CHAPTER 3

Populism—The 1930s

Other things being equal, musical innovation and economic insecurity ebb and flow in inverse ratio. The 1920s, in America and Europe, were an era of free-wheeling avant-gardeness too hot to sustain. In October of 1929 the stock market crashed, precipitating the Depression. In the 1920s, Cowell, Ornstein, and Antheil had been considered the notorious great pianist-composers of the future; by the mid-1930s all three had abandoned their early innovations for an undistinguished conservatism. As money dried up after the Crash, so did patronage and a viable scene of musical intelligentsia, in short order. The Depression demanded of the American composer an end to self-indulgence and a turn to larger social issues. In the 1940s, Antheil quoted folk songs in his Third String Quartet and Becker wrote a patriotic *Symphony of Democracy.*

No longer able or willing to indulge "art for art's sake," artists turned their sights outward, to political objectives. Marxism was a pervasive influence on many artists during the thirties. Wallingford Riegger, Marc Blitzstein, and Conlon Nancarrow were Communist Party members, and the last (see chapter 4) fought with the Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. Crawford wrote leftist songs and collected folksongs as part of her concern for the proletariat. One Communist-oriented musical organization in New York, the Composers' Collective, included Charles Seeger, Elie Siegmeister, Blitzstein, Cowell, Riegger, and Stefan Wolpe (for whom see chapter 5). Political progressivism walked hand in hand with musical conservatism, as composers abandoned modern dissonance and complex textures in a democratic attempt to reach a mass audience.

Parallels between American and Russian music during this period are full of irony. Under the Soviet regime, composers were expected to eschew "decadent Western formalism" and write music easily accessible to a wide public, with nationalist programs. At various times in the thirties and forties, the Soviet Politburo removed Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, and other composers from their teaching and adminis-

trative positions and banned some of their works from performance. The Russians retained their livelihoods only by renouncing perversions such as dissonant counterpoint, complex harmonies, and jazz rhythms and returning to national subjects and singable tunes. The Americans placed themselves voluntarily under the same social-realist stylistic limitations, under the influence at first of Marxism, and later of World War II patriotism. Prokofiev and Shostakovitch, Copland and Harris all simplified their harmonic and rhythmic languages and turned to writing patriotic music for the people, though from vastly different motivations.

A not inconsequential force in determining the musical direction of the late thirties was the Works Progress Administration, created in the summer of 1935 during the "second hundred days" of Roosevelt's New Deal legislation. The WPA created jobs building bridges, highways, and parks, but also created public art projects to give employment to writers, artists, actors, and musicians. At a cost of $11 billion, the WPA gave jobs to about 8½ million people at an average monthly wage of $54.33. Aside from commissioning 2,500 murals in public buildings, it supervised a Composers' Forum-Laboratory, which sponsored concerts and radio broadcasts and made it possible to get paid for composing. Many of the composers who worked for it (Virgil Thomson, Marc Blitzstein, Charles Seeger, John Becker) found their music naturally moving in a more populist, *Gebrauchsmusik* direction due to the nature of the projects they were involved in. Difficult to justify during wartime, the WPA was discontinued in 1943.

The story of American music from the 1920s onward is incomplete without an account of an extremely influential Frenchwoman: Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979). A student of Gabriel Fauré, she gave up composing when her sister Lili, a talented composer, died at the age of twenty-four, and she subsequently became one of history's most celebrated composition teachers. American students were her particular specialty; she taught several generations of them, including Aaron Copland, Roy Harris, Walter Piston, Virgil Thomson, Elliott Carter, Douglas Moore, David Diamond, Marc Blitzstein, George Walker, Elie Siegmeister, and, most recently, Philip Glass. As Thomson explained her appeal,

> What endeared her most to Americans was her conviction that American music was just about to "take off," just as Russian music had done eighty years before.[1]

Boulanger was famous for her strict discipline and her insistence on counterpoint exercises. As Copland said,

> Nadia Boulanger knew everything there was to know about music, pre-Bach and post-Stravinsky, and knew it cold. All technical know-how was at her fingertips: harmonic transposition, the figured bass,

> score reading, organ registration, instrumental techniques, structural analysis, the school fugue, the Greek modes and Gregorian chant.[2]

She was a devoted apostle of Stravinsky, not terribly sympathetic to the twelve-tone school.

Boulanger was also a holy terror as a teacher. Her last famous American student, Philip Glass (see chapter 8), recounted one of his lessons as follows:

> She saw an error in something called hidden parallel fifths. She studied the page in silence and then turned toward me. With a look of understanding and compassion she asked how I was feeling. I said, "I'm feeling fine, Mademoiselle." She asked, "Do you have a fever? Do you have a headache?" And I didn't know what was going on. "I know of a good psychiatrist. Seeing a therapist can be very confidential, and one need not be embarrassed at all." I explained that I didn't need that kind of help. Finally she said, "Well, I don't understand." . . . Then she wheeled around and pointed at the mistake I had made. "How else do you explain the state of mind that produced this error?[3]

Aaron Copland

The most visible and celebrated American composer during the middle decades of the century was Aaron Copland (1900–1990). In fact, the folk-song-based style of his ballets of the 1940s so perfectly fit the popular conception of an American classical idiom that, for general audiences, he has become the symbol of American music. As a performer, concert organizer, conductor, educator, writer, and critic, he assumed a position of leadership among American composers early in his career. Copland's early works shared the interests of many of his contemporaries: jazz rhythms, dissonance, a preference for Parisian over German influences. It was in the ballets of his Americana period that he took preeminence among the composers of the new, nationalist idiom.

Copland's parents were Lithuanian Jews (original name Kaplan) who emigrated to escape persecution and military conscription. He persuaded his parents to pay for piano lessons and began composing at thirteen. When Copland saw an advertisement for the Summer School of Music for American Students at Fontainebleau, he applied, and, accepted, sailed for France in 1921. He quickly gravitated toward Boulanger and studied with her, becoming part of the same heady Parisian milieu as Antheil and Thomson.

In an attempt to create a recognizably American music, Copland used elements of jazz in two works of the mid-1920s, *Music for the Theatre* (1925) and his gritty, two-movement Piano Concerto (1926), which won

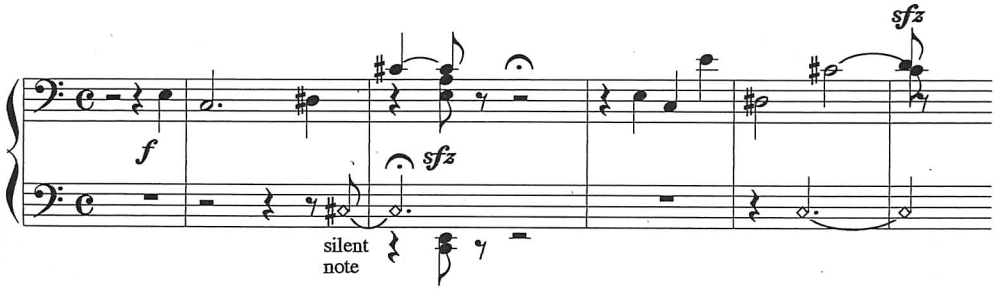
him a reputation as one of the most shocking modernists. Avid at keeping abreast of new musical movements, Copland lectured on twelve-tone music at the New School as early as 1928, and in 1930 based his *Piano Variations* on a quasi-serial five-note row; spare, thorny, and muscular, the piece is considered one of the classics of modern piano literature.

By the mid-1930s, however, Copland began to question the American composer's isolation from the broader public. Voicing sentiments that would reappear among American composers throughout the last third of the century, he wrote,

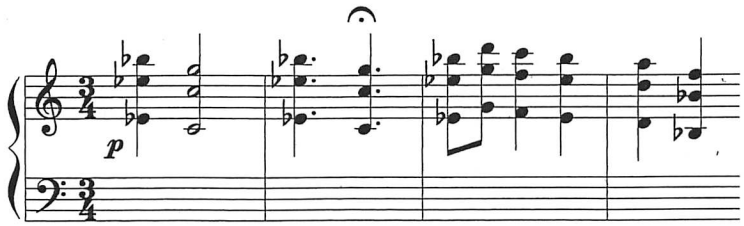
> It seemed to me that composers were in danger of working in a vacuum. Moreover, an entirely new public had grown up around the radio and phonograph. It made no sense to ignore them and continue writing as though they did not exist. I felt it was worth the effort to see if I couldn't say what I had to say in the simplest possible terms.[4]

After visiting Chavez in Mexico in 1932, Copland wrote *El Salón México,* his first piece based on folk themes, with which he suddenly achieved a wide public success. Other folksong-based pieces, mostly ballets, followed: *Billy the Kid* (1938), *Rodeo* (1942, for Agnes de Mille), *Appalachian Spring* (1943–1944, for Martha Graham), and *A Lincoln Portrait* for narrator and orchestra (1942). His Symphony No. 3 (1946), in some respects his masterpiece, was an attempt to fuse his Americana style with a more dissonant, developmental idiom. Its final movement incorporates a separate, brassy, triad-filled work that has achieved tremendous commercial success: *Fanfare for the Common Man.*

Copland's fellow composers, dismayed at his apostasy from modernism, begged him to go back to writing "real" music, but one need only glance at the motivic transformations between his modernist and Americanist works to see that Copland did not really change his musical thinking when he simplified his style; he simply pared down his materials for easier recognition. The method of immediately developing an opening motive by altering its rhythm is essentially the same in Copland's "severe" style of the *Piano Variations* (example 3.1) as it is in *Billy the Kid* (example 3.2). Unlike Cowell and Antheil, Copland did not



EXAMPLE 3.1 Aaron Copland, *Piano Variations*, mm. 1–6.

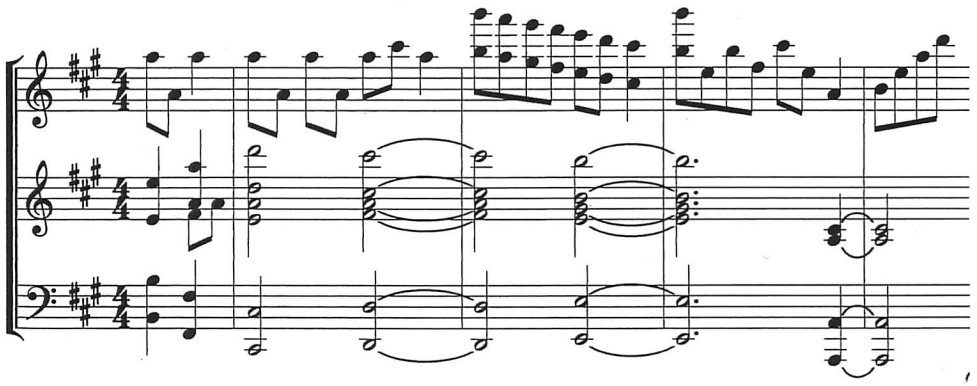


EXAMPLE 3.2 Aaron Copland, *Billy the Kid*, mm. 1–4.

have to weaken his style to simplify it, which is why his music shone in the social situation of the 1930s while theirs fell into neglect.

In 1953, Copland's tone poem *A Lincoln Portrait* (with texts from Abraham Lincoln) was scheduled to be performed at President Eisenhower's inaugural concert, but was abruptly cancelled because an Illinois congressman, Fred E. Busbey, had protested Copland's Communist connections of the 1930s. Copland had never actually been a Party member, but he had written a prize-winning song for the Communist Composers' Collective and given musical lectures for Communist organizations. Within months a telegram arrived from Senator Joseph McCarthy, calling Copland to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Committee's trumped-up charges failed to convict Copland of wrongdoing, but in their search for suspicious musical figures, HUAC also investigated Elie Siegmeister, Wallingford Riegger, and David Diamond. (A similar cancellation occurred in 1973, when another work for narrator and orchestra, Vincent Persichetti's *A Lincoln Address,* was omitted from Richard Nixon's inauguration ceremony because Lincoln's text seemed to imply criticism of the Vietnam War. Apparently the words of Abraham Lincoln are too inflammatory for today's politicians.)

By the late 1940s, Stravinskian neoclassicism was taking a defensive posture under the onslaught of twelve-tone music, with its intimidatingly

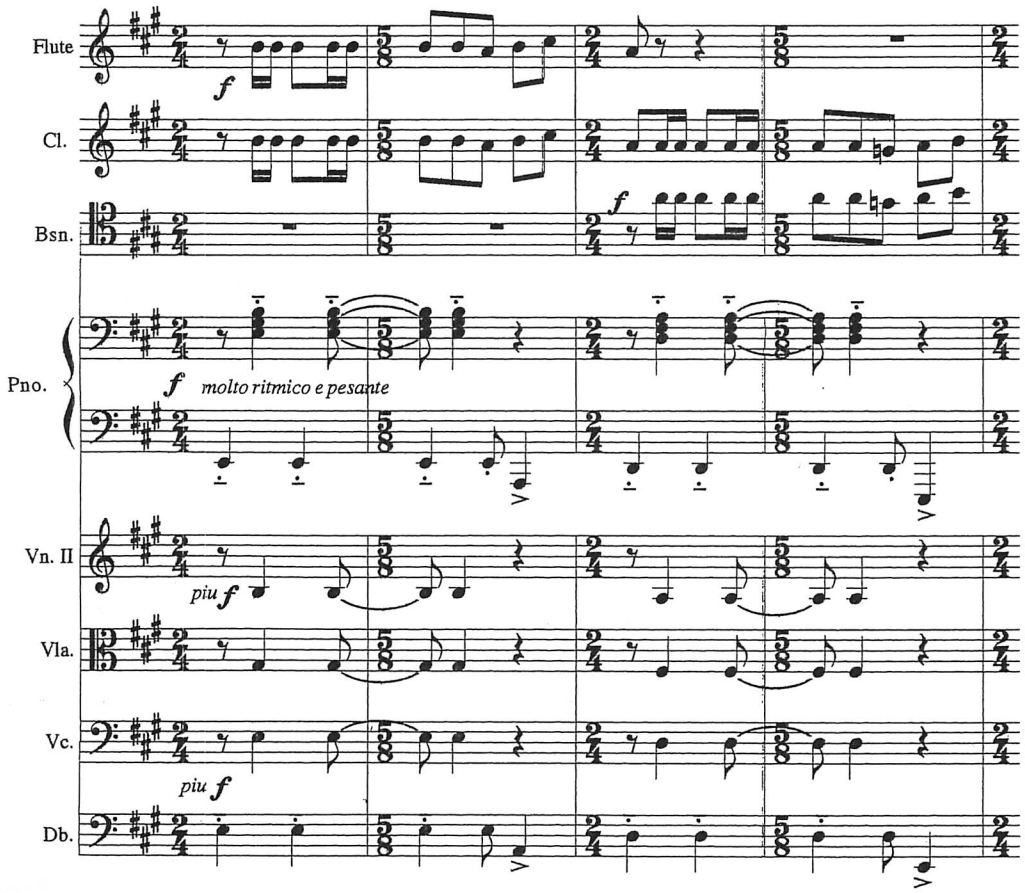


EXAMPLE 3.3 Aaron Copland, *Appalachian Spring*.

intellectual cachet. Copland introduced an eleven-tone row in his Piano Quartet (1950), and continued exploring serial technique in two large orchestra works, *Connotations* (1962) and *Inscape* (1967). Due to a sharp decline in his mental abilities, however, his composing career was over by 1973. Copland achieved a national fame denied to many more original composers whose music exercised longer-lasting influence. Despite his fame, though, some of this best works—including his populist opera *The Tender Land,* discussed below—have been unaccountably neglected.

Listening Example: Appalachian Spring

Asked for a dance score by the great choreographer Martha Graham, Copland responded with *Appalachian Spring* (1943–1944), the celebration of a new farmhouse by a pioneer farm couple in the hills of Pennsylvania. The piece opens to fifty tranquil measures of pure A major. A dancelike motive bursts in, igniting a series of "wrong-key" rabbit chases. As the motive broadens into a theme, it combines with a slower chorale that is the ballet's real main theme (example 3.3). A third



EXAMPLE 3.4 Aaron Copland, *Appalachian Spring.*

section, a duo for the newlywed couple, begins as a tentative dance, but quickly turns poignant and then melancholy, its motives taken from the main theme. Before long, though, as a revivalist and some country fiddlers enter, the flute and clarinet announce a perky dance that sounds unmistakably like spring, and which turns into a square dance, accenting the final beat of every 4/4 measure. The dance then unsquares itself, skewing the rhythm's symmetry by throwing in extra beats (example 3.4). This technique of repeating the same pitch image over and over while varying the rhythm unpredictably is a Copland trademark, a trick he picked up from Stravinsky's early neoclassic works.

The square dance is followed by a solo for the bride in the form of a playful quasi-fugue, leading to more Stravinskian machine-gun-fire staccato rhythms. As the fireworks dissolve, the piece quietly restates its introduction, as though it is coming to a close. Instead, however, the clarinet breaks into the popular Shaker hymn "Simple Gifts." In Copland's earlier style, the theme might have been broken up into motives and tricky rhythms; here it is simply stated six times in succession, with varying orchestration and figurations, the last statement a climax. An extended coda then recaptures the opening quiet, leading back to the opening motives.

Roy Harris

Although Copland's fame with mass audiences has been more enduring, in the 1940s it looked as though Roy Harris (1898–1979) would emerge as the "great American symphonist" the world had been waiting for. The contrast between Brooklyn (Copland's birthplace) and Oklahoma Territory (Harris's) is apparent in the energy and scale of their respective works. Copland's ballets show a lean economy of means, with detailed motivic rhythms. Harris's symphonies evolved an original sense of rolling, majestic, "auto-generating" melody, enlivened by characteristic harmonic traits based on the superimposition of triads. Copland's music points to the jazzy pace of the cities, Harris's to endless vistas and a sense of limitless expectations.

Born on a homestead in Oklahoma Territory, Harris made much of the fact that he was born not only in a log cabin, like Abraham Lincoln, but on Lincoln's birthday; several of Harris's works are programmatically linked with the Great Liberator, including his Sixth and Tenth Symphonies and his chamber work *Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight.* In 1903 Harris's family moved to California's San Gabriel Valley, where Harris played clarinet in the school band. Working as a dairy deliverer and truck driver, he studied with the sympathetically Americanist Arthúr Farwell.

Harris's career took flight via what he later called a lucky chain of events. He sent a small orchestra piece to Howard Hanson, who conducted it in New York. This led to a residency at the MacDowell Colony, where Harris met Copland, who advised him to study with Boulanger. Harris left for Paris in 1926. His egotism led to a tempestuous student-teacher relationship; the story is famous that when Boulanger asked him to write 20 melodies, he returned with 107. The conductor Serge Koussevitsky became Harris's most influential champion and premiered his First Symphony (called *Symphony 1933*), a critical success. Harris's Third Symphony (1938) quickly became popular, receiving more than seventy performances in its first decade.[5]

Harris's extraordinary natural talents, however, were accompanied by crudeness of technique in certain respects, and his stellar early success gave way to charges of self-repetition. He sometimes borrowed themes and even entire sections from earlier works for later ones, and his favorite devices can become irritating tics: folk song quotations, melodies of major-minor ambiguity, polytonal chorales, rollicking brass textures, all punctuated by what biographer Dan Stehman has called "the Harris gamelan" of piano, harp, vibraphone, and chimes.[6] If it can be said that any one symphony became "the great American Symphony," that title must go to Harris's Third. Unfortunately, his most beautiful later works contain flaws too patent to ignore.

Following his success with the Third, Harris led a restless and adventurous life, uprooting his family every other year or so to teach at a new school or organize a new music festival, finally settling in 1961 at the University of California at Los Angeles. He was embittered in his last years by the lack of recognition given his late works and toyed with the idea of moving to the Soviet Union, where his ideal of symphonies depicting the life of the proletariat was more in vogue. Nicolas Slonimsky records an anecdote that sums up both Harris's ambitions and his decline:

> Harris was having lunch with Virgil Thomson. He looked tired and dejected. "I am fifty years old," said Harris, "and I don't think I'll make it."
>
> "Make what?"
>
> "Beethoven."[7]

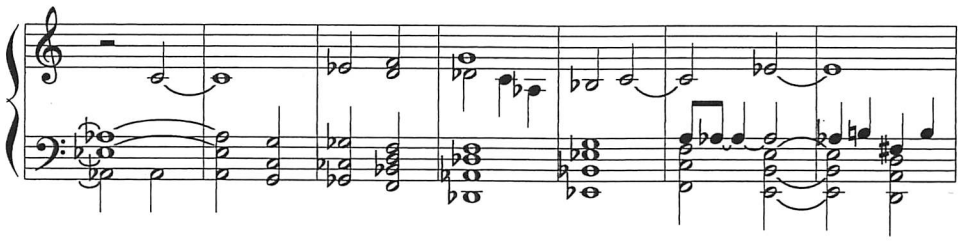
Harris's works include thirteen symphonies (he triskaidekaphobically numbered the last one No. 14), three string quartets, a violin concerto, two piano concertos (one for "amplified piano"), a piano sonata, and two piano suites, along with tone poems such as *Kentucky Spring*.

Listening Example: Symphony No. 3

The Third Symphony is in a one-movement form that Harris sometimes found more congenial than multimovement division. It falls into five sections that Harris characterized as follows:

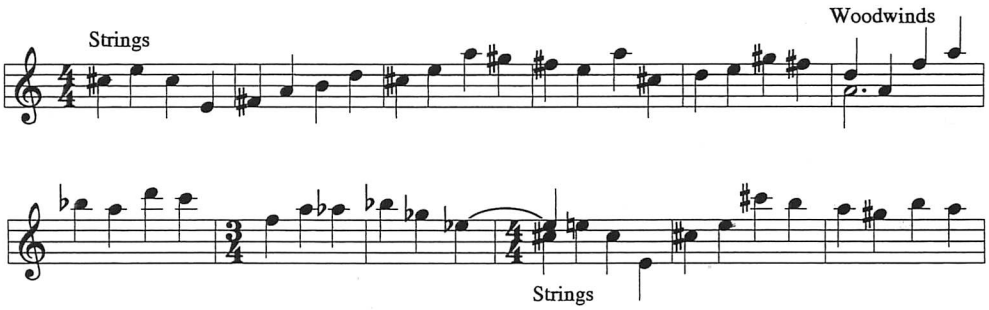
1. Tragic
2. Lyric
3. Pastoral
4. Fugue (dramatic)
5. Dramatic-tragic

The work opens with a long, meandering melody in the lower strings. As if recapitulating the history of music from Gregorian chant on, the line is at first monophonic (without counterpoint), then breaks successively into octaves, fourths and fifths, and finally, after forty measures, a triumphant major triad. Three mournful notes in the French horn signal the entrance of a new melody in the violins, which will recur in later sections (example 3.5). The melody is then repeated by the entire woodwind section.



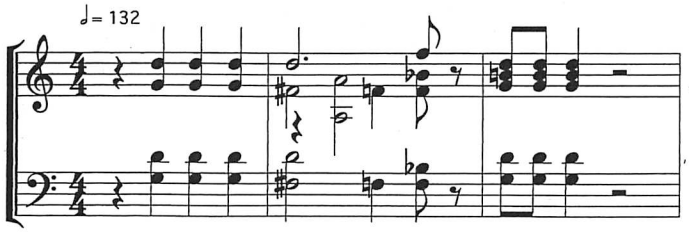
EXAMPLE 3.5 Roy Harris, Symphony No. 3. Theme from section I, "Tragic."

Section 2, "Lyric," opens with a change of mood and an alternation of two varied figures between the strings and woodwinds (example 3.6). These figures will recur motivically in later sections.



EXAMPLE 3.6 Roy Harris, Symphony No. 3. Theme from section II, "Lyric."

The "Pastoral" section is one of Harris's most famous moments, one of his static passages in which time seems to stop as the orchestra floats (not without energy) between seventh chords and polytonal chord combinations. Overlapping arpeggios in the strings create a kind of field in which woodwind melodies are tossed lightly from key to key (example 3.7). At



EXAMPLE 3.9 Roy Harris, Symphony No. 3. Motive from section V, "Dramatic-Tragic."

William Schuman

Harris's symphonic aesthetic has been brilliantly extended by his most important student, William Schuman (1910–1992), who stands with Copland and Harris as one of the three finest midcentury American symphonists. Born in New York, Schuman began as a jazz band musician and published some popular songs. After hearing a symphony orchestra for the first time, however, he abruptly quit business school and enrolled in the Malkin School of Music, studying afterward with Harris at Juilliard. He taught at Sarah Lawrence College (1935–1945) and subsequently became one of America's leading arts administrators, first as president of the Juilliard School (1945–1962), then as president of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. Throughout a demanding administrative career, he kept himself prolific through an unyielding discipline that is audible in his every work.

Schuman withdrew his earliest works, and jokingly called himself "the composer of eight symphonies, numbered three through ten." His earliest extant symphony, the Third, shows a strong Harris influence in its long, nonrepeating melodies, polytonal harmonies, muscular orchestration, and even its movement titles: "Passacaglia; Fugue" for the first, "Chorale; Toccata" for the second. From the outset, though, Schuman's music has a more disciplined sense of structure than Harris's, and he never resorts to the Americana clichés and quotations which can make the worst of Harris's music tiresome. Less tuneful than Harris's, Schuman's symphonies have not found as wide a following, but they are generally more solid in their workmanship.

The Symphony No. 8 (1962) is one of Schuman's finest, and despite its brooding atonalism, Harrisian touches are still evident, from the richly poignant major-minor triad with added dissonances that opens the work through the striking and well-used ensemble of glockenspiel, vibraphones, piano, and two harps. Repeated brass chords in asymmetrical rhythmic patterns of crescendoing nervousness are an unmistakable Schuman trait. Like Harris, Schuman usually avoids true development; instead he builds up textures through gradual accretion and passes

themes from one section of the orchestra to another. His best-known works, however, are not his symphonies, but his *American Festival Overture,* his *New England Triptych* (1956), based on hymns by William Billings, and his orchestration of Ives's *Variations on America.* He also gave vent to his love of sports in a baseball opera, *Casey at the Bat* (1951–53), and won the first Pulitzer Prize ever given for music, for his cantata after Whitman *A Free Song* (1943).

Other Symphonists

The esteem accorded the seven symphonies of Howard Hanson (1896–1981, born in Wahoo, Nebraska) has fallen drastically in recent decades, the curve of his reputation paralleling that of MacDowell. In midcentury he was considered the Vaughan Williams or Sibelius of America, our leading large-scale romanticist. Hanson's career had gotten off to a rousing start: he was, in 1921, the first American to go to Rome (where he studied with Respighi) on the Prix de Rome. In 1924 he was appointed director of the Eastman School of Music, where he taught for forty years, improving the school's orchestra and conducting pioneering recordings of American works. The motivic logic of his symphonies is clear almost to a fault, and to post-1960 ears their limited impressionist harmony, timid next to even Debussy, has brought them a reputation for dullness, perhaps one not wholly deserved. In addition to his seven symphonies (ranging from the "Nordic," 1922, to *A Sea Symphony,* 1977), he wrote an opera *Merry Mount* (1933, from which he arranged a popular suite), a Piano Concerto (1948), and many choral works.

David Diamond (b. 1915 in Rochester, New York) is another composer whose career fell on hard times, though he dealt with it by becoming an expatriate; from 1953 to 1965 he lived in Florence. He studied with Bernard Rogers and Roger Sessions and, starting in 1936, with Boulanger in Paris, where he also met André Gide, Ravel, Roussel, and Stravinsky. Since 1973 he has taught at Juilliard. His nine symphonies, championed by composers such as Koussevitsky, Munch, and Bernstein, form the core of his output, but in the fifties he was best known for his suite from incidental music to *Romeo and Juliet* (1947). He has also written ten string quartets, three violin concertos, and concertos for piano and cello. The tentative revival of his popularity in the 1980s seemed to be due to a general return to tonality and the values of romanticism.

Elie Siegmeister (1909–1991, born in New York) closely resembles Copland in output and philosophy, though with more overt ideological leanings. A politically outspoken leftist during the thirties, he made heroic efforts to perform his music for audiences of working-class people unfamiliar with new or even classical music. Like Copland, he wrote music of dissonant, modernist abstraction (Theme and Variations No. 1

for piano, 1932; String Quartet No. 2, 1960), orchestral works of jazzy American flavor (Third Symphony, 1957), lighter orchestral works that use American folk material (*Ozark Set,* 1943; *Western Suite,* 1945), and even musicals and operas with popular songs (*The Plough and the Stars,* 1969). He also wrote eight operas, eight symphonies, several concertos, five piano sonatas, and six violin sonatas.

Born a little too late for the populism of the thirties, a little too early to embrace twelve-tone technique, Peter Mennin (1923–1983) wrote symphonies that were more austere and abstract than those of the other composers in this chapter, but without the chromaticism or complex counterpoint of the twelve-tone school. His music bristles with nervous energy and broods with dark, angular, dissonant melodies, but follows the general guidelines of classical form. Mennin's teachers at Eastman were Hanson and Bernard Rogers (1893–1968). Mennin taught at Juilliard from 1947 to 1958, directed the Peabody Institute from 1958 to 1962, and served as president of Juilliard from 1962 until his death. He wrote the usual nine symphonies, concertos for cello (1956), piano (1958), and flute (1983), a string quartet (1951), a piano sonata (1963), and a Concertato based on *Moby Dick* (1952).

If there is a "Copland figure" among black composers of nonjazz music, it is William Grant Still (1895–1978), who wrote music basically romantic in idiom but with strongly American rhythmic accents. Though brought up by a bandmaster father who loved opera, Still had many connections to the jazz world. He worked extensively with the seminal blues bandleader W. C. Handy and played oboe for vaudevillian Eubie Blake, but also studied with Chadwick and Varèse. Of his five symphonies, No. 1, his charming *Afro-American Symphony* (1930), was the first work by a black composer to be played by a major orchestra: the Rochester Philharmonic under Howard Hanson. His works, many of them written for public occasions and memorials, sometimes quote black spirituals but more often, as in the *Afro-American Symphony,* use original themes with jazz- or spiritual-derived characteristics.

Another black composer whose music followed a mostly diatonic, Americanist aesthetic is George Walker (b. 1922), who studied with Menotti and in Paris with Boulanger. While his idiom has always been highly lyrical, his works of recent decades, such as the Piano Concerto of 1975 with its beautifully pensive adagio lamenting the death of "Duke" Ellington, have moved in a more complex, near-atonal direction. He has also written much chamber music, a symphony (1961), and concertos for trombone (1957), cello (1982), and violin (1984). In 1996, he became the first black composer to be awarded the Pulitzer Prize for music.

Though Still is a patriarchal figure for black composers, he was not the first, having been notably preceded by R. Nathaniel Dett (1882–1943, composer of spiritual-inspired piano music), Clarence Cameron White (1880–1960), Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (1875–1912, half-African, half-

English, living in London), and Louis Moreau Gottschalk, whose mother was of Haitian Creole descent. In addition, Scott Joplin (1868–1917), the most successful of ragtime composers, wrote an opera, *Treemonisha* (1911), which was revived with much publicity in 1972.

To say that black composers who work outside jazz had tremendous difficulty becoming accepted in the first two-thirds of this century would be putting it mildly. Not only did they run up against a tacit assumption that they would be unable to master larger musical forms, they have also sometimes been criticized by jazz musicians for writing "white man's music." Prevented from taking part in the usual new-music networks, black composers built a less visible network of their own, usually based in local communities and church performance. The ultra-liberal Oberlin Conservatory in Ohio attracted black composers; Still, Dett, Walker, White, and Carman Moore all studied there, and Olly Wilson taught there. In recent years the situation has improved for many; Alvin Singleton, Wilson, and Moore, among others, have had considerable success in the performance of large ensemble works, including frequent orchestra commissions.

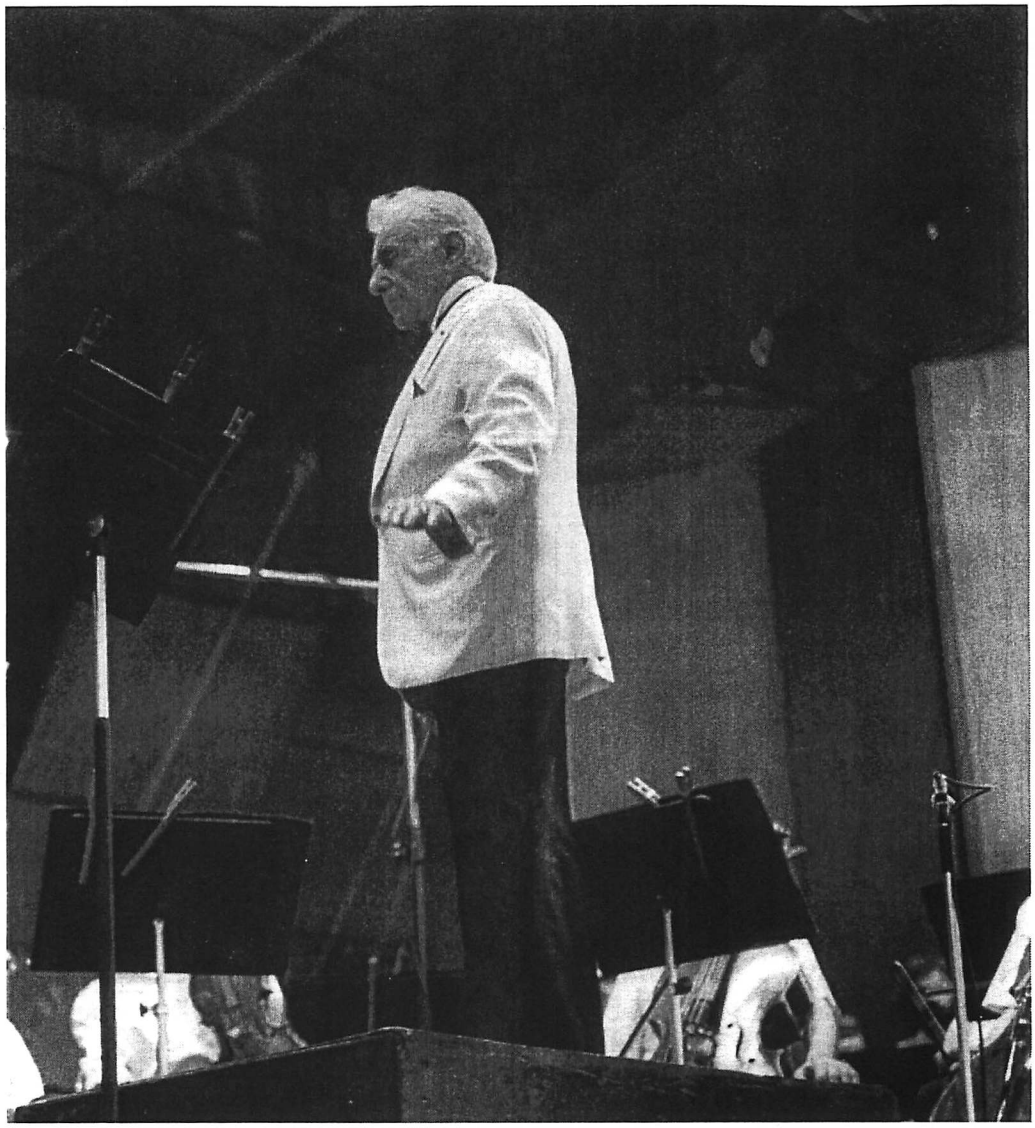
Leonard Bernstein

America's first generation of talented symphonists might have gone largely unnoticed without brilliant interpretive champions, and, luckily, one of the best arrived. Leonard Bernstein (1918–1990) never fully reached the goals he aimed for as a composer in either the serious or popular realms of music, but as a total musician he had an impact unparalleled in his era. He was born in Lawrence, Massachusetts, son of a father who left the Ukraine at 16, took a job in the Fulton fish market, and later opened a beauty supply business, which he expected Leonard to join. Against his father's wishes, Leonard gravitated naturally to the piano.

In 1935 Bernstein entered Harvard, studied with Edward Burlingame Hill and Walter Piston, and, while still a student, declared his leftist political leanings by directing a production of Marc Blitzstein's *The Cradle Will Rock* (of which more below). Here he met Copland, eighteen years his senior, just as the latter's career was taking off with *El Salón México*; he also met Schuman, Diamond, Harold Shapero, Irving Fine, and the conductor Dimitri Mitropoulos. Soon after he became friends with Ned Rorem (b. 1923), who would become one of the century's most prolific writers of art songs, and Paul Bowles (b. 1910), better known now as a novelist and short-story writer, but then a budding composer. After graduation Bernstein studied conducting with Fritz Reiner at the Curtis Institute, writing popular songs under the pen name Lenny Amber (Amber being a translation of Bernstein). He also became Koussevitsky's protégé at Tanglewood. In August of 1943 he obtained

Leonar
Steve J.

the po
on No
Walter
nation
ing tec
ally to
York
depar
first A
1969).



Leonard Bernstein conducting the New York Philharmonic. *Photo © 1986 by Steve J. Sherman.*

the position of assistant conductor of the New York Philharmonic, and, on November 14, fate placed his destiny in his lap. Conductor Bruno Walter fell ill, and Bernstein took his place in a concert aired over national radio. The reviews of Bernstein's flamboyant, emotive conducting technique were superb, and he was suddenly famous.

A rare American serious-music celebrity, he was to prove a valuable ally to the Americanists. As Leopold Stokowski's successor at the New York City Symphony Orchestra (1945–1948), head of the orchestra department at the Berkshire Music Center (1951–1958), and finally the first American-born conductor of the New York Philharmonic (1958–1969), he plunged the orchestra into a world of modern music. He was

a champion of the Americana symphonists, giving wide exposure to works by Copland, Harris, Schuman, and Diamond. He had little affinity for the ultramodernists; he also deeply distrusted twelve-tone music and the avant-garde that followed, though he eventually premiered works by Carter, Feldman, Babbitt, and Cage. For decades he was the only major conductor who could do American music justice, who knew how to make jazz rhythms swing, who knew how to time an American syncopation. By the time his conducting career took off, he had already written his first two symphonies, *Jeremiah* (1944) and *The Age of Anxiety* (1949), the latter programmatic (though nonvocal) after a poem by W. H. Auden. During the fifties he wrote two light operas—*Trouble in Tahiti* and *Candide*—and a musical, *West Side Story* (1957), the greatest composing triumph of his career.

In 1958 Bernstein began presenting his "Young People's Concerts" on television, which ran for fifteen years and offered significant musical pedagogy for the first generation growing up on television. For such activities Bernstein has often been dismissed by intellectuals. It is enough to answer that his Norton lectures at Harvard (1973, published as *The Unanswered Question,* 1976) are among the finest ever given by a musician, more provocative and better thought out than those of either Sessions or Stravinsky. Bernstein's overriding point in the lectures is that music possesses a universal deep structure analogous to the universal transformational logic that the linguist Noam Chomsky had found in the world's spoken languages. To demonstrate, Bernstein rewrote passages by Mozart, Stravinsky, and others, at greater length, showing how the composers had whittled out redundancy and condensed their ideas to make them more poetic. The essays are a stunning feat of wide-ranging musical literacy and explication.

Except for *West Side Story,* with its Coplandish infusion of Latin American rhythms into a Broadway pop style, Bernstein never completely developed a distinctive compositional voice, and such works as *The Age of Anxiety,* though attractive in parts, borrow from too many diverse styles to project a unified impression. Bernstein's Third Symphony, *Kaddish* (1963), uses twelve-tone techniques only to resolve them into tonality, as a way of moving from "the agony of 12-tone music" to the release of tonality. The hegemony of twelve-tone music during the sixties sent him into a creative crisis. In 1971, his *Mass* was commissioned to open the Opera House at Washington's sparkling new Kennedy Center, even though Bernstein had already created his own political scandal two years earlier by hosting a fundraising party for the Black Panthers, a militant black political organization. Bernstein's *Mass* was an eclectic hodge-podge of popular and high art styles, centered on a guitar-strumming priestly celebrant who goes through a mad scene that looks like an LSD trip. Richard Nixon was supposed to attend, but FBI director J. Edgar Hoover sent Nixon's Attorney General John Mitchell a

memo detailing Bernstein's radical background and mentioning that the subversive Daniel Berrigan had been one of the consultants on the text of *Mass*. Nixon, who could play piano but whose record for appreciating modern composition is pretty poor, did not attend.

With the advent of minimalism and the return to tonality it offered, Bernstein found faith in contemporary music again. Nevertheless, he spent his last years conducting standard repertoire with the Vienna Philharmonic, and he greatly increased his stature as a conductor before he died.

American Opera and Its Composers

If critics of the 1930s and 1940s were waiting to hail the Great American Symphony, they were also waiting for the Great American Opera, which, somehow, never quite seemed to materialize. Often an opera would be given a highly publicized premiere, only to be critically condemned and forgotten about owing to a poor production, or to faults that revision could have easily effaced. The first wave of American opera in the twentieth century consisted chiefly of Americanist composers, who tended to incorporate some flavor of national folk idioms in an attempt to create an opera that sounded American. (A later operatic wave would emerge in the mid-1970s, derived from minimalism and multimedia.) The major operas of this first period include the following:

Virgil Thomson:	*Four Saints in Three Acts* (1934)
	The Mother of Us All (1947)
George Gershwin:	*Porgy and Bess* (1935)
Aaron Copland:	*The Second Hurricane* (1936)
	The Tender Land (1952–1954)
Marc Blitzstein:	*The Cradle Will Rock* (1937)
	Regina (1949)
Gian Carlo Menotti:	*The Old Maid and the Thief* (1939)
	The Medium (1946)
	The Telephone (1947)
	The Consul (1950)
	Amahl and the Night Visitors (1951)
	The Saint of Bleecker Street (1954)
Douglas Moore:	*The Devil and Daniel Webster* (1939)
	The Ballad of Baby Doe (1956)
	Carrie Nation (1966)
Bernard Herrmann:	*Wuthering Heights* (1941–1950)
Leonard Bernstein:	*Trouble in Tahiti* (1952)
	Candide (1956)
Carlisle Floyd:	*Susannah* (1955)
Samuel Barber:	*Vanessa* (1958)
	Antony and Cleopatra (1966)
Robert Ward:	*The Crucible* (1961)

Except for *Amahl and the Night Visitors,* which became a Christmas television tradition, not one of these operas has passed into a permanent repertory; this fact may say more about the machinations of the opera world than about the quality of the operas concerned. In particular, newspaper reviews carry enormously more weight in theater than they do in music, and the tremendous expenditure of money and manpower opera requires makes it more vulnerable to critical dismissal than concert music.

The American composer most closely associated with opera has been, predictably, an Italian, Gian Carlo Menotti, born 1911 in Cadegliano, Italy. He attended the Milan Conservatory at age thirteen, already having written two operas, then moved to Philadelphia in 1927 to attend the Curtis Institute, where he met Samuel Barber, who would become his traveling and living companion for many years. Menotti's operatic success is largely due to his talent for writing librettos; his music, despite modernist touches, rarely strays far from its model in Puccinian verismo. Menotti has written about two dozen operas, the most successful of which are listed above.

The Tender Land should have been a star candidate for Great American Opera. Not only was it by Copland, but it took a story out of the American heartland, with a plot reminiscent of John Steinbeck, inspired by a famous American book: James Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men,* a description of the Depression South. The libretto by Erik Johns tells the story of Laurie, a girl on a rural farm, who falls in love with a migrant farmworker and abandons her uncomprehending family to search for him. The music, some of the best of Copland's Americana style, contains a noble farmland quintet "The Promise of Living," a rousing square dance, and a passionate love duet. But the opera was originally intended for two purposes that jinxed it in the opera house: it was written for television (before NBC's Television Opera Workshop rejected it), and it was meant to be simple enough for young people to perform. The work was never intended as "grand" opera, to stand next to Verdi. Despite revisions after the 1954 production, *The Tender Land* was hurt by bad reviews.

For many, George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* is the greatest American opera, though its reputation as such has been dogged by ultimately pointless charges that it is a musical, rather than an opera—a distinction based on little more than the fact that it was premiered on Broadway rather than in an opera house. Gershwin (1898–1937) was a genius of New York's songwriters' strip Tin Pan Alley, the equal of songwriters such as Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, Richard Rodgers, and Cole Porter; he was the only one to succeed also as a composer of concert music. The son of Russian immigrants in New York, Gershwin took to the piano naturally, and at fifteen got a job as a song plugger, a pianist who promoted a publisher's new songs by playing and singing them for

customers. His swiftness of inspiration was spectacular: at nineteen he wrote the song "Swanee," later made famous by Al Jolson, in fifteen minutes. Much of his success was owed to the lyricist with whom he worked so well: his brother Ira.

George Gershwin graduated to the Broadway stage, turning out sixteen musicals in the early twenties alone. In 1924 he scored a spectacular hit with his first instrumental work of major length, *Rhapsody in Blue*. Gershwin's later works, such as his Piano Concerto in F (1925), *Cuban Overture* (1932), and Second Rhapsody (1932), are more sophisticated than *Rhapsody in Blue,* but the latter was the first large concert work in a jazz idiom, and its opening clarinet glissando is an American aural icon. (The piece also brought him a quarter million dollars in the next ten years.) The late twenties brought his most successful musicals, *Strike Up the Band* (1927) and *Of Thee I Sing* (1931), the latter a hilarious satire of presidential elections in which the First Lady is chosen via a beauty contest.

Gershwin's rise from song plugger to orchestral composer took place with little benefit of formal training. He never overcame his insecurity about compositional matters, even though he had enriched the Broadway song form, with its rhythmic basis in African-American dance, by an impressive range of impressionist harmony. He asked to study with the French composer Maurice Ravel, and the story is that Ravel asked him, "How much do you earn a year from your compositions?"

"Between one hundred and two hundred thousand dollars."

"Then," Ravel replied, "it is I who must ask you to teach me to compose."

In 1932–1936 Gershwin did, however, study the compositional method of Joseph Schillinger (1895–1943), a Russian-born theorist who devised a musical technique based on the mathematical superimposition of pitch and rhythmic patterns according to what he felt were the underlying laws of nature. Tin Pan Alley composers, under pressure to turn out songs at incredible speed, flocked to Schillinger's method when inspiration dried up; besides Gershwin, he counted Tommy Dorsey, Benny Goodman, and Glenn Miller among his students. Schillinger also attracted attention from experimental composers, including Cowell and John Cage.

Gershwin used Schillinger's techniques in certain parts of his magnum opus, the opera *Porgy and Bess* (1935), based on DuBose Heyward's 1924 novel of the same title. The opera takes place in Catfish Row, a Charleston tenement. Porgy, a cripple, and Crown are both in love with Bess. Drunk at a crapshoot, Crown kills Robbins and tells Bess to wait for him while he hides out, but Bess goes to live with Porgy. Crown returns for Bess and fights with Porgy, Porgy stabs him, and the police eventually arrive to take Porgy away to view Robbins's body. While he is gone, Sportin' Life convinces Bess that Porgy will be locked up for good and

persuades her to accompany him to New York. Porgy does return, however, and finding Bess gone he sets off for New York on his little cart to bring her back. To write the opera, Gershwin immersed himself in the songs of the Gullah language in South Carolina, a mixture of English and Creole spoken among Blacks descended from slaves from the west coast of Africa.

It is difficult in hindsight to understand why *Porgy and Bess* was not critically or financially successful in its first run, but posterity has rehabilitated its reputation, and the Metropolitan Opera finally presented it in 1985. The opening song, "Summertime," has become one of the most famous songs ever written, recognizable throughout the world, and the opera's leitmotiv technique, echoing the contours of significant phrases in the orchestra at important dramatic moments somewhat in the manner of Berg's *Wozzeck,* is sophisticated for its time. Soon after the opera's premiere, however, at the height of Gershwin's career, a brain tumor cut his life short at thirty-eight.

"Composers fall into two categories," Copland has said; "those who are 'hopelessly' opera composers, such as Rossini, Wagner, and Puccini—and those who debate whether and when to write an opera. . . . The urge has to be so strong that because of some inner drive, little else in music attracts you—and then you are an honest-to-God opera composer. I am not such."[8] Besides Menotti, however, America has produced several composers known only for their many operas. Douglas Moore (1893–1969), who taught at Barnard and Columbia from 1926 to 1962, wrote seven major operas, of which *The Ballad of Baby Doe* was most successful. The true story of a Vermont stonecutter who strikes it rich as a silver miner and divorces his wife to marry Baby Doe, the piece makes effective use of such nineteenth-century American genres as parlor ballads and dance-hall tunes. Carlisle Floyd (b. 1926), like Menotti, writes his own librettos, and has made operas from both Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1958) and John Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men* (1969). *Susannah,* his most popular work, relocates the apocryphal story of Susannah and the Elders to rural Tennessee, in a setting full of tuneful folk song references.

Bernard Herrmann (1911–1975), an early champion of Charles Ives's music, was extremely successful as a composer for films. His scores for Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* and Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho, Vertigo, North by Northwest,* and *The Birds* as well as *Journey to the Center of the Earth, Fahrenheit 451,* and *Taxi Driver* are considered classics of the genre. He found less success in concert music, and his *Wuthering Heights* did not receive a stage performance until 1982. Robert Ward (b. 1917), a student of Hanson, achieved some success with his operatic treatment of Arthur Miller's play about the Salem witch trials of the 1690s, *The Crucible.* Ward's five other operas, including *Minutes till Midnight,* a warning about nuclear apocalypse, have not been as widely performed.

The Crucible, or rather Miller's eponymous play, used the Salem witch hunts to criticize the McCarthy-ite communist hunts of the 1950s. Despite the political upheaval of the times, however, most of these composers did not deal directly with political subjects. One major exception was Marc Blitzstein (1905–1964, born in Philadelphia). After studying with Boulanger in Paris and Schoenberg in Berlin, he began as a composer in dissonantly neoclassic style. In 1935, however, he heard the Marxist film composer Hanns Eisler lecture on "The Crisis in Music" at the New School for Social Research. Eisler convinced Blitzstein of the Marxist idea that one could not analyze music without considering the social conditions of its production. A meeting with Bertolt Brecht reinforced this train of thought, and Blitzstein began writing works of musical theater with a pointed social purpose, including, in 1952, an extremely popular English adaptation of Brecht's and Weill's *Die Dreigroschenoper, The Three-Penny Opera.*

Blitzstein's most famous work was *The Cradle Will Rock,* an opera about the organization of a union in Steeltown, USA. The Federal Theater Project, which had originally planned to produce it, found it too controversial, and it was produced independently by Orson Welles and British actor John Houseman. Blitzstein also based an opera, *Regina* (1949), on Lillian Hellman's popular novel *The Little Foxes;* it has been revived with some success. An opera about the political martyrs Sacco and Vanzetti remained unfinished when Blitzstein was killed at a Martinique bar in a political altercation.

One of the most disappointing operatic premieres in American history was Barber's *Antony and Cleopatra,* for Samuel Barber (1910–1981) had enjoyed considerable popularity as an American representative of high Romanticism. Born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, Barber entered Curtis Institute in 1924 (along with Blitzstein) as part of its first graduating class. A trained baritone singer capable of recording his own songs, he developed a neoromantic style based in singable melody, a quality that resulted in one of the few popular hits in American classical music: the second movement of his First String Quartet (1936), orchestrated as the *Adagio for Strings,* a tearjerker of a piece filled with poignant melodic suspensions. His Piano Concerto (1962) and *Prayers of Kierkegaard* (1945) remain prized for similar qualities.

Of Barber's two operas, *Antony and Cleopatra,* based on the Shakespeare play, was commissioned to open the Metropolitan Opera House at Lincoln Center. It was a critical failure largely because of a clumsy production by its librettist, Franco Zeffirelli, and Barber responded by retreating to the Italian Alps and composing little in the following five years. A revised production, with the libretto redone by Menotti, was insufficient to reverse the opera's fortunes. Barber's thoroughgoing traditionalism did not prevent him from using an electronic synthesizer (originally an Ondes martenot, a French electronic instrument) to express the "music

i³ the air" outside Antony's battlefield in Act II of the opera, nor from experimenting with a twelve-tone row in his Piano Sonata of 1949.

Virgil Thomson

Two of the most remarkable American operas were the result of collaborations between a plain-spoken music critic from Missouri and a seminal expatriate author. Virgil Thomson (1896–1989) was a composer of music whose surface simplicity, indebted to the eccentric French composer Erik Satie, hid an elegant sophistication. Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) was the most experimental American writer of the early twentieth century, a fantastically original stylist whose obsessive repetition of short words and disregard for punctuation created a style of great cumulative emotional power. Her major works include *The Making of Americans, The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas,* and *Tender Buttons.* Born in Pennsylvania, Stein presided over the unbelievably fertile literary, artistic, and musical scene of 1920s Paris. When Thomson wandered into that scene, the two formed the century's most perfect American operatic team.

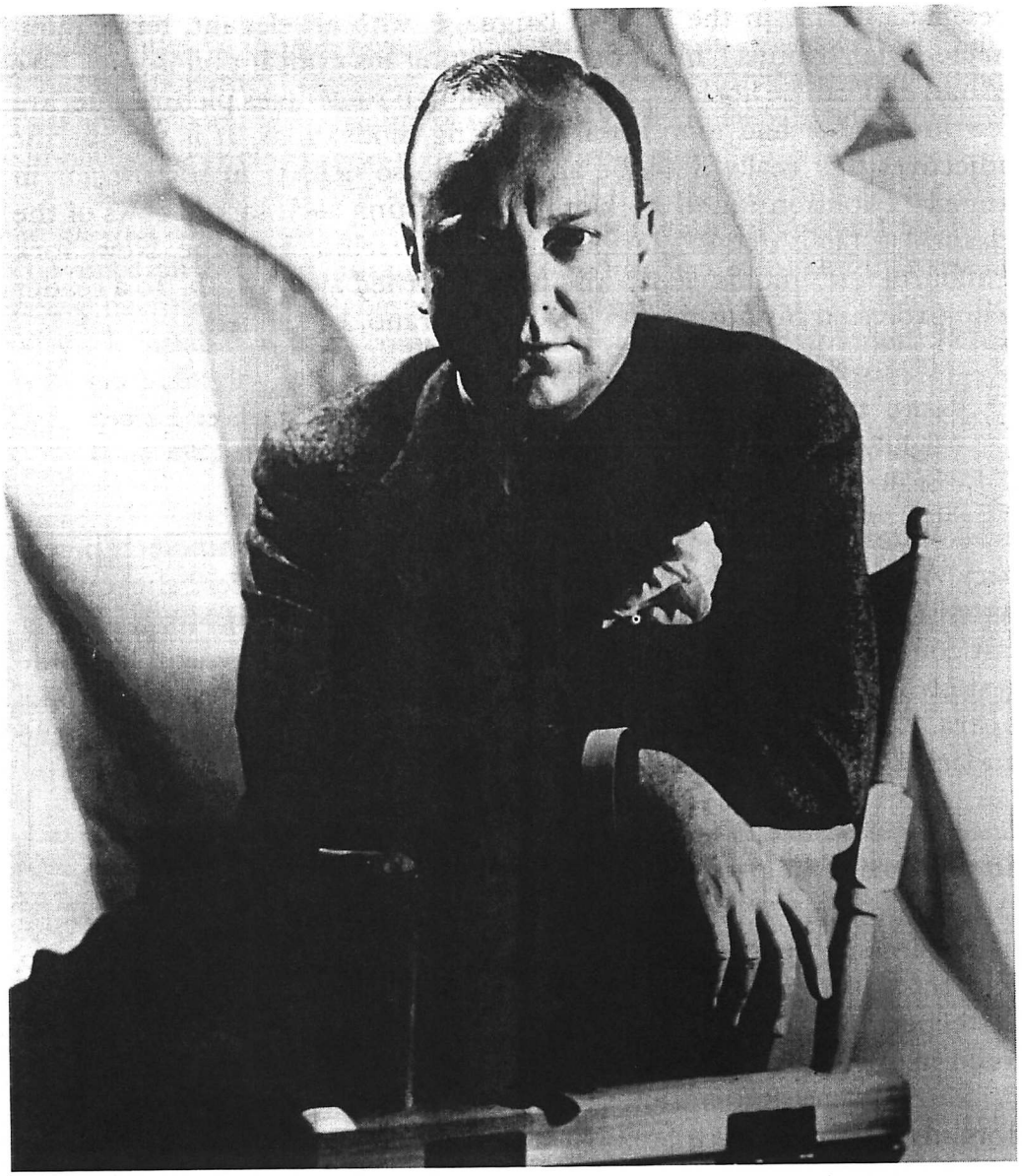
Thomson was born in Kansas City, Missouri, on November 25, 1896. In adolescence he played the organ in churches and the piano in movie halls. Though he enlisted in a field artillery unit, World War I ended before his departure for France became necessary. At Harvard, Edward Burlingame Hill introduced him to modern French music, and after his glee club toured Europe in 1921, Thomson stayed behind in Paris. Here he studied organ and counterpoint with Boulanger, met Cocteau, Satie, and the circle of composers known as Les Six, and wrote his first music reviews as foreign correspondent for the *Boston Evening Transcript.* He returned to America long enough to give the American premiere of Satie's masterpiece, *Socrate.* Thomson's next stay in Paris, in 1925, would last for fifteen years.

Thomson met Gertrude Stein in the winter of 1925–1926. "Gertrude and I," he later wrote of their first meeting, "got on like Harvard men. As we left, she said to him [George Antheil] only good-by, but to me, 'We'll be seeing each other.'"[9] Early in 1927 they began talking about plans for an opera about saints, preferably Spanish ones of an earlier century. Stein had a libretto written by June, Thomson finished a piano score in 1928, and *Four Saints in Three Acts* had its world premiere February 8, 1934, in Hartford, Connecticut, with an all-black cast dressed in cellophane costumes. (Because of fire hazards, the New York Fire Department subsequently passed a law banning cellophane from any New York stage.) Copland, Gershwin, Roger Sessions, Toscanini, and a crowd of luminaries were in attendance.

Thomson's best works of the thirties were film scores for documentaries by Pare Lorentz, a WPA project. *The Plow that Broke the Plains*

Virgil T
Universi

(1936)
cowbo
Thoms
ten his
Protes
filled s
musica
binatic
I
critic f



Virgil Thomson. *Photo by George Platt Lynes. Courtesy Virgil Thomson Papers, Yale University Music Library. Used by permission.*

(1936) and *The River* (1937), successful as concert works, quote folk and cowboy songs as extensively as Copland's *Rodeo,* but unlike Copland, Thomson had no need to change his style. In 1928 he had already written his *Symphony on a Hymn Tune,* a four-movement work based on the Protestant hymn "How Firm a Foundation," and formed a quotation-filled style of deceptive banality. He also took up the habit of making musical Portraits of his friends, mostly for piano or small chamber combination, written quickly while the subject sat, as for a painting.

In 1940 Thomson fled the crisis in Europe and obtained a post as critic for the *New York Herald Tribune.* For fourteen years he served as the

best music critic in the English language, with an elegant, terse, inimitable style. "Nouns," he wrote, delineating his critical philosophy, "are names and can be libelous; the verbs, though sometimes picturesque, are few in number and tend toward alleging motivations. It is the specific adjectives that really describe and that do so neither in sorrow nor in anger." Thomson raised hackles by denigrating such sacred cows of the classical establishment as violinist Jascha Heifitz and the New York Philharmonic, but his charm and humor turned away wrath. To a reader who protested his positive review of a soprano, he replied,

> If Miss S— had committed grave misdemeanors about pitch, I am sure I should have waked up. At musical performances I sleep lightly, and only so long as nothing in any way abnormal, for good or ill, takes place on the stage.[10]

When Thomson suggested to Stein an opera about nineteenth-century America, using quotations from historical speeches, she quickly wrote *The Mother of Us All,* sending it to him in March of 1946. It was her last completed work, for in July she died of cancer. Thomson lived the rest of his life in an apartment in New York's Chelsea Hotel. His third opera, *Lord Byron* (1961–1968), to a libretto by Jack Larson, lacks the audacious charm of the operas he wrote with Stein.

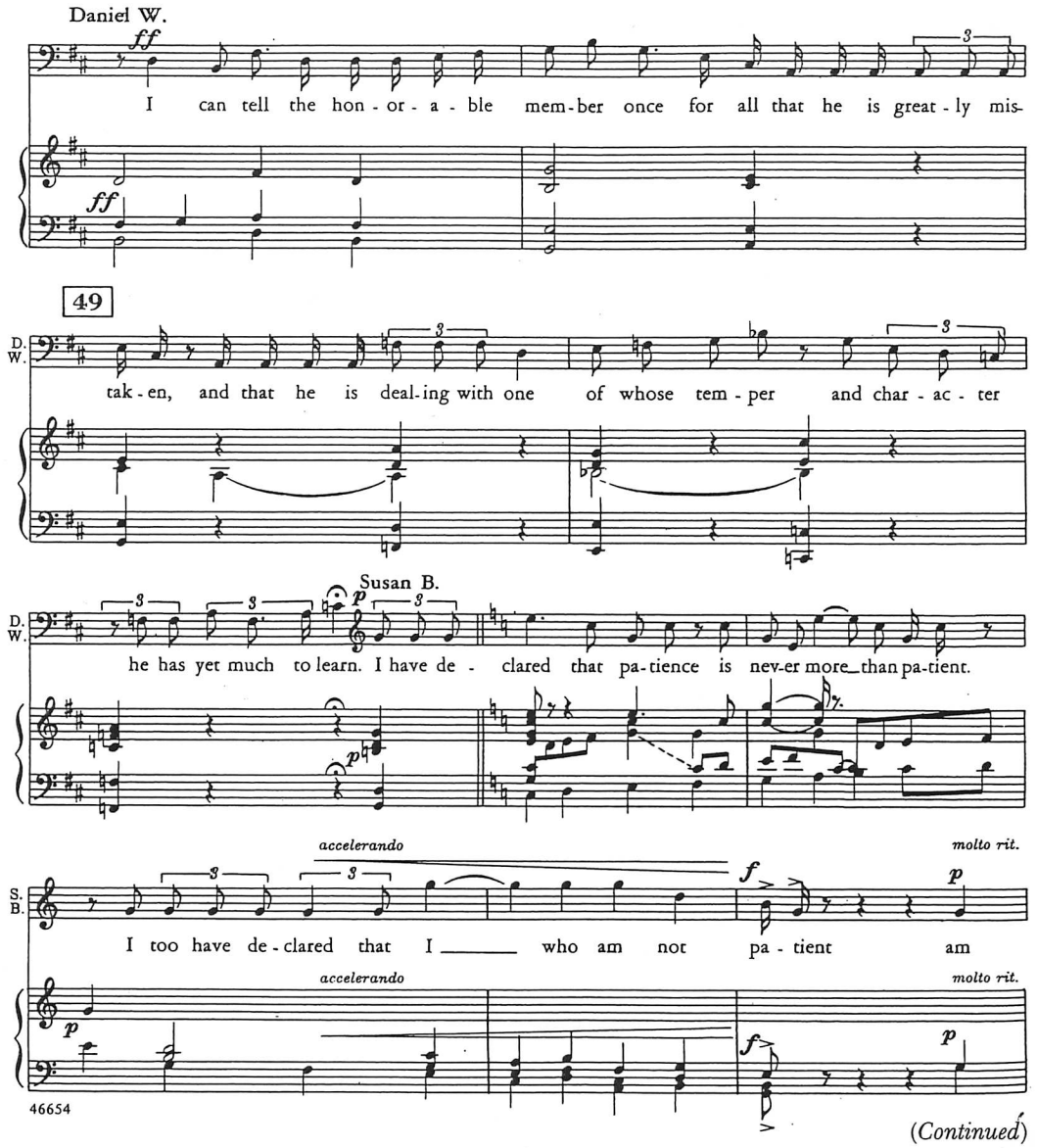
Listening Example: The Mother of Us All, *Act One, Scenes Two and Three*

Of the two Stein-Thomson operas, *Four Saints in Three Acts* has become more famous for its audacious non-sequiturs and humor. Divided into four acts rather than three, it contains many more than four saints and is steeped in the nonsense of the Dada movement Thomson encountered in Paris. Charming as *Four Saints* is, *The Mother of Us All* is a more profound, more human, more moving opera. In the course of Stein's nonlinear, lightly punctuated libretto, she makes several points that she obviously felt deeply, and the manner in which those points work their way repetitively through what seems like nonsense on the surface makes them all the more powerful. A constant theme is that men, especially powerful men, do not listen; hearing becomes a metaphor for receptiveness, for a willingness not to dominate others. The importance of names, and what it does to a thing to name it, is touched upon frequently. *The Mother* delivers one of Stein's most fervent feminist, humanist messages.

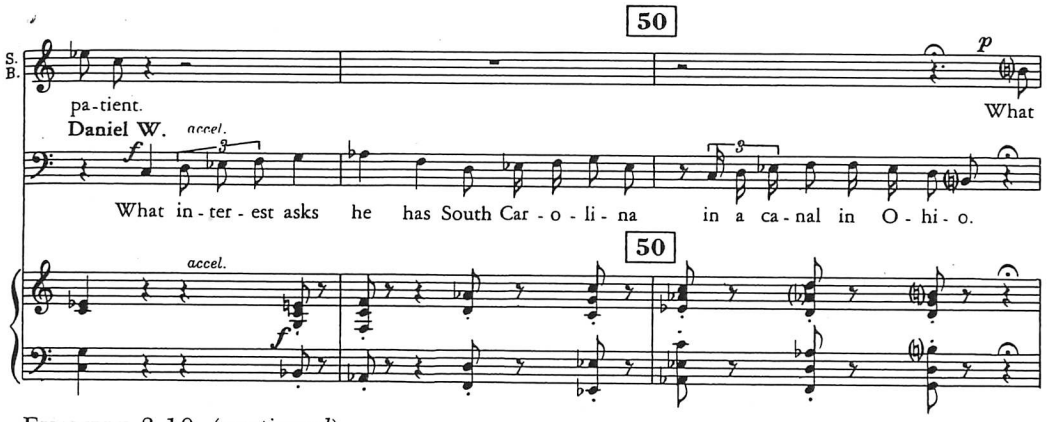
And Thomson, stepping out of the way, lets the message through beautifully. Scene 2 of *The Mother* quotes "London Bridge Is Falling Down" and contains marches (symbolizing men) that are humorous in their immobile lack of variety; Scene 3 features waltzes and a veiled love duet in which nothing is actually communicated. Both scenes exhibit Thomson's subtle method of intercutting back and forth between recurring textures

and tonalities, as though he had translated *Le Sacre du Printemps* into polite, nineteenth-century American. Except for eerie bitonal (or whole-tone) passages such as the beginning of scene three, the music stresses a specious simplicity, every chord drawn from the vernacular.

There is no real plot to *The Mother of Us All,* though there are situations that change throughout the course of the opera. As Act I opens, a conversation between Susan B. Anthony and her companion Anne is being narrated by two characters suspiciously named Gertrude S. and Virgil T. Susan is already complaining about the behavior of men: "That is to say politeness is agreeable. That is to say it could be if everybody



EXAMPLE 3.10 Virgil Thomson, *The Mother of Us All,* Act I, scene 2.



EXAMPLE 3.10 (*continued*)

were polite, but when it is only me, ah me." In scene two, Daniel Webster begins his politicking in the company of fellow politicians John Adams, Andrew Johnson, and others. Much is made of names: "Susan B. Anthony is my name, to choose a name is feeble," our heroine sings. But choosing a name will turn out to be a crisis for Indiana Elliott, for when she marries Jo the Loiterer, he will demand that she change her name. Susan B. and Daniel W. debate (see example 3.10), but while she answers his comments, he does not listen to a word she says.

Daniel Webster is in love with Angel More. John Adams loves Constance Fletcher, but in scene three has trouble expressing his love:

> Dear Miss Constance Fletcher, it is a real pleasure that I kneel at your feet, but I am an Adams, I kneel at the feet of none, not anyone.

In Scene 4, Susan B. dreams of people who will not help her: a Negro man who will vote even if she cannot, and a chorus of three Very Important Persons.

As Act II begins, the men are trying to persuade Susan B. to speak at a meeting. Jo arrives, upset because Indiana Elliott refuses to change her name. Susan agrees to speak, but Scene 2 reveals that her only effect was that the men have, for the first time, written the word "male" into the suffrage clause of the United States Constitution. The final scene is an epilogue. Susan B. has died, and the other characters are paying homage to her statue. Women now have the vote, and although nothing has really changed for the better, Susan B.'s statue sings: "We cannot retrace our steps."

There is no conclusive proof that, somewhere within this rich repertoire, the Great American Opera has not already appeared. That possibility granted, *The Mother of Us All* has as solid a claim to that position as any of them.

Notes

1. Virgil Thomson, *Virgil Thomson: An Autobiography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 54.
2. Aaron Copland, *On Music* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1961), p. 86.
3. Quoted in K. Robert Schwarz, *Minimalists* (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), p. 114.
4. Aaron Copland, *The New Music 1900–1960* (London: MacDonald, 1968), p. 160.
5. Nicolas Slonimsky, "Roy Harris: The Story of an Oklahoma Composer Who Was Born in a Log Cabin on Lincoln's Birthday," in Crawford, Lott, and Oja, eds., *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), p. 314.
6. Dan Stehman, *Roy Harris: An American Musical Pioneer* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), p. 107.
7. Nicolas Slonimsky, "Roy Harris: The Story of an Oklahoma Composer Who Was Born in a Log Cabin on Lincoln's Birthday," in Crawford, Lott, and Oja, eds., *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock*, p. 317.
8. Virgil Thomson, *Virgil Thomson: An Autobiography* (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1985), p. 89.
9. Virgil Thomson, *A Virgil Thomson Reader*, p. 181.
10. Tim Page and Vanessa Weeks Page, eds., *Selected Letters of Virgil Thomson* (New York: Summit Books, 1988), p. 216.