

The Percussion Music of John J. Becker

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If the present trend continues, John J. Becker will soon no longer be the least well-known of that group of composers now called the "American Five." Close friend and spiritual kin to Charles Ives, Carl Ruggles, Henry Cowell, and Wallingford Riegger, Becker was the only member of the group whose fierce crusade for ultra-modern trends in music was carried out in that relative cultural desert (at least in the 1930s), the American Midwest. Between 1929 and his death in 1961, Becker was a teacher, critic, and conductor in the St. Paul and Chicago areas, known for his enthusiasm, his intransigence, his disputatiousness, and his devotion to a cause that he perceived to be of utmost importance to American culture. He was arguably the most literary of the American Five, and the only one to complete several large multi-media works. One of these, *Marriage with Space* (1933-5), uses solo and mass recitation, solo dancer, dance group, and colored lighting, as well as a large orchestra. Very few of his large works have been performed, and the neglect of his work has been an American tragedy, although interest has been growing slowly but steadily in recent years.

Becker's mature music is often based on a strongly dualistic conception; not the balanced and ultimately integrated dualism of Romantic music, but an often violent juxtaposition of irreconcilable opposites. Characteristically, soft, lyrical (though highly dissonant) chorales alternate with passages of savage, angular

ferocity, which express anything from cynical satire to moral outrage. This opposition without resolution – inharmoniousness at a formal level – makes Becker's music ultimately percussive in conception.

As well suited as his musical conception seems for percussion, Becker's primary concern was not rhythm, but pitch, and this fact curtailed his use of percussion instruments. The music's internal opposition frequently takes the form of a juxtaposition of white notes against black, or of two conflicting pentatonic

scales. More importantly, Becker was trying to achieve a neo-Renaissance polyphony, as technically elegant as that of Palestrina, but using intervals previously regarded as dissonant.¹ The same instruments that at one moment play virtuosic, highly rhythmic fireworks will break into a slow, equal-voiced four-part chorale the next. As a result, even in the music's most violent aspects, many of the most rhythmic and percussive effects are entrusted to brass, woodwinds, or strings:

Flute:

ff

Clarinet:

Example 1
Soundpiece No. 6: (1942)

In Becker's orchestral music, percussion is rarely used for its own sake, but rather to color and intensify what is going on in the other in-

struments. It is frequently associated with marches or brass fanfares of a military nature:

Trumpets:
Horns:

ff

Trombones:
Tuba:

Snare Drum:
Cymbal:

ff sfz sffz

Timpani:

Example 2
Music for Julius Caesar: (art-film; 1949)

In his stagework, *Rain Down Death* (1939), Becker asks that a snare drum roll continue throughout the work for dramatic effect, and

suggests an occasional change of drummer. At times, percussion is used as a brilliant highlight for orchestral tutti:

The musical score is arranged in a system of staves. The percussion parts are on the left, and the orchestral parts are on the right. The percussion parts include:

- Xylophone:** Treble clef, playing a series of eighth notes in the third measure, marked *f* and *ff*.
- Snare Drum:** Treble clef, playing a continuous roll of eighth notes, marked *f* and *ff*.
- Tambourine:** Treble clef, playing a series of eighth notes in the third measure, marked *f* and *ff*.
- Cymbal (muted):** Treble clef, playing a series of eighth notes in the third measure, marked *f* and *ff*.
- Bass Drum:** Bass clef, playing a series of eighth notes in the third measure, marked *f* and *ff*.
- Timpani:** Bass clef, playing a series of eighth notes in the third measure, marked *mf* and *ff*.
- Piano:** Treble clef, playing a series of eighth notes in the third measure, marked *f* and *ff*.
- Strings, Brass, Woodwinds:** Treble clef, playing a series of eighth notes in the third measure, marked *mf* and *ff*.

The score is written in 4/4 time. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked *Allegro*. The score is for a percussion ensemble and an orchestra.

Example 3
Symphonia Brevis: (1929)

and occasionally it is pitted against the rest of the orchestra as an interruption:

The musical score is arranged in five systems, each with a label on the left:

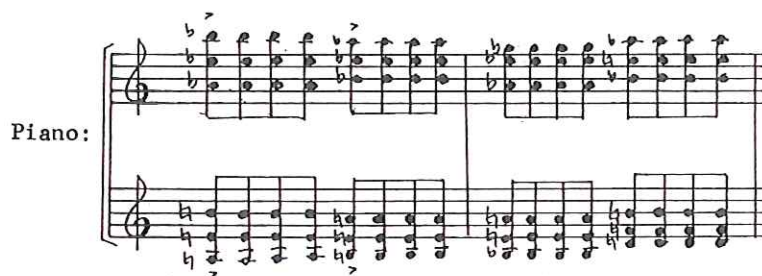
- Xylophone:** The first system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The second system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The third system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5.
- Snare Drum:** The first system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The second system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The third system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5.
- Cymbal:** The first system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The second system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The third system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5.
- Gong:** The first system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The second system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The third system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5.
- Timpani:** The first system shows a bass clef staff with notes G2, A2, B2, and C3. The second system shows a bass clef staff with notes G2, A2, B2, and C3. The third system shows a bass clef staff with notes G2, A2, B2, and C3.
- Piano:** The first system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The second system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The third system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5.
- Strings, Clarinets:** The first system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The second system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The third system shows a treble clef staff with notes G4, A4, B4, and C5.

The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (ppp, mf, f, sf), articulation (>), and fingerings (5, 2, 4, 7). The key signature is one sharp (F#).

Example 4
Symphonia Brevis: (1929)

In a 1950 article, "Finding a Personal Orchestral Idiom,"² Becker adamantly insisted that the piano be viewed as a percussion instrument, and outlined suggestions for its orchestral use. Many of his scores contain a notation at the

beginning of the piano part such as the following: "Piano strike always as percussion unless designated otherwise" (Soundpiece No. 1). Sometimes the piano technique involved makes this caveat almost superfluous:



Example 5
Soundpiece No. 1: (1932)

Theoretically, then, a discussion of Becker's percussion music could be opened up to include several of his mature piano works, but this lies outside the scope of the present article. His major work for solo piano, the Soundpiece No. 5 (1937) does, however, deserve mention in this

regard. When properly played ("as fast as possible"), the piece creates a strange timbral buzz which enters the realm of non-pitched sound and leaves the conventional idea of piano technique far behind:



Example 6
Soundpiece No. 5: (1937)

Even as his piano music left conventional technique far behind, his innovative percussion writing opened new doors in form, content and orchestration.

The Abongo

John Becker wrote only two works for percussion ensemble, lasting less than fifteen minutes between them, each significant historically and in its own right. Each was written specifically

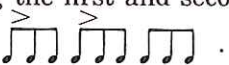
for the dance, as if he were reluctant to base a work primarily on rhythm without some accompanying purpose or program. The first, *The Abongo* (1933), was inspired by a discussion of music among the Abongo tribe of Africa in *Primitive Music*, by Richard Wallaschek, published in 1893. The relevant passage is worth citing for its relation to the technique of the work: *The Abongo people, a race of dwarfs in West Africa, have no musical instruments, and con-*

tent themselves by striking two pieces of wood together while they improvise songs which consist of nothing but lengthy repetitions of words describing certain circumstances...³

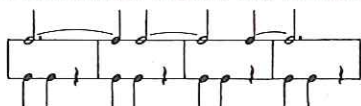
This idea of repetition at great length obviously sparked Becker's imagination. The story of the dance comes from the next paragraph:

*If a Kafir or negro is unable to keep his wives in order, a festival is held to settle the quarrel, and all the inhabitants of the village are invited to take part. At midnight there is a sudden stillness during which Mumbo Jumbo (sic!) appears bearing a club as his insignia of office, seizes the quarrelsome wife, who is naked, binds her to a stake, and amid the shouts of laughter of the audience, gives her a sound drubbing.*⁴

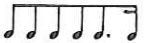

From time to time throughout the score, indications are given for the actions that take place: "Signal for tribe to assemble – natives begin to straggle in...", "by this time...they should begin to be hysterically noisy," "Husband appears with big stick" (sudden rest with fermata), and at the end, "great laughter."


The Abongo is a striking anomaly among Becker's works. Scored for two small drums, large and medium drums, two tin pans, two barrels, six timpani (three players), two tam-tams, snare drum, bass drum, gong, and three cymbals (the total playable by twelve people), accompanied by the hand clapping and singing of the dancers, the work is a linear crescendo of repetitive rhythmic patterns, with few interruptions or inconsistencies. The core of the work resides in the timpani and water drum, the latter is an African instrument consisting of a turtle (or other) shell placed on the surface of a tub of water. The water drum was probably suggested to Becker by Cowell.⁵ Except for a few brief pauses, the second and third sets of timpani play triplet eighth-notes throughout, accenting the first and second beats of the $\frac{3}{4}$ meter: . The water drum and the first set of timpani play entirely in whole notes and half notes across the barline.

As a result, the polyrhythm



runs as an undercurrent throughout the piece.

This grouping is complicated by the pitches of the timpani. Timpani I plays a four-note melody, doubled at the fourth, which groups its phrases into a 16-beat pattern. The remaining timpani, also doubled at the fourth, alternate between two sets of pitches, creating a smaller-level repetitive unit of $\frac{2}{9}$ of a measure. Most of the smaller instruments, added to this core one by one, cover it with repetitions of either the pattern  and slight variations of it, or the pattern 

Frequently the gong, large cymbal, and bass drum reinforce the four-beat organization of the water drum. (On the accompanying structural chart, patterns emphasizing groupings of four beats are shaded). At three points near the beginning a small rhythmic canon takes place, always starting in the snare drum, using the rhythm  etc. A few additional irregularities occur as well, but once the piece is well under way (by measure 86), it rolls inevitably towards the final climax with only



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the basic patterns and their variations. Don Gillespie's excellent dictum, "consistency must not be expected in a Becker score,"⁶ is inapplicable in this one instance.

Becker's assumption that *The Abongo* would never be performed was reasonable given the paucity of performances of his less radical music, but nevertheless wrong. The piece enjoyed a kind of underground notoriety during the 1930s, and eventually made its way into the hands of John Cage who wrote to Becker, "this is an aspect of percussion music of which we have not yet had examples."⁷ (This was c. 1939, after Cage had written his Trio and Quartet for percussion, and the same year he began his *Construction* series.) It wasn't until 16 months after Becker's death that *The Abongo* received a concert premier at the hands of Paul Price and the Manhattan Percussion Ensemble in New York City, on May 16, 1963. An additional 16 years elapsed before the work's first performance with dance, by the Zodiaque Dance Company, directed by Linda Swiniuch, with Donald Knaack conducting the University of Buffalo Percussion Ensemble, March 31, 1976. This production, the only one to date to attempt to utilize the composer's intentions, was problematic, marked by a strong conceptual disagreement between the choreographer and Mrs. Evelyn Becker, the composer's widow. The latter disapproved of both the costumes (long ruffled gowns in bright colors similar to those found in African designs) and the number of dancers, and as a result new dancers were added and the choreography altered at the last possible moment.⁸

Those interested in performing *The Abongo* should be warned that the published score (Autofax Editions) is slightly incomplete, especially in the area of dynamics. An excerpt published as an example in Becker's orchestration article⁹ clearly shows crescendi and *ff*'s that do not appear in the published score. This suggests that the dynamic of *pp* throughout is obviously inappropriate. As far as interpretation goes, it seems essential that the elements that create the most rhythmic ambiguity and variety be clearly brought out, especially the pervasive 3 against 4, and the 16-beat groupings of

Timpani I. The canons near the opening provide an interesting formal irregularity which can easily be overwhelmed by the rest of the texture. From the perspective of the 1980s, *The Abongo* is somewhat a pre-Minimalist exercise in Minimalism, and like most Minimalist music, great attention must be paid to subtle irregularities if the piece is not to lapse into monotony.



Dancer Diana Huebert

Vigilante 1938

In 1935 Becker was appointed State Director of the Works Program Administration's Federal Music Project for Minnesota. Here he met the dancer Diana Huebert, who took an interest in his music and asked him to write her a piece. The pre-war atmosphere of 1938 determined the subject matter of the piece, which was inspired (according to an advance newspaper notice) "at the time of the dramatic days of the recent German conferences when world peace was at stake."¹⁰ The dance concert that Diana Huebert organized centered around rebellion, and the story line of her choreography for

THE ABONGO: Rhythmic Structure

Rehearsal letters: A

Measure numbers: 1-2, 3-6, 7-8, 9-16, 17-20, 21-24, 25-32, 33-57, 58-77, 78-85, 86-93, 94-101, 102-109, 110-125, 126-133, 134-157, 158-173, 174-182, 183-184

Voices:

Hand Claps:

Small Drums:

Barrels:

Tam-tams:

Larger Drums:

Tin Pans:

Sm. Cymbal:

Snare Drum:

Bass Drum:

Gong & Cym.:

Water Drum:

I:

Timpani II:

III:

Measures per section: 2 4 2 8 4 4 4 8 1 24 20 8 8 8 8 8 16 24 16 9 2

Shaded areas indicate patterns that emphasize groupings of four, eight, or sixteen beats. Arrows denote canonic entrances at the rhythmic interval of four beats. + denotes variations on the basic pattern given.

Becker's work abstractly reflected her concern for the Spanish Civil War. It was a true collaboration – Becker altered the rhythms to accommodate her dance steps¹¹ – and the piece, *Vigilante 1938: A Dance*, turned out to be the only paid commission of Becker's career; he received \$60.¹²

Vigilante 1938 is very similar in sound and instrumentation to the *Three Dance Movements* (1933) of William Russell, whom Becker had met in New York City. Cowell published *Three Dance Movements* in his New Music Editions in 1936, the same year that Becker was named an Associate Editor of the publications, so it is almost certain that Becker was familiar with the work. Russell's pieces, though, while quite charming, are simple dances, each based on the same rhythm throughout; neither as complex nor as ambitious as *Vigilante 1938*.

Scored for snare drum, tam-tam, bass drum, cymbal, gong, and piano (six players in all), *Vigilante 1938* is much more typical of Becker's

violently dualistic musical conception than *The Abongo*. Externally, it consists of three parallel sections separated by two contrasting interludes – ABABA with coda – but it is actually a typically Beckerian sonata-allegro form, similar to that of the *Concerto Arabesque* though on a much smaller scale. The interludes together act as a second theme which, in this abbreviated treatment, does not return after the development. In a Romantic sonata-allegro movement, the first and second themes would be contrasting aspects of the same tonal material, and would eventually be integrated and revealed as such in the course of the work. Here, the two themes are radically different and, typically for Becker, no attempt at a reconciliation is made. The first subject, representing the satirical/militaristic side of Becker's dichotomy, is stated in parallel minor seconds, a technique that pits black notes against white, and of which he was particularly fond¹³:

The musical score for 'Vigilante 1938' is presented in two systems. The first system includes staves for Snare Drum, Bass Drum, Tam-tams, Cymbal, and Gong. The Snare Drum and Bass Drum parts are marked with a large '8' and a '4' respectively, indicating their rhythmic patterns. The Tam-tams, Cymbal, and Gong parts are marked with a large '4'. The second system includes a staff for Piano, marked with a large '8' and a '4'. The piano part features a melodic line in the right hand and a complex, multi-layered accompaniment in the left hand, with various accidentals and dynamics. The score is written in a style typical of early 20th-century modernist music, with a focus on rhythmic complexity and tonal experimentation.

Example 7
Vigilante 1938

As usual, the piano is indicated "to be played as a percussion instrument," and these clusters can hardly be played any other way. The percussion parts accompanying this theme emphasize the military squareness of the 8/4 meter, dividing measures in halves and fourths with

only an occasional cadential syncopation.

The second subject (interlude) represents Becker's lyrical/tender side, and is accompanied by repeated, slowly changing dissonant chords:

Example 8
Vigilante 1938

Example 8 Vigilante 1938

(A similar example can be found in the *Symphonia Brevis*, first movement.) (It is an effect worth noting that the combined tempo and harmonic background invariably make me hear the falling C^\sharp to F as a perfect fifth, no matter how hard I try to hear it as augmented.) One harmonized with clusters, the other with chords of fourths and fifths, these two subjects are related only by the squareness of their rhythmic contours:

Theme A: $\frac{8}{4}$

Theme B: $\frac{4}{4}$

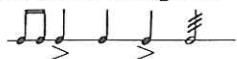
Both themes receive parallel treatments in later statements. Theme B appears in 7/4 meter in the second interlude, as does theme A in Section III. This deviation from the rhythmic norm serves to heighten tension towards the middle

of the piece, but the tension is never really resolved.

In both interludes the percussion creates a subtle background of rhythmic ambiguity. In the first interlude this takes the form of the rhythm $\text{♩} \text{, } \text{♩} \text{, } \text{♩} \text{, } \text{♩}$ in the tam-tam, which repeats and continues across the barline after the meter has changed to 3/4. In the second interlude the ambiguity is more striking, as the two tam-tams play the repeated rhythm:

against a foreground of 7/4 in the piano, cymbal, and gong. This is virtually the only attempt at polyrhythm in this militaristic piece. It lends a certain poignancy and pliability to the interludes which the rest of the work lacks totally, and should be carefully brought out in performance.

As the structural chart indicates, Section II does not begin with theme A but, instead, using only percussion, develops the eight-beat rhythm which accompanies the theme in Section I, telescoping it into a six-beat figure:



and further shortening this into five beats:



This gradual shortening of rhythm and meter is the basic means for creating tension in the piece, as a glance across the rows of the structural chart will quickly show. It leads, in this case, to a series of repeated piano chords consisting of pentatonic clusters, black notes in the left hand against white notes in the right. This type of chord is a quintessential Becker sound: each register in itself is relatively consonant, like the higher overtones of a single note, but

together they are dissonant in the extreme. This dissonance across registers Becker often likened to a hovering "play of light."¹⁴ This driving pattern leads to a much abbreviated statement of theme A in an otherwise little-changed form.

Section III can be considered the beginning of the development proper. After eight square beats in the snare drum that refer to the earlier rhythmic organization, theme A returns in 7/4, but with a classic developmental difference: the accompanying clusters are now in the right hand, above the theme. Reference is made to the original square rhythms by the percussion, which, by accenting beats 3, 4, and 5 in each measure, emphasizes the asymmetry of the 7/4. The development continues and intensifies in a "cadenza" for piano alone. Theme A is broken up into its smallest particles in the manner of any good middle Beethoven sonata:

Piano:

Handwritten musical score for Piano, measures 6-8. The score is in treble and bass clefs. Measure 6 has a 6/4 time signature. Measure 7 has a 4/4 time signature. Measure 8 has a 3/4 time signature. The music features various notes, rests, and dynamic markings like '8va' and '1'.

Example 9

Vigilante 1938

and climaxes in a series of black-against-white chords of varying durations. This treatment exhausted, the percussion enters and reestablishes the square 8/4 rhythmic organization, followed by a series of 10/4 measures each divided ♩ in reference to the 10/4 measure which opened the work. Once again theme A returns briefly in its original 8/4 form, though quickly diminishing into a 5/4 cadence.

The coda, which begins *ppp* and crescendos linearly throughout, is as rhythmically square as possible, another feature characteristic of the Classical sonata-allegro. Half-note white-against-black chords in the piano (in fifths this

time, perhaps a last reference to the interludes) are accompanied by running eighth- and then quarter-notes in the percussion. Just before the final climax, a single rhythmic ambiguity occurs: a hemiola across two measures of $3/4$, the triple division marked only by accents on the rolls in the snare drum and cymbal. Great care should be taken to bring out these accents in performance, lest the momentary ambiguity go completely unnoticed.

In both audition and analysis, one is struck by the abruptness of *Vigilante 1938*, the almost total absence of transition. The interludes, which begin so charmingly, die away quickly

with sinking chromatic lines as if they saw as futile any attempt to come to fruition. The brief recapitulation, while it restores the military rhythmic regularity, concludes with a symmetry-wrenching 5/4 measure, and does not really resolve anything. It is easy to read into this ultimate lack of integration or resolution a deficient compositional technique, but to do so is merely to interpret the work on an inappropriate basis. As an unresolved dialectical movement, *Vigilante 1938* represents the negation of the Romantic/Classic idea – it is the sonata-allegro form turned against itself.

Such negation can be related to Becker's outlook on life, particularly in the foreboding pre-war atmosphere of 1938. It is typical of his music that such tender moments as these interludes seem helpless and inconsequential in the face of the stern mockery of experience. Given the apathetic and antipathetic reactions which so often met Becker's music during his lifetime, it must have been very easy for him to conclude that everything stupid and brutal in human life prospers, while the occasional sincere and truthful "voice in the wilderness" is inevitably disregarded, if not obliterated. And, as the development of *Vigilante 1938* might imply, he may have felt that there was never any real resolution. Though like him in so many other ways, Becker did not share Charles Ives' faith in the masses¹⁵ nor his optimism concerning world affairs; and had Ives still been writing in 1938, perhaps his own enthusiasm would have foundered. Surely the disturbing sound and form of *Vigilante 1938* are as appropriate to the 1980s as to the 1930s. In any case, though far from being one of his major efforts, *Vigilante 1938* provides as clear an insight into Becker's personality as many of his larger, more familiar works.

It being his one paid commission, Becker was able to derive more enjoyment from *Vigilante* during his lifetime than from many of his other works. Diana Huebert performed the piece with the Carleton Dance Group on December 12, 1938, in Northfield, Minnesota (with another Becker work, *Nostalgic Songs of Earth* (1938) for piano, choreographed on the same program), and again later at Mundelein College in

Chicago, a city where Becker was attempting to increase his reputation. Apparently though, the next performance had to wait until April 26, 1970, when Don Gillespie organized a concert performance at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, with Roger Hannay conducting the New Music Ensemble.

The Abongo and *Vigilante 1938* remained isolated experiments within Becker's output. *The Abongo* is a unique novelty, both for Becker and for Western music in general. *Vigilante* is a much more personal piece, and more closely related to the era of American music in which it was produced. Compared to the *Symphonia Brevis* and Soundpiece No. 4, both are minor pieces which merely point toward the heights that Becker sometimes achieved, but they illuminate aspects of Becker's mind and strengthen his credentials as one of the most experimental composers of the 1930s. One wonders what this polyphonist whom Cowell called the "Sixteenth-Century Modern"¹⁶ might have done with vibraphones and marimbas; but it seems useless to inquire about what the man didn't write when what he did compose still lies so neglected. One can only hope the situation will continue to change.

Anyone wishing to do further research into the life and music of John J. Becker will have to consult Don Gillespie's 1977 dissertation, John Becker: Midwestern Musical Crusader, available from University Microfilms, a book to which I am heavily indebted. Enjoyable, insightful, and complete, it will not be superseded in the foreseeable future.

Thanks go to Sam Denison and the Fleisher Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia, to whom many of Becker's scores are entrusted, for the loan of Vigilante 1938 (there cataloged under its subtitle only: A Dance), Soundpiece No. 1, and Rain Down Death.

Thanks also to Don Gillespie, Mrs. Evelyn Becker, John Boudler, Linda Swiniuch, and Donald Knaack for much valuable information.

Footnotes

¹Henry Cowell, "John J. Becker," in Henry Cowell, ed., *American Composers on American Music* (New York, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1962), p. 82

²John Becker, "Finding a Personal Orchestral Idiom," *Musical America*, LXX (February, 1950), p. 126

³Richard Wallaschek, *Primitive Music* (New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1893), p. 8

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Don Gillespie, *John Becker: Midwestern Musical Crusader* (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms International, 1977), p. 140

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 82

⁷Letter of John Cage to John Becker, undated (c. April, 1939), quoted in Gillespie, op. cit., p. 140

⁸Mrs. Evelyn Becker and Linda Swiniuch in conversation with the author

⁹John Becker, op. cit., p. 127

¹⁰Troupe Will Give Concert, *Northfield, Minnesota Carletonian*, Nov. 26, 1938

¹¹Diana Huebert Faidy in conversation with Don Gillespie

¹²Mrs. Evelyn Becker in conversation with the author

¹³John Becker, op. cit., p. 126

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 256

¹⁵see, for example, John Becker, "Notes on Philosophy of Art," unpublished typescript (n.d.) quoted in Gillespie, op. cit., p. 128:

[Although] we may talk about the democracy of Art all we please – from now to the end of time, there will be only the few finer spirits who think, and the herd does not, will not, could not think if it wished to, only the finer spirits who will understand the beauty of Art, and for that reason I contend that, after all, Art belongs to the aristocrat not the democrat...

¹⁶Gillespie, op. cit., p. 84n