fundamental structure. Not only is there a 3:4 relationship between the segments starting on C-sharp/D-flat and those beginning on G, but also segment ten—which lies nearly at the middle of the composition—coincides almost exactly with the onset of the longest span where a stepwise bump is absent. Although McGuire evidently did not conceive of the work in this way, my analysis demonstrates how *Cadence Music* allows for this alternate hearing.

Finally, the question arises: why call this piece “Cadence Music”? If one hears stepwise bass motion dominating, then strictly speaking there are no cadences at all in the conventional sense of the term. On the other hand, if one hears each of the 37 sections dominated by one pitch—favoring McGuire’s trademark circle of fifths progression—then the piece is made up of nothing but dominant-tonic cadences. In speaking of this matter, McGuire emphasizes that he doesn’t intend to suggest a specific definition of cadence. For him, the work feels as though a cadence occurs each time the *last chord of one section moves to the first chord of the next*. But due to the lack of contextual markers, it is perhaps difficult for a novice listener to know whether sections are bounded by a change in the bass note, an insertion of a bass “bump,” or the obvious modulation of rhythmic constellation. Regardless of how one wishes to hear *Cadence Music*, the stepwise descent that always occurs between the last chord of one section and the first of the next hardly provides the optimal conditions even for a nontraditional cadence to occur.

Perhaps it is most fruitful to consider McGuire’s comment regarding cadences within the context of his basic approach to composition—that is, grounded in a fundamentally rhythmic “aural image.” Through the course of any constellation, a certain amount of tension builds up thanks to the repetition of the pulse patterns. This is not entirely unlike the accretion of tension over a dominant-functioning pedal in more pitch-oriented music. Following terminology developed by Daniel Harrison,⁹³ this tension accumulates “charge” through the section, and ultimately leads to a kind of “discharge” into the next, where the tension dissipates as a result of the presentation of

a new constellation. If one understands the “McGuire cadence” as rooted in rhythmic perception, rather than in pitch, then the notion of cadences occurring at the end of each of his 36 internal sections does not seem at all far-fetched.⁹⁴

5.

For an April 2012 performance of *Vanishing Points* and *A Cappella* at the Kunst-Station Sankt Peter in Cologne, McGuire wrote,

My work is devoted entirely to the exploration and development of a synthesis between minimalism, as it was around 1960 where I grew up in California, and the general obligations of serial technique which I got to know during my studies in Germany.⁹⁵

Understanding McGuire’s project in this way allows one to view serialism as a flexible technique or process, from which a composer can derive a great variety of musical styles—including even minimalism. While the rigor of McGuire’s compositional logic is as meticulous as his scores are notated, it is often easy to overlook how much improvisation and experimentation went into the ideas that form the basic building blocks of his compositions. Whereas McGuire’s *methods* are serial, his *aesthetic* is firmly planted in American minimal music.

McGuire seems most concerned with giving a precise and perceptually interesting rhythmic character to a block of sound (i.e., constellation), and then negotiating the “transition” between one block and the next. It is not unlike the approach that an urban designer can take, when faced with the challenge of planning a block of houses. The façade of each house may be individual, but a great deal of attention must be given to the *edges* between each house. On the one hand the architect must create a certain flow that connects the houses together, but simultaneously he or she ought to respect each house’s individuality. It is this balance of individuality and unity that allows the city block to exist as a single, harmonious whole. This is why the most eloquent moments in McGuire’s compositions are perhaps not the sections, constellations, or blocks of sound themselves, but rather the subtlety and skill with which the composer negotiates the musical edges between them.

NOTES

¹ Kyle Gann, “Minimal Music, Maximal Impact” (2001), *NewMusicBox*, www.new-musicbox.org/articles/minimal-music-maximal-impact (accessed 14 June 2012), 6.

² Alex Ross, *The Rest is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 492; Timothy Johnson, “Minimalism: Aesthetic, Style or

Technique?" *Musical Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (1994): 745; Jeremy Grimshaw, *Draw A Straight Line and Follow it: The Music and Mysticism of La Monte Young* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3; Keith Potter, *Four Musical Minimalists: La Monte Young, Terry Riley, Steve Reich, Philip Glass* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 21.

³ Michael Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. First ed. 1974), 82ff.

⁴ Grimshaw concludes that Young's influence was strongest in the realm of "cultural forces and trends," rather than through specific works, 45–46.

⁵ Robert Ashley offers an alternative viewpoint, locating the source of Glass's ideas in the theater in "Landscape with Philip Glass," from *Music with Roots in the Aether: Opera for Television*, vol. 2 (New York: Lovely Music, 1976.) Edward Strickland explores the origin of the term minimalism in detail. *Minimalism: Origins* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 242–244. In Jonathan Bernard's 1993 essay "The Minimalist Aesthetic in the Plastic Arts and Music," he enumerates the many similarities between minimalist art and music. *Perspectives of New Music* 31/1: 86–132. Wim Mertens often uses the term "repetitive music" to describe minimalism. *American Minimal Music* (New York: Alexander Broude, Inc., 1983.) Dan Warburton catalogues a dizzying array of terminology that has been applied to minimal music; he prefers the terms "process music" and "systems music." "A Working Terminology for Minimal Music," *Intégral* 2 (1988): 139.

It is worth noting that in the art world, the ideas of minimalism and serialism are often overtly interconnected. As James Meyer writes, "The term Minimalism was coined to describe the work of a group of American artists who developed a new kind of whole or serial geometric abstraction during the 1960s," *Minimalism* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd.: 2000), frontispiece.

⁶ Nyman, *Experimental Music*, 82.

⁷ Potter, *Four Musical Minimalists*, 10.

⁸ Strickland, *Minimalism: Origins*, 120.

⁹ Robert Carl, "The Politics of Definition in New Music," *College Music Symposium* 29 (1989): 110–111.

¹⁰ Brent Heisinger, "American Minimalism in the 1980s," *American Music* 7/4 (1989): 431.

¹¹ Steve Reich, *Writings About Music* (Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 2002), 159.

¹² Johnson, "Minimalism," 748. For Johnson, defining minimalism as a "style" is ultimately unsatisfactory. However, his proposal to describe minimalism as a "technique" encompassing five characteristics may be troubling for some, since he uses the same five stylistic elements enumerated earlier to enumerate minimalist techniques. (751) Perhaps Johnson's difficulty in hearing more recent minimalist works as related to earlier ones is due to the fact that he does not acknowledge a "post-minimalist" aesthetic; instead he tries to lump more recent works together with older ones, referring to pieces of the 1960s and '70s as "classic" minimalism. The stylistic aspects Johnson mentions are similar to Kyle Gann's perceptions: "Like the serialists, the postminimalists have striven to create a consistent and coherent musical language, though this language is usually as smooth and linear as the serialist language is abrupt and fragmented," *American Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 327.

¹³ These include phasing, linear additive processes, block additive processes, overlapping pattern work, splicing and dovetailing, and textural additive processes (Warburton, 144–156).

¹⁴ “I am interested in perceptible processes.” Reich, *Writings About Music*, 9.

¹⁵ In this respect it is easy to draw a contrast between Reich and Babbitt. But as Joseph Straus points out, it is often a mistake to cite Babbitt as representative of all—or even most—of the American serial project, despite his prominence as something of a spokesperson for the movement. *Twelve-Tone Music in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 196–197.

¹⁶ Jonathan Bernard, “Theory, Analysis, and the ‘Problem’ of Minimal Music,” In *Concert Music, Rock and Jazz Since 1945: Essays and Analytical Studies*, ed. Elizabeth West Marvin and Richard Hermann (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1995): 261.

¹⁷ Markus Bandur, *Aesthetics of Total Serialism* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2001), 5.

¹⁸ Paul Griffiths. “Serialism.” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25459, accessed 24 September 2012.

¹⁹ Marc Delaere, “Auf der Such nach serieller Stimmigkeit. Goeyvaerts’ Weg zur Komposition Nr. 2,” (In *Die Anfänge der seriellen Musik*, edited by Orm Finnendahl, from the series *Kontexte: Beiträge zur zeitgenössischen Musik* 1. Hofheim: Wolke Verlag (1999): 14.)

²⁰ Straus, *Twelve-Tone Music in America*, 196–198.

²¹ The historiography of serialism parallels minimalism and “postminimalism” in the sense that serial composers in Europe very soon abandoned “strict” serial techniques and moved toward integrating aleatoric ideas (via Cage) into their music—a particularly vivid example of transatlantic cross-fertilization. But instead of adopting the term “postserialism” most Europeans called their techniques “serial” even after incorporating Cage’s ideas into their compositional toolbox.

²² Carl, “The Politics of Definition,” 112.

²³ Jonathan Bernard, “Minimalism, Postminimalism and the Resurgence of Tonality in Recent American Music,” *American Music* 21/1 (2003): 113.

²⁴ Kyle Gann, “A Forest from the Seeds of Minimalism: An Essay on Postminimal and Totalist Music,” www.kylegann.com/postminimalism.html (1998), accessed 14 June 2012.

²⁵ Robert Pincus-Witten, “Eva Hesse: Post-Minimalism into Sublime,” *Artforum* (1971), 32–44. Importantly, Pincus-Witten believed that the term “post-minimalism” had particular advantages over other terms in describing the artwork he analyzes because, “like post-impressionism . . . [the term post-minimalism] covers a multitude of possibilities” (ibid., 34).

²⁶ Gann, “Minimal Music, Maximal Impact,” 6. Note the similarities in Gann’s definition to Pincus-Witten.

²⁷ Gann, *American Music in the Twentieth Century*, 326.

²⁸ Perceptions of serial music in academia and the public have been deeply problematized by Joseph N. Straus, “The Myth of Serial ‘Tyranny’ in the 1950s and 1960s,” *Musical Quarterly* 83/3 (1999): 301–343.

²⁹ Peter Burkholder, Donald J. Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 975.

³⁰ Richard Taruskin and Christopher H. Gibbs, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1102.

³¹ Carl, "The Politics of Definition," 113.

³² Glass remarked that he felt as if he "... was living in a wasteland dominated by these maniacs, these complete creeps, you know—who were trying to make everyone write this crazy, creepy music." Cited in Rob Haskins, "Another Look at Philip Glass: Aspects of Harmony and Formal Design in Early Works and *Einstein on the Beach*," *Journal of Experimental Music Studies*, www.users.waitrose.com/~chobbs/haskingsglass.html (2005), accessed 13 August 2012.

³³ Straus, *Twelve-Tone Music in America*, 205.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 241.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 240.

³⁶ Potter, 11.

³⁷ Kyle Gann, "Let X = X," *The Village Voice* (24 February 1987), 76.

³⁸ Reich, *Writings About Music*, 11.

³⁹ Arnold Whittall, *Serialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 143.

⁴⁰ Grimshaw, *Draw a Straight Line*, 40–43.

⁴¹ Carl, "The Politics of Definition," 112.

⁴² Goevaerts described his work as "static music" at the Darmstadt courses in 1951. Mark Delaere, Maarten Beirens, and Hilary Staples, "Minimal Music in the Low Countries," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 54/1 (2004), 32. The Goevaerts/Stockhausen correspondence can be found in Karel Goevaerts and Marc Delaere, *Selbstlose Musik: Texte, Briefe, Gespräche* (ed. Marc Delaere. Cologne: Musiktexte, 2010), 301–388.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 355. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this article are by the author.

⁴⁴ Delaere, Beirens and Staples, "Minimal Music in the Low Countries," 33.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁴⁶ Delaere, "Auf der Suche," 28. However, not all scholars agree that the earliest works by Goevaerts are, properly speaking, serial. Richard Toop, "Messiaen/Goevaerts, Fano/Stockhausen, Boulez," *Perspectives of New Music* 13/1 (1974): 142.

⁴⁷ Hermann Sabbe concludes that *Composition No. 4* is, "a good ten years 'before its time', a model of minimalist-repetitive modular composition." "Von Serialismus zum Minimalismus. Der Werdegang eines Manierismus. Der Fall Goevaerts, 'Minimalist avant la lettre'," in *Neuland Jahrbuch*, vol. 3, ed. Herbert Henck. (Bergisch Gladbach: Neuland Musikverlag Herbert Henck, 1982–83), 205.

⁴⁸ Nyman's preface to Mertens 1983, 8.

⁴⁹ Sabbe, 207.

⁵⁰ It is relevant to note how the European serialists soon found ways to disassociate their technique from any one particular style, whereas American serial com-

posers—often in the shadow of Babbitt—often tended to equate technique and style. In America, one of the most “European” style experiments with serial ordering comes from none other than Michael Torke, who, in a “postminimalist” context uses a serial permutation technique in his kaleidoscopic orchestral composition *Ecstatic Orange*. Straus, *Twelve-Tone Music in America*, 115–123.

⁵¹ Seppo Heikkinen, *The Electronic Music of Karlheinz Stockhausen* (Helsinki: Suomen Musiikkirieteellinen Suora Musikvetenskapliga Sällskapet (1972), 217.

⁵² The following biographical sketch is a result of interviews I conducted with John McGuire in his New York City apartment from March 26 to 28, 2012. McGuire also provided a comprehensive series of corrections through email in July and August 2012. I am deeply grateful for the generosity of McGuire and his wife, Beth.

⁵³ *Die Reihe 2* (Bryn Mawr: Theodore Presser, 1958).

⁵⁴ The Darmstadt seminars in 1966 focused on the subject of form, featuring lectures by Adorno, Ligeti, Kagel, Dahlhaus, and Earle Brown (Ernst Thomas, ed., *Form*, in the series *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik X* (Mainz: B. Schotts Söhne, 1966)).

⁵⁵ Kramer provides a memorable personal reminiscence of Stockhausen’s California visit. Jonathan Kramer, “Karlheinz in California: A Personal Reminiscence,” *Perspectives of New Music* 36/1 (1998): 247–260.

⁵⁶ Rolf Gehlhaar gives extensive details about the 1967 Darmstadt project in *Zur Komposition Ensemble: Kompositionsstudio Karlheinz Stockhausen, Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, Darmstadt 1967*, ed. Ernst Thomas. In the series *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik XI* (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1968) Stockhausen himself provided a set of notes and a score found in *Texte zur Musik*, vol. 3, ed. Dietrich Schnebel (Cologne: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, 1971), 212–215.

⁵⁷ The live musicians performed from scores that the composers notated, sometimes in a graphical style similar to Stockhausen’s *Prozession* and *Kurzwellen*.

⁵⁸ Gehlhaar writes, “McGuire wanted to develop a solo tendency, a tendency from clear pitches to noises, with various intermediate mixed steps. The function of the player would be to refine the material on tape, gradually to engage into discussions with it. The collective tendency was not yet conceived.” *Zur Komposition Ensemble*, 53. McGuire’s contribution is discussed further later in Gehlhaar’s report (70).

⁵⁹ Fred Ritzel details the seminar Stockhausen taught that summer in Darmstadt, *Musik für ein Haus. Kompositionsstudio Karlheinz Stockhausen/Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik/Darmstadt 1968*. In the series *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neue Musik XII* (Mainz: B. Schotts Söhne, 1970.)

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 84–87.

⁶¹ McGuire also cites the Canadian composer Martin Bartlett as another “kindred spirit.” Bartlett built a large and very efficient synthesizer which was used in several concerts around the Bay area.

⁶² Johnson was an American assistant to Stockhausen, perhaps most famous for his memorable recorded dialogue with the composer in the work *Hymnen* (1966–67, 1969).

⁶³ Stockhausen, *Texte zur Musik*, vol. 3, 153–187.

⁶⁴ This “course” allowed McGuire to use the electronic studio at the Hochschule. The arrangement was not unusual at European institutions. To support himself during this time, McGuire took on occasional performances as a pianist with the Saarbrücken Radio Symphony Orchestra (conducted by Hans Zender). He got the gig after agreeing to perform one of Gelhaar’s pieces, which while not technically difficult was written in a graphic notation indecipherable by the regular orchestra pianist. About the same time, Stockhausen offered to make McGuire his teaching assistant at the Cologne Hochschule, a position that would have meant privileged contact with the German composer but also a considerable amount of tutoring and paperwork. At the time, Stockhausen decided to compile his teaching methods into book form, using Paul Klee’s *Das bildnerische Denken* (1956) as a model. McGuire, who was to do much of the work, politely declined the offer and the musicologist Richard Toop took the job instead. Subsequent discussions with Toop reinforced McGuire’s determination to compose a serious electronic work.

⁶⁵ McGuire first used the term “pulse stream” in connection to *Pulse Music 1*. It is a reference to the analog sequencing equipment he was using, which was ordinarily driven by clock pulses. The synthesizers of the time could not generate multiple layers of synchronous pulses. Marcel Schmidt, the sound engineer with whom McGuire was working, devised a way of recording a series of clock pulses on tape which were then fed back into the synthesizer to drive its sequencer externally. By recording different sequences of sounds on different tracks and then mixing them down, McGuire could now compose for multiple layers of pulse streams in the same piece. This “digital/analog” hybrid technique, as McGuire calls it, was also used in subsequent works.

⁶⁶ McGuire has described his approach to pitch as “fifths surrounded by neighboring tones derived from adjacent fifths . . . [combined with] characteristic retrograde inversions found in the music of Webern.” While this method was perhaps conceptually born in Medieval music theory, it was more directly influenced by McGuire’s study of Indian and Southeast Asian music. McGuire cites *The Ragas of North Indian Music* by Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy, *Music In Java* by Jaap Kunst, and *Music in Bali* by Colin McPhee as particularly influential.

⁶⁷ See Michael Custodis, *Die soziale Isolation der neuen Musik: Zum Kölner Musikleben nach 1945* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag: 2004), 160; and Marietta Morawaska-Büngeler, *Schwingende Elektronen. Eine Dokumentation über das Studio für Elektronische Musik des Westdeutschen Rundfunks in Köln, 1951–1986* (Cologne: P. J. Tonger Musikverlag, 1988), 135ff. Stockhausen realized his epic 8-channel work *Sirius* (1975–77) on the Synthesizer 100. The terms of the commission were extremely favorable; McGuire could use anything at all in the studio and even build or acquire new technology.

⁶⁸ Thanks to Goeyvaerts’ advocacy, *48 Variations* was included in the program of the 1985 ISCM Festival in Amsterdam, even though it was considerably longer than the entry guidelines allowed.

⁶⁹ During this time McGuire held a position as organist of a church in Rösraht. The job brought him into contact with a great deal of early music, much of which he played in organ arrangements.

⁷⁰ For example, section 1 alternates between the first and second fifths in the circle; section 2 alternates between the second and third fifths.

⁷¹ The Fibonacci series is a series where each term is the sum of the two previous integers (i.e., 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, etc.). It is notable for its use in a great deal of music by Stockhausen. Scholars who have identified processes involving Fibonacci numbers

in the music of Bartók include Ernő Lendvai, *Béla Bartók: An Analysis of His Music* (London: Kahn and Averill, 1971); Ernő Lendvai, *The Workshop of Bartók and Kodály* (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1983); Tibor Bachman and Maria Bachman, *Studies in Bartók's Music*, 3 volumes (Media, PA: Bartók Society of America, 1983.)

⁷² Stockhausen details his concept of Moment form in his essay on the subject, *Texte zur Musik*, vol. 1, ed. Dieter Schnebel (Cologne: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, 1963), 189–210. The source for Stockhausen's suggestion of a 1-element (or 1-interval) series can perhaps be traced to an earlier work (Karlheinz Stockhausen, “. . . how time passes . . .,” *die Reihe* 3 (Bryn Mayr: Theodore Presser, 1959), 26.)

⁷³ Reich, *Writings About Music*, 45ff.

⁷⁴ John McGuire, “An Electronic Music Project: The Composition of Pulse Music III,” www.kalvos.org/mcgess1.html, accessed 8 July 2012. See also John McGuire, “Über Pulse Musik III,” *Neuland: Ansätze zur Musik der Gegenwart*, vol. 3 (Bergisch Gladbach: Neuland Musikverlag Herbert Henck, 1982–3), 252–268.

⁷⁵ The work is quadrophonic, with loudspeakers ideally set up so that the left-right motion (layers IIa and b) and the front/rear motion (layers I and III) are as clear as possible to perceive.

⁷⁶ It might also be possible to call these “moments.” The sections have a certain affinity with the Stockhausenian moment in that they could conceivably exist in and of themselves. Like Stockhausen's concept, aspects of McGuire's sections influence structures in the next, forming a chain of relationships. Unfortunately, a thorough analysis of the relationship between McGuire's sections and Stockhausen's moments is beyond the scope of the current essay.

⁷⁷ Mertens offers some context for understanding the lack of goal-directedness in much of McGuire's music: “Traditional dialectical music is representational: the musical form relates to an expressive content and is a means of creating a growing tension . . . but repetitive music . . . is non-representational and is no longer a medium for expression subjective feelings.” *American Minimal Music*, 88.

⁷⁸ The odd numbers were chosen so that the climax or nadir of a crescendo in each section would fall on one particular pulse.

⁷⁹ Using a coincident frequency to generate what will become a product frequency is very reminiscent of nineteenth-century dualist theories of harmonic generation expressed by Helmholtz and Oettingen. See Daniel Harrison, *Harmonic Functions in Chromatic Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 244ff.

⁸⁰ The method McGuire uses is superficially similar to Eliot Carter's concept of the metric modulation, but has more to do with the concept of destabilizing a texture so as to render changes seemingly inevitable. When cyclical higher-order periodicities that conflict with an original pattern return to coincidence with the original pattern, a change in the time structure can be triggered more naturally. In this way, coincidence points form the structural background in much of McGuire's music.

⁸¹ Stockhausen proposed the “octave tempo scale” in 1959, but it appears in similar form as early as Henry Cowell, *New Musical Resources* in 1930, 106–177.

⁸² The hexachord in section 3, of course, is Bb—C—D—Eb—F—G.

⁸³ See Imke Misch, “On the Serial Shaping of Stockhausen's *Gruppen für drei Orchester*,” tr. Frank Hentschel and Gerome Kohl, *Perspectives of New Music* 36/1 (1998): 143–187 and Jonathan Harvey, *The Music of Stockhausen: An Introduction* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975.)

⁸⁴ The twenty-one instruments require twenty-two players, since the pianos require two and three sets of hands.

⁸⁵ McGuire prepared a series of handouts on *Cadence Music* for his students at Columbia University, which proved useful in constructing this analysis. The score is published by Breitkopf & Härtel (Wiesbaden, 1985); I am grateful to Mr. McGuire for putting a copy at my disposal. Other source material for the composition can be found in John McGuire, "Cadence Music: Skizzen und Partiturausschnitte," in *Neuland: Ansätze zur Musik der Gegenwart*, vol. 5 (Bergisch Gladbach: Neuland Musikverlag Herbert Henck, 198–5), 303–313.

⁸⁶ Note that McGuire refers to the system of four fundamental pulse streams in *Cadence Music* as levels whereas in *Pulse Music 3* he called them *layers*. McGuire's nomenclature will be followed here.

⁸⁷ In all, there are an astonishing 1,529 pages of sketches (Herbert Henck, "Skizzen zu John McGuire's *CADENCE MUSIC*," in *Neuland: Ansätze zur Musik der Gegenwart*, vol. 5 (Bergisch Gladbach: Neuland Musikverlag Herbert Henck, 1984–85), 302.)

⁸⁸ In the final score, McGuire filled in some of the longer notes on level 2 with sixteenths, in order to "make the piece more interesting and more fun to play."

⁸⁹ Strictly speaking, section 20 should have a tempo unit of a quarter note. Using the duration of notes as tempo units again reflects back on the theories of Stockhausen 1959.

⁹⁰ E.g., in section 1, 72 pulses at M.M. 135 equals 32 seconds, since 60 divided by 135 equals 0.44 (the duration of each individual pulse), and 0.44 times 72 equals 32. Note that sections are never repeated, as they were in *Pulse Music 3*.

⁹¹ Winrich Hopp, *Kurzwellen von Karlheinz Stockhausen: Konzeption und musikalische Poiesis*, in the series *Kölner Schriften zur Neuen Musik*, vol. 6, ed. Johannes Fritsch and Dietrich Kämper (Mainz: Schott, 1998), 46ff, and Stockhausen 1971, 120.

⁹² This is the familiar "Shepard tone" illusion appearing in an instrumental context.

⁹³ Harrison, *Harmonic Functions in Chromatic Music*, 90–102.

⁹⁴ Another take on the title relates to the article "Cadence Rhythm in Mozart." Karlheinz Stockhausen, *Texte zur Musik*, vol. 2, ed. Dieter Schnebel (Cologne: Verlag M. DuMong Schauberg, 1964), 170–205. According to Stockhausen, "... the principle of the cadence is that the progression from simple to more complicated proportions is experienced as tension, and the progression from more complicated proportions to simpler ones is experienced as resolution" [translation by Jerome Kohl]. The relatively simple ratios 2:3 and 3:4, of course, play an essential role across all levels of structure in *Cadence Music*.

⁹⁵ From www.reihe-m.de/?p=1267, accessed 13 July 2012. Translation from the German by the author.

Lars Helgert

The Songs of Leonard Bernstein and Charles Stern in 1942: Toward the Origins of Bernstein as a Dramatic Composer

"I have a suspicion that every work I write, for whatever medium, is really theater music in some way," wrote Leonard Bernstein in the preface to his 1949 *Symphony no. 2, "The Age of Anxiety."* Bernstein's legacy as a composer of dramatic music is well established, beginning with *Fancy Free* and *On the Town* in 1944, but how Bernstein developed as a dramatic composer has received far less attention than the works themselves. His trajectory as a creator of musical theater began when he was a teenager, directing performances of Bizet's *Carmen* (with new libretto and lyrics) and several Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, followed by a production of Blitzstein's *The Cradle Will Rock* in 1939 during his senior year at Harvard. That same year witnessed Bernstein's first effort at original theater composition: incidental music for a student production of Aristophanes' *The Birds*.¹ He returned to Harvard two years later to compose music for *The Peace*, another Aristophanes play. One of the actors in this play was a Harvard senior named Charles Stern, whose subsequent songwriting collaboration with Bernstein would constitute an important laboratory for Bernstein to experiment with techniques of dramatic depiction in music, and this partnership was a significant steppingstone from Bernstein the promising student and emerging professional to Bernstein the mature stage composer.

The brief career of the Bernstein/Stern songwriting team has been almost completely overlooked by Bernstein's biographers and by modern scholarship.² This collaboration might never have seen the light of day if it were not for Stern's sale of four manuscripts of songs written by them ("There Had To Be a Revolution," "It's Not So Hotsy Totsy Being a Nazi," "I Wanna Grow Up

To Be Yours,” and “Now I Know”) to the Library of Congress in 1998.³ The former pair have probably not been performed since 1942, while the latter two songs have likely never been heard in public at all. The following essay draws on my own interviews with Stern and a number of other primary sources, including contemporary newspaper articles, correspondence, and the music manuscripts themselves.

Charles Herman Stern (born in Boston on 7 October 1919) had the background and skill set for working with Bernstein on dramatic music. He studied piano as a youth, and attended Phillips Exeter Academy before matriculating at Harvard in 1937. While at Harvard, he was a member of Hasty Pudding Theatricals, which presented student-written theater, acted in Harvard Student Union productions, and wrote for the *Harvard Lampoon*. During the summers of his university years, he was an actor with regional companies, including the Straw Hat Theater and the Dorset Players, in Dorset, Vermont.⁴ Published reviews document his performances with the Cambridge Summer Theater in 1941.⁵ Stern’s later activities in the music business also show the requisite skills. After serving in the Army from 1942 until 1945, Stern wrote lyrics for works by Albert Hague and Paul Creston as well as material for comedians Sophie Tucker and Joe E. Lewis.⁶ Stern left the entertainment industry in the early 1950s for academia, teaching English at Cornell University, Hunter College, and other institutions over the course of a long career that changed spheres again after his retirement, when he became a drug addiction counselor in New York City, where he continues to reside.

The brief performing career of the Bernstein/Stern team establishes their working environment as theatrical. As noted above, Stern was an actor in Aristophanes’ *The Peace*, with an original score by Bernstein. A Harvard Student Union production, the play was performed at the Sanders Theatre on 23 and 24 May 1941. According to the program for that performance, *The Peace* was one of a “series of social plays” that “experimented freely with production techniques.” Stern played the role of Old Man.⁷ The antiwar message was made explicit by, among other things, a handbill advertising the performances: “You Don’t See It In The Papers Any More But The Greeks Had A Word For It: Peace.”⁸ A contemporary review, however, described the message as moderate and the music as an asset: “[E]ven the most ardent Bundle for Britain will hardly object to swallowing this socially-significant pill, sugar coated as it is with distinctively modern music by Leonard Bernstein . . .”⁹ Much the same could be said about many of Bernstein’s later works: social significance with the sugar-coating of Bernstein’s music. Stern believes that he met Bernstein at this time, and that they did not previously

know each other despite the fact that their years at Harvard overlapped (1937–39) and they were both associated with the Harvard Student Union.¹⁰

Bernstein and Stern began working together sometime between the summer of 1941 and the spring of 1942, when their partnership was documented by *Boston Globe* columnist Joseph Dinneen.¹¹ The relevant portion of this 15 April 1942 article is reproduced in full below, as it is the only published contemporary account of the Bernstein/Stern team:

Leonard Bernstein, Harvard '39, and Charles Stern, Harvard '41, are not exactly starting at the bottom in the entertainment business. Bernstein is an accomplished pianist who plays anything from the classics to swing, while Stern writes very funny sketches, sings, and acts in them. Stern wanted a job writing for the theatre and in trying to make an appointment with an entertainer at the Satire Room in the Fensgate met Neal Lang, the New York booking agent who managed her. He told Lang he had some material the girl might use. Lang listened to the material, thought it was great, and Stern said he'd like to listen to more with a piano accompaniment. He brought Bernstein in to play for him, and when Lang heard both together he decided that they ought to be a team, something neither had thought of before. Lang took them in tow, offered them in New York, and they are booked to appear in the Rhumba Room of the Fox and Hounds Club, beginning a week from Friday night.¹²

Stern's memory differs from Dinneen's account with respect to the approaching of Neal Lang, who was a prominent agent and the husband of Martha Raye. Dinneen may be implying that Bernstein was added later, but according to Stern, they were already a songwriting team by the time they approached Lang.¹³ Stern describes Lang overhearing them asking at the front desk to meet with a woman who was performing at the Satire Room, which was a nightclub at the Fensgate Hotel in Boston. He could not remember either the singer's name or the exact date, but the singer was probably Anne Therese White, and the date would have been between 16 March and 28 March 1942.¹⁴ Lang approached them and then listened to their material, and "it went on from there." Lang invited them into the club, then out to dinner and to a performance of "Watch on the Rhine."¹⁵

The first performance of Bernstein and Stern was at the Latin Quarter in Boston, when they "substituted for Sophie Tucker and George Jessel who failed to appear for a guest performance" ¹⁶ According to Stern, they had no intention of performing that night, and were at the Latin Quarter as dinner guests of Lang. A nervous MC waited in vain for Jessel and Tucker to show

up, and after the crowd began to get restless, Lang sent him a note saying that he had two boys with him who could perform. Bernstein went up on stage and played Meade “Lux” Lewis’s “Honky Tonk Train Blues” on the piano. Stern then joined him, and they performed their song “It’s Not So Hotsy Totsy Being a Nazi.” They reportedly performed these two selections only.¹⁷

The Bernstein/Stern performance at the Fox and Hounds club was mentioned by Dinneen, Stern, and Burton, and also appears in the Sotheby’s summary.¹⁸ If Dinneen’s account is accurate, the engagement began on 24 April, which is the “week from Friday” referred to in his Wednesday, 15 April column. There are no other published references to these performances at either the Fox and Hounds or the Rhumba Casino—which were apparently the upstairs and downstairs floors of the same club—and different performers are mentioned in the nightclub listings for this period. There is, however, another column by Dinneen in which he mentions that Neal Lang “will book all shows in the Rhumba Casino.”¹⁹ Stern recalled that the engagement lasted just a few nights, and that it didn’t go very well.²⁰

Dinneen and Stern both refer to performances by Bernstein/Stern in New York. In the Sotheby’s summary, Stern says that they “made an appearance at the Martinique, a club on 57th Street.”²¹ Stern recalls that they performed with the dancer Eric Victor.²² The next event in the career of Bernstein/Stern was an attempt to perform at the Cafe Society nightclub in New York:

Under the auspices of composer Harold Rome, they were auditioned by Barney Josephson for his Cafe Society night club. Josephson arranged for the act to be polished by Robert Gordon of Labor Stage during the summer of 1942 with a view toward a booking at Cafe Society in the autumn.²³

Stern remembers that they were introduced to Rome by Barney Straus, who was a “Broadway producer and a classmate of mine at Harvard, and a good friend.” After hearing Bernstein and Stern perform, Rome called Josephson, who invited them for an audition. Stern describes the experience:

Zero Mostel was performing, which had us cringing in horror; we realized we would have to follow him with our audition. The audition went fairly well. Barney said we weren’t ready yet but he was going to send us to Bob Gordon of Labor Stage. If we worked with Bob Gordon over the summer, he would seriously consider bringing us in in the fall.

They never actually went to Gordon for help with their act.²⁴

If nothing else, Bernstein and Stern were rubbing up against some pretty big shoulders. Cafe Society hosted many of the biggest names in jazz, including Teddy Wilson, Lester Young, and Count Basie.²⁵ Owner Josephson aimed at racially mixed audiences and strove to present both white and African American acts.²⁶ Harold Rome (1908–1993) was a composer of “socially conscious” music and had written for several successful shows and revues.²⁷ Gordon had worked with Rome on the successful 1937 show *Pins and Needles*, which has been described as moderately leftist.²⁸ Bernstein’s association with Rome and Gordon can be documented. Bernstein’s 10 May 1942 concert with Copland (at the Alvin Theatre in New York; they played the second movement of Copland’s Piano Concerto) was, according to the program, “staged by Robert Gordon.” Also on the program that evening, right after the Copland concerto, was a performance of a musical comedy scene with Harold Rome at the piano, followed by Teddy Wilson and His Band, “courtesy Cafe Society Downtown.” The entire concert was called “Music at Work,” with “net proceeds to Russian War Relief, Inc.” and “production supervised by Marc Blitzstein.”²⁹

The latest documented association between Bernstein and Stern is the Bernstein-directed performance of Copland’s opera *The Second Hurricane* at Jordan Hall in Boston on 21 May 1942. Stern was a cast member, playing the role of Mr. Lester.³⁰ The collaboration ended shortly thereafter, with Bernstein going to Tanglewood and Stern getting drafted into the Army.³¹ After the war, the by-then famous Bernstein declined to collaborate further with Stern or to offer any career assistance.³²

Why did Bernstein, an individual who was in 1942 very much on the way up in the music business, choose to work with someone of Stern’s modest credentials? One answer to this question is certainly personal; Stern and Bernstein had a lot in common. They were both first-generation Americans of the Jewish faith from the greater Boston area, and both had attended Harvard. They were also both in transitional periods of their lives. Bernstein obviously saw something in Stern’s lyrics, however—or he would not have taken the trouble to set them and to copy out those settings.³³ Bernstein’s experience with composing for the stage was in 1942 limited to the incidental music for *The Birds* and *The Peace*. Stern’s lyrics had dramatic content, but not on the level of a full-fledged musical, allowing Bernstein to practice and develop his craft of dramatic composition in a more circumscribed setting.

The manuscript for “There Had To Be a Revolution” has a title page on which the lyrics are credited to “Charlie Stern,” and the music to “Lenny Beethoven.”³⁴ The lyrics for the song (see appendix) depict a single charac-

ter: a formerly aristocratic Russian who, because of the Bolshevik revolution, has lost his status and is now a male prostitute. Stern describes his conception:

This guy that I'm writing about, because of the revolution in Russia, the aristocrats fled for their lives, and some of them landed in America, they were all over Europe, and they had these pretensions to aristocracy. They had difficulty supporting themselves because of their position in the Russian court, the upper classes of Russia. They weren't used to doing much to make a living, so here is this guy, and his way of making a living is to become a companion for rich women, and that was the impetus for writing the song.³⁵

Stern's character presents rich possibilities for dramatic depiction in music.

Bernstein begins by setting the first three lines as spoken dialogue with a piano accompaniment marked "[forte], pompously"—a clear allusion to the aristocratic pretensions mentioned by Stern. The body of the song then proceeds in two large sections, the first of which is in E minor, 6/8 meter, and sets the next three stanzas of text (see Example 1). The lyrics for this section focus on various New York City nightclubs and (aside from the last word, "Bolsheviki") have up to this point said nothing about either the character's class or nationality. Bernstein alludes to both by using themes from the first movement of Tchaikovsky's Symphony no. 5, op. 64 (not attributed in the manuscript). Through his choice of music, Bernstein has cleverly depicted the character's Russian origin and reinforced his class through the use of

7
Wal-dorf As-to-ri-a Sa-voy Pla-za, then we go down to Kel-ly's

11
Ca-fe So-ci-e-ty Good bye so-bri-e-ty Cock-tail sha-kers for bel-lies!

Example 1. Bernstein and Stern, "There Had To Be a Revolution," mm. 7–14.

31 *Waltz*
vi - ki — It was Rus - sic to me, not the U. S. S. R. - I

36 sat ev - ery night on the right of the Czar Now to make both ends meet I

42 *Very fast*
pod - die cu - viar There had to be a Re - vo - lu - tion! I had

ff

Example 2. Bernstein and Stern, “There Had To Be a Revolution,” mm. 31–47.

music from a symphony, one of the most elevated (aristocratic?) musical genres.³⁶

The second main section (from “It was Russia to me . . .” to the end) is set as an F minor waltz (see Example 2). Other authors have commented on Bernstein’s use of dance for dramatic purposes, of which this is an early instance.³⁷ The waltz was clearly chosen deliberately, as shown by the fact that Bernstein wrote the word “waltz” no fewer than five times in this section of the manuscript. The frenetic, revolving motion of this particular dance serves as a quasi-visual reinforcement of the idea of political revolution, and the waltz’s Old World connotations point to the character’s origin. Action is also depicted in music; the cut-time setting of the words “There Had To Be a Revolution” (e.g., measures 44–46) disrupt the prevailing 3/4 meter in an analogy to the disruptive effect of the revolution on the character’s life. The modulation from E minor to F minor is also dramatic. The character recalls his former, more elevated life in the F minor section that lies a half-step above the E minor setting depicting his current situation.³⁸

Bernstein's later musical theater works often alluded to taboo subjects in subtle fashion.³⁹ This technique can also be seen in "There Had To Be a Revolution." There are comedic pauses at various points in the song, marked by fermatas in the manuscript, that are intended to reinforce the sexuality of the drama during an era in which such things weren't discussed openly. "The pauses are to emphasize the sexual nature of what occurs after the pause. In other words, there is a double entendre facilitated by the pause. Things were much more under wraps than they are today," according to Stern.⁴⁰ Obvious examples (indicated by [pause] in the appendix of lyrics) occur before the words "caviar" and "balalaika." Bernstein may also be making a veiled reference to homosexuality with his choice of music by Tchaikovsky, a gay composer, for the first section of lyrics in which at least one of the clubs mentioned (Spivy's) was, according to Stern, "a very popular hangout, particularly for the gay set."⁴¹

The manuscript for "It's Not So Hotsy Totsy Being a Nazi" has the name "Bernstern" in the upper left-hand corner of the first page; this is an obvious conflation of the names Bernstein and Stern. This is the only one of the four manuscripts to be dated. On the last of its ten pages is the signature "L.B. Apr. '42."⁴² With his lyrics (see appendix), Stern has created a humorous and compelling character: a Jewish Nazi general.

The war was going on, and I guess I was reading about all these Nazi generals who were being ousted by Hitler for various reasons—they weren't very successful, and the idea occurred to me that he was running out of generals. And it occurred to me that carrying this to the absurd extent would be that he finally had to pick this Jewish guy who happened to have, I guess, military experience.⁴³

It is likely that these lyrics appealed to Bernstein on multiple levels.

"It's Not So Hotsy Totsy Being a Nazi" also begins with a brief section of spoken dialogue (the first four measures and the first stanza of text). The piano accompaniment for this section consists only of the downbeats of measures 1 and 3, marked *sforzando* with the indication "fist on any bass notes," an obvious depiction of the violent nature of the song's theme. The next two sections of the song show Bernstein experimenting with the use of key, meter, and form to distinguish between first person narration and third person description. Measures 5–22 are in F minor, cut time, and a form best described as 4+4+8 measures (with a two-bar piano introduction); these set the first person account of the second and third stanzas (from "I didn't want to" until "we have shortages of generals," Example 3). In the next section of music (measures 25–76, Example 4), the lyrics describe the military struggles

6

I did - n't want to be a Na - zi gen' - ral (I vas

16

sen - tenced) and now I got a ti - tle like von Kei - tell

Example 3. Bernstein and Stern, “It’s Not So Hotsy Totsy Being a Nazi,” mm. 6–13.

of various Nazi generals rather than the actions of the character. This contrast of textual purpose—narration versus description—is matched by contrast of key (F major), meter (3/4), and form (AABA).

Preexistent music also appears in this song. Measures 77–142 are a slightly recomposed (and unattributed) version of “Behold the Lord High Executioner,” from Gilbert and Sullivan’s *The Mikado* (Example 5).⁴⁴ This music associates Japan, the setting of the original Gilbert and Sullivan work, with Nazi Germany, the subject of the Bernstein/Stern song. It is a musical/dramatic portrayal of the Axis powers’ alliance, something that was obviously on everyone’s mind in the spring of 1942. More specifically, Bernstein is linking the character Ko-Ko, the “Lord High Executioner” from *The Mikado*, with Hitler. There are several parallels between the two: their modest artistic abilities (Ko-Ko is a “cheap tailor,” Hitler was a painter rejected by the art world),

25

First there was Wal - ter von Brau - chitsch A - dolf called him Bat - ch

25

Next there was Gen' - ral Gu - der man king of the Pan - zer

Example 4. Bernstein and Stern, “It’s Not So Hotsy Totsy Being a Nazi,” mm. 25–28.

Allegro Feroce

con Sve

Example 5. Bernstein and Stern, “It’s Not So Hotsy Totsy Being a Nazi,” mm. 77–92.

their time in jail, and their rise to “executioner” under “remarkable circumstances.”⁴⁵ Audiences would have been able to pick up on the association, given the popularity of *The Mikado*.⁴⁶ Use of music from a work that “incorporates an extreme caricature of Japanese bloodthirstiness” helps create effective satire and commentary on Hitler’s brutality.⁴⁷

This text appealed to Bernstein on a political level because it allowed him to express progressive ideas (protest of anti-Semitism) in the context of patriotic themes (happiness at the enemy’s military reversals). This was an important aspect of *On the Town* two years later.⁴⁸ Bernstein must also have been able to relate on a personal level to this tale of a Jewish general recruited by a society that scorned his faith, given the anti-Semitism that he had to have experienced growing up in Boston and at Harvard.⁴⁹ Setting this text was an early example of Bernstein’s pride and assertiveness with respect to his Jewish faith, the most famous instance of which was his refusal to change his name to the more WASP-like “Leonard S. Burns” despite Koussevitzky’s urging.⁵⁰

The manuscript for “I Wanna Grow Up To Be Yours” has a title page that lists the names “Lenny Amber” and “Charlie Stern.”⁵¹ According to Stern, he first wrote these lyrics for “The Dunster House Follies,” a musical revue performed at Harvard while he was a student there. The original musical setting was by a classmate named Grant Wiprud. Stern only later gave the lyrics to

10

To get themselves a ve-ry high po-si-tion!

13

slowly

Pre-si-dent A-the-lete but that ain't what I'm wish-in!

f *p*

Example 6. Bernstein and Stern, “I Wanna Grow Up To Be Yours,” mm. 10–17.

Bernstein, who created a new musical setting that they never performed.⁵² This creative process, where Stern wrote lyrics first, and then gave them to Bernstein to set to music, was typical of their collaboration (and of Bernstein's later work with other lyricists).⁵³

This song presents different challenges than the other two, since there are two characters, a boy and a girl. Character delineation and the nature of the text determined Bernstein's choice of form. Although not explicitly indicated in the manuscript (see Appendix), the boy appears to be speaking at the beginning of the song; aspirations such as “President” and “Athelete” [sic] would have been considered more or less exclusively male at the time. Bernstein sets the first section of text, from the beginning through “what I'm wishin’,” as a 19-measure verse with frequent meter changes (see Example 6). Stern's lyrics then proceed as a dialogue between the two characters, which Bernstein sets as a standard 32-bar AABA form, with one chorus for each speaker (Example 7 shows the A section; Example 8 shows the B section).⁵⁴ These settings reinforce the distinction between the different sections of text and their function. The verse is a monologue, and its need for resolution is highlighted by the changing meters and shifting tonal centers. This resolution arrives with the dialogue; the two characters speak to each other with the same music, and that music is tonally stable, rhythmically regular, and formally predictable. Formal repetition helps establish dramatic

20

1.Boy: I do-wan - na be a mo - vie ac - tor
2.Girl: I do-wan - na be a Pow - ers mo - del,

22

liv - ing in a storn of ap - plause I do - wan - na be a star e - ven
Pos - ing in the pic - to - gram - yure I could drive the fel - lers und in a

25

op - po - site La - marr, Cause I Wan - na Grow up to be Yours.
Ches - terfield ad But I Wan - na Grow up to be Yours.

Example 7. Bernstein and Stern, “I Wanna Grow Up To Be Yours,” mm. 20–27.

interaction between the characters, and the use of a 32-bar AABA structure establishes a connection with Broadway convention.

We have seen how Bernstein used preexistent music for dramatic purposes in “There Had To Be a Revolution” and “It’s Not So Hotsy Totsy Being a Nazi.” In “I Wanna Grow Up To Be Yours,” Bernstein is expressing the drama of the text through allusion to jazz style, which he later described as “the musical vernacular of Broadway.”⁵⁵ Obvious jazz characteristics include pervasive dotted rhythms in both melody and accompaniment, which approximate a “swing” feel, syncopation, and use of seventh chords and other extended harmonies.⁵⁶ Manipulation of vernacular music for dramatic expression and effect was a prominent feature of Bernstein’s later stage works.⁵⁷ To Bernstein, the use of vernacular musical style and popular song form in “I Wanna Grow Up To Be Yours,” is congruent with textual themes of

35
Yours De - wan - na be a G - man or a Charles Al - lus
Yours De - wan - na star in dra - ma or cook like Fan - ty

38
he - man I do wan na band like Ar - tie Shaw's De - wan - na be Flash Gor - dea or a
Far - mer for Wal - ly's ti - tie I don't give two straws De - wan - na stroll a - long in a

41
Sing Sing war - den like Mis - ter Lawes I just wan - na be yours!
se - xy sa - rong like Dirty La - mou's I just wan - na be yours!

Example 8. Bernstein and Stern, “I Wanna Grow Up To Be Yours,” mm. 35–43.
[The example begins with the last measure of the second A section.]

childhood and simplicity. The strongly American associations of jazz also underline the numerous references to American popular culture in the lyrics.⁵⁸

The names “Charlie Stern” and “Lenny Amber” also appear on the manuscript for “Now I Know.”⁵⁹ This song was described by Stern as a “romantic ballad.”⁶⁰ Underneath the title, in parentheses, is the phrase “chorus only,” and the tempo is designated “Slow and Dreamy.” The form of the song is essentially a standard 32-measure AABA, but with a final A section that differs in its greater length (9 measures) and in its melody and harmony in the final phrase. This varied final A section is a characteristic of many later Bernstein songs.⁶¹

It is difficult to infer dramatic intent from such a brief structure, but it is possible to discern a compositional technique associated with Bernstein’s later dramatic works: construction of a melody from a small number of intervallic



Example 9. Leonard Bernstein and Charles Stern, “Now I Know,” mm. 1–8.

cells.⁶² Virtually the entire A section of the “Now I Know” melody (Example 9) is derived from the first three notes (C-D-B), an ascending major second followed by a descending minor third. The first three notes of measure 2 (B-G-A) are a reordering of this interval scheme, with a major third replacing the minor third. The last three notes of measure 2 (B-flat—C—A) are an exact intervallic sequence of the original motive. In measure 3, the interval of a third is obviously prominent, while the next three notes (E-flat—E-natural—D) share the contour of the original motive, with the intervals compressed. The rest of the A section melody, starting with the C in measure 5, is simply a chain of alternating seconds and thirds, with only one exception (the consecutive seconds in measure 6, B-flat—A—B-flat).

The B section (Example 10) also includes material derived from the opening three-note motive. The triplets in measure 21 are an obvious instance of this, and the triplets in measure 19 are related by contour, although the descending interval is a fourth instead of a third. The pickup motive to the B section



Example 10. Bernstein and Stern, “Now I Know,” mm. 16–24.

[The example begins with the last measure of the second A section.]

(B-flat—A—B-flat—D in measure 16), clearly derived from measure 6 of the A section, also plays an important role in the interval content and contour of the B section. There are no fewer than four instances of material so related to this motive: measure 18 (B-flat—A—B-flat), measure 19 (A—G—A followed by a descending leap to E), measure 21 (B—A—B—G), and measures 22–23 (F-sharp—E—F-sharp—B; the leap here is ascending). The B section melody can thus be described as a combination of material derived from the opening motive and material derived from the pickup motive, the latter of which is itself related to the opening motive. Bernstein would later use the tight construction exemplified by this melody for significant dramatic unity and effect, most notably in *West Side Story*.

Stern's texts provided Bernstein with the right material at the right time in his development as a stage composer. The songs were, according to Stern, not conceived as a unit, which meant that Bernstein could concentrate on the dramatic needs of each song without having to concern himself with large-scale dramatic unity.⁶³ Given his inexperience as a stage composer in 1942, this was an ideal compositional challenge—more difficult than incidental music, but less difficult than a full-length stage work. Bernstein could freely experiment with the use of musical style for dramatic ends: characterization, evocation of place and ethnicity, action, humor, and political and social messages. In short, the Bernstein/Stern songs bridged the compositional gap between *The Peace* and *On the Town*.

Appendix: Lyrics for the Bernstein/Stern Songs

Capitalization and punctuation are taken from the manuscript. This reproduction of the lyrics has been proofread by Charles Stern.

"There Had To Be a Revolution"

INTRO, SPOKEN

You must know me—

You've seen me around—

Every night I'm pleasure bound—

FIRST SECTION, E MINOR

Waldorf Astoria Savoy Plaza,

then we go down to Kelly's

Cafe Society Goodbye sobriety

Cocktail shakers for bellies!

Spivy's la Conga la Martinique
then we go down to Versailles
The Rainbow room is frightfully chic
and we are just as high

Then her apartment: Each with a skinful
we just drop in for a quickie
what I have to do for a living it's sinful
I wish I'd been shot by the Bolsheviks

NEXT SECTION, AABA, F MINOR (A SECTION)

It was Russia to me, not the U.S.S.R.
I sat every night on the right of the Czar
Now to make both ends meet I peddle [pause] caviar
There had to be a revolution!

SECOND A SECTION

I had chefs who concocted such grand liverwurst
In all of old Moscow my table was firsch
Now I stay out each night until six [pause] making borscht
There had to be a revolution!

B SECTION

I drive around town in a new Cadillac
Thanks to my Sociability
Tho I'm a white Russian my future is black
Do you know what it means to be a public utility?

LAST A SECTION

I had tanks full of vodka the best that was made
Each glass was like drinking a small hand grenade
Now I'm here in the States and I know just one trade
There had to be a revolution!

PIANO INTERLUDE, WITH SPOKEN LYRICS

Every morning in the wee small hours,
we come home in her limousine
Then what I go through shouldn't happen to a dog!
Not even Stalin!

B SECTION

I lunched with Rasputin, I dined with the Queen
Pheasant, grouse, antipesto
My jewels were like nothing that you've ever seen.
Then Marx goes and writes some God damned manifesto

A SECTION

I crossed through Siberia, a lonely hitch hiker
Compared to the old days I live like a piker
And each night someone plays on my [pause] balalaika
There had to be a revolution!

“It’s Not So Hotsy Totsy Being a Nazi”

INTRO—SPOKEN

Don’t shoot!
Wait til you’ve heard my story!
Don’t shoot!
Believe me, I’m innocent!

F MINOR SECTION, MEASURES 5–22 (SUNG)

I didn’t want to be a Nazi gen’ral
I vas sentenced
and now I’ve got a title
like von Keitel!

In your country you have shortages
of tin and other minerals:
you should know what it’s like
with us in the Reich
we have shortages of generals!

AABA SECTION, MEASURES 25–76, FIRST A

First there was Walter von Brauchitsch
Adolf called him Butch
He was the right hand man of that
Son of a putch [sic]
from Russia von Brauchitsch sent out an appeal
but Adolph just answered Heraus schlemiel
It’s not so hotsy totsyt being a nazi

SECOND A

Next there was Gen’ral Guderian
king of the Panzer
Newspapers say that he died of
chronic influenza
the truth is that Goebbels had started in worryin
Maybe Guderian wasn’t an Aryan
It’s not so hotsy totsyt being a nazi

B SECTION

Take it from me
nothing was wrong
in the head
with Rudolph Hess
He had plenty on the ball
not to stay and say Jawohl
he’d have got it in the guess!

LAST A SECTION

The Fuehrer got rid of his gen’rals
Stalin had to start trouble

Out of a clear sky it seems they
 all developed heart trouble
 Adolph was anxious to sleep in the Kremlin
 but found Temoshenko was not Monsieur Gamelin!
 It's not so hotsy totsyt being a nazi

NEW SECTION, MEASURES 77-142

Der fuehrer
 Der fuehrer
 he's the lord high executioner!

Taken from a concentration camp
 Where I lived on just Ersatzes
 Substitutes of every stamp
 even substitutes for matzos

Adolph could tell at a glance
 no generals were left in Russia
 So he thought he'd take a chance
 On somebody strictly kosher

Now I'm on the high command
 Golly but I'm flabbergasted
 I just can't understand
 how I'm working for that dirty

Fuehrer
 Der Fuehrer,
 he's the Lord High Executioner!

B SECTION, MEASURES 143-158

So now I'm a general
 Ain't life ironical?,
 and to make sure I
 do things right
 they've fully equipped me
 with gloves and a monocle
 and take me every night
 to see Conrad Veidt!

LAST A SECTION, MEASURES 159-178

All day my poor arm is snapping
 and my heels are clicking
 Into my shoulders my medals
 like needles they are sticking
 I may be a member of the nazi hierarchy
 but I just can't wait for those fellers in khaki!
 It's not so hotsy totsyt
 It's Ersatzi
 It's not so hotsy totsyt being a nazi!

“I Wanna Grow Up To Be Yours”

VERSE

The fellers that I play with
All have some pet ambition
To get themselves a very high position!

President

Athelete [*sic*]

but that ain't what I'm wishin'!

CHORUS 1 (BOY), A SECTION

I do-wanna be a movie actor
Living in a storm of applause
I do-wanna be a star
Even opposite Lamarr,
Cause I wanna grow up to be yours

SECOND A SECTION

I do-wanna be a lion tamer
Stick my head inside a lion's jaws
Tho the tents of Ringling Brothers
may be just the tops for others
I wanna grow up to be yours

B SECTION

Do wanna be a G-man
or a Charles Atlas he-man
I do wanna band like Artie Shaw's
Do wanna be Flash Gordon
or a Sing Sing warden
like Mister Lawes
I just wanna be yours!

LAST A SECTION

I don't wanna be an airline pilot
on my way to far distant shores
I do-wanna be the skipper
even on the China Clipper,
I wanna grow up to be yours!

CHORUS 2 (GIRL), A SECTION

I do-wanna be a Powers model
Posing in the photogravures
I could drive the fellers mad
in a Chesterfield ad
But I wanna grow up to be yours

SECOND A SECTION

I do-wanna be Elizabeth Arden
cleaning out some old lady's pores
I do-wanna be a stooge
for mascara and for rouge
I just wanna grow up to be yours

B SECTION

Do-wanna star in drama
or cook like Fanny Farmer
for Wally's title I don't give two straws
Do-wanna stroll along
in a sexy sarong
like Dotty Lamour's
I just wanna be yours!

LAST A SECTION

I do-wanna be the next first lady
Going on her endless tours
I just wanna spend my day
in an ordinary way
I just wanna grow up to be yours

LAST FOUR MEASURES

Boy: I hope father time don't slow up
Girl: I can't wait until I grow up
Both: Cause I'm gonna grow up to be yours

"Now I Know"

FIRST A SECTION

Now I know where those stars alight
that fall in the night
They keep on shining in your eyes
so very bright

SECOND A SECTION

Now I know where the fall wind blows
the vanishing rose
In spring or fall in your soft cheek
it gently glows

B SECTION

I've often wondered when soft music dies
If it lives on in some sweet hereafter
I know now that it lives in your laughter
just for me a lifelong symphony

LAST A SECTION

Now I know where those sunbeams stray
 at close of the day
 Upon your hair I see their shimmering play
 Shining for me I know

NOTES

An earlier version of this essay was read at the fall meeting of the American Musicological Society's Capital Chapter, University of Maryland, College Park, 16 October 2010. The author would like to thank Harvard University librarian Liza Vick and Bernstein Collection archivist Mark Eden Horowitz. All musical examples ©2010 by Amberson Holdings, LLC. The Leonard Bernstein Music Publishing Company, Inc. (LBMPC), publisher. Used by permission. Lyrics used by permission of Charles Stern. Transcriptions by the author.

¹ See John Gruen, "In Love with the Stage," *Opera News* 37, no. 3 (September 1972): 16–23 for an interview in which Bernstein discusses his early musical theater experiences.

² The sole exception is Humphrey Burton, *Leonard Bernstein* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 98. Burton briefly mentions a 1942 nightclub performance by Bernstein and a singer, but misidentifies the latter as "Eric Stein" without providing a reference. I contacted Mr. Burton, who told me that he could not remember his source for this, but guessed that it was a newspaper clipping (email to author, 17 May 2010).

³ Sold at Sotheby's in New York on 26 June 1998 for \$6,900. Detailed information about the sale, written by Stern, was formerly available online at www.sothebys.com/app/live/lot/LotDetail.jsp?lot_id=33GWH. Included are a physical description of the manuscripts and Stern's summary of his performances with Bernstein, which have "never been chronicled." This is an important source, and will be subsequently cited as the "Sotheby's summary."

⁴ Charles Stern, interview with author, 16 June 2010.

⁵ Stern is named as a cast member in Rudolph Lothair and Fritz Gottwald's "The Command to Love," playing the role of Don Pedro Munaterra. See "Summer Stage in Review," *Boston Globe*, 5 August 1941. He was praised for "lending excellent support" as Fuller Brushman in Owen Davis's "Mr. and Mrs. North." See "Summer Stage," *Boston Globe*, 2 September 1941.

⁶ Records at ASCAP (www.ascap.com) and the Library of Congress's Copyright Office document Stern's work with Hague. Included are at least two published songs: "It May Sound Corny (But I Love You)" and "Chickawa, Chickawa, Chilakee!" (Stern shares the lyric writing credit with Herbert Grayson and Alex Schonfeld on the latter song). Additionally, Hague recorded at least one song with lyrics by Stern: "I've Got a Rock for a Pillow," on *Still: Young and Foolish* (LML Music CD-105, 1998). For Creston, Stern wrote the text for *Black and Tan America*, op. 51. See Monica J. Slomsky, *Paul Creston: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 26. On Lewis and Tucker, see Harvard College, Class of 1941, *Sixennial Report* (Cambridge, MA, 1947), 300, in which Stern mentions his work with the two comedians, a claim he reiterated in my 16 June interview.

⁷ A copy of the program is in the scrapbooks of the Leonard Bernstein Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. The Bernstein Collection scrapbooks contain

newspaper clippings compiled by Helen Coates, Bernstein's secretary. Scrapbooks 1A and 1B, on microfilm reel 1, cover the period under consideration in this article.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Unattributed review, Bernstein Collection scrapbooks. The date "1941" has been written on the clipping, presumably by Coates. Other references to the production include "Stage News," *Christian Science Monitor*, 22 May 1941. It is worth noting that the FBI began investigating liberal student groups at Harvard at this time; see "F.B.I. Probing Harvard College Liberal Groups," *Boston Globe*, 11 June 1941. The Harvard Student Union is specifically named as one of the groups being investigated. To some degree, this parallels the situation with Bernstein's *Candide*, which was also produced under a cloud of government suspicion.

¹⁰ Stern, 16 June interview.

¹¹ In the Sotheby's summary, it is stated that they started writing songs together "soon thereafter" the production of *The Peace*.

¹² Joseph F. Dinneen, "Spilling the Beans," *Boston Globe*, 15 April 1942. A copy is in the Bernstein Collection scrapbooks. Dinneen's "Spilling the Beans" was a regular column that often featured information about performances in local nightclubs. Other contemporary columns useful in this respect include John A. Hamilton's "Time Out: For Diners and Dancers," which ran Fridays in the *Boston Globe*, Louis Hughes's "Stepping Out," (Tuesdays in the *Boston Post*), Buddy Stewart's "Dance Music" (Saturdays in the *Boston Post*), and George Frazier's "Sweet and Low-Down," which ran five days per week in the *Boston Herald*. Frazier's column was primarily about major jazz artists, but he sometimes reviewed performances in local clubs.

¹³ Stern, 16 June interview.

¹⁴ White, who is also referred to as Theresa Ann White, is the only singer mentioned in newspaper listings appearing in the Satire Room at this time. See John A. Hamilton, "Time Out: For Diners and Dancers," *Boston Globe*, 20 March 1942; White is described as a "clever song satirist."

¹⁵ Stern, 16 June interview. Stern recalled that Bernstein performed Chopin on the piano at the club. The actor Paul Lukas, who had the lead role in "Watch on the Rhine," was present at the Satire Room that evening and invited Lang, Bernstein, and Stern to his performance that night, according to Stern. This provides evidence of the date range for Bernstein and Stern's visit to the club, since "Watch on the Rhine" ran in Boston from 16 March until 28 March. See "'Watch on Rhine' Fourth in Series By Theatre Guild," *Boston Herald*, 15 March 1942. See also Dinneen, "Spilling the Beans," *Boston Globe*, 25 March 1942, which specifically refers to Lukas's presence at the Satire Room.

¹⁶ Sotheby's summary.

¹⁷ Stern, 16 June interview. The date of this performance was probably between 4 April and 18 April, since Jessel and Tucker were then in town for the Boston run of their show *The High Kickers*; see "'High Kickers' at Shubert Saturday," *Boston Herald*, 29 March 1942. There are several other accounts of Bernstein performing "Honky Tonk Train Blues" at other places. For a discussion of this and the role of jazz in Bernstein's career, see Lars Helgert, "Jazz Elements in Selected Concert Works of Leonard Bernstein: Sources, Reception, and Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 2008). For more information on the Latin Quarter and its owner, Lou Walters, see Barbara Walters, *Audition: A Memoir* (New York:

Vintage Books, 2009), 27–29, which describes the club's origins. For contemporary accounts of Walters and the Boston Latin Quarter, see Joseph F. Dinneen, "The Whirling Hub: Lou Walters: Talent and Food," *Boston Globe*, 10 October 1941 and Hamilton, "Time Out," *Boston Globe*, 12 September 1941 and 10 October 1941.

¹⁸ Here is Burton's description in its entirety, which is the only account of the Bernstein/Stern collaboration by any of Bernstein's biographers: "In April 1942 Bernstein appeared nightly at the Fox and Hounds in Boston, accompanying a singer named Eric Stein. It was the only formal club engagement of his career." See *Leonard Bernstein*, 98. In the Sotheby's summary, Stern merely notes that the Latin Quarter performance "led to appearances at Boston's Fox and Hounds club."

¹⁹ Dinneen, "Spilling the Beans," *Boston Globe*, 25 March 1942. Nightclub listings for the coming week appeared in the *Boston Sunday Globe* ("Stars of the Floor Shows at the Night Clubs"). On 19 April and 26 April, the Fox and Hounds listed "Milton George and his orchestra, with girl singer and other entertainment," while "Charles Wolk and his orchestra, line girls and other acts, Marion Francis" were advertised as appearing at the Rhumba Casino. Dinneen's 15 April reference to the "Rhumba Room" instead of "Rhumba Casino" has to be a mistake. The same performers are listed at the club through the end of May 1942. Other contemporary references to the Fox and Hounds/Rhumba Casino are Hamilton, "Time Out," *Boston Globe*, 19 September 1941, which describes the club's opening, and Dinneen, "Spilling the Beans," *Boston Globe*, 12 March 1942, which discusses the entertainment and names the managers.

²⁰ Stern, 16 June interview.

²¹ The existence of this nightclub, called "La Martinique," at 57 W. 57th Street, can be verified through local nightclub listings. See, for example, "The Night Clubs During March," *New York Times*, 1 March 1941. Contemporary accounts of activities at La Martinique include Ed Sullivan, "Little Old New York," *Boston Globe*, 25 November 1941: "La Martinique will headline Carlos Ramirez and a line of pulse hoppers." See also Leonard Lyons, "Words to the Wise," *New York Times*, 8 April 1942, which mentions the war bonds sales efforts of actors Danny Kaye and Tallulah Bankhead at the club.

²² Stern, 16 June interview. Victor is listed in a contemporary advertisement as the "Tap" faculty member of the Ballet Arts School at Carnegie Hall; see "Display Ad 51," *New York Times*, 27 September 1942. It can be documented that Bernstein knew Victor, since there is a 1959 letter from the latter asking for a loan. The letter doesn't mention them performing together, but there is a scrawled annotation indicating that Bernstein sent Victor a check. See Bernstein Collection, box 56, folder 30.

²³ Sotheby's summary.

²⁴ Stern, 16 June interview.

²⁵ See "Lester, Lee Young In Cafe Society," *Chicago Defender*, 11 July 1942; "Broadway Plans Welcome For Count Basie's Band," *Chicago Defender*, 6 September 1941; and "Broadway Hails Dual Opening At the Cafe Societies," *Chicago Defender*, 20 September 1941.

²⁶ Gary W. Kennedy, "Josephson, Barney," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, www.grovemusic.com. Josephson's widow recently published a book about the club. See Terry Trilling-Josephson, *Cafe Society: The Wrong Place for the Right People* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

²⁷ Deane L. Root and Gerald Bordman, "Rome, Harold," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, www.grovemusic.com. For a profile of Rome that dates from the early 1940s, see Cecil Smith, "Harold J. Rome Composes With Easy Fluency," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 16 March 1941. A list of Rome's works can be found in Steven Suskin, *Show Tunes: The Songs, Shows, and Careers of Broadway's Major Composers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 193–201.

²⁸ See Trudi Ann Wright, "Labor Takes the Stage: A Musical and Social Analysis of 'Pins and Needles' (1937–1941)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado Boulder, 2010).

²⁹ Bernstein Collection scrapbooks.

³⁰ Program and clippings in the Bernstein Collection scrapbooks. Published reviews of the 21 May performance include W.P.T., "The Second Hurricane," *Christian Science Monitor*, 22 May 1942; Rudolph Elie, Jr., "Music," *Boston Herald*, 22 May 1942; and Warren Storey Smith, "Play Opera at Jordan Hall," *Boston Post*, 22 May 1942. Bernstein directed a second performance of *The Second Hurricane* at Harvard's Sanders Theatre on 5 June, but there was a different person playing the role of Mr. Lester (Eric Larrabee). The program is also in the Bernstein Collection scrapbooks.

³¹ The Berkshire Music Festival ran that year from 5 July through 16 August. See Olin Downes, "Berkshire School," *New York Times*, 5 July 1942 and "Season Concluded by Koussevitzky," *New York Times*, 17 August 1942. Stern provided me with a copy of his service record, which shows an 18 August 1942 date of induction.

³² Stern, 16 June interview.

³³ The manuscripts are in Bernstein's hand, according to Mark Horowitz, the curator of the Leonard Bernstein Collection at the Library of Congress. For each of the four manuscripts, the music is written in ink, and the lyrics are written in pencil.

³⁴ The manuscript for "There Had To Be a Revolution" is in the Leonard Bernstein Collection music manuscripts, box 33, folder 13. The music manuscripts in the Bernstein Collection are currently catalogued under a different numbering scheme than all of the other holdings.

³⁵ Stern, 21 October 2010 interview.

³⁶ Geoffrey Block has noted similarities between songs in *West Side Story* and themes by Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, and Blitzstein and ascribed dramatic motives for this: ". . . a number of Bernstein's central classical borrowings were apparently chosen for their programmatic and associative meaning." See *Enchanted Evenings: The Broadway Musical from Show Boat to Sondheim and Lloyd Webber*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 285–286.

³⁷ For example, Joseph Swain asserts that Bernstein uses the "drama of dance" to "build his tragic idiom into the higher structural levels of *West Side Story*." See *The Broadway Musical: A Critical and Musical Survey*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD, 2002), 236.

³⁸ Swain has speculated that Bernstein's choice of keys in *West Side Story* has "dramatic symbolism," with sharp keys "reserved for the expressions of the lovers" and flat keys "related to themes of violence and hate." See *The Broadway Musical*, 236.

³⁹ For example, Carol Oja has noted that *On the Town* had a racially integrated cast and personnel, but this fact was not emphasized in advertising materials for the show. See Oja, "Bernstein Meets Broadway," lecture at the Library of Congress, 7 February 2011 (webcast at www.loc.gov/today/cyberlc/feature_wdesc.php?rec=5140). Elizabeth Crist has written about Bernstein's McCarthy-era evocation of the Popular Front in *Candide*. See "Mutual Responses in the Midst of an Era: Aaron Copland's *The Tender Land* and Leonard Bernstein's *Candide*," *Journal of Musicology* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2006): 485–527.

⁴⁰ Stern, 21 October interview.

⁴¹ Ibid. See also Lucius Beebe, "This New York," *Boston Globe*, 18 April 1942: "One of the few real hotspots of the late hours these nights is Spivy's Roof, where the Revuers are standing for a return engagement and polite uproar continues until exhaustion sets in." Since Bernstein was a part-time member of the Revuers, it is hard to imagine that he wasn't familiar with the club.

⁴² "It's Not So Hotsy Totsy Being a Nazi" is in the Bernstein Collection music manuscripts, box 21, folder 10.

⁴³ Stern, 21 October interview.

⁴⁴ Bernstein had directed a performance of *The Mikado* with the Sharon Community Players in 1935. See Burton, *Leonard Bernstein*, 23–24.

⁴⁵ The libretto for *The Mikado*, along with plot summaries and MIDI files of the music, are available online at the Gilbert and Sullivan Archive, math.boisestate.edu/gas/mikado/html/index.html (accessed 21 June 2011).

⁴⁶ *The Mikado* "has been continuously popular throughout the world from its premiere [1885] to the present." See Michael Beckerman, "The Sword on the Wall: Japanese Elements and Their Significance in 'The Mikado,'" *Musical Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (1989): 304.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 315.

⁴⁸ In his book on Bernstein's politics, Barry Seldes states that Bernstein's "choice of texts to set to music often revealed his political concerns. To ignore the impact of political forces upon Bernstein is to miss out on much of what enlivened and motivated him." See *Leonard Bernstein: The Political Life of An American Musician* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 3.

⁴⁹ Stern told me during our 21 October interview that, while he never personally experienced overt anti-Semitism at Harvard, there were quotas restricting the number of admitted Jewish students and that "a lot of the Harvard professors had a kind of aristocratic streak in them, and there was a lot of anti-Semitism among the upper classes."

⁵⁰ See Burton, *Leonard Bernstein*, 85 for a brief account of the name change incident.

⁵¹ Bernstein Collection music manuscripts, box 21, folder 6. "Lenny Amber" was a pseudonym often used by Bernstein early in his career. Amber is the English translation of the German word "Bernstein." For a discussion of Bernstein's other activities under this pseudonym, see Helgert, "Jazz Elements," 84–93.

⁵² Stern, 21 October interview. Dunster House is a dormitory at Harvard.

⁵³ Stern, 16 June interview. Stern claims that he and Bernstein wrote many more songs together, but only the four manuscripts survived.

⁵⁴ The first chorus has an additional two measures.

⁵⁵ Leonard Bernstein, "American Musical Comedy," Omnibus television program, 7 October 1956. Reprinted in *The Joy of Music* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Amadeus Press, 2004), 184.

⁵⁶ On Bernstein's use of vernacular styles for a wide range of dramatic purposes in *Trouble in Tahiti*, see Elizabeth L. Keathley, "Postwar Modernity and the Wife's Subjectivity: Bernstein's *Trouble in Tahiti*," *American Music* 23, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 220–256.

⁵⁷ See Bruce McClung and Paul Laird, "Musical Sophistication on Broadway: Kurt Weill and Leonard Bernstein," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Musical*, 2nd edition, eds. William Everett and Paul Laird (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 190–201 for a discussion of Bernstein's use of musical style in his stage works.

⁵⁸ In 1955, Bernstein wrote about the notion of simplicity and popular song in "Why Don't You Run Upstairs and Write a Nice Gershwin Tune?" This article is reprinted in *The Joy of Music*, 52–63. That jazz had the power to signify "American-ness" was an important theme of Bernstein's undergraduate thesis, "The Absorption of Race Elements into American Music," written at Harvard in 1939. The thesis is reprinted in *Findings* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 37–100.

⁵⁹ Bernstein Collection music manuscripts, box 25, folder 21.

⁶⁰ Sotheby's summary.

⁶¹ "Lucky To Be Me," from *On the Town*, is an example of a Bernstein song that adheres to 32-measure AABA except for a final A section varied by length and material.

⁶² Jack Gottlieb has found this to be an important aspect of Bernstein's compositional style in general; see "The Music of Leonard Bernstein: A Study of Melodic Manipulations" (D.M.A. diss., University of Illinois, 1964). Block has shown how "Somewhere" from *West Side Story* is constructed from three brief motives, each of which has been foreshadowed earlier in the work as a device of dramatic/musical unity. See *Enchanted Evenings*, 296–300. Scott McMillin has asserted with respect to *West Side Story* that the "most important compositional maneuver lies in the unfolding of musical cells into the formats of popular songs. . . ." See *The Musical as Drama: A Study of the Principles and Conventions Behind Musical Shows from Kern to Sondheim* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 143.

⁶³ Stern, 21 October interview.

Helen Smith

Faith and Love in New Hope Valley: a Consideration of Community in Carlisle Floyd's *Susannah*

Introduction

Wherever groups of people exist together there lies the potential for a clash of personalities and an exciting story. The dramatic possibilities to portray close social cohesion and its attendant conflicts on the stage—from ancient Greek plays to modern soap operas—were exploited to the full by Carlisle Floyd in his 1955 opera *Susannah*, setting to music a libretto of his own creation. At the heart of the opera is the transformation of the title character, driven by the influence of the community. This change inspired Floyd, for whom “the idea of a triumph of one human being over the depredations and moral pressure of a community is a wonderful source of drama, and the destruction of innocence is as heartbreaking a theme as we have to deal with.”¹ In this article I will examine how Floyd portrays the community in his opera and how the identity of the group is established and maintained, and I will look at the role of the group in the unfolding of the drama. I will also consider the distinctions between the music of the community and that of other characters. Finally, I will explore the manner in which the fundamental ethos of the community is manifested in two of its attributes: faith, the basis on which the society is founded, and love, which ultimately defeats the protagonists of the story.

The story of *Susannah* is adapted from the Apocryphal story of Susanna and the elders, transposed by Floyd to a rural community in the mountains of Tennessee in the American South. Susannah Polk and her brother Sam live in New Hope Valley, where Susannah is a member of the local church; Sam

is ostracized from this group because he is perceived as a drunk. Olin Blitch, a visiting preacher, arrives in the valley to lead the annual revival mission, and at the church dance he is among the men drawn to the young and pretty Susannah. The next day, as the elders of the church search for a creek where Blitch can perform his baptisms, they discover Susannah bathing naked in the pool they intend to use. They take exception to this, and although Susannah is completely unaware of their presence, the elders decide that her actions must reflect an inner evil nature. Their distrust of the girl is compounded when Little Bat, the son of elder McLean, bears false witness claiming to be the victim of Susannah's seduction. The attitude of the community quickly moves from acceptance to condemnation, culminating in its rejection of her at the church's picnic supper. Although she is blameless, the accusation becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, with Susannah deciding that if the community has decreed her to be a bad person then there is little point in behaving decently. When Blitch visits her later, she succumbs to his advances. The next morning Blitch, now aware of Susannah's innocence, wrestles with his conscience and tries to convince the elders that they have falsely accused the young woman; they do not believe him. Later that day, as Blitch is baptizing converts in the creek, Sam shoots and kills him to avenge his sister's dishonor. The community turns against Susannah and tries to force her off her land, but, gun in hand, she warns them off and is left completely alone on her porch.

This concept of a community turning against the innocent was nothing new on the American stage: Arthur Miller's drama, *The Crucible*, shared the same theme in 1953 and probed similar questions of guilt and punishment.² Despite their different geographical and chronological settings, there are obvious parallels between the societies depicted.³ Miller's Salem and Floyd's New Hope Valley are both somewhat isolated from the outside world, they both live under theocratic rule, and they share similar attitudes and religious convictions. This correlation stems in part from the fact that the same political motivation lay behind the works. Both Floyd and Miller were strongly opposed to the trials of the House Un-American Activities Committee of the early 1950s, and both "employ[ed] the metaphor of a primitive theocracy for McCarthyism."⁴ Both Susannah and the women in Salem are accused by people whose motives go unquestioned, and none of the women are able to protest their innocence against the weight of religious bigotry, narrow-mindedness, and fear. In both situations audiences sense that the course of action is unstoppable once it has been set in motion. This reflects the relentless progress of the McCarthy trials in the fervently anti-Communist atmosphere of the time, together with the terror it created, both of which greatly

concerned Floyd: "It took all kinds of forms: suspicion, and the idea that accusation was all that was needed as proof of guilt. It terrified and enraged me."⁵ In both stories, an innocent party is eventually driven out, either to isolation or death, by the pressures of their own community. Before the end both Susannah and John Proctor crumble under the weight of lies spread by their neighbors.

SUSANNAH:

Tired o' fightin' an' tired o' livin'
in a world where the truth has to fight
so hard to git itself believed.
An' on top o' that, I plum' didn't care.
If people were gonna believe
the worst anyway, then I didn't see
what diff'rence it made.
But most of all, I was tired.⁶

PROCTOR:

My honesty is broke, Elizabeth; I am no good man. Nothing's
spoiled by giving them this lie that were not rotten long before.⁷

One fundamental difference separates the two protagonists, however: Susannah was blameless before all the troubles began, while John Proctor had committed adultery with Abigail Williams. He appears to feel some need to redeem his soul by confessing to another crime, albeit an imaginary one. Susannah, although completely transformed from the naïve young girl of the opening into a bitter and angry woman at the end, seems the stronger of the two. At least, having survived the attacks of her neighbors, she remains alive at the close of her tale.⁸

Floyd's relocation of the biblical story to a Tennessee mountain settlement brought it within the realm of experience for his native audience. As the son of a Methodist minister in South Carolina, he knew his subject and setting intimately, having grown up "observing at first hand itinerant preachers, revival meetings and the fervent—often hypocritical and destructive—religiosity of insular Bible Belt towns."⁹ The Bible story, on which the opera is based, shares a basic plot with Floyd's version, including the bathing incident and the accusations of the elders against Susannah, but there is one significant difference in the opera. In contrast to the conclusion of Floyd's tale, the biblical ending is a positive one. Susanna's innocence is proven when the elders' stories, taken separately by the prophet Daniel, fail to concur. The guilty plotters are thus convicted by their own testimony and punished, "to fulfill the law of Moses: and they [the community] put them to death, and innocent blood was saved in that day."¹⁰ The execution of the

biblical elders is thus framed as divine justice accepted appropriately by “the whole assembly, [blessing] God, who saves those who hope in him.”

Sam’s murder of Blitch, on the other hand, is an instance of extra-judicial revenge—an impulsive, personal act—bound to be provocative and contested by the community, whose guilty members escape unchallenged. At the tragic conclusion of the opera there is *no hope* left,—in God or man—in New Hope Valley. The problematical character of Blitch, the misunderstood figure of Sam, and the unresolved position of Susannah give Floyd’s story its distinctive dramatic intensity.

Floyd himself has stated that he was not familiar with the full particulars of the biblical story before embarking on the writing of the opera, “although I had heard of Susanna and the elders and knew dimly that it had been the subject of a number of paintings, I had to confess ignorance of the actual details of the story.”¹¹ However, in Floyd’s opinion, “a softer or happier ending would have sabotaged the authenticity of the drama . . . and would have fatally undercut the severity of the story’s ethic.”¹²

Community

A community is drawn together by its common beliefs and relationships, and these elements can also distinguish its members from those outside, creating a boundary that confers definition on the group.¹³ In New Hope Valley the border is two-fold, first created by the physical limits of the valley itself, which to some degree keep the community cut off from the outside world. The suggestion is clear that life in New Hope Valley is not as technologically advanced as the majority of America in 1955. “Floyd’s isolated community . . . is without electricity or running water, such as might have been found in pockets of rural America well into the post-World War II period.”¹⁴ In addition, there is the boundary created by their shared Christian beliefs, an adherence to biblical teaching that not only defines the members of the group, but which also provides the basis for their relationships and behavior. These interactions, played out in the various rituals and rites that form the basis of the Christian community, create the opportunity for social events that cement the bonds of the congregation, voiced by the opera chorus. In *Susannah*, the gatherings that surround the revival meeting occur in both a religious context—the evening church meeting and the unseen baptism—and in secular settings that are associated with the church—the dance and the picnic supper. The events provide people with a sense of belonging and give structure and meaning to their lives, reinforcing the boundaries of the community. The community is only present at the social events, when a group of people would be expected to gather, and does not appear in unre-

alistic situations. Floyd stated, “the importance of choruses varies from opera to opera, but I have always been of the opinion that if a chorus is used in an opera, it should have a genuine reason for being; otherwise it easily becomes background music or a pleasant diversion for the eye.”¹⁵ This explains the sparing use of the chorus in *Susannah*, appearing in only five of the ten scenes.

Abarbanel points out that *Susannah* shares a “folkloric quality” with other operas of this time, including Copland’s *The Tender Land* (1954), Moore’s *The Ballad of Baby Doe* (1956), and Ward’s *The Crucible* (1961, based on Miller’s play). However, Floyd objected to the label of “folk opera” being applied to *Susannah*, as he claimed that the “folk elements are . . . woven in to the much longer musical fabric of the entire opera and should suggest only locale and provincial color.”¹⁶ In this statement, Floyd is using the word “folk” as a descriptor, referring to the concept of “originating or traditional with the common people of a country or region and typically reflecting their lifestyle.” However, the same word may also be applied to “a certain kin, class, or group of people.”¹⁷ In the light of this definition, the opera can be described as a tale of the folk, concerning the folk, told predominantly in the medium of the folk, and so can be labeled a folk opera, underlining the importance of the collective community in the work.

At the opening of the opera, the congregation is present at a square dance in front of the church, the secular prelude to their religious celebration and the first opportunity for diegetic music.¹⁸ Such a revival meeting was an annual event for Christian congregations, as Floyd recalled, and “provided these rural, remote people their meager allotment of excitement for one week of each year, almost always in the stifling heat of midsummer.”¹⁹ The music for the dance is led by a fiddler, and his predominantly arpeggio-based melody is heard first on its own, then accompanied by a chord based on open fifths (G–D–A); both elements help create a clear folk flavor (Example 1).



Example 1. Act 1, scene 1, opening

The first sung music we hear comes from the wives of the elders, talking among themselves as the younger folk dance. These women and their husbands constitute a smaller group within the congregation, and they have dis-

tinct identities, although for the most part their views reflect those of the rest of the fellowship. As with much of the music for the elders and their spouses there is a strong underlying diatonic basis, with a triadic, and sometimes pentatonic, foundation to many of their melodies. Their opening music is in G major, and clearly echoes the fiddle tune, which has continued as an accompaniment beneath it. The melodic line and rhythm of their conversation reflect the natural rise and fall of Floyd's text; the dialect Floyd employs provides a further element in the portrayal of the community. There is, however, another side to these senior members of the assembly, which surfaces when they are in a vindictive or self-righteous frame of mind. Only a few moments after their first words, the intervals in the melody become wider, the music becomes more dissonant, and more cross-rhythms occur between the melody and accompaniment as Mrs. McLean begins jealously complaining about Susannah, turning spiteful and fractious (Example 2).

The musical score is for a scene from a play. It is in G major and common time. The tempo is marked 'a tempo'. The score features two vocal parts: MRS. HAYES and MRS. McLEAN, and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'It's a shame her ma cain't see her. It's a bless-in', you mean. She's a shame - less girl, she is. Show-in' her - self to all the men'. The piano part includes dynamic markings like 'pp subito' and 'sfz'.

Example 2. Act 1, scene 1, two bars before figure 6

Mrs. McLean is suspicious of Susannah regarding both her son Little Bat, who is besotted with the young woman, and her husband, who shares his son's weakness. Although the jealousy is Mrs. McLean's shortcoming (and her sin?), she transfers the culpability onto Susannah. Her lyric, which begins in Example 2, continues: "That pretty a face must hide some evil. They's evil in that one you'll see. She's a shameless wench, Susannah is."²⁰ As elder McLean sees the other elders attempting to dance with Susannah, he also joins them on the dance floor, much to his wife's disdain. The tonality of the music is G major and G minor, and the meter is common time when the elders' wives are gossiping about the upcoming meeting and about Susannah.

The dancing is interrupted when Olin Blitch makes his entrance and introduces himself; the music shifts to E major, and into 6/8. His opening interval is an ascending ninth, B to C-sharp, perhaps an indication of his own self-importance. The change from simple to compound time and the modulation to an unrelated key suggest the distinction between the members of the community and the outsider. The contrast is underlined when the congregation greets Blitch with a reiteration of his own music and the key moves back to G major; the church welcomes him, but on its own terms. This music resembles the hymns we shall hear later, reflecting Blitch's role as a preacher, and emphasizing the community's religious basis. The sopranos and altos repeat the music that Blitch has just sung in his 6/8 meter, while the tenors and basses, together with the orchestra, are in 3/4 against this; this juxtaposition of different meters perhaps foreshadows the tension that will later occur between the community and Blitch (Example 3).

A tempo, Energico e marcato

He is the Rev - e - rend O - lin Blitch and he's come to New Hope Val - ley

O - lin Blitch he's come to New Hope Val - ley, Lord be praised.

Example 3. Act 1, scene 1, figure 10

The elders next reappear in the third scene, when they are looking for a creek for Blitch to use for his baptisms. Their music is accompanied by ominous pedal notes and a chord progression that was heard in the opening music of the opera, characterized by a spiky, dotted rhythm and dominated by parallel fifths. The texture builds, increasing in speed and volume until they finally spot the creek, and the naked Susannah; their immediate reaction is a lustful one. Realizing that this is completely inappropriate to their religious convictions, their emotion changes, but they find themselves unable to accept their faults and instead transfer the guilt they are feeling onto an unsuspecting and innocent Susannah:

They all stand rooted in their tracks for some time, expressions of shock on their faces being gradually supplanted by those of lust. Eventually McLean shatters the moment when he realizes what

*he is feeling and doing, and draws himself up indignantly. At the sound of his voice, the other elders, horrified and deeply disturbed, too, at what they have felt, quickly adopt his outraged tone and stance. They continue to look, however.*²¹

The unfairness of the situation is compounded by the fact that the creek is actually on Susannah and Sam's land, and the elders are trespassing there in the first place. When looking for the pool, Gleaton says that "I recollect it was on the old Polk Place."²² Elder McLean's words, "She's a shameless wench, this Susannah is,"²³ echo his wife's accusation from the church dance, and also seem especially hypocritical from a man who was very eager to dance with the "wench." As they leave, they resolve to tell the whole valley that Susannah is evil, that "this woman is of the devil."²⁴ The unanimity of their conviction is reflected in a homophonic and hymn-like setting of their accusations. The music of the elders in D minor follows a two-bar repeating chord progression, changing harmony on every quarter note and creating a march-like feel: $i^7 \ i \ v^9 \ v^7 \ | \ i^7 \ iv \ flat-ii \ i$. The use of the minor dominant and flat supertonic chords increase the ominous nature of the music, which gradually fades as the men retreat from the scene.

All the church members at the communal supper in the next scene have been made aware of Susannah's supposed sinful nature. The elders and their wives are discussing the issue maliciously. The music is bitonal—different key signatures are used in the different registers of the orchestra—and there are, of course, many dissonances. The friction and hostility of the community are translated into the clashes derived from juxtaposition of the two keys. Mrs. McLean appears almost happy that Susannah has been caught in such a predicament: "I ain't surprised. I ain't a bit surprised. It's jest as I was sayin' last night. 'Cept she got caught afore I'd thought. It jes' goes to prove I was right."²⁵ Her vocal line frequently clashes with the orchestral accompaniment, which already contains semitone dissonances. The chorus is present, as this is a social occasion, but it makes no musical contribution. Susannah enters and the gossip stops. It is precisely the silence of the congregation as she attempts to approach them that signals its rejection of her—and this much more effectively than a loud denunciation would have done. McLean is the only person who speaks directly to her before she hurries back to the farm, telling her that she is not welcome but without explaining why.

One of the clearest manifestations of the community through music can be seen in the act 2, scene 2 revival meeting set within the church itself. In this scene, a choir is performing in a diegetic context, enthusiastically singing hymns expressing the religious beliefs that draw the fellowship together.

Although the congregation themselves are not participating vocally, the presence of the churchgoers at the service suggests their tacit agreement with the sentiments and principles of the songs being sung. The two songs, “Are you saved from sin?” and “Come, sinner,” are representations of revival-style hymns in the mold of composers such as Lowell Mason and George F. Root,²⁶ as can be seen in Examples 4a and 4b.

a

Allegro deciso ($\text{♩} = 112$)

Are you saved from sin, read-y to meet your Lord? Has His blood made you free from the a-veng-ing sword?

b

Lento assai ($\text{♩} = 112$)

Come, sin-ner, to - night's the night to take a stand for God and the right. Cast Sa - an out, re - gain your sight. Come, sin - ner, to - night's the night. Sa - tan out, re - gain your sight. Come, sin - ner, to - night's the night.

Example 4a. Act 2, scene 2, opening, vocal parts only

Example 4b. Act 2, scene 2, figure 68, vocal parts only

Floyd says that “revival hymns emerged quite naturally from my inner ear after having spent a childhood hearing Protestant and revival hymns,”²⁷ but there are fresh touches that have been added to the generic sounds. Miller points out: “Though the ‘hymns’ Floyd has written for the revival scene sound similar to real evangelical hymns, they contain a greater harmonic and rhythmic sophistication than the average hymn of this flavor.”²⁸ The opening phrase of “Are you saved from sin?” is heard unaccompanied, but when the orchestra joins four bars later, their music contains chromatic harmonies that add to the tension of the scene: chords of E—B-flat—E-flat, as well as E-

flat/F clashes. The choral music is characterized by the rising linear third in the melody at the opening of each phrase, the energetic dotted notes and the emphatic feel of the repeated notes. The music reinforces Floyd's stage direction that the scene "*should aim at projecting the tension, effrontery and, above all, the terror implicit in the revival meeting of this nature.*"²⁹ The 6/8 time signature of the invitation hymn, "Come, sinner," is not atypical for this type of song,³⁰ although the AAB structure and use of the minor key are unusual. Also uncommon is the use of the minor seventh, lending a modal flavor to the line. This is a feature of the music in minor keys in *Susannah*, also occurring in Susannah's act 2 ballad "The trees on the mountain," and previously in music heard at the creek and at the picnic supper. Floyd explains that he used such a device because "the lowered seventh immediately creates a folkish color in the music which also suggests a locale and an earlier time."³¹ There is the sense of something ominous approaching in the second appearance of the phrase "tonight's the night," with its cadence from minor dominant to minor tonic. There is also a curious use of harmony toward the end of the verse of this second hymn, providing an element of word painting: a flat tonic adds a plaintive tone to the word "darkness", an effect balanced in the next bar by a major version of the tonic chord on the word "light."

The full membership of the church is next seen at the end of the opera. In the final scene, Sam returns to the farm after his hunting, but does not find his sister the same person that she was when he left. She explains what has happened, then goes inside to prepare supper. Sam takes up his shotgun from the porch and runs off toward the creek. Susannah comes outside, calling for her brother, when a shot is heard from the distance. Little Bat runs wildly toward her, informing her that Sam has shot Bitch, whose final words were a blessing for Susannah herself. The congregation is now heading for the farm to drive her out, and in a scene reminiscent of Britten's *Peter Grimes*,³² they approach from the distance intent on removing Susannah from her land.

At first the music is very different from the chorus's previous hymns, beginning with a chord progression closely related to that heard in act 1, scene 3. This chord pattern is a motif that has recurred throughout the opera at moments of particular tension.³³ Semitone clashes occur between the orchestra, which continues with the original chords, and the music of the chorus, which now follows a new pattern. The music mirrors the level of tension in the dramatic situation as the crowd starts to accuse Susannah, although, considered in isolation, the music of the mob could not be simpler, as it merely oscillates between the tonic and dominant chords in D minor

(again utilizing the lowered seventh, heard in the minor dominant chord), while the orchestra provides the dissonance (Example 5).

Largamente ma l'istesso tempo

Git out -'n the val-ley, Su - san-nah. Git out! Git out to - night!

Git out -'n the val-ley, Su - san-nah. Git out! Git out to - night!

Example 5. Act 2, scene 5, figure 103

Following Sam's killing of Blitch, the crowd accuses Susannah of having planned the murder before she can even open her mouth to defend herself, and since in their eyes she has been guilty of everything else, they place the blame for Blitch's death on her. The elders sing predominantly triadic lines as they elaborate on the charges against Susannah.

MCLEAN:

Of all the sins which lay on yer soul
this was the worst of all to behold. . . .

HAYES:

Y'd might as well o' killed him yerself
as had him killed,
Jes' so his voice against you'd be
forever stilled.³⁴

The last we hear of the congregation of New Hope Valley Church is the fading sound of the accusations against Susannah, as the townsfolk retreat from the scene.

The Outsiders

As part of the rituals in New Hope Valley, as in other conservative Christian congregations, persons must publicly confess their sins and be baptized in order to become full members of the church, and then must live in accordance with the strict rules of the community. It appears that Sam, who drinks alcohol openly and prefers solitary rather than social activities, does not abide by these rules. His unfettered way of living is commented on by Elder McLean: "he just hunts an' traps an' fishes all day an' is allers drunk at

night.”³⁵ Sam’s ostracism exposes the dichotomy in the concept of community. Although it implies connections and commonality for its members, it also differentiates among them, distinguishing those on the inside from those on the outside. It is interesting that Susannah’s place in this community is already subject to debate at the beginning of the opera, as demonstrated by the elders’ wives shocked reaction to Mrs. McLean’s first outburst against her at the church dance.

MRS. HAYES:

Susannah looks mighty pretty tonight.

It’s a shame her ma cain’t see her.

MRS. MCLEAN:

It’s a blessin’, you mean.

*(The three wives look at Mrs. McLean in sudden surprise.)*³⁶

More dialogue indicates that Susannah has been accepted up to this point, trusted to look after children, and even an object of some sympathy for her position as a single woman bound to a wayward brother.³⁷ But all this is forgotten in the furor surrounding her fall from grace. Susannah’s position rapidly shifts from being a member of the community to being an outsider through no fault or action of her own.

Susannah’s character is perhaps best encapsulated in her two arias, one in each act of the opera. Although we have seen Susannah dancing in the first scene, it is not until the second scene that we finally hear her sing. Back at her home, she is still excited about the dance, and is in conversation with Little Bat, the son of Elder and Mrs. McLean. His music is very tense and skittish, with short rhythmic values, the musical embodiment of his physical description: “*Little Bat is a shifty-eyed youth, not too strong mentally. He possesses instead a litheness and feline quality of movement which, coupled with his eyes, gives him a constantly expectant and alert air.*”³⁸ Susannah moves from talking about the dance to expressing her desire to escape from New Hope Valley in her first aria “Ain’t it a pretty night.” Similar to Laurie in Copland’s 1954 opera *The Tender Land*,³⁹ Susannah dreams of leaving the life she knows, if only for a little while: “I aim to leave this valley some day an’ find out fer myself: To see all the tall buildin’s and all the street lights an’ to be one o’ them folks myself.”⁴⁰ The music for this aria contains frequent modulations, both within and between verses, reflecting Susannah’s restlessness. The upper neighbor notes in the accompaniment give a gentle rocking feel to the aria, a contrast to the folk sound of the surrounding music (Example 6). Susannah’s aspirations distance her from the rest of the community and their rural roots.

Adagio sostenuto ($\text{♩} = 50$)

Ain't it a pret - ty night! The

sky's so dark and vel - vet-like and it's all lit up with stars. It's like a

sempre molto legato

pp espress.

Example 6. Act 1, scene 2, figure 19

Also significant in this aria is the phrase associated with the words of the first line. To begin with, the interval outlined is an ascending major seventh, followed by a descending second: G-flat—F—E-flat. This motive embodies Susannah's sense of striving and dreaming, the upward leap falling just short of the octave.⁴¹ However, as the aria progresses, as Susannah dreams and her desires grow, the size of the interval increases. In verse 2, it is still a major seventh that is outlined, but at the start of verse 3, as she begins to talk of leaving the valley, her melody leaps an octave. The expansion continues at the beginning of the last verse, as it is now a ninth that accompanies the words: E-flat—F—E-flat (—D-flat—B-flat). When her brother Sam arrives home, she tells him all about the dance, and then they sing together a short folk tune called "The Jaybird Song." Floyd describes the rhyme as "anonymous and dates back, I believe, to slave days in the South,"⁴² but the music, which is another predominantly pentatonic melody over a simple harmony, is of Floyd's own creation. Speedie observes that "Susannah is associated with birds throughout the opera (for example, Sam refers to her as little robin, and sparrow), and the song 'Jaybird' seems to represent the innocent Susannah."⁴³ This point is reinforced when the "Jaybird" music reappears at the opening of the following scene: Susannah is humming the music to herself as she bathes in the creek.

Her second aria, "The trees on the mountain," appears in the second act following the revival meeting, as Susannah seems to be comforting herself after the trauma of religious fervor. There is a plaintive feel to the song which, as previously mentioned, contains further examples of the lowered seventh in the minor key (Example 7).

Andante piangendo ($\text{♩} = 96$)

The trees on the moun-tains are cold... and bare. The sum-mer jes' va-nished an' left them there like a

p ma sonoro *sempre arpeggiando*

5
false-heart-ed lov-er jes' like... my own who made me love him, then left me... a-lone. The

Example 7. Act 2, scene 3, opening

The meter and the gentle accompaniment, which progresses to flowing sixteenth notes help to create a folk lilt in the music, as does the fact that it is diegetic: Blitch enters and asks, “Do you allers sing so pretty?” Susannah suggests that it is an older song passed down to her, telling him, “My mama taught it to me a long time ago.”⁴⁴ However, unlike a folk song, this second aria has a very wide range, ascending to a soprano’s top C. Both of Susannah’s arias have a gentleness to them, yet also a feeling of striving and dreaming and a sense of individuality that contrasts with the music of the congregation.

We hear another side of Susannah’s musical character in act 1, scene 5, when she finally discovers why she has been shunned by the community. Little Bat tells her about the incident at the creek, and also that he has “confessed” that he let Susannah seduce him. Evidently most of the pressure felt by Little Bat appears to have come from his mother, whose jealousy of the younger and prettier Susannah has already been demonstrated. His music is frantic, dominated by wide leaps, thirty-second note rhythms, and a highly chromatic accompaniment, and Susannah’s responses to him reflect his disjunct melody. Little Bat appears to enjoy retelling the tale he has already told others since it is the closest he will get to actually having a sexual relationship with Susannah. She sends him away and her brother Sam returns. He despairs of the way the people of New Hope Church are treating his sister, and he shares with her his philosophy about the situation (Example 8).

There is a tranquility in the music for Sam’s aria, a gentle lyricism that is not derived from folk sources, and the measured quarter-note chords in the accompaniment appear to reflect his desire to support his sister. The

Largo semplice (♩ = 50)
(*Very gently*)

It's a - bout the way peop-le is made, I reck-on, an' how they like to be-lieve what's bad. How

short they are on lov - in' kind-ness. It must make the good Lord sad.

pp con tristezza *sim.*

Example 8. Act 1, scene 5, figure 49

poignancy of the minor key and the lowered seventh in the melody is further enhanced by Floyd's employment of the flat submediant chord in the harmony. All of the aspects combine to provide a sharp contrast to Little Bat's disjointed and frenzied music, and underline the fact that Sam is characterized as being different from the others. In Floyd's words he is "*the uncomprehended poet and recluse, [he] is gentle by nature and tragically passive.*"⁴⁵ Miller makes the point that

according to Floyd, Sam embodies his attitudes more than any other character in the opera. This outsider, though unschooled in religious dogma, sees his world with more clarity and tolerance than the "Godly" people in the story who faithfully attend church . . . He stands in stark contrast to the self-righteous townspeople who practice a religion devoid of compassion.⁴⁶

Continuing from the lyric in Example 8, Sam sings:

(*Very gently*)

They don't know it ain't what you feel that counts
but what you do about it.

So instead they take it out on you

It must make the good Lord sad.⁴⁷

The first act ends with Susannah distraught at her situation, and sobbing in Sam's arms; there is nothing more he can say.

At the opening of the second act, it is three days later, and Sam and Susannah are back in front of their home. Susannah has been verbally abused by men in the community, who have been overtly suggestive now that they believe her a sinner. Sam proposes that his sister go to the prayer

meeting, for her own safety and to bravely face down her accusers. His gentle suggestions are accompanied by the music from his previous aria. Susannah objects vehemently at first, and her vocal line reflects her agitation, with wide leaps and dotted rhythms against descending chromatic patterns in the orchestra. In the midst of Susannah's despair, Sam attempts to encourage her, telling her, "We gotta have faith, little robin. We jest gonna have to have faith."⁴⁸ In counterpoint to this, we hear a melody reminiscent of Susannah's earlier "Trees on the mountain" aria.

It is significant that the only person to mention faith in the whole opera is Sam, who ironically is not part of the church. Of all the characters, it is Sam whose spirituality is most secure, and who understands that belief must be backed up by appropriate behavior. Floyd, perhaps making Sam his mouthpiece here, explains that "Sam's view of a God of love would not satisfy the community's need for condemnation and punishment."⁴⁹ This contrasting perspective on the Divine helps to explain Sam's isolation from the congregation.

It is possible for an outsider to be accepted by the group if all share the same beliefs, as in the case of Olin Blitch. As previously mentioned, at his entrance in the opening scene Blitch introduces himself with hymn-like music which is repeated by the folk at the dance. The fact that they are speaking the same religious and musical language underlines the common purpose of people and preacher. Following the first scene, Blitch is then absent from the stage action for some time, until the revival meeting in act 2, scene 2. The hymns that have already been discussed provide the musical framework for this meeting, and between the two songs we hear Blitch's powerful preaching. As the focus shifts from the community to Blitch, there is a tonal shift, similar to that seen at his entrance in act 1, scene 1. But the key change this time is not as marked: the chorus's first hymn is in E-flat major and, following a spoken section over an orchestral accompaniment, Blitch's sermon begins in E minor. Blitch's preaching proceeds in a triadic manner to begin, but as he moves onto the subject of hell the orchestral writing becomes increasingly chromatic and dissonant. The music of Blitch's discourse modulates to C minor, which is the key of the first verse of "Come, sinner," and the music flows seamlessly from his address into the choir's hymn; again there is agreement in the messages being presented by preacher and believers. As the atmosphere becomes more intense, the hymn is repeated higher in E-flat minor, the repeated refrain with its rocking rhythm inducing a quasi-hypnotic state in the congregation. Blitch speaks and shouts over this, exhorting the believers to step forward for forgiveness. As the music is repeated a final time, Blitch moves back into singing, adding an obbligato

over the choral music as he attempts to draw Susannah to the altar. Floyd describes Blitch's voice at this point as possessing a "*distinctly cajoling, almost caressing sound.*"⁵⁰ Susannah approaches him, but at the last minute, the spell is broken by Blitch's triumphant smile, and she runs from the church. As pointed out by Eyer, "In this scene Floyd has captured completely the mystical, almost orgiastic, atmosphere of a revival meeting. He has built up the emotional crescendo with great skill, and the fulminations of the preacher against the background of the choir produce a gripping dramatic effect."⁵¹

When Blitch visits Susannah after the meeting, his first intentions appear to be sincere, and he attempts to save her soul. However, he makes it clear that he believes the lies being spread about her. Blitch gives in to his weaker, human side, seduces Susannah as he sings of love, while obviously feeling only lust. His words also contain the suggestion that this may not be the first time he has taken advantage of a young woman on his travels:

I'm a lonely man, Susannah,
 an' ever now an' then it seems
 I gotta have somebody,
 Somebody I can love
 like other folks do,
 'cause it's a lonesome work I do . . .
 But ever now an' then I near go mad,
 I need a woman so.⁵²

There is a sense of weariness in his music for this section, in E-flat minor and common time, which has a much more regular rhythm than his preaching. The accompaniment is dominated by parallel fifths and falling thirds, which add to the sense of fatigue. Susannah, having struggled with so much over the preceding days, now finally submits, but "out of exhaustion, not desire."⁵³

The next morning Blitch has realized the enormity of his sin and has retreated to the church to pray for his very soul: "*It should be immediately apparent that here is Blitch for the first time stripped of his bravado and evangelical trappings: a man terrified by his own image of a vengeful God.*"⁵⁴ His character has changed from overbearing preacher to a weaker and more human person, demonstrated in his seduction of Susannah. In this final private exchange, as he pleads with God, we see an utterly broken man praying for forgiveness, and this development is paralleled by a change in Blitch's musical language. He acknowledges his failings as he pleads for his soul after robbing Susannah of her virginity: "She was untouched before her young body was defiled by my hands, defiled by my lust."⁵⁵ The confident,

primary triad dominated music of his entrance in the first scene and his preaching in the revival meeting contrasted with the added note chords and parallel intervals of his all-too-human aria in the preceding seduction scene. Now in the empty church, his downfall is complete, and Blitch's inner agony is reflected in the dissonances and semitone clashes in the music (Example 9).

Moderato con moto ♩ = 72

Hear me, O Lord, I be-seech Thee. I have called u-pon Thee all night in vain

mf sempre con angore e poco f

Example 9. Act 2, scene 4, figure 86

Blitch has called the elders and their wives to hear him protest Susannah's innocence, and he reverts to his bold preaching style as he attempts to persuade them; they are "completely unconvinced and shake their heads in pity for his credulity."⁵⁶ As seen earlier at the church supper, it is through silence that another rejection occurs, this time of the visiting preacher. Without responding to his petition they stand and leave, the only comments coming from Mrs. McLean, who declares, "the devil works in queer ways," and her husband, who tells Blitch "we'll see you at the baptism, preacher."⁵⁷ The simple nature of their responses, outlining triads in regular rhythms, contrasts with Blitch's complex lines. The elders make no mention of Susannah even though she is present and sitting at the back of the church. She is clearly the devil to which Mrs. McLean is referring. The rebuttal from his flock is then compounded by Susannah's damning response to Blitch's attempt to make amends: "Fergive? I've forgot what that word means."⁵⁸

Even from his powerful position as a preacher, Blitch must maintain his place in the community. When he discovers Susannah's innocence and attempts to inform the elders, he does not reveal the source of his information to be his own personal experience, as this would diminish his standing and status, but instead attributes it to a revelation direct from God.

While the New Hope Valley elders are perfectly happy when at first he agrees with them that Susannah should confess her sins before the whole church,⁵⁹ subsequently trapped by their own hypocrisy and blindness, they refuse to let Blitch step out of the role that the congregation expects of him. His func-

tion is purely to lead the revival and not to interfere with matters of the community. Both Susannah's perceived wantonness and Blitch's interference are seen as threats, because they appear to be imposing uncomfortable changes on the community, challenging the identity of the group, and disrupting everyday routines and basic beliefs. The church unites to expel the problem in order to maintain the status quo. As Cohen explains, "One often finds in ... communities the prospect of change being regarded ominously, as if change inevitably means loss. A frequent and glib description of what is feared may be lost is 'way of life'; part of what is meant is sense of self."⁶⁰

"Faith" and "Love" in New Hope Valley

As the community in New Hope Valley is based on allegedly Christian values, one would expect faith and the example of Jesus's teachings of selfless love, tolerance, and forgiveness to hold a strong influence over their actions, but this is not the case. There are prominent demonstrations of jealousy (Mrs. McLean) and lust (the elders and Blitch), which are inappropriate for such a community, especially from the highly respected senior members. Their sins appear in sharp contrast to the teaching of the Ten Commandments. Of course conflicts between lived reality and high ideals are characteristic of most human communities over the course of history, and such contradictions often lie at the core of great drama. But the ease with which the congregation believes Little Bat's lies about Susannah raises the question of just how "Christian" New Hope Valley Church is. Their unwillingness to listen to or forgive Susannah is a communal tragic flaw. The churchgoers focus all too readily on her supposed sin, and appear to forget the girl that used to be part of their congregation. The lack of support she receives from the supposedly loving church group, and the vindictiveness she feels directed toward her, stoke Susannah's self-doubt. It occurs to her that she may indeed be a wanton and a sinner with no hope of reprieve. The shallow and confused faith of the community is reflected in their spiteful deeds, and for all of their religious convictions, there is no talk of compassion or forgiveness from any member of the congregation. The sustaining virtues of "faith, hope and love [charity]" of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, chapter 13, are forgotten; there is no charity to be found in their actions toward Susannah. Their beliefs focus on the concept of sin and judgment. But "lost souls" remain forever unredeemed, permanently outside the fold, in this constricted world view. The believers of New Hope Valley inhabit an ironically named region. Without hope for their neighbors they need to be reassured of their own salvation, their superiority to those with less self-control, and their knowledge that people living outside their rules are destined for hell. In truth, the loving acceptance of Jesus and his commandment to "love thy neighbor as thyself"⁶¹ is

all but ignored in favor of Puritanical retribution, reflected in Blitch's hell-fire and brimstone preaching:

Where will you spend eternity?
With the saved of the Lord what surround
His throne or down below where they's screamin'
an' wailin' an' gnashin' of teeth.⁶²

Blitch's zeal is demonstrated in a melodic line that takes the bass-baritone voice into a high tessitura, with repeated Fs above middle C, against a *con fuoco* accompaniment. This embodies Floyd's concept of the religious convictions of such a community; "the God of New Hope Valley is first and foremost a God to be feared and obeyed therefore making any deviation from a strict moral code an occasion for punishment and eternal damnation."⁶³ He describes the New Hope Valley Church as "probably one of the splinter Protestant sects you find in the rural South like the Holiness or Church of God which are extremely fundamentalist."⁶⁴

And what of love? The only real love in the opera is a brother's love, manifested in Sam's protectiveness of Susannah, and his aria at the end of the first act is the only genuinely tender moment in the opera. The affection they share is obvious from the first moment they are seen together: "*It should be immediately apparent that the bond between the brother and sister is one of loyalty, warmth and tenderness.*"⁶⁵ But even his love is corrupted, as it drives Sam to murder Blitch and abandon his sister; it will surely be impossible for him to return home following his crime. In *Susannah*, all other "love" is lust, a species of covetousness, or, in the case of Little Bat, pride. And it is always directed toward Susannah herself. First, it can be found in the feelings and actions of the elders, both at the dance and at the creek, which provokes their repressed guilty reaction and condemnation of their victim rather than a Christian confession of their own sins. Second, Little Bat's desire for her which, because it is unreciprocated, leads him to lie to his parents, who are all too ready to believe and spread the false tales about the girl they presume is leading their son astray. It should also be noted that Little Bat, as the son of the most important elder, is at no point seen as responsible in any way for the supposed "seduction"; all culpability is laid at Susannah's feet. Traditional misogyny could not be more blatant.

The passions of the men in the community are echoed in Blitch's unhealthy appetite for Susannah, which is fueled by the assumption of her wantonness. So the members of the congregation of New Hope Church are sinners, but they do not recognize the sins as coming from within, and they merely see themselves as attempting to preserve the narrowly defined moral values of

the community. Susannah's downfall is not of her own making, but results from the lust of the elders and Blitch, the self-reproach and sorrow they feel, and the jealousy of Mrs. McLean, as they project their guilt onto the hapless victim. Belonging to the community, through membership of the church, provides a sense of fellowship for individuals. But the strength of feeling that draws the community together also makes it difficult for individuals to speak out against the majority, especially in a congregation so ready to point the finger at its own members. This is something that Floyd realized in focusing his work on the congregation: "The fact that nobody really speaks up or defends [Susannah] for fear of being accused themselves is all it takes to make a witch hunt."⁶⁶ This is Little Bat's weakness, that he is ready to lie about being "loved up" by Susannah, and cannot tell the truth faced by the force of pressure from his parents and Blitch. He might relish the idea of the seduction, and admit his lie with some enjoyment to Susannah, but Little Bat is still consumed with guilt even as he confesses to her. His prurience is ironic and utterly predictable since it aligns completely with the obsessive thoughts of both his parents and their friends. His lie serves all bad purposes and is integral to the unfolding tragedy.

Susannah's transformation from innocent idealist to bitter realist is completed in the final scene. Even when the mob approaches with their threats and accusations, she stands strong, wielding a gun that Sam had left for her the previous night. The mob then retreats, warning her of the heavenly judgment that is still to come. It is Little Bat's unfulfilled desire for Susannah that in part has caused his mother's disapproval and her determination to see the young girl's downfall, so it is fitting that, as a last gesture of defiance, Susannah breaks the final connection she may have had to the community by seductively calling Little Bat to her, only to slap him across the face. She is left standing there, "*an inviolably strong and inexorably lonely prisoner of self-imposed exile*,"⁶⁷ bereft of all the abiding virtues: faith, hope, and love.

Conclusion

In *Susannah* the members of the community are taken as a whole; that is, they are portrayed in such a way that they become a single character in the drama, a character of vital importance. It is significant that the story of the opera gives the opportunity for diegetic music involving the congregation, at the dance and at the church service. In public performances of music, the members of a community come together in a collective act, during which they assert both their individuality and their connections with those around them, as "music seems to have an odd quality that even passionate activities like gardening or dog-raising lack: the simultaneous projecting and dis-

solving of the self in performance.”⁶⁸ The boundaries of the community are reinforced in two ways in performance: defining the society through those who are included in the group and those who are not, and also in the choice of music that is being performed. In addition to providing the opportunity for affirming their group identity through collective worship, the use of such music places the congregation within the larger community of the Protestant church, lessening their isolation to some degree.

Throughout *Susannah*, the music of the chorus is simple and harmonically uncomplicated; all the text is syllabically set, apart from a very small number of melismas in the hymns, keeping the language clear and audible. The use of the elements derived from church music highlights the humble nature of the church and the community, and its small-mindedness, echoing its desire for peace and simplicity without disruption from those it perceives to be different. The songs of the principal characters contrast with this predictable soundscape. In Floyd’s view “the music of *Susannah*, Sam and Blitch is infinitely more personal with, I hope, a much wider range of emotion and nuance. The music for the community is deliberately monolithically impersonal in the sense that marches are impersonal and public, not private, in tone.”⁶⁹ The unity of the social group is both its strength and its weakness, as it both empowers and stifles the actions of the individuals. Occasionally the voice of the community can be heard through separate characters, personified by the elders, but they only echo the sentiments of the whole. The outsiders are the only people who really demonstrate their internal feelings and passions, as opposed to the externalized and detached reactions of the congregation. *Susannah* fails to fit into the congregation of New Hope Church, with its religious beliefs and convictions. In the end it rejects both her and Olin Blitch, resulting in the tragedy at the heart of the tale. In Floyd’s own words: “In *Susannah* the chorus is the real antagonist of the piece, and both *Susannah* and Olin Blitch are in a true sense destroyed by it.”⁷⁰

NOTES

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I must extend my thanks and gratitude to Carlisle Floyd for answering my questions and helping me to clarify details in the paper.

¹ Quoted in Jonathan Abarbanel, “Carlisle Floyd’s *Susannah*: An Introduction,” in notes for *Susannah*, (Virgin Classics, VCD 5 45039 2, Kent Nagano/Choeur et Orchestra de l’Opéra de Lyon, 1994), 9.

² Floyd states that it was the spring of this year that a friend suggested the theme of his opera to him (Carlisle Floyd, “Recalling *Susannah*’s beginnings,” in notes for

Susannah, (Virgin Classics: VCD 5 45039 2, Kent Nagano/Choeur et Orchestre de l'Opéra de Lyon, 1994), 13).

³ *Susannah* is set "in the recent past," and *The Crucible* is set in 1692.

⁴ Abarbanel, "Susannah: An Introduction," 9.

⁵ Quoted in Abarbanel, "Susannah: An introduction," 9.

⁶ Carlisle Floyd, *Susannah: A Musical Drama in Two Acts*, 4th edition (New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1997), 115–116.

⁷ Arthur Miller, *The Crucible* (New York: Penguin Books, 1953/2003), 126.

⁸ In addition to the dramatic parallels between *Susannah* and *The Crucible*, on the musical stage there have been other examples of crowds exerting power over individuals, as seen in *Aida* (Verdi, 1871), *Peter Grimes* (Britten, 1945), and *Jesus Christ Superstar* (Lloyd Webber, 1971). In addition, there have been further manifestations of hypocritical preachers, corrupted by lust, in *Thaïs* (Massenet, 1894), and *The Scarlet Letter* (Damrosch, 1896) (Andrew Porter, "Down in the Valley," *The New Yorker*, [5 April 1982], 173). The portrayal of religious ceremonies or diegetic hymns has also featured in a number of operas: *La Juive* (Halevy, 1835), *Les Huguenots* (Meyerbeer, 1836), *Tosca* (Puccini, 1900), *Porgy and Bess* (Gershwin, 1935), *Peter Grimes*, and *Dialogues des Carmélites* (Poulenc, 1957).

⁹ Abarbanel, "Susannah: An introduction", 9.

¹⁰ Prophecy of Daniel 13:62 (Douay-Rheims Bible), Douay-Rheims Bible Online, <http://www.drbo.org/cgi-bin/d?b=drb&bk=32&ch=13&l=2&f=s> (accessed 1 August 2011).

¹¹ Floyd, "Recalling *Susannah's* Beginnings, 13.

¹² Email to author, 7 January 2005.

¹³ Anthony Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Chichester: Ellis Horwood, 1985), 12.

¹⁴ Abarbanel, "Susannah: An Introduction," 8

¹⁵ Carlisle Floyd, "Carlisle Floyd on the New Orleans Performance of *Susannah*," in notes for *Susannah*, (VAI Audio: VAIA 1115-2, Knud Andersson/New Orleans Opera Orchestra and Chorus, 1962).

¹⁶ Abarbanel, "Susannah: An Introduction," 10; Floyd, *ibid*.

¹⁷ Both definitions are from the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, www.m-w.com (accessed 5 August 2011)

¹⁸ In this context, the term "diegetic" is taken to mean music that the singers know that they are performing, as opposed to sublimated song that in real life would be heard as speech.

¹⁹ Floyd, "Recalling *Susannah's* Beginnings," 14.

²⁰ Floyd, *Susannah*, 10

²¹ Floyd, *Susannah*, 38, emphasis added.

²² *Ibid.*, 36.

²³ *Ibid.*, 39.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁵ Ibid., 44.

²⁶ Floyd says that he is not familiar with Root and Mason, and that the echoes are purely coincidental (email to author, 7 January 2005), but the music of these two composers can be considered representative of the genre that Floyd employs.

²⁷ Email to author, 7 January 2005.

²⁸ Todd Miller, "Religious Elements in Three Operas of Carlisle Floyd," DMA dissertation, University of Houston (2002), 32.

²⁹ Floyd, *Susannah*, 74

³⁰ In *Sacred Songs and Solos* (comp. Ira D. Sankey, (London: Morgan and Scott, n.d.)), there are 59 'invitation' hymns, and of these 21 are in 6/8 or 6/4, 22 are in 4/4 or another simple quadruple meter, and the remainder are in 2/4, 3/4, or 9/8.

³¹ Email to author, 7 January 2005.

³² In fact, the links between Britten's 1943 opera and Floyd's work could be considered to be more substantive, as both portray a central character on the edge of the society, incorrectly accused of wrong, hunted down by the community and eventually driven away. Abarbanel also notes that *Susannah* is "very specific regionally, a reflection of its composer's experience and upbringing, much in the same way as *Peter Grimes* is expressive of that part of the English coast that Benjamin Britten knew and loved best." ("*Susannah*: An Introduction," 8.)

³³ Act 1, scene 3, when the elders are expressing their disgust at having found Susannah bathing naked; act 1, scene 4, when the congregation rejects Susannah at the picnic supper; act 1, scene 5, as Susannah is dismayed at Little Bat's lies about her; act 2, scene 1, when Susannah expresses her apprehension at Sam's request that she go to the revival meeting; and act 2, scene 2, as Blitch pleads for Susannah to confess during the meeting.

³⁴ Floyd, *Susannah*, 124–26.

³⁵ Ibid., 17.

³⁶ Ibid., 9–10.

³⁷ Act 1, scene 4, Mrs. Ott: "She shore cain't tend to my young-uns no more"; act 1, scene 1: Gleaton, about Sam and Susannah, "They're pore as chitlins, them two, bare able to live, that's all". Floyd, *Susannah*, 45 and 18.

³⁸ Floyd, *Susannah*, 22.

³⁹ Elise K. Kirk, *American Opera* (Chicago: Illinois University Press, 2001), 289. Interestingly, Norman Treigle appeared in the premiere of *The Tender Land* as Grandpa Moss, Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of An Uncommon Man* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999, 471); he later performed as Olin Blitch in the New York City Opera production of *Susannah* in 1956, and on the 1962 New Orleans Opera recording (VAI Audio, VAIA 1115-2).

⁴⁰ Floyd, *Susannah*, 27

⁴¹ The same idea can be seen in Leonard Bernstein's music for the song "Somewhere" in *West Side Story*, in the opening phrase B—A—G-sharp, the interval symbolizing the search for the place where Tony and Maria's love can flourish unhindered.

⁴² Floyd, "New Orleans Performance," 12.

- ⁴³ Penelope Ann Speedie, "American Operas on American Themes by American Composers," (D.M.A. diss., Ohio State University 1991), 671.
- ⁴⁴ Floyd, *Susannah*, 96–97.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.
- ⁴⁶ T Miller "Religious Elements," 51.
- ⁴⁷ Floyd, *Susannah*, 59–60.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 67–68.
- ⁴⁹ Email to author, 7 January 2005.
- ⁵⁰ Floyd, *Susannah*, 90.
- ⁵¹ Ronald Eyer, "Carlisle Floyd's *Susannah*," *Tempo*, 42 (Winter 1956–57), 10.
- ⁵² Floyd, *Susannah*, 103.
- ⁵³ Email to author, 19 January 2005.
- ⁵⁴ Floyd, *Susannah*, 105.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 106.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 109.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 109 and 110.
- ⁵⁸ Floyd, *Susannah*, 111. This, together with a few brief words a moment before, is the only time that *Susannah* speaks in the opera, rather than sings, underlining its significance as a turning point for her character.
- ⁵⁹ Second Man: "What's he [Blitch] say 'bout the Polk gal?"; Hayes: "The same as what we said. She's gotta make a public confession or out o' the church she goes." Floyd, *Susannah*, 46–47.
- ⁶⁰ Cohen, *Symbolic Construction*, 109.
- ⁶¹ Matthew 22:39 (King James Bible).
- ⁶² Floyd, *Susannah*, 82–83.
- ⁶³ Email to author, 7 January 2005.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ Floyd, *Susannah*, act 1, scene 2, 29.
- ⁶⁶ Floyd quoted in Lisa Robinson, "Floyd's *Susannah*: Biblical Tale Told Tennessee Style," *The Juilliard Journal Online*, www.juilliard.edu/update/journal/susannah_1101.html (accessed 30 July 2011).
- ⁶⁷ Floyd, *Susannah*, 130.
- ⁶⁸ Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1993), 41.
- ⁶⁹ Email to author, 7 January 2005.
- ⁷⁰ Floyd, "New Orleans Performance."

David W. Music

The Second Edition (1837) of William Walker's *The Southern Harmony*

William Walker's *The Southern Harmony* was one of the most popular shape-note ("fasola") folk hymn collections produced in the southern United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. Originally published in 1835, the book went through several major revisions and reissues, the last in 1854.¹ Walker's collection has long been considered one of the most important tunebooks in the southern United States four-shape tradition, not only because of its popularity during the nineteenth century, but also because it was one of three South Carolina-Georgia tunebooks that served as culminating repositories of the southern fasola folk hymn repertory, because it is still in use today, and because it introduced several tunes and text/tune pairings that continue to be employed in congregational hymnals.²

Copies of the 1835 and several of the later editions are not particularly rare, and a number are available in various public and private libraries. However, there are two significant exceptions to this. One is an 1838 publication that has been called a "variant issue of the first edition,"³ the only known copy of which is located at the American Antiquarian Society.

The other is a copy of the second edition of Walker's collection, dated 1837, that is housed in the Special Collections section at the University of South Florida at Tampa library. No other exemplar of this 1837 edition has been located, and it seems not to have been noticed in the literature on shape-note and folk hymnody.

The title page of the 1837 edition reads as follows.

The / Southern Harmony, and Musical Companion: / containing a
choice collection of / tunes, hymns, psalms, odes, and anthems;

/ selected from the most eminent authors in the United States: / together with / nearly one hundred new tunes, which have never before been published; / suited to most of the metres contained in Watts's hymns and psalms, Mercer's Cluster, Dossey's Choice, Dover / Selection, Methodist Hymn Book, and Baptist Harmony; / and well adapted to / Christian churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies: / also, / an easy introduction to the grounds of music, / the rudiments of music, and plain rules for beginners. / By William Walker. / Sing unto God, ye kingdoms of the earth: O sing praises unto the Lord.—David. / Speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord.—Paul. / Second edition, corrected and improved.—5000 copies. / Spartanburg, S. C. / Published by Burdett, Walker & Co. / Sold by the author, at Spartanburg, S. C.; Rev. S. S. Burdett, Pleasant Hill; Roberts & Waddle, Union; William Riley, Charleston; J. R. & W. Cunningham, Columbia; and by merchants generally in the Southern States. / 1837.

This mostly duplicates the material found on the title page of the first edition, but with several significant additions: the fact that this is a “Second edition, corrected and improved,” the date (1837), and the size of the press run (“5000 copies”).

The verso of the title page contains a copyright notice dated “1835,” as well as information that the work was “Stereotyped by L. Johnson, Philadelphia.” Unlike the first edition and the 1838 variant, the name of the individual or company that did the actual printing is not given, but it was probably the Philadelphia firm of T. K. and P. G. Collins that was responsible for the 1838 publication. The first edition of *The Southern Harmony* had been printed in New Haven, Connecticut, by Nathan Whiting, but Walker must have found it more financially feasible or geographically convenient to have the second edition stereotyped and printed in Philadelphia, as were all subsequent editions of the collection.

Walker did not provide a new preface for the second edition, as he did for the later 1847 and 1854 editions. One significant change he did make in the front matter of the 1837 printing was to move the indexes to the back of the book, where they were to remain in all succeeding issues.⁴

As noted on the title page, Walker took the opportunity presented by the 1837 edition to incorporate a number of corrections and changes to the material. Most of these are of minor consequence. For example, the metrical indication for THE TRUMPET, given in 1835 as “12s” was changed to “12’s”

and the number 8 at the bottom of the page (a printer's or binder's mark) was replaced by a 12 and relocated on the page.

In a few instances the music was re-spaced to provide a more accurate or readable score. In NEW ORLEANS (p. 76), for example, the bass staff was moved slightly lower to avoid a near-collision with several tenor notes in measure six. In the same piece, the spacing of the alto notes in measure eleven was altered to line up appropriately with the other voices.

The 1835 printing had contained several significant errors in pagination. No pages 137 and 138 were included, the numbering skipping from 136 to 139.⁵ Further on in the book there are two pages numbered 145 and two pages numbered 146.⁶ Finally, William Billings' DAVID'S LAMENTATION was placed a page too early (p. 192), where it interrupted the continuity of the same composer's EASTER ANTHEM (found on pp. 189–91 and 193). Walker corrected all of these mistakes in the 1837 publication.⁷

In some cases the spelling of a tune name was altered slightly in the second edition, so that THE TRAVELER became THE TRAVELLER (p. 79), SPARTANBURGH was corrected to SPARTANBURG (p. 86), HEAVENLY ARMOR appeared as HEAVENLY ARMOUR (p. 93), THE SAINTS DELIGHT was given as THE SAINTS' DELIGHT (p. 104), and SION was changed to ZION (p. 176). The word "the" was dropped from a number of titles, including THORNY DESERT (p. 83), CHRISTIAN SOLDIER (p. 95), EVENING MEDITATION (p. 99), PARTING HAND (p. 113), and FAITHFUL SOLDIER (p. 122).

The second edition also added composer/arranger names to several tunes that were missing this information in the earlier printing. Six tunes were newly credited to "More": FAREWELL (p. 81), EVENING MEDITATION (p. 99), HOLY MANNA (p. 103), WESLEY (p. 114), SWEET RIVERS (p. 166), and MOUNT CALVARY (p. 168).⁸ Other new composer credits in 1837 were for the tunes IDUMEA ("Davison," p. 31), SOLICITUDE ("Smith," p. 69), LEANDER ("Austin," p. 128), THE BLUE BIRD ("Axton," p. 153), and NEW TOPIA ("Munday," p. 163). Apart from minor changes—such as altering "William Walker" to "Wm. Walker" (p. 93)—the remainder of the tunes have the same attributions as in 1835, except for PROSPECT (p. 92), the credit for which was changed from "M. C. H. Davies" to "Graham."⁹

While the second edition of *The Southern Harmony* presented Walker with a chance to make improvements, he did not always avail himself of the opportunity, and some items in need of correction remained unchanged. An example is the chorus of THE PROMISED LAND by "Miss M. Durham" (p. 51). In the 1835 publication, the music for the first two phrases of the refrain did not



Example 1. Beginning of the refrain of THE PROMISED LAND as found in the 1835 and 1837 editions of *The Southern Harmony*.

have enough notes to fit all the syllables of the text (Example 1). This was left unaltered in 1837; indeed, it appears that Walker did not make this adjustment until the 1840s.

Of course, the greatest interest in any new tunebook or edition is found in the absence of pieces that are dropped or the presence of items that appear in its pages for the first time. Regrettably, the extant copy is incomplete, and is missing pages 7–8, 17–24, 33–34, 39–40, 49–50, 55–56. Fortunately, however, the volume still includes not only the title page but also the index, so the gaps can be at least partially reconstructed.¹⁰ This indicates that—with two exceptions—the missing pages contained the same items as the 1835 edition.

The deviations occur in the index listings for pages 21 and 56. No entry appears for page 21, which in the 1835 edition contained the conclusion of THE FAMILY BIBLE and the short tune PACOLET. In the 1837 edition PACOLET was moved to page 106, where it replaced ALTON, and the space on p. 21 allotted to PACOLET in 1835 was probably used in 1837 for extra stanzas of THE FAMILY BIBLE (this was the format used in later editions of THE SOUTHERN HARMONY).

The index for 1837 lists REDEEMING GRACE as appearing on p. 56, where it evidently substituted for MIDSUMMER; REDEEMING GRACE continued to be printed in the same location in the 1838 and subsequent editions of the book. The earliest known publication of REDEEMING GRACE was in John Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second* (1813), where it appeared without attribution.¹¹ Walker was probably the first southerner to publish the tune; in the following year it was printed again in John B. Jackson's *Knoxville Harmony* (1838).

Three other tunes from the first edition of *The Southern Harmony* were also dropped in 1837: INVOCATION (p. 94), CHORUS, and PILGRIM'S PRAYER (the latter two both from p. 111). These were replaced by two “new” tunes, WARRENTON (p. 94) and MISSIONARY HYMN (p. 111). Of course, neither tune was really new. WARRENTON—under titles such as [THE] FEMALE PILGRIM, PILGRIM STRANGER, and THE PILGRIM—appeared in several northern round-

note camp meeting and revival songbooks before 1837.¹² However, Walker appears to have been the first southern fasola compiler to include the tune and to give it the name and harmonization that became standard in later tunebooks of this type.¹³

MISSIONARY HYMN is the well-known tune by Lowell Mason, first published as a vocal solo in 1824 and then in congregational form in the seventh edition of Mason's *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music* (1829). Walker's source for the tune was probably either the Handel and Haydn Society collection (perhaps in one of its subsequent editions) or Mason and Thomas Hastings's *Spiritual Songs for Social Worship* (1832 or a later printing), but the South Carolina compiler provided a new treble credited to "James Langston." As with WARRENTON, Walker's 1837 printing of MISSIONARY HYMN in *The Southern Harmony* may have been the first in a southern shape-note tunebook (the tune appeared in the same year—but in a different arrangement—in William Caldwell's *Union Harmony*). Also like WARRENTON, it was the setting printed by Walker that was used in most of the subsequent collections in this format and region of the country.¹⁴

Thus the musical content of the second edition is essentially the same as that of the first, with relatively few—and mostly incidental—changes from the 1835 edition, and no really "new" items. For these reasons the 1837 edition is perhaps not as significant as it might have been had it contained more original contributions to the body of American folk hymnody.

However, the changes Walker made for the 1837 edition were largely duplicated in the 1838 printing—which must now be seen as a variant of the second edition (itself more a "variant" than a "new edition" of the 1835 publication, despite the wording on the title page)—as well as in later issues of the book.¹⁵ The second edition allows us to date the name and form of the tune WARRENTON as it is most commonly found in later shape-note tunebooks (as well as in contemporary hymnals) a year earlier than previously known.¹⁶ It was also one of the first southern tunebooks to take advantage of the work of Lowell Mason, whose chagrin at having his "reform" tunes put in the shape-note notation he so disdained can only be imagined.

Finally, the 1837 and 1838 printings show that the demand for *The Southern Harmony* must have been immediate and considerable, since Walker spent a significant amount of time and attention on his tunebook during the first five years of its existence. Within three years after the appearance of the first edition he had issued two variant editions, and in two more years he would publish an enlarged version (1840), after which reprints and new editions would follow regularly until the last in 1854. Thus, the 1837 edition of *The*

Southern Harmony is part of a larger picture that helps define the widespread use this collection achieved before and during the Civil War, with a circulation that reportedly reached 600,000 copies by 1867.¹⁷

NOTES

¹ Facsimile reprints of the 1854 edition were issued in 1939 (New York: Hastings House), 1966 (Los Angeles: Pro Musicamericana), and 1987 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky).

² The other two tunebooks that were important late repositories of the shape-note folk hymn tradition were B. F. White and E. J. King's *Sacred Harp* (1844) and John G. McCurry's *The Social Harp* (1855). Each of these tunebooks went through multiple editions and all are in use today, though the *Sacred Harp* is by far the most widely known. On the popularity of *The Southern Harmony* during the nineteenth century see Harry Eskew, "William Walker and His *Southern Harmony*," in Harry Eskew, David W. Music, and Paul A. Richardson, *Singing Baptists: Studies in Baptist Hymnody in America* (Nashville: Church Street Press, 1994), 117–18. A historic annual singing using the 1854 edition of *The Southern Harmony* is described in Deborah Carlton Loftis, "Big Singing Day in Benton, Kentucky: A Study of the History, Ethnic Identity and Musical Style of Southern Harmony Singers" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1987). Among the tunes and text/tune pairings that were first printed in Walker's collection and that still appear in modern hymnals are RESTORATION ("Come, ye sinners, poor and needy"), THE PROMISED LAND ("On Jordan's stormy banks"), the linkage of "Amazing grace! How sweet the sound" with NEW BRITAIN, and, in a later edition, the tune WONDROUS LOVE ("What wondrous love is this").

³ Harry Eskew, "William Walker's *Southern Harmony*: Its Basic Editions," in Eskew, Music, and Richardson, *Singing Baptists*, 131. Eskew's article is the most accurate and comprehensive source for information about the editions of *The Southern Harmony*.

⁴ In the 1835 edition the indexes were located between the "Dictionary of Musical Terms" that concluded the theoretical introduction and the first page of music.

⁵ That this is not simply a case of a missing leaf in extant copies is apparent from the fact that no tunes are listed for these pages in the index.

⁶ The "first" pages 145–46 contained SALUTATION and REDEMPTION, respectively, while the "second" pages 145–46 printed RHODE ISLAND and ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

⁷ In the case of David's LAMENTATION, he did this by displacing it from p. 192 to p. 213, moving all the intervening music up by one page.

⁸ All these tunes except WESLEY and MOUNT CALVARY were first printed in William Moore's *Columbian Harmony* (1825), where they were attributed to the compiler. WESLEY apparently received its first publication in John Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music* (1810); see Nicholas Temperley, assisted by Charles G. Manns and Joseph Herl, *The Hymn Tune Index*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 4:580, no. 13556 (hereafter cited as "HTI"). It appeared anonymously in Wyeth but was credited to "Moore" in Ananias Davisson's 1816 *Kentucky Harmony*, an attribution that was repeated in William Moore's *Columbian Harmony* (William Moore was likely not trying to take credit for the tune but merely copying the attribution from Davisson, though this was probably not evident to some later compilers). MOUNT CALVARY, probably a variant of the tune MESSIAH in John Wyeth's *Repository of*

Sacred Music, Part Second (1813; see HTI 4:652, no. 14780b), was also printed in the first edition of Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*, attributed to the compiler. Later collections, such as Moore's *Columbian Harmony*, generally followed this attribution to Davisson (when one was included at all). Walker's 1837 and subsequent editions were exceptions, and the reason for Walker's crediting it to Moore is uncertain, unless he took the tune from the *Columbian Harmony* and simply misattributed it. The ascription of THE BLUE BIRD to [P. A.] Axton is also derived from William Moore's collection. Why Walker did not include these composer/arranger credits in the first edition of *The Southern Harmony* is not known.

⁹ "M. C. H. Davies" usually appears in nineteenth-century shape-note tunebooks as "M. C. H. Davis."

¹⁰ The title page and index of early tunebooks are often the first to become separated from the rest of the volume and lost, but that is not the case with this copy.

¹¹ HTI, 4:652 (no. 14789) lists Wyeth's first and second editions as the only publications before 1821. No other publications in southern fasola tunebooks have been found prior to Walker's in 1837.

¹² See Paul Hammond, "A New Source for the Tune WARRENTON," *The Hymn* 35/3 (July 1984), 147–52.

¹³ Walker later printed another version of the tune under the title THE FEMALE PILGRIM in his *Southern and Western Pocket Harmonist* of 1846.

¹⁴ See David W. Music, "Tunes by Lowell Mason and Thomas Hastings in Southern United States Shape-Note Tune Books of the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Musicological Research* 26/4 (October–December 2007), 338–41.

¹⁵ The compiler did not include the words "second edition" on the 1838 title page, perhaps because it was a more-or-less straightforward reprint of the 1837 book, though this hardly seems a sufficient explanation, since it was a variant of the "second edition," not the first.

¹⁶ WARRENTON has appeared in three recent Baptist hymnals, all published under the title *Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville: Convention Press, 1975), no. 12; (Nashville: Convention Press, 1991), no. 18; (Nashville: LifeWay Worship, 2008), no. 95. It is also found in the independently-produced Baptist hymnal *Celebrating Grace* (Macon, GA: Celebrating Grace, Inc., 2010), no. 559. The tune appears under the name WARRENTON in *The Seventh-Day Adventist Hymnal* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1985), no. 454, but in the form that is usually known as THE FEMALE PILGRIM or one of its variant titles.

¹⁷ See George Pullen Jackson, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), 63.

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