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A STUDY OF THE LIVES AND WORKS OF
FIVE BLACK WOMEN COMposERS
IN AMERICA

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF MUSIC EDUCATION

by
MILDRED DENBY GREEN
Norman, Oklahoma
1975
A STUDY OF THE LIVES AND WORKS OF
FIVE BLACK WOMEN COMPOSERS
IN AMERICA

APPROVED BY

[Signatures]

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of the study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for the study</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations and Procedures</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of Related Literature</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| II. WOMAN'S HISTORICAL ROLE IN AFRICAN, AFRO-AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN MUSIC | 14 |
| Women's Role in African Music | 16 |
| Black Women's Role in Music in America | 26 |
| Women's Role in European Music | 31 |
| Prehistoric Evidence | 31 |
| Greek Civilization | 38 |
| The Middle Ages | 47 |
| Troubadours, Trouvères and Minnesingers | 54 |
| The Renaissance | 59 |
| The Seventeenth Century | 63 |
| The Enlightenment | 73 |
| The Nineteenth Century | 80 |
| The Twentieth Century | 113 |

<p>| III. FLORENCE B. PRICE | 119 |
| Biographical Sketch | 119 |
| Analysis of Works | 124 |
| <strong>Songs to a Dark Virgin</strong> | 124 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. (continued)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>An April Day</strong></td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Two Traditional Spirituals</strong></td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>My Soul's Been Anchored in de Lord</strong></td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Song for Snow</strong></td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moon Bridge</strong></td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three Little Negro Dances</strong></td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sea Swallow</strong></td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV. MARGARET BONDS</strong></td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biographical Sketch</strong></td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Analysis of Works</strong></td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Ballad of the Brown King</strong></td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three Dream Portraits</strong></td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>To a Brown Girl Dead</strong></td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I Got a Home in That Rock.</strong></td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Negro Speaks of Rivers</strong></td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V. EVELYN PITTMAN</strong></td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biographical Sketch</strong></td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Analysis of Works</strong></td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rich Heritage.</strong></td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rocka—Mah Soul</strong></td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sit Down Servant</strong></td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nobody Knows de Trouble I See.</strong></td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anyhow</strong></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. JULIA PERRY</td>
<td>(continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biographical Sketch.</td>
<td>Page 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Works.</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stabat Mater.</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homunculus C. F.</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Thanks To Thee.</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye Who Seek The Truth</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song of Our Savior</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord! What Shall I Do?</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free at Last.</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm a Poor Li'l Orphan in this Worl'.</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. LENA MCLIN.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biographical Sketch.</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Works.</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free At Last.</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Torch Has Been Passed</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let the People Sing Praise Unto the Lord</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If They Ask You Why He Came</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS.</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY.</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX.</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A STUDY OF THE LIVES AND WORKS OF
FIVE BLACK WOMEN COMPOSERS
IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

This study involves two subjects related to music that have occasionally been investigated in the past, but hardly ever in conjunction. One is the role of women in twentieth century composition and the other is the role of black composers in the same period. This dissertation puts the two subjects together for an investigation into the role of black women in twentieth century composition as revealed in their lives and works.

Two interesting traditions are combined in this subject. We have the tradition of written composition coming together with the tradition of extemporaneous performance. Composition is essentially an expressive-intellectual art that is written down and preserved as accurately as possible. It began in Europe and gradually spread throughout the world until, by the twentieth century, its expansion is nearly complete. On the other hand, the music of the black man was of an expressive-improvisatory origin. It was not written down, and, for the most part, was created spontaneously in order to express the feelings of the moment.
For centuries men have dominated the art of musical composition. This is especially true in the European tradition and holds true in some degree in the music of the black races. Women have, however, played a lesser but significant role in the music of both cultures. They have been involved on both a professional and amateur level as performers, teachers, composers, collectors, innovators and as intellectual stimuli for the male composers.

Need for the Study

Many sources document the musical contributions made by women throughout history, but these are scattered. Only the very interested scholar would invent the time necessary first to find source material and then to work through it. Furthermore, accurate information about the cultural heritage of black people in America has been, until recently, in a rather unorganized, decentralized state. There is an increasing awareness that the total creative efforts of the black American have not yet been put in proper perspective. Popular entertainers have been in the center of the stage for so long, that the achievements of the more serious artists have remained quite unknown. Without intending to minimize the contribution of the black entertainer to the total cultural milieu, there is much more to black culture than this.

The true extent will probably not be known for several years, but for the present we can continue with the
investigations, seminars and research projects that were begun in the 1960's. These undertakings have already produced a significant number of scholarly writings, but there is an urgent need for more. It is impossible to fill the gaps left by past recorders of history with just a few articles and books. There is no choice but to engage in continued research.

In Chapter II, there is a summary of the historical role of women in European, African and black American music that will further point to the need for studies of this sort.

Music is probably the art in which the black man is universally accepted as exceptionally gifted, and rightly so. Music is a natural and effective mode of expression for an oppressed people. Spontaneous expression in the form of the spiritual, ragtime and blues is widely known and admired.

However the serious black composer who writes music combining characteristics with intellectual and traditional elements that have evolved through the centuries is nearly unknown.

As Austin Caswell puts it:

The ignorance and misunderstanding about the black contribution to music in America is only exceeded by the lack of serious attention paid to it. For too long the musical establishment (schools of music and their products) has taken the view that if there is any Black musical contribution worthy of consideration, it is solely in the area of folk and entertainment music.¹

In reality one can find a wide variety of compositional

styles and techniques in the music of black composers. While it is true that many black composers have made use of real spirituals or have cultivated a spiritual style—somewhat as the Lutherans have used the chorale as a point of departure for original composition—these composers have also produced other works which are not limited by the spiritual. Classifications of their works range from the nationalistic—William Grant Still's Afro-American Symphony, William Dawson's Negro Folk Symphony, and Florence B. Price's Negro Folksongs in Counterpoint for string quartet—to eclectic or experimental—T. J. Anderson's Chamber Symphony, Olly Wilson's Cetus,¹ and Julia Perry's Homunculus C.F. for percussion and harp. These few examples only suggest the rich variety of serious music by black American composers.

A preliminary investigation revealed that the total number of black women composers and their works is astonishingly large; there can be no question that the quality and scope of this material warrants serious exploration. Such a study can add further substance to the growing evidence of black America's creative achievements.

Limitations and Procedures

No specialized studies and little published material on the lives and works of black women composers in America were revealed in a preliminary investigation. A search for

¹An electronic composition which won the First International Electronic Music Competition at Dartmouth College in 1968.
In order to select the composers for this study the investigator examined lists of black women composers supplied by the Black Music Center at Indiana University and the Library of Congress. Since these lists made no distinction between serious composers and composers of popular music, various biographical dictionaries, books and articles on black musicians were examined to determine the composers of serious compositions.

In addition several prominent musicians were consulted for the names of black women composers with whom they were acquainted either personally or through their music. These persons were:

1. Mr. Spencer Norton, Professor of Music History at the University of Oklahoma.

2. Mrs. Carol Brice Carey, Associate Professor of Voice at the University of Oklahoma.

3. Dr. Eileen Southern, Professor of Music History at Harvard University (formerly at City University, New York City).

4. Dr. T. J. Anderson, Composer-in-residence with the Atlanta Symphony.

5. Dr. Colonius Davis, Professor of Music at Southampton College, Long Island, N. Y.

This preliminary investigation also revealed the availability of biographical information and musical scores. The list was then limited to those composers about whom biographical information was available either in published sources or through interviews with the composer, her family, former teachers or friends. The availability and number
of published scores were also considered in determining which composers would be retained on the list.

Preliminary lists and, later, selected scores were obtained from the following sources:

1. Publishers

2. The Library of Congress
   a. Music Division
   b. Copyright Division

3. Private Collections
   a. Carol Brice Carey, Norman, Oklahoma
   b. Neumon Leighton, Memphis, Tennessee
   c. Evelyn Pittman, White Plains, N. Y.
   d. Ruby Clark, Chicago, Illinois
   e. Nelmaitlda Ritchie Woodard, Chicago, Illinois
   g. Lawrence and Dlane Richardson, New York City

Examinations of numerous scores were made to determine general trends of techniques. Those works which appeared to present a wide range of examples of the composers' styles were selected for analysis in the study.
The names of all black women composers revealed too many for a study of this nature, and so it is limited to just five composers whose works exhibit an originality that comes through clearly in spite of vastly different backgrounds. Composers selected were known by reputation to the writer, who had performed or heard performances of some of their works.

The composers selected are as follows: (1) Florence B. Price (1888-1953), of Little Rock, Arkansas and Chicago, the first black woman to receive international recognition as a composer. She was a graduate of the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. Mrs. Price represents the first generation of black American women composers. Contemporaries of Mrs. Price include the black male composers R. Nathaniel Dett, Hall Johnson, William Grant Still and William Dawson.

Her compositional style reflects her training which was dominated by white American male teachers steeped in nineteenth century European tradition, and yet a preference for certain black idioms is evident as her individual style emerged.

(2) Margaret Bonds (1913-1972), of Chicago and New York, was a student of Florence B. Price, and represents the second generation of black women composers. She studied with William Dawson, and received her bachelor's and master's degrees from the Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. Miss Bonds, who was an accomplished pianist and
and had the experience of playing in various supper clubs, has a style of composition which often shows the influence of the blues and jazz styles. Her association with many of the well-known black poets, artists and musicians had a decided influence in determining her style. Black male composers of Miss Bonds' era include Howard Swanson and Ulysses Kay.

(3) Evelyn Pittman (b. 1910), of Oklahoma and New York, belongs to the same generation as Margaret Bonds. She is both composer and music educator. She studied composition with Harrison Kerr at the University of Oklahoma, where she received a master's degree, and with Nadia Boulanger in France. Miss Pittman's compositional style is traditional with the use of conventional harmonies and techniques. She also makes use of the black idiom in her works.

(4) Julia Perry (b. 1924) of Lexington, Kentucky, and Akron, Ohio and (5) Lena McLin (b. 1929) of Atlanta, Georgia, and Chicago represent the youngest generation of composers in this study. Miss Perry, who received her bachelor's and master's degrees from the Westminster Choir College, studied composition with Luigi Dallapiccola in Italy and with Nadia Boulanger in France. Miss Perry's style is eclectic for she combines various compositional techniques. Many of her works are characterized by a liberal use of dissonance and unconventional harmonies.

Mrs. McLin, also a music educator and composer, studied composition with Leonora Brown and Willis Lawrence James at
Spelman College in Atlanta, where she received her bachelor's degree, and with Stella Roberts at the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago, where she received her master's degree. She has also studied electronic Music at Roosevelt University in Chicago. Mrs. McLin is a functional composer, composing for the needs of her situation. Her works show a variety of influences including rock, gospel and dissonant styles.

In order to make the works of these composers better known, the analyses of works are limited to published compositions. The study is further limited to works which are generally representative of the composers' styles with as little duplication as possible. Compositions in the various media found among the published works of each composer were included unless the work was out-of-print or otherwise unavailable.

When the study was first planned, four of the five composers were still living: Margaret Bonds, Evelyn Pittman, Julia Perry and Lena McLin. Miss Bonds died shortly after, however, and Julia Perry has been unavailable for personal interviews because of an extended illness. Therefore personal interviews have been conducted with only two of the composers, Lena McLin and Evelyn Pittman. In connection with all five of the composers, biographical information was obtained by interviews with former teachers, friends and relatives of the composers. Other sources include letters from the composers, their relatives and friends; articles, reviews of works and concerts; unpublished materials and some books
which contained information about the composers or their works.

Review of Related Literature

A search of analytical, biographical and bibliographic materials has revealed no specialized studies dealing with contemporary black women composers. There are several articles, dissertations and books which are concerned primarily with the music of black male composers. A few sources give passing mention to some works, usually spiritual arrangements, by black women composers. In general, however, in-depth studies are non-existent at the present time.

Two sources which seem especially valuable to musicians are the recently published book by Eileen Southern\(^1\) and Hildred Roach.\(^2\) Both of these books discuss Afro-American music from colonial times to the present. The major difference between the two appears to be the emphasis; in Southern's book, on social, political and economic influences which helped to shape the development of black music, and, in Roach's book, on musical examples and discussions of specific works by black composers.

Another important source is The Negro in Music and Art, compiled and edited by Lindsay Patterson. One article in this anthology is of particular value to this study: "A Reminiscence"


by Margaret Bonds.¹ In this article Miss Bonds discusses several black musicians, composers and poets who were influential in the shaping of her musical career. This article, spiced with some human interest stories, is especially valuable for its contribution of specific information about black musicians.

It was a difficult task to find published material on black women composers, their lives, their works or their careers. An interesting observation is that much of the material found about black women composers was written by women. These articles and books yielded the most significant and most usable material. Ora Williams also emphasizes the difficulty of finding material on this subject in her bibliographic survey. She observes that:

> the keepers of the records, for the most part, have not kept records of black women or black men. A majority of the American music annals are devoid of specific information about the undeniable contributions of black Americans to music, that universal language which reputedly blacks handle with great fluency.²

Miss Williams' book contains a valuable listing of works and "surface view" excerpts about many black women composers, arrangers and lyricists.


Some of the articles containing information about black women composers appear in periodicals or journals not specifically devoted to music or not aimed at the trained musician. Others appear in periodicals that are in a more or less popular or commercial style such as *Etude*.

An article presented in *The American Music Teacher*, a periodical published by the Music Teachers National Association, provides information that is useful for teaching purposes. Written by a musician, the article discusses piano music by black composers. The works of two black women composers, Florence B. Price and Margaret Bonds, are included. Brief biographical sketches are given for each composer along with a list of some of the composers' works, a description or teaching analysis of piano compositions reviewed by the author, and publisher information.

Among the unpublished material is a master's thesis by Shirley Graham McCanns. This work, "The Survival of Africanism in Modern Music," includes some biographical information about Florence B. Price and an analysis which Mrs. Price made of her first symphony.

Finally, mention must be made of the two valuable publications by Dominique-René deLerma, founder and former director of The Black Music Center at Indiana University.

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These books\(^1\) are important sources since many of those who are among the participants and contributors are black composers. The names of several black women composers are mentioned and, in one instance, an article is contributed by Lena McLin.\(^2\) Mrs. McLin discusses aspects of her teaching philosophy and her concern with distinguishing between the spiritual and gospel song.

The lack of published material on black women composers established a basic purpose for the undertaking of this study. The primary, as well as secondary, sources, from which much information for the study was obtained, will be cited in the appropriate chapters rather than included here.

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CHAPTER II

WOMEN'S HISTORICAL ROLE IN AFRICAN, AFRO-AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN MUSIC

This chapter is devoted to a summary of women's historical role in African, Afro-American and European music. It is more concerned with defining women's historical role in the music of their various cultures than with evaluating the quality of the work itself. Not enough of the work is available to us today to permit real evaluation, and so we will only analyse in detail the works of the five women with whom this study is directly concerned. In order to appreciate the achievement of these composers, it is necessary to put them into context, to comprehend the traditions in which they were nurtured.

In order to establish this perspective, it was necessary to go back as far as possible, to the Paleolithic age, to pick up the story. More information exists about European women in music than about women in Africa and black woman in the United States, because of their long, comparatively well documented history; but regardless of the available documentation the fact always emerges that a woman's involvement in any of the arts depends more upon the concept her society
holds as to her proper role as a woman rather than to any innate, biologically determined, artistic talent—or lack of it. The same, of course, can be said of male roles in music. Certain periods in European history such as the Classic Era of Greek History, the Renaissance of the 12th and 16th centuries, and the Enlightenment of the 18th century have been especially fruitful in producing the climate in which women, as well as men, could realize more of their potential than in other, more restrictive ages.

In black Africa the role of women in music is also determined by social traditions. In some cases, as with the Tuareg peoples in the western part of the Sahara desert, women are leaders of society, outranking men; in other cases they are confined to duties relating to their bearing and rearing of children. In the latter instance their involvement with music is usually limited to birth-songs, lullabies, songs for female puberty rites, deaths and funerals. In all cases the women initially learned the music for the traditional rituals by rote and performed it at the proper time. The most talented and imaginative musicians, men or women, leave their mark on the traditional repertoire by adding new songs or reworking some portions of traditional songs, but they remain anonymous, like the musicians who created the body of plain-chant used in the liturgy of the Roman Catholic church.

The music of black Americans also arose initially from spontaneous group experiences; they improvised spirituals,
work-songs, hollers and dance songs each for a specific purpose. As in Africa, this repertoire of remembered folk material was passed on from generation to generation without being written down and without being associated with specific composers. It was contact with the European traditions that opened up the possibility of notating music in order to preserve it unchanged for posterity, and also to allow an individual composer to identify a piece as his or her own.

Women's Role in African Music

There is a great diversity to be found in the musical traditions of Africa. We now know that the continent is not as culturally homogeneous as imagined in the past. The northern section of Africa is closely associated with the cultures and languages of the Middle East communities while the southern section came under the influence of European languages and culture brought by traders, missionaries and colonists. As a result one finds a great diversity of expression in the music of the various societies of Africa.

Despite the diversity, African music is generally characterized by percussive sounds. It is further marked by polyphony made up of parallel intervals, complex rhythms, ostinatos often used in combination creating more complex polyrhythms.

A great deal of emphasis is placed on vocal music since it provides excellent opportunities for verbal communication and participation in group musical expressions. Vocal
music is greatly influenced by the languages. Since African languages are tonal the melodies often follow speech intonation and rhythms. Many instrumental melodies are simply instrumental versions of vocal melodies. Instrumental melodies may also be made up of sequences of melodic patterns usually determined by the physical characteristics of the instruments. In this case the music is more idiomatic. Other techniques used in instrumental music include the hocket and ostinato.

The scales used in both vocal and instrumental music are generally built on four to seven step tunings. These tunings may be equidistant (interval between tones is equal) or nonequidistant. The selection of scale steps is determined by the individual society and culture. The actual pitches of the basic scale steps vary from one community to another.

Where several societies share common or related musical traditions which are indigenous to the African continent, each may practice its own variant of the tradition. Even with the various outside influences which divided the African continent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there was one group, according to Linton,¹ which kept its distinctive culture from the time before Islamic or Middle Eastern conquests. They are now a Muslim Berber people called the Tuareg who live a nomadic life in the western portion of the Sahara desert. They have one of the most highly civilized cultures in Africa.

¹Ralph Linton, The Tree Culture, pp. 425-426.
The women of this group have more prestige than the men. The ancestry of a family is matrilineal. The women are the guardians of the intellectual and artistic activities of the community and the men, but not the women, are veiled. The women are educated while most of the men are illiterate. Many of the women are famous as poets and musicians throughout Africa.

The creation of music in traditional African societies usually occurs in a social event. There are certain occasions when members of a group or a community assemble for activities of pleasure and recreation; or for a specific ceremony, festival or rite; or some common activity of the group. On these occasions public performances of music may take place. This provides an opportunity to share in the creative and imaginative experiences involving the participation of the community in music making. Although much emphasis is placed on group musical activities, this does not rule out individual music making. The African societies provide for individual performances by a child, a man, or a woman. When a child loses his first tooth, for example, he sings a special song to celebrate this event. Individual adults may perform music for their own pleasure or for children. Sometimes the two may be combined. There are instances when a mother, for example, may sing a cradle song which entertains her child but which contains certain expressions on a more mature level. There are also provisions for various domestic songs which can be used as accompaniment to grinding meal, pounding, or making a new floor. These activities may be an opportunity
for individual or group musical expressions.¹

Many African societies recognize a wide variety of songs. Musical items, according to Nketia, that share common characteristics are grouped into sets. The sets contain categories of music or a particular type of music that may be named for the particular activity, event or person who performs it. A musical type may also be named after the functions it performs.² An example is found among the Akan of Ghana. They have a category of songs which are performed by women when the men are away at war called asrayere or "visiting wives" since the women assemble to wish their men well through songs. These same songs may be used for any person and are called mmobomme, songs of prayer for wishing a person well. "Whatever the setting, the focus is on music making as a social activity, one that emphasizes artistic as well as social, political, and religious values."³

In Africa musical roles may be determined by one's membership in a social group. Participation in musical activities may be on a voluntary or compulsory basis depending on the social group or status of the individual. For example, the social group may be people who have a common ancestor or it may be based on a wider classification such as sex, age,

² Ibid., pp. 24–25.
³ Ibid., p. 34.
interest or occupation. Thus women, as a biological group, are assigned various musical roles. There are songs created and performed during ceremonies and rituals that are specifically concerned with women's activities. These include lullabies and songs sung at puberty rites, births, and funerals.

In some parts of Africa there are secret societies for women which control the puberty rites for girls. According to Drinker, in Sierre Leone the Bandu "is one of the most powerful of these associations." The women known as Soko are the keepers of the secrets of life. The music associated with this puberty rite for girls is one of the "secrets" that is passed from one generation to the next. Drinker also speaks of the Pygmy customs relating to puberty rites. Their rituals, she says, "provide incentives for both men and women to develop creative musical imagination." But, from the point of view of musical aesthetics, nothing that the men produce in music has impressed the historians of these extraordinary people as favorably as the women's lullabies.

In other societies, the Akan and Adangme of Ghana for example, puberty ceremonies are conducted in rather elaborate fashion. The Adangme women perform what is known as the dipo

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1Ibid., p. 35.


3Ibid., p. 46.
puberty ceremonies in which music plays an essential role. The girls are given several weeks of concentrated instruction concerning motherhood, special music and dancing of the rite, and the customs and history of their society. At the end of the training period musical processions, feasts, singing and dancing parties are planned. There are also a series of public activities at which most of the music and dances are performed by the adult women. Since the women are given the responsibility for this ritual, they have the obligation to create the dances and songs for the ceremonies. "The time, the occasion, and the symbolism inspire creative musical imagination."¹

The role of women in the music of Africa is not limited exclusively to planning and executing puberty rites. In some societies, specifically in the eastern, central and southern areas, women are in charge of the rites for healing and correcting mental disorders. For these rites they sing special songs and accompany themselves with drums and rattles.² They are also given a special role at funerals. In some instances they have the duty of wailing in choral laments or singing dirges individually. According to Nketia, "some societies have dirges for particular lineages and clans, dirges for specified individuals, and dirges for royal lineages performed by the women members of the lineages, clans

¹Drinker, p. 31.
²Nketia, p. 38.
or households of the deceased.¹ One specific example is the Akan women of Ghana. Since it is the responsibility and social duty of women to mourn their relatives with special dirges, many of the mothers feel it their duty to make certain that their daughters learn these songs, especially the appropriate songs for mourning their parents.²

It is exposure to musical situations and participation that is emphasized in African societies rather than formal instruction. The fact that traditional music is designed as a social event involving the community and much emphasis is placed on group musical expressions enables the individual to acquire musical knowledge in slow stages and to broaden his experience of the music of his particular culture. The African mother plays a great role in training the future musicians. It is the mother who introduces the child to the music of his culture from the cradle. The child becomes aware of rhythm and movement when his mother rocks him to music or sings nonsense syllables that imitate drum rhythms.³ The mothers often carry their children on their backs to public ceremonies and rituals thereby exposing them to the music and dances performed by adults.

Other roles are determined by kinship, such as the position of the kinswomen, wives and concubines of the chiefs.

¹Ibid.
²Nketia, p. 61.
³Ibid., p. 60.
For example, the future wives of the king of the Ankole of Uganda were cared for by the widows of his brothers who taught the future wives to dance, sing and play the harp so that they could entertain the king when he visited them. Olaudah Equiano, who was one of the first Africans to write a book in English, mentions some of the musical activities of women in Africa. He speaks of various instruments, some of which were "used by betrothed virgins, who played on them on all grand festivals," and of young women who played the thumb piano.

In many areas in Africa there are various restrictions placed on the playing of musical instruments. Two such restrictions include age and sex. It is often the case that women do not play drums, and even when they do they may be restricted to playing a particular type of drum. The Akan women are permitted to play only the hourglass drums. However, in Tanzania the Wagogo restrict drumming to performances by the women since the men usually sing to the accompaniment of idiophones when they require percussion accompaniment. This is also true in Southern and Eastern Africa where, at

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1Nketia, p. 38.
special ceremonies, drums are played by the women. Other instruments such as rattles and gourd tubes are played exclusively by women in some places.

In North-eastern Ghana little girls are often sent into rice fields to play rod rattles. This is a means of scaring birds away from the fields. It is also a practice for young girls and unmarried women of this area to play rattles to attract attention in the market places.¹

Music societies and clubs are found in many sections of Africa. It is the function of these associations to perform for their own pleasure or for the entertainment of others. They perform the music in which they specialize at funerals, marriages or feasts. "Every village has a dance club of some kind, either a men's club or a women's club and musical contests are held from time to time between these clubs."² These associations provide encouragement toward creativity and innovations for they may create new songs for their repertoire or begin an individual style and build a special repertoire as found in Nupe country in Nigeria.³

Musical tradition in Africa places certain restrictions on the amount of knowledge any one individual may obtain. Women, for example, are acquainted with music related to war and hunting activities, but not to the extent that men know it. But even this acquaintance varies with each section of the

¹Ibid., p. 18.
³Nketia, p. 43.
continent. According to Drinker the Ibibios of West Africa represent the role of women in war with a "fantastic figure of a terrible giantess." This figure is a forest demon which is said to carry in her belly all of the weapons and music. The women of this group are very important in war and also very musical. They are considered important since it is the female who brings life to the men who will engage in a death struggle with the enemies and make appropriate music. For this reason the Ibibios feel it proper to represent this role with a woman's spirit.¹

¹Drinker, pp. 11-12.
Black Women's Role in Music in America

Black women in America have held various positions as music makers. Much of the African heritage can be found in the area of music among black people in America. Several accounts from the early nineteenth century indicate that black women in New England kept the African traditions alive through their story telling and singing. Two of these women were widely known for their abilities in this art: Lucy Terry, also known as Luce Bijah, of Deerfield, Rhode Island and Senegambia of Narragansett, Rhode Island. Many black women slaves of colonial times captivated audiences with their tales and songs of Africa.¹

In the bleak years of enslavement, the Christian church assumed a central place in the lives of black people. Prior to the end of the eighteenth century blacks had worshiped in the same churches as the whites. At the end of the eighteenth century growing discrimination led to the establishment of separate black congregations. With the rise of separate churches many black community leaders and musicians emerged as a result of their work in the church. Often the women made up the larger part of these congregations and the choirs. As a result women were often placed in a position of leadership as musicians.

In the nineteenth century, during the transition from slavery to freedom, there was an effort on the part of

¹Southern, p. 55.
the black American to attain a respectable status through intellectual pursuits. Music was an important part of this pursuit and there are various accounts which indicate that young ladies, especially those free "middle and upperclass Negroes," were expected to exhibit skill in playing the piano and singing.¹

During the nineteenth century several black women became well-known as performers. These included Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield (1809-1876). She was born of slave parents in Natchez, Mississippi, and was named for her owner, a Quaker of Welsh descent who "later freed her slaves and returned them to Liberia where she saw them comfortably established."²

She became the guardian of Elizabeth who had refused to leave. They moved to Philadelphia and Mrs. Greenfield provided an opportunity for Elizabeth to study music as a child. She was later presented in private recitals, parties and the like. In 1851 she made her debut in a performance before the Buffalo Musical Association. It was this performance which established her reputation. During the years 1851-53 she gave concerts throughout the northern United States. The following year she toured England and sang at Buckingham Palace for Queen Victoria in a command performance. She received numerous press notices which attest to her remarkable talent. She was called "The Black Swan" by critics because of her

¹Southern, p. 109.
"remarkably sweet tones and wide vocal compass."\(^1\)

Marie Selika Williams (1849-?) was better known on the concert stage as Madame Selika. She took her stage name from the opera \textit{L'Africaine} by Meyerbeer. Madame Selika was considered to be the most talented black concert artist of the late nineteenth century, and was one of the few black performers to have the opportunity to acquire the training necessary to begin a legitimate career in opera. Her studies, in Boston, included several languages, French, German and Italian, in which she became quite proficient.

After concertizing in the United States Madame Selika toured Europe in the 1880's where she received excellent reviews in such newspapers as \textit{Figaro} in Paris and the \textit{Tagesblatt} in Berlin. It was the latter which said that she "roused the audience to the highest pitch of enthusiasm."\(^2\)

She returned to the United States and eventually settled in New York where she became a vocal instructor at the Martin-Smith School of Music in Harlem.

The Hyers sisters of Sacramento, California were well-known singers of the late 1880's. Their 1867 debut recital received the highest acclaim from the press. Their concert career included tours of the northern and western sections of the United States. In the late 1870's the Hyers, having formed

\(^1\)Southern, 111.

their own company, produced several musical shows which were usually based on themes related to the plights of blacks in slavery.  

"Black Patti," Mrs. Sissieretta Jones (1868-1933), was one of the most famous opera singers of the late nineteenth century. She was born Matilda S. Joyner in Portsmouth, Virginia and grew up in Providence, Rhode Island. Her early musical training was obtained at the Academy of Music in Providence. She later studied at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston.

Her concert career began when she sang at the Wallach Theater in Boston. She then toured South America and the West Indies. A performance at Madison Square Garden in New York led to her concertizing in various cities in the United States. She performed at a White House reception given by President Benjamin Harrison in 1892. A successful year-long tour of Europe followed. Here she became known as the "Black Patti" after the well-known Italian opera star Adelina Patti.

Upon her return she went to New York and for the next nineteen years was the star in the productions of an all-black company known as "Black Patti's Troubadours." The group appeared in many southern and western cities in the United States.  

In the twentieth century black American women have

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1Southern, pp. 254-55.
2Southern, p. 305.
become more and more active professionally as musicians. Their roles extend beyond solo performers to include careers as conductors of choral and instrumental groups and composers. Some who have established reputations as artists in the first half of the twentieth century include Abbie Mitchell (1884–1960), well-known actress-singer of her day. She studied voice with the black singer-composer Harry T. Burleigh and Emilia Serrano in New York. After further study in Paris she began a career which included concert tours and stage productions. She appeared in several musical comedies directed by her husband, composer Will Marion Cook.¹

Lillian Evanti was the first black American to sing operatic roles in Europe. After her graduation from Howard University in Washington, D.C. she studied voice abroad and made her debut in Nice, France in a production of Delibes' *Lakme*. She sang numerous opera roles while in Europe. Her concert career continued in the United States which she toured. Though better known as a singer Evanti did compose a few art songs.

Eva Jessye (b. 1895), choral director-composer, is the first black American woman to receive "international distinction as a director of a professional choral group."² Her outstanding successes led to many professional opportunities which included training choirs for Hollywood films. George Gershwin selected her as choral director of the first

²*Southern*, p. 433.
production of his folk opera *Porgy and Bess*. Her success in that production led to her being named permanent choral director for all subsequent performances.

Jessye has arranged many works for her groups and has published collections of Negro spirituals. Her compositions include "Paradise Lost and Regained, the John Milton work set in a framework of Negro songs (1934); and *The Chronicle of Job* (1936), a folk drama."¹

Women's Role in European Music

**Prehistoric Evidence**

The earliest music of which there is indirect evidence arose as a natural accompaniment to the hunting and fertility rites of Cro-Magnon man during the upper paleolithic age which ended sometime before 10,000 B. C. There is, of course, no direct evidence of music itself, but pictures of dancers exist in caves of southwestern France and northern Spain suggesting a musical accompaniment of a kind possibly like that of Stone Age tribes of today in Australia and South Africa.² In addition to the paintings and engravings some of the caves are large halls containing sculptures of bison around which the hunters danced in preparation for the hunt. The earth around

¹Ibid., p. 434-35.

²William P. Malm, *Music Cultures of the Pacific, the Near East, and Asia* (N. J., 1967), p. 3. The sound of the bull-roarer indicates the presence of the supernatural to the peoples of the Arnhem land Aboriginal Reserve in Australia. Women may not approach.
the sculptures was well stamped by the prehistoric dancers and it has since turned to rock-hard consistency. According to Kühn, 1 the dancers drove their heels, not the whole foot, into the ground. It was obviously a violent, stamping dance, the kind only man danced. The paintings of the dancing sorcerers and magicians of this time all depict males attired in grotesque animal masks. 2 Women's likenesses in these French caves are limited to small, isolated statues and engravings which emphasize her role as child-bearer, by greatly enlarging the breasts, hips and thighs. In this patriarchal society women probably could not even participate as spectators at these magical male rites. 3 Linton writes that patrilineal descent and patriarchal institutions are typical of all Eurasian peoples with a hunting and herding economy. 4

A vast change occurred at the end of the paleolithic age as the glaciers receded, the climate warmed and man domesticated certain animals and grains. Scenes from this mesolithic age, from possibly 10,000 to 3,000 B. C., are represented in another series of caves and rock shelters in several of the eastern provinces of Spain—Lerida, Teruel, Cuenca and


2Curt Sachs, World History of the Dance (N. Y., 1937), plate 1: Paleolithic Mask Dancers engraved on the walls of a cavern at Tehjat near Angoulême, Dép. Ariège. The picture of women dancing around a man is from a different series of caves in Levantine Spain that were executed in the mesolithic age, not the paleolithic as indicated by Sachs. We will return to this painting later.

3Ibid., p. 212.

Castellon de la Plana. Here the human being is the center of attention rather than animals. There are more human figures, and they are rendered more carefully than in paleolithic paintings. There are active scenes of fighting and hunting with bows and arrows, fertility dances and war dances, and also a domestic scene of honey-gathering from a bee hive surrounded by bees and another quiet scene in which a male figure leads a horse by a tether. In some of these paintings and engravings women are depicted dancing for the first time. At Cogul, Spain there is a famous scene depicting swaying female dancers in bell-shaped skirts who surround a nude male satyr figure. There are eight finished female figures grouped in pairs which are engraved on the rock surface of the shelter. The gowns of the women are painted red and their legs black; the paint has obviously been applied and reapplied many times, which indicates that the pictures had continuing importance to the peoples of this area as magical fertility symbols.

One cannot surmise what the music sounded like that accompanied this type of dancing, but, judging from the pictorial images, one can imagine that it was softer and more graceful than the music accompanying the male dances in the paleolithic rock paintings. The women's heads, breasts and skirts are rendered in a more curvilinear style than are the human figures in the earlier cave paintings from the Dordogne,

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1Sachs, *op. cit.*, plate 1. The author erroneously places this picture with the others in the paleolithic era. According to more recent research, the Levantine Spanish paintings fall in the mesolithic age, transitional between the paleo- and neolithic ages. *Confer Prehistoric and Primitive Art* by Pericot-Garcia, Galloway, and Lommel (N. Y., 1967), p. 82.
Pyrenees, and Cantabrian Mountains. The motion suggested by the picture at Cogul is gentler and undulating. It is easy to conclude that the presence and participation of women in the dance added an element of grace and beauty that was missing before.

Sachs notes this same intrusion of the feminine into Egyptian dance around 1,500 B.C. He writes that "just as the conquest of the Near East at this time robbed the music of its national character and gave it a feminine Asiatic stamp, so the immigrant 'bagaderes' from the conquered countries took their place beside the native dancers. This new dance, which is illustrated in the pictures of funeral ceremonies¹ and festive banquets, has no longer anything of the masculine, unrestricted movement, the great strides, and the stiff, angular posture. The lines flow softly and pleasantly; nowhere do they bend sharply and break; and even where the mood is impetuous and impassioned the movement remains close. This is the contribution of the Asiatic girls who brought to the Egyptian dance a true feminine style."

Sachs brings a great many examples of women's dances in primitive cultures that are more subdued or repressed than the males. Where the men leap, women step, where the men strive outward and upward, the women tend to inward, closed forms, where the men make large movements, the women make small ones, and so on. In music Sachs finds the melodies of

¹Tbid., plates 8 and 9.
women in primitive societies symmetrical and simple with regular rhythm as opposed to the more rhapsodic, undisciplined music of men.¹ Moreover, men do most of the singing. They perform the war, hunting and sun dances and nearly always the animal spirit and boys initiation dances. Dances for women alone usually concern themselves with fertility and the events surrounding it: rain, harvest, birth, and the consecration of girls and female shamans.

However, it is easy to see that social and cultural forces have imposed some of these differences upon the sexes. In most primitive, patriarchal, societies men are expected to hunt and fight. Women raise vegetables and care for children either in fact or in utero. In prestige, men usually outrank women just as adults outrank children.² Innate talent and inclination are of less importance in determining woman's role in the arts than the society's concept of her role.

There are exceptions. Societies like that on the island of Crete through the Bronze age to the dissolution and extinction of the Mycenaean culture in the Dorian invasions of c. 1,200 B.C. gave women a noticeably higher place. In the Cretan, Pre-Mycenaean culture there was no veiling and no suggestion of seclusion for women.

The frescoes show them crowding the bleachers at the bull sport and also taking part in the bull baiting, although women bull baiters may well have been captives. Apparently the noble women even took part

²Linton, op. cit., pp. 31-32.
in war. As late as the Greek and Persian wars a half-Cretan queen of Halicarnassus, Artesia, led her own contingent of ships at the battle of Salamis and was one of the valued military advisors of the Persian King. The Greeks were infuriated at having a woman take the field against them and made a desperate attempt to recapture her galley, but she escaped from them after a fierce fight.¹

The most important deity of the Cretans was female, the old Earth Mother. She was served by priestesses rather than priests and there were no human sacrifices or even extensive animal sacrifices. No male deities can be identified in their art, but, according to Linton,² "one may suspect that as in the case of the Syrian Great Mother, there was a male deity of secondary importance who was at the same time the son and lover of the goddess."

All of this makes it highly probable that Minoan society was matrilineal and matriarchal, not an unusual organization for the pre-Aryan tribes of the eastern Mediterranean.

Perhaps because of the kind of society in which male did not suppress female, the pictorial arts were imaginative, free and exuberant. Doubtless music shared in this spirit. In this period (the Bronze age) an abstract geometrical style generally prevailed, and so in

a world of strict traditionalism and rigid forms, Crete presents us with a picture of colorful, unrestrained life, although economic and social conditions are not different here than anywhere else in the surrounding world. Here too despots and feudal landlords are in power, here too the whole

¹Ibid., p. 333-334.
²Ibid., p. 333.
culture is under the aegis of an aristocratic social order, exactly as in Egypt and Mesopotamia—and yet what a difference in the whole conception of art! What freedom in artistic life in contrast to the oppressive conventionalism in the rest of the Ancient-Oriental world!

Hauser, who wrote the quotation above, suggests that this difference in style results from the lack of a powerful religion with imposing temples and extensive theological writings or from the freedom of trade enjoyed by the Cretans in their island kingdom off the Peloponnesus. He does not mention the apparent freedom of the sexes as a source, but its power cannot be overestimated. In fact, the relationship between the noblemen and women of Crete at this time forecasts the chivalric times of the Middle Ages where women were venerated, albeit artificially, and were the source of much poetic and musical outpouring. As we shall see, the women of the twelfth century in Europe were in the center of the Renaissance in letters and secular music that took place in France and southwestern Germany.

In the Minoan culture of Crete, the conditions were similar. The art of the period reflects the good life and the self-indulgence of the nobility; the large country estates, monopoly on agriculture and control of the wealth with the resulting economic misery of the peasantry. Hoernes emphasizes the chivalric elements in Minoan art, the public festivals, the tournaments and the coquettish manners of the Cretan

According to Hauser, this courtly-chivalrous style makes it easier for less rigid, more spontaneous, and more flexible forms of life to develop, in contrast to the strict mode of life of the old predatory land-owning barons—a process which recurred in the Middle Ages—and produces, to accord with these new patterns of life, a more individualistic, stylistically freer art expressing more unprejudiced delight in nature.

Greek Civilization

The Minoan culture had reached the Peloponnesus sometime before the fall of Knossos c. 1,400 B.C., and took root among the inhabitants there, the Pelasgi. There it survived the intermarriage between the resident Greek peasants and the Indo-European speaking invaders who reached the Greek peninsula at about the same time. The result was the Mycenaean culture which, in its last phase, was recorded by Homer.

Unmistakable evidence of matriarchal social customs among the Mycenae exists in the frescoes which show women hunting, driving chariots and engaging in pursuits otherwise reserved for men. These representations, in addition to the social conception of women revealed in the Homeric poems, strongly suggest that the women of this period enjoyed a much greater freedom than Greek women did later. In fact, the matrilineal interpretation of Minoan-Mycenaean culture provides a convincing solution to the riddle of why the Achaean Greeks responded as they did to the theft of Helen and rallied to her

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husband’s aid without question. Of Indo-European heritage, they had invaded the Greek peninsula where they ruled much as the Norman French ruled the Anglo-Saxons in England after 1066 A.D. In cases where these tribes were matrilineal and matrilocal, the invaders may have intermarried with them and thus received their power to rule through their wives. It has been suggested\(^1\) that Helen carried the hereditary rights to the kingdom and that Menelaus ruled through her. Since her escape held possibilities of a general revolt with Trojan assistance, all the Achaean kings felt that their own interests were involved and combined to recapture her. This is hypothesis, of course, but it fits the verifiable historical and social facts told through art better than the highly romanticized version of Helen’s elopment told in Greek myth.

The free and open society lived on in classical Greece only in the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, all of which reflected the influence of Homer. In the Iliad, Helen and Andromache, accompanied by servants, walked the streets of Troy and appeared on the walls among the men without seeming to be aggressive or immodest. Although Helen’s elopment with Paris caused the Trojan war, Hector consistently treated Helen with greater deference and respect than he showed for his brother, Paris. Accordingly, almost all of the women represented in the tragedies move around with more freedom and act with more independence than any well-born, respectable

\(^1\) Linton, op. cit., p. 336.
Athenian woman could have displayed in the playwrights' own time. Of course, all of the roles in the tragedies were played by males, using female masks where necessary.

On the other hand, the comedies of Aristophanes, which reflected contemporary times, placed women in a much more restricted setting. In the Athens of the fifth century, women were kept in almost oriental seclusion. They were not permitted to leave home except for special occasions such as funerals, weddings and religious ceremonies, and they were not allowed to talk to men, other than relatives and slaves. Since most of the scenes in the comedies took place out of doors or at least in comparatively unconstricted surroundings—given the staging conventions of the time it was difficult to represent the interior of a fifth century Greek home on the stage—respectable women were not frequently represented in the comedies. Members of the chorus, chorautae, although always men, sometimes represented women. The clouds in Aristophanes' play are thought of as women and in his Frogs the chorus of initiates comprises both men and women. This theatrical transvestitism is carried to ridiculous extremes in Aristophanes' Women in Council where the chorautae are men dressed to represent women who are trying to disguise themselves as men.

All of this emphasizes the fact that Greek women had nothing to do with either the composition or performance of the music of the great Athenian tragedies and comedies of the
fifth century. Many centuries later with the invention of opera in Italy at the end of the 16th century, consciously patterned after Greek drama, women were admitted as performers, but even here men filled all parts in some operas as we shall see. But at the same time, some women such as Francesca Caccini and Barbara Strozzi not only sang on the public stage, they even composed arias and duets in operatic style. We shall return to this subject later.

In Greece it was in the private, untheatrical world of lyric poetry where women found it possible to compete on an equal footing with men. Antipater of Sidon, an epigrammatist of c. 150 B. C., wrote a Paean to the Nine Lyric Poetesses of Greece, which is preserved in the Greek Anthology. He wrote that:

These are the divinely tongued women who were reared on the hymns of Helicon and the Pierian Rock of Macedon, Praxilla and Moero; Anytè the woman Homer and Sappho the ornament of the fair-tressed Lesbian dames; Erinna, renowned Telesilla, and that Corinna who sang of Athena's martial shield. Nossis the maiden-throated and Myrtis the delightful-voiced; all of them fashioned of the page that is forever. Nine Muses came of the great heaven, and nine likewise of the Earth, to be a joy undying unto mortal men.¹

Doubtless Antipater was moved to compile the list in opposition to the Alexandrine canon of nine Lyric poets, Alcman, Stessichorus, Alcaeus, Sappho, Ibycus, Anacreon, Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides. The only name on both lists, Sappho, was one of the earliest and perhaps greatest of the

poets who expressed her inner feelings with a delicacy and beauty of language that has seldom been equalled, never surpassed. Her poetry was conceived as an intricate combination of words, rhythms and melodies. The poem was actually conceived as a song, as illustrated in the following vignette from the "Life of Sappho" from Stobaeus' Anthology:

One evening over the wine, Excecestides the nephew of Solon the Athenian sang a song of Sappho's which his uncle liked so much that he bade the boy teach it to him. When one of the company asked in surprise, "What for?" he replied, "I want to learn it and die."

Sappho's poetry and music either had to be learned by rote as requested by Excecestides' emotional uncle or improvised in the proper mode observing the proper rhythm of the words. These rhythms, being quantitative, lent themselves to a greater variety of long-short patterns than possible in our predominantly qualitative modern languages. Moreover the stanzaic rhythms exhibited less repetition and greater variety than our modern strophic structures. The melody of the poem was governed by the pitches implied by the pitch-accented Greek language and the mode to which it belonged. According to Aristoxenus' Harmonics, Sappho invented the Mixolydian mode. According to the author of Plutarch's On Music this mode is particularly sensuous and emotional, suited to tragedy. Later writers of tragedy are said to have adopted it from the poetess.  

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Sappho frequently dealt with musical subjects in her poetry as in this excerpt from the "Marriage of Andromache:"

In celebration "the sweet toned aulos and the lyre were mingled with the sound of the rattle, aye, and the maidens sang clear and well a holy song, till a marvellous great sound arose to the sky [and the God in Heaven] laughed."¹

Probably the most perceptive assessment of Sappho's poetic-musical style comes from Dionysis of Halicarnassus:²

Next comes the finished or decorative style, the style which makes for elegance rather than grandeur. In the first place it invariably prefers the smoothest and the gentlest words, seeking euphony and melodiousness and their resultant charm. Secondly it does not put its words just as they come or combine them without consideration, but first decides what elements will combine to give the most musical effect, and what arrangement will produce the most taking combinations, paying very great attention to the coherence of the parts and the perfection of the joinery. Such appears to me to be characteristic of this style. For examples of it I may mention, in poetry, Hersio, Sappho and Anacreon and, in prose, Isocrates the Athenian and his school.

The nine poetesses cited by Antipater do not all equal the perfection of diction and feeling displayed by Sappho; they represent the dispersion of a highly refined art. If each of the poetesses is considered according to her place and date of birth it will be seen that they come from a wide geographical area extending from the early 6th to the 3rd century B.C.


²Op. cit., p. 173. Dionysius of Halicarnassus was a celebrated Greek rhetorician who lived in the time of Augustus in Rome. He died in 8 B.C. His criticisms of classical writers in Greece are noted for their sensitivity and exquisite expression.
1. Sappho of Lesbos: flourished in the early 6th century
2. Myrtis of Boeotia: allegedly the teacher and competitor of Pindar (518-438)
3. Praxilla of Sicyon: flourished 451 B.C.
4. Telesilla of Argos: flourished 451 B.C.
5. Erinna of Telos: flourished at the end of the fourth century B.C.
6. Miero of Byzantium: flourished c. 300 B.C.
7. Nossis of Locri: flourished c. 290 B.C.
8. Anytè of Tegea: flourished in the early third century
9. Corinna of Tanagra: third century (?)

Like Sappho, Telesilla and Corinna wrote mainly for a circle of women. Telesilla was famous for her achievements as a poetess and also for defeating the Spartans under Cleomenes, King of Sparta, 520-487 B.C. The latter had annihilated the Argos army and so he led his Lacedemonians onward against a city of women, slaves, old men and boys. Telesilla armed and stationed the young women at a place she knew the enemy must pass. There, undismayed by the male war cries, the women stood their ground and fought with the greatest determination till the Spartans, reflecting that the slaughter of an army of women would be but an equivocal victory, and that defeat at their hands would mean dishonor as well as disaster, laid down their arms. According to Plutarch in Feminine Virtue, in his own day the Argives still celebrated the Hybristica or "Feast of the Outrage" in which they dressed women in shirts and cloaks of men, and men in robes and wimples of women.
Two other poetesses besides these nine are worthy of mention because of their possible relation to Pythagoras, one of the most influential Greek theorists on musical acoustics. Theano of Locri, a lyric poetess of Locrian songs and other lyric poems is said, in one tradition, to have been the wife of Pythagoras and in another, his pupil. Myia of Sparta is said to have been his daughter. Pythagoras flourished in the second half of the sixth century on the island of Samos. Whether or not these poetesses had any direct connection with him cannot be proved, but it is not unlikely that some poet-musicians, either men or women, would have been associated with a person of Pythagoras' interests.

In performance, women took part in certain festivals that were traditional for them. The Paean, which was customarily sung at the beginning of any important undertaking, normally accompanied all public ritual sacrifices at Delphi, except those offered during the three month winter absences of Apollo. It was sung by women at Delos and by youths at Thebes. In the eighth century "Hymn to the Delian Apollo," Delian maidens sing what is apparently a standing hymn to Artemis and Apollo. It is essentially a Partheneion or Maiden-song. The latter was a sort of processional song-dance allied to the hymn, but still containing secular elements (of which the hymn seems to have divested itself by a process of budding-off), and always, as the name implies, sung, but not composed by young women.

The foremost composer of Partheneions was Alcman the Spartan, contemporary of Sappho. His chief work seems to
have been choral as opposed to the monodic writing of Sappho, and most of it was composed for girl-choruses. In his Parthenione\(^1\) there is a pleasant banter between the leader (Alcman) and the chorus indicating a natural human relationship between the sexes. Then, as the poet ages, he complains that he can no longer dance with his girls, "O maidens of honey voice so loud and clear, my limbs can carry me no more. Would God I were a ceryl, such as flies fearless of heart with the halcyons over the bloom of the wave, the Springs own bird that is purple as the sea!"\(^2\)

The famous performers on instruments were all male, such as Terpander who so impressed his own personality on the nomoi kitharodikoi (vocal solos accompanied by the lyre), that they were handed down as his personal compositions. The same is true for performers or composers for the aulos, Clonas of Tegea (contemporary with Terpander), Sacadas of Argos and Polynmestus of Clonas. However, women did perform professionally on the aulos as we learn from the tale of the lyric poet Mimnermus of Smyrna who was the first to make the elegy the vehicle for mournful, erotic strains. These elegies were probably recited rhythmically to the accompaniment of the aulos. He addressed one book of his elegies to his aulos-girl Nanno who was, apparently, his accompanist. She did not

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\(^1\)Lyra Graeca, Vol. III, p. 50-80.

requite his love. There are other references to the Symposiac or Dinner Table Paean in Alcman. After several verses of the Paean, the last verse was sung by the host alone to the accompaniment of the aulos provided by a hired aulos-girl. These performers were probably itinerant musicians who lived from hand to mouth playing wherever the occasion arose, and then moving on like the Jongleurs and Jongleuses of the Middle Ages.

On into early Christian times the Greeks of both sexes continued to enjoy music together as related by Aulus Gellius in Attic Nights.  

When the chief courses were disposed of and the time was come for wine and conversation, Antonius expressed a wish that we might be favored by a performance by the first-rate singers and players of both sexes whom he knew our young friend to have at his command. In due time the young musicians were summoned, and proceeded to give delightful renderings not only of a number of songs of Anacreon and Sappho but also of some charming erotic elegies, as they are called, of modern composers.

The Middle Ages

The coming of Christianity, however, put a stop to what, in the ancient Hebrew tradition, seemed to be wanton and frivolous enjoyment of earthly pleasures. St. Paul sums up the attitude of the early Christians toward women in the first epistle to Timothy (2: 11-12): "A woman must be a learner, listening quietly and with due submission. I do not

2Ibid., Vol. I, p. 169. Aulus Gellius was a Latin grammarian who lived c. 123-165 A.D. He wrote Noctes Atticae near Athens during the winter to pass the time.
permit a woman to be a teacher, nor must women domineer over man; she should be quiet (My emphasis). Among other things, this means that she must not make music, especially in church.

This attitude toward women, which had such a profound and lasting effect on the Christian church, was simply a reflection of Paul's Jewish attitude toward women. Sachs reports that in the ultra-conservative Yemenite Jewish congregations of this century, all men and children, but not the women, join in the congregational songs with excellent choral discipline. The women had their own music which Sachs also discusses.

The production of women's songs is dependent on a small store of typical melodic turns; the various songs reproduce these turns—or some of them—time and again. . . . Their tone relations reveal one of the many kinds of conduct of vocal music before its subjection to the rational scale-system of theory. . . .

The women's songs belong to a species the forms of which are essentially dependent not on the connection with the text but with processes of movement. Thus we find here in place of the free rhythm of cantillation and its very intricate line of melody, a periodical up and down movement. This type of song—like the recitation of magical or liturgical texts—goes back to prehistoric times.

He goes on to describe how the women accompany themselves on frame drums or cymbals which they beat with their hands at regular periods of the melody. Sachs likens this mode of performance to the welcome Jephthe's daughter accorded

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2Ibid., p. 91.
him after his victory over the Ammonites and the women hailing David after the battle against the Philistines.

The women in the early and medieval Christian church also had their own music. In the medieval monastic establishments for women, they could take part in the singing of the Divine Office but could not participate in Mass. Their musical organization was patterned after that of the monastery. Comparable to the male precentor, succentor and cantor, the leaders of the nuns' choirs were precentrix, succentrix and cantarista in English monastic institutions for women. It was in secular music that women first began to express their feelings in poetry and song in the European Middle Ages.

From the ninth century onwards we know of vernacular planctus to be sung by women: a woman laments at parting from the lover who belongs to a people hostile to her own (Wulf and Eadwacer), or at being unjustly outcast from her husband's land (The Wife's Complaint); in the brief lyrical stanzas preserved in the Mozarabic kharjas, girls lament the absence of the man they love, or that he has abandoned them; among the older Irish secular songs is The Lament of the Old Woman of Beare (c. 800) and in Welsh the rending lyrical laments ascribed to the girl Heledd, weeping over the deaths of her brothers (c. 850). Latin melody-titles from the ninth and tenth centuries, planctus sterilis, planctus Bertanae—point to the existence of early lost Latin women's laments,

1Lina Eckenstein, Woman under Monasticism (London, 1896), pp. 216, 368, 378 and 382.

2Wulf and Eadwacer, one of the best examples of Anglo-Saxon poetry, is essentially a winileodas (literally a "song for a friend") written by a woman whose fierce longing for her lover is only exceeded by her contempt for her husband. The writing of these songs had been so popular and threatening to the old social order that in 789 Charlemagne issued a capitulary ordering all abbesses to forbid the writing of winileodas by all those under her on pain of banishment (Peter Dronke, The Medieval Lyric /London, 1968/), p. 91).
a type that flowers in the eleventh century in the exquisite Levis exurgit zephirus, and the grimmer lament of a nun, Plangit nonna fletibus.¹

Even the church, which traditionally held that women were incapable of dealing with the temptations and trials of the world, and had to be protected from them lest they become a part of the temptations themselves, exhibited a certain flexibility in regard to women, especially high-born, noble women, who contributed significantly to the intellectual and spiritual life of the monasteries such as the one at Gandersheim in Saxony. The Benedictine monastery for women at Gandersheim was a temporal and spiritual seat of authority that was the reverse of the customary order of things, for the abbess held absolute authority from the Holy Roman Emperor over all persons, male and female, in the district. She had her own law courts, her own mint and coinage, her own constabulary. As a feudal baron, she had the right to sit in the Imperial Diet. Of all of the nuns under her, the most interesting literary talent was displayed by Hroswitha (b. 935) who wrote poems on the Christian martyrs, prose plays and a rhymed "History of the Abbey of Gandersheim." Although she apparently wrote no music, her attitude toward the arts as revealed in the preface to her prose plays, tells us of the desires and anxieties of a medieval churchwoman who would express herself. She expresses her inner emotions and her love of the buoyant

writings of the ancient comedies, but she feels bound to apologize for her transgressions in advance. She does not hesitate to express her desire to depict feminine weakness putting manly strength to confusion.

You will find some Catholics, and I cannot entirely hold myself guiltless, who, attracted by the charm of a polished style, prefer the empty foolishness of Pagan literature to the useful lessons of Holy Scriptures. There are others who, although they cling to the sacred pages and despise most pagan authors, yet too frequently peruse the plays that Terence invented, and while they find pleasure in his delightful dialogue, pollute themselves with knowledge of things unspeakable. Therefore I, the strong voice of Gandersheim, have not hesitated to imitate on the stage, an author whom others cherish in their studies. He deals with the shameless profligacy of wanton women; I, to the best of my poor ability, use his method to glorify the laudable chastity of Christian virgins. One thing, however, has often embarrassed me and brought a hot blush to my cheek—the form of my work has compelled me to set forth the detestable madness, of unlawful love and the poisoned sweetness of such lover's talk. These things, which we are forbidden even to mention, I have had to imagine for my plays and give as themes to my dutiful pen. Still if from modesty I had passed all this by, I should not have fulfilled my purpose nor should I have set forth to the best of my power the praise of innocence. The more seductive a lover's blandishments, the more sublime we prove the glory of our heavenly helper and the more wonderful the triumph of our victory. And this is especially true when it is female weakness that wins the day and manly strength that is put to confusion.1

The activities of all of these medieval women contributed to the cultural climate that led to the works of Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), a mystic, prophet, counsellor and correspondent of the Pope, Emperor and Princes. Besides music and religious poetry, she wrote on theology, natural

science and medicine. She was of noble birth and had an excellent education. Her musical works are the first of their kind. In all we still possess a morality play with music, *Ordo virtutum*, 35 antiphons, 18 responsories, 6 sequences, 10 hymns and miscellaneous pieces including a Kyrie.\(^1\)

All of the works are in the style of rather simple plain chant melodies. There is no real difference between the style of the *Ordo virtutum* and the hymns, but it is interesting to compare them with the traditional repertoire of plain chants. Beside this traditional repertoire, which was the result of the work of countless anonymous individuals over a period of several centuries, Hildegard’s chants seem rather repetitive and limited in melodic vocabulary. Possibly she simply improvised them extemporaneously for a scribe to take down in musical notation. The pieces are partly syllabic and partly melismatic, and there is no difference between the parts sung by soloists and those sung by a chorus. In the *Ordo Virtutum* there are 87 numbers in all with parts being given to the various virtues personified. Significantly, the parts given to the Devil are not sung.

These works are stronger as poetry than as music, but their importance lies more in their mere existence than in any profound musical value. As P. Dronke writes, "Hildegard's

\(^1\) *Lieder von Hildegard von Bingen*, hrsg. von Pudentiana Barth, M. Immaculata Ritscher and Joseph Schmidt-Görg (Salzburg, 1969).
images are traditional; what is new is the alchemy for which she uses them, and which produces a poetic effect profounder than any explication can hope to suggest."

Hildegard's work was continued in the 13th century by Hadewijch of Brabant and Mechthild of Magdeburg. These women probably belonged to an informal group of women called "Beguines" dedicated to the religious life but without an elaborate rule of permanent vows. They flourished first in Liège and Flanders, then in Cologne and the Rhineland, and ultimately throughout the north of Europe in the 13th and 14th centuries. They cared for the sick and spent hours in contemplation, from which sprang some of the most beautiful and intimate of medieval lyric poetry. In one of her finest poems, Hadewijch adopts a "nature-opening" like the troubadour poems of the 12th century, but she continues on a human and spiritual basis that is foreign to the earlier secular poems. However, the influence of the popular troubadour and trouvère songs is already detectable in the lyrics of Hagewijch and Mechthild. The customs and attitudes subsumed under the heading of amour courtois ("chivalric love") had already swept over Europe. Concerning the popularity of these troubadour and trouvère songs, a certain Raimon Vidal writes in the 13th century treatise, "All people, Christians, Jews, Saracens, emperors, kings, princes, dukes, counts, viscounts, countors,

\[1\] Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 78.

\[2\] Ibid., p. 81.
vavasours, knights, clerics, burgesses, peasants small and
great, put their minds all the time to composing ("trobar")
and to singing . . . "1

This tradition represented the first massive depar­
ture from the harsh and suspicious medieval attitude toward
women. It is not an accident that both Peter Abelard (1079–
1142) a progressive theologian and William IX of Aquitaine
(1071–1127), the first troubadour and a secular prince,
articulated similar attitudes toward women at about the same
time in history. Times were changing in both the spiritual
and physical world. Abelard was the first theologian to sug­
gest that "the creation of woman surpasses that of man by a
certain dignity, since she was created within paradise, but
man outside it. Inasmuch as woman is physically the weaker
sex, to that extent her virtue is more acceptable to God and
more worthy of honor." Christ asks the Samaritan woman at
the well for a drink of water "to indicate plainly that the
woman's virtue is the more pleasing to him in that they are
weaker in person." The Saints who are virgin martyrs have
achieved "a perfection of virtue that we know to be rare in
men but frequent in women."2

Troubadours, Trouveres and Minnesingers

Duke William IX of Aquitaine was the first person of

1Quoted in "Troubadour Songs," Music and Letters,
vol. 2, 1921, pp. 263-273 by Barbara Smythe.

2Dronke, Poetic Individuality, p. 137.
authority and influence to promote the composition of Provençal art songs which addressed a woman in sentimental and gentle tones, quite different from the rough attitude of the Lords of the early Middle Ages who merely regarded women as instruments of pleasure and bearers of children. The Troubadour songs were written to be sung at court for entertainment. They were merely one part of the expensive and extensive range of luxurious and impractical pastimes indulged in by the wealthy, peaceful Aquitanian court. There were all sorts of ceremonies, dinners, hunts and tournament joustings as well as singing and playing on instruments.

William X (1127-1137), the son of William IX, was not himself actively engaged in the poetic movement, but he allowed the art song movement to flourish among others than nobles. His daughter, Eleonore of Aquitaine, who was successively married to Louis VI of France (1137-1152) and Henry II of England (1152-1198), took the Troubadour Bernard de Ventadorn to Paris and then to England with her. Her two daughters married noblemen who supported the Romantic singers of chivalry. Marie married Henry I of Champagne (d. 1181), and at their court was Richart de Perbezil, Chrestien de Troies, Conon de Béthune and Gace Brulé. Alice married Thibaut, Count of Blois (d. 1191). Another noblewoman who supported the Troubadour movement was Beatrix of Burgundy who married Frederick Barbarossa, the first Hohenstaufen Holy Roman Emperor, in 1156. A Trouvère, Guiot de Provins, was attached
to her retinue. Barbarossa's son, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen had similar tastes, but with an exotic mixture of Moslem and German. One English visitor to Frederick's court tells of Srazen girls, each standing on two rolling spheres, which they guided with graceful movements around the room while clashing cymbals. Others played roles in the primitive and often obscene dramatic productions of the Spielleute (German minstrels). Elsewhere, another woman, a talented singer named Agnes, attained considerable power and importance as the mistress of King Wenzel II of Bohemia.

Although they wrote primarily about women, almost all of the Troubadours and Trouvères were male. These are, however, four women out of the 400 known authors of Troubadour lyrics. In the Trouvère repertoire there are at least two poems by women. Raynaud's Bibliography of Trouvère songs lists two chansons by women, both from Bern Ms. 389. On folio 86v is "Ge chanterai por mon coraige" by "Lai Dame dou Fael" and on fol. 130r, "La froidor ne la jalee" by "Une Dame."

Apparently these women wrote down only the poetry and not any music. At least no musical notation accompanies these

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words. However, it is quite possible that they also could improvise music in performance with their poetry. Indeed many of the musical settings of Troubadour poetry were supplied by jongleurs of both sexes, who wandered around Europe performing where they could, then moving on. Not many of these persons are known by name, but among the few are "Adeline," a jongleuse who lived in the time of Wm. the Conqueror (1066-1087). She was awarded an estate by him.\(^1\) Another was Marie de France, a rather enigmatic poet of the 12th century who was apparently born in France, but did most of her literary work in England. She knew Latin as well as French and English. She wrote Lais, Fables and a translation of St. Patrick's *Purgatory* into "Romanz."
The lais she collected and translated in honor of an unnamed "noble king" (probably Henry II of England) to whom she intended to present them, and she translated her fables, which people called "Ésope," from English for love of a certain "Count William," probably William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, 1150-1226,\(^2\) bastard son of Henry II of England, born, it is said, before his marriage to Eleonore of Aragon.

Another woman poet was María Pérez, a "jogaressa" and adventuress who undertook a pilgrimage to the holy land for reasons best known to herself. Pero de Ponte, one of the foremost Spanish *Trovadores*, wrote a satirical poem about

According to Dronke, these poetesses such as Beatrice, Countess of Die, took the poetic language and conventions of aristocratic and masculine love lyrics as their point of departure, "but fused them with that more direct and more overtly physical language of the passions which characterizes the oldest surviving minneodes." The women use the love lyric as a means to express their longing for real love. Usually betrothed at an early age to the offspring of another noble line for dynastic reasons, the woman was often doomed to a loveless marriage in which her husband was allowed all kinds of infidelities and indiscretions because the children of his liaisons were easy to keep separate from the legitimate offspring of the noble line. The wife, on the other hand, could not be allowed similar liberties because of the unacceptable possibility of even mere suspicion of contamination of the noble blood. In other words, it was easier to identify the husband's bastards than to determine who the father of the wife's children may have been, should there be any doubt. Thus the last stanza of one of Beatrice's poems expresses the intensity of her frustration.

Fair, gentle lover, gracious knight,
if once I held you as my prize
and lay with you a single night
and gave you a love-laden kiss—
my greatest longing is for you
to lie there in my husband's place,
but only if you promise this:
to do all I'd want to do.3

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2Ibid., p. 106.
3Ibid.
What music, if any, was set to this poem we do not know, but we can assume that it would have been monophonic and, as often as not, improvised extemporaneously by a comparatively illiterate jongleur or jongleuse. Usually it was not written down. The poem was the intricate thing, not the music.

The Renaissance

As polyphonic music developed from the 12th century on through the Ars Antiqua, Ars Nova and Renaissance, musical textures became thicker and musical notation became very complicated, especially in the Ars Nova. One literally could not write in the polyphonic idiom without considerable training in mensural notation, counterpoint, modal theory and the like. There is no evidence that women were taught these subjects. No polyphony by women survives before the sixteenth century. Before that time, polyphonic music was learned as a performing art by the daughters of noblemen who learned to sing ayres, ditties and madrigals and to play the virginal or harpsichord. Some noblewomen developed a special taste for music such as Isabella d'Este who supported the flourishing school of Frottolists in Mantua at the turn of the 16th century. Others were Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands (1480–1530), who was associated with the composer Pierre de la Rue, and Beatrice of Aragon to whom Tinctoris dedicated many of his theoretical treatises.

Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587) was one of the few
noble or royal women who also composed. Born in Scotland of a French mother (Mary of Lorraine) and a Scots father (James V), she fell heiress to the long-standing tradition of British monarchs who compose music, first practiced by either Henry V or VI (the "Roy Henry" of the Old Hall Manuscript) and carried on by the youthful Henry VIII. Educated in France, Mary wrote many songs, of which two achieved fame in her own day, "Las! en mon doux Printemps" and "Monsieur le Provost des Marchands." However, for ordinary women, it was proper to nurture the arts but improper to pursue them as a profession.

Nevertheless a few women of the late Renaissance and early Baroque did publish collections of madrigals or motets (almost no masses) principally in Italy. These women were accomplished performers who, having acquired that skill, took the next logical step to composition. Many of them were nuns, some of whom were abbesses of their cloisters. Others were daughters of composers. A very few were simply Renaissance musicians who happened to be women. A brief examination of the careers and compositions of a few of the most important persons explains how the Italian women of the Renaissance carried on the creative endeavors of their countless anonymous forebears as well as the famous Sappho, Praxilla and Hildegard of Bingen.

In the second half of the 16th century, one of the

first women to receive rather widespread recognition as a performer-composer was Maddelana Mezari, called "La Casulana." She was born around 1540 in Vicenza where she studied voice and lute. She achieved fame as a lutenist; in his Dialoghi, Troiano called her "virtuosissima" on the lute.\(^1\) She successfully taught the art of composition to the poet Antonio Molino in his later years, and in gratitude he dedicated his collection of "Dilettevoli Madrigali" for four voices to her in 1586. In his second book of madrigals the following year he spoke of Maddelena as a "great being who bestowed virtue upon music."

According to Eitner,\(^2\) she herself published her first book of 25 madrigals for four voices in Venice (Scotto) in 1568 and the second collection of 21 madrigals two years later with the same publisher. Thirteen years later Gardano published her first book of 21 madrigals for five voices. Several of her madrigals appeared in other Venetian publications during this same period, and in 1582 Gardano inscribed a dedication to her in the first book of Madrigals for three voices by Philippe de Monte. Few of these works have been transcribed and studied so one's musical judgement must be suspended, but it cannot be denied that recognition of her gifts as a composer during her own lifetime was unusual.


\(^2\)Robert Eitner, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten (Leipzig, 1898-1904).
Two other women, who were sisters, achieved widespread fame somewhat later. In this case, it was through the church. Raffaella and Vittoria Aleotti of Ferrara were daughters of Giambattista Aleotti, architect and engineer for Duke Alfonso II of Este.¹ He was one of the foremost designers of stage settings and scenery for early opera in Italy. Born around 1570, Raffaella early entered the Augustinian cloister of San Vito in Ferrara where fine musical performance was a tradition. She enthusiastically took part first as an organist and then in 1593 as director of vocal and instrumental ensembles and later as prioress of the cloister. The refinement of the performances during Raffaella's tenure was praised by the writers E. Bottrigari and G. M. Artusi and the composers Jaches de Wert, C. Porta, Claudio Merulo, L. Luzzaschi and Gesualdo. Under Raffaella's direction the nuns of S. Vito gave concerts for Pope Clement VIII and one in honor of Margaret of Austria, consort of Philip III, King of Spain. Writers of this period cite her not only as an outstanding organist, but also as a good composer of madrigals and motets. However, the only publication of her compositions of which there is public record today is a first book of sacred songs for 5, 7, 8, and 10 voices, now lost, published by Amadino in Venice in 1593.

Her sister Vittoria, on the other hand, published only madrigals—a book entitled "Ghirlanda dei Madrigali a

4 voci" (Venice, 1593). In addition the Ferrarese madrigal group commissioned a madrigal from her which they published in their collection "Il Giardino de' musici Ferraresi" published by Vincenti in Venice in 1591. As it happened to women frequently throughout history, her name in the madrigal collection was printed in its masculine form "Vittorio" either by accident or design. Much later in the 19th century, women composers deliberately used masculine names so that their works would be accepted without prejudice. In 16th century France, a composer and poetess Clémentine de Bourges (d. 1561 at Lyons)¹ is confused with Clément de Bourges, a composer who lived in Lyons at approximately the same time. In doubt is the authorship of a four part chorus "Da bei rama" inscribed simply "Cl. de Bourge" in Paix's book of organ tablature published in 1583.²

The Seventeenth Century

The creation of opera in Italy toward the end of the 16th century was not only one of the most important events in the history of music because of its influence on musical style in almost every genre, techniques of singing and patterns of financial support for musical performance; but also because it served to liberate the woman musician, making her eventually the equal or superior of the male in status, as a

¹Eitner, Quellen-Lexikon.
performer at least. Opera is a *dramma per musica* or, more precisely, a *tragedia per musica*. The libretti were patterned after the ancient Greek tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, but kept on a much simpler psycho-dramatic level because, in the first place, the Italian librettists, Rinuccini, Striggio and Strozzi, among others, were not equal to the power of their Greek forebears, and, in the second place, the addition of music made it necessary to simplify the language and the complexity of the events in order to avoid overloading, and hence obscuring, the message to the audience. The literary-dramatic quality of the early opera was often no greater than the plays of the contemporary *commedia dell'arte*, but they were serious throughout, and had a tragic outcome. Furthermore, they reflected the sociological attitude of the Greek tragedies which, as we have seen above, accorded women a rather free and even honored position in their society.

In addition, the part played by actress-singers in opera of the early 17th century Italy was influenced by the traditions surrounding their roles in Italian theater in the preceding years. Going back several centuries to the earliest medieval dramas—the liturgical plays—women played no part at all. Priests, choir boys and sometimes laymen performed all of the liturgical dramas inside the church. This tradition had its effect even in the 16th and 17th centuries in large urban centers, such as Rome, tightly controlled by the church. Because women were forbidden to appear there on
the public stage, at first their parts in opera were taken by castrati.\footnote{1}{Donald J. Grout, A Short History of Opera (N. Y., 1947), p. 196.}

By the time opera definitely appeared at the end of the 16th century in Florence, professional companies of actors and actresses—the commedia dell'arte—were already well established, but none of the personnel were "stars," except for a few persons who stood out as individuals. Such a one was Isabella Andreini, leading lady of the Gelosi company,\footnote{2}{Phyllis Hartnoll, The Concise History of Theatre (N. Y., 1968), p. 66.} who for the first time made the stereotyped figure of the young girl in love (innamorata) the principle character. Some of these characters also danced, sang and did acrobatic stunts. Thus women functioned rather freely in theatrical roles in Italy before the opera, and they soon made their mark in opera itself in spite of the prejudice in some regions and the initial scarcity of beautiful women who could sing and act.

In Florence the daughter of Giulio Caccini (one of the original members of the Camerata), Francesca Caccini (1581 or 1588–c. 1640) and her sister not only achieved fame in opera as performers, but they also composed music for opera and ballet. Francesca, called "La Cecchina," published songs for one and two voices (Florence, 1618), 2 ballets, La liberazione di Ruggiero (1625) and Il ballo di Zimane (1614), and music for masquerades, intermezzi and operas of
other composers. She also wrote an unpublished opera *Rinaldo innamorato*. According to Ghisi, Francesca followed in her father's footsteps as a composer, maintaining a consistently high standard especially in *La liberazione di Ruggiero*.

In Venice, Barbara Strozzi, the adoptive daughter of the librettist Guilio Strozzi, achieved fame as a singer and composer of arias in 1636 while she was still in her teens. Her opera *Diporti d'Euterpe* was favorably received in Venice in 1659. She also published collections of madrigals, cantatas, ariettas, arias and duets in Venice about the middle of the 17th century. She also published a first book of *Sacri musicali affetti* (op. 5) in Venice in 1655.

In sacred music, one of the first composers to adopt the new monodic style was Catterina Assandra, a nun in the cloister of S. Agata di Lomello (Diocese of Pavia). She was famous as a composer and performer on keyboard instruments in the first half of the 17th century. All of her 18 motets published in "Mottetti a due, e tre voci, per cantar nell'organo con il basso continuo" (Milan, 1609) are in the new concertato style of Viadana for two or three written voices. Her teacher, Bendetto Rè, paid his respects to her by publishing

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her eight voice polychoral setting of the *Salva regina* in his *Integra Psalmodia* published by A. Vincenti in Venice in 1611. Her fame extended beyond the borders of Italy, as evidenced by the inclusion of two of her motets in a collection entitled *Sirene coelestis* published in Munich in 1616 by A. Berg and in another entitled *Promptuariam musicum* published in Strassburg in 1622 by P. Ledertz. The publisher F. Lomazzo praised her industry in the dedication of the *Ricercari e Canzoni alla Francese* by G. P. Cima (1606). Her music, as well as that of most other women composers of this era, remains to be transcribed and studied in context along with the other music of the period. Until that time, it is not possible to comprehend the contribution made by these women musicians in the Renaissance and early Baroque.

Another interesting woman who composed in the 17th century was Cornelia Calegari from Bergamo (1644–1662). Like

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the more famous Scarlatti family,\(^1\) the Calegari family produced musicians for around two hundred years, from 1650 to 1850 in the province of Treviso. Cornelia\(^2\) was a singer, harpsichordist and composer who published a collection of solo motets at Bergamo in 1659 when she was 15 years old. She also wrote madrigals, canzonette and a mass for 6 voices that remain in manuscript. She took vows on April 19, 1661 at the convent of S. Margherita in Milan, but died the next year at the age of 18. Her music also needs further study.

\(^1\) Alessandro's sisters Anna Maria (1661–1703) and Melchiorra (1663–1736) were both a source of aid and embarrassment to him. According to Helmut Hucke in MGG, Vol. 11, col. 1518, Anna Maria came to Rome with him in June, 1672. In February of the following year the Roman Avvisi mentioned, together with an announcement of the performance of Alessandro's opera L'Errore innocente in the Collegio Clementino in Rome, that the composer had fallen into disfavor because of the secret marriage of an unnamed sister with a priest of the Cardinal Vicar. The sister was probably Anna Maria. After a second marriage in 1684, she married a Neapolitan shipowner Nicola Barbagioca in 1699 who was impresario of the theater S. Bartolomeo in Naples. He engaged Alessandro's brother Antonio Giuseppe as "Ingegnerie e Pittore", and produced three of Domenico Scarlatti's revisions of older operas. Anna Maria's daughter Giuseppina (b. 1700) married a wealthy merchant and became a "celebre letterata e dilettante di musica." She studied with Jomelli and translated Descartes into Italian.

Alessandro's other sister, Melchiorra, apparently had a hand in securing the position of Kapellmeister at the court in Naples for him, but under questionable circumstances. According to the Neapolitan chronicler Domenico Conforto, another unnamed sister of Alessandro Scarlatti was mixed up in an affair in 1684 with the Viceroy's Secretary of Justice, D. Giovanni de Leone. A Chamberlain and some pages influenced by "puttane commediants" (actresses who are prostitutes) sold some offices at the Viceroy's court, including A. Scarlatti's position as Kapellmeister. The Viceroy dismissed the men involved and gave the women the choice of leaving Naples or going into a convent. The Scarlatti sister retired to the convent of S. Antoniello in Naples. Alessandro kept his position as Kapellmeister.

In addition to the women above, there is much sketchier information about eight other composers in the 16th and 17th centuries mentioned in various sources. In order to indicate the scope of the problem of evaluating the contribution of women to music, I will cite what little information is known about each of these composers.

The first composer is Francesca Baglioncella who was born in Perugia in the 16th century according to Elson. Eitner also has an entry for a Signora Baglionella" (sic) from Perugia who was known as a composer. No other information is given.

Elson then refers to one Madelka Bariona, supposedly a German woman who published seven psalms for five voices at Altdorf in 1586. He apparently got this citation from Eitner who has an entry under "Barjona Madelka, Simone." There Eitner cites two successive publications, the first a Canticum Beatisimum for four voices composed by "Simone Barjona" from Oppeln (Prague, 1581) and the second Septem Psalmi Poenitentiales for five voices by "Simone Bariona Madelka" from Oppeln (Altdorf, 1586). Eitner speculated that the composer might have acquired the name "Madelka" through marriage between 1581 and 1586, but he nevertheless refers to him as a male. Elson apparently thought the addition of a new surname by marriage plus an apparently feminine form of the name "Simon" indicated a woman.

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1Elson, Op. cit., p. 64.  
2Ibid  
At present the problem must remain unresolved for lack of further evidence, but this is typical of the problems one encounters in trying to identify female composers.

Elson\(^1\) also refers to one Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda, a well-educated and talented Portuguese woman whom Phillip II of Spain wanted to educate his children. She declined in order to study. Elson writes that many of the manuscripts of her compositions are preserved in the "Royal Library of Madrid."

Eitner\(^2\) gives two entries for names that are so similar that they must both refer to the same person, *viz.* "Donna Lucretia Orsina Vizana" and "Lucrezia Orsina Vezzana." Under the first name he cites two publications, a "Componimenti musicali di Mottetti concertati a una e più voci" (Venice, 1620, Gardano) and a collection of 20 sacred compositions including Magnificats in three part books (2 for cantus and a basso continuo) finished and dedicated to Jesus Christ in her cloister of Santa Cristina in the congregation Carmaloldense in Bologna, December 1, 1622. Under "Vezzana," Eitner lists a 1623 edition of the "Componimenti musicali" and refers to 28 cantata volumes in the Estense library in Modena which contain two cantatas by "Vezzani." Nothing more is known about these works at present.

\(^1\)Op. cit.
\(^2\)Ibid.
One of the most prolific composers about whom little biographical information is available, is Chiara Margarita Cozzolani (d. 1653), a nun in the cloister Radegonda in Milan who wrote motets and other sacred works. Before she took vows in 1620 she had distinguished herself as a singer, perhaps in opera.\(^1\) According to Eitner she published four volumes of sacred music in Milan from 1640 to 1650. The first two publications are sacred concertati for 1, 2, 3 and 4 voices with organ accompaniment, and, in the second volume, a "Messa a 4" (Venice, 1642, Vincenti). Op. 3 was a "Scherzi di sacra melodia a voce sola" (Venice, 1648, Vincenti). Her last publication, also Op. 3 according to Eitner, was "Psalmi a 8 voci concertati et 2 Magnificati a 8 con un Laudate Pueri a 4 voci" (Venice, 1650, Vincenti). These publications contain over 70 works in a variety of styles. There are also single compositions by Sister Chiara Margarita in other anthologies. The location, transcription and study of these works in context would greatly amplify our knowledge of the musical activity in the Italian monasteries and nunneries during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Probably the sketchiest reference of all is to one Claudia Rusca, a nun in a cloister Santa Catarina, in Milan (?).\(^2\) In 1630 she published in Milan a collection of "Sacri concerti a 1, 2, 3, & 5 voci con Salmi e Canzoni francesi

\(^1\)Eitner, *Ibid.*, lists an opera aria among her works.

a 4" dedicated to Cardinal Barranno. But, according to Sartori, the sole existing copy in the Bibl. Ambrosiana of Milan was burned in the bombardment of August, 1943.

By the end of the 17th century, a few women were turning to the composition of instrumental works, as evidenced by the publications of the following two composers. First, Maria Virginia Suarda, a nun in the monastery of S. Maria del Paradiso in Bergamo, published a collection of "Balletti, correnti, Giuseppe minuetti" arranged into eleven suites for 2 violins, violoncello or spinetta (Venice, 1692, Giuseppe Sala). Unfortunately only the second violin part now exists.

Finally there are the compositions, both vocal and instrumental by Isabella Leonarda (b. 1620, d. after 1700), abbess of the convent of St. Ursula at Novara. She entered the convent in 1636 when she was 16 years of age and in 1642, at age 22, she published a motet in the third book of "Sacri concerti" by Gasparo Casati, Chapel master at the Cathedral at Novara. In 1693 she published a collection of 11 trio sonatas and one solo sonata (da chiesa) in Bologna (Pier-Maria Monti). All of the parts still exist in the Biblioteca del conservatorio in Bologna. According to E. van der Straeten in Groves Dictionary, she also composed masses, motets and other church music, of which the last book, op. 20

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2 Ibid.
3 Franz Giegling, MGG, Vol. 8, pp. 633-634.
was published in Bologna in 1700.

The Enlightenment

The changing role of European women music during the course of the 18th century confirms the decisive influence of cultural and sociological forces on music and musicians. From the beginning to the end of the 18th century, women became steadily more prominent and influential as composers, performers, and supporters of musical arts. The gradual freeing of rigid concepts about the "proper" behavior and interests of women not only on the part of men, but also by women themselves was a manifestation of the Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century that is less well understood and documented than the scientific, political and philosophical accomplishments of the age. Attitudes do not change overnight, but gradually the enlightened public "came to accept the educated woman as something other than a freak, a joke or a sexual trap baited with the unnatural attribute of Wit."¹ However, the influential writers of the time—almost all male—hesitated to rid themselves entirely of old attitudes. While the Encyclopédie, adopting its best rational manner, assured its readers that "much of the supposed inferiority of women was merely the end consequence of male dominance," it nevertheless forgot the common bonds of humanity between men and women, and described women as "everything man

was not: touching, charming, invaluable—and 'mysterious,'" which any 20th century psychologist would surely diagnose as fear of her sexual attraction. The womanly ideal was still a "pious, thrifty, gentle, orderly—and submissive—housewife."¹

This is not to imply that women composers came to rival men during the 18th century. Far from it. The sheer number of women who composed was vastly inferior to the men, as one would expect, because composition and performance of music was still one of the honorable professions by which a man could support a family, as he was expected to do. Also, the number of compositions written by the women who did compose was vastly inferior to the flood of works from the active male composers. However, small-scale beginnings are the rule everywhere. A woman composer comparable to Wolfgang Mozart was no more possible in the 18th century than a Wolfgang Mozart in the twelfth century. Conditions—psychological attitudes, social organization and teaching traditions—were not favorable.

However, great strides were made. Let us consider just theatrical music for the moment. Francesca Caccini, the daughter of the composer, was the first woman to write and produce an opera. It was performed at a visit of Wladislaw Sigismund, Prince of Poland, to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany on February 2, 1625 in the Villa Poggio Imperiale

¹Ibid.
in Florence. Both score and libretto were published in the same year. Barbara Strozzi's *Diporti d'Euterpe* was produced in Venice in 1659, but no other opera by a woman appeared until near the end of the 17th century when a precocious claveciniste in Paris by the name of Elizabeth Claude de la Guerre (1669-1729) wrote an opera on the subject of *Céphale et Procris* that was produced at the Royal Academy on March 15th, 1694. According to Löwenberg, it was unsuccessful as a stage work, but nevertheless it was published in Paris in 1694, and was translated into Dutch, and published in 1710. Perhaps the publication came about because of her connections with the French aristocracy. Louis XIV himself was one of her admirers.

But then, in the 18th century, eight women wrote, and had performed, 21 operas. Many of them were successful. For example, a young Parisienne by the name of Julie Candeille wrote a comic opera during the revolution (1792) entitled *Catherine ou la Belle Fermière*, which had 154 successive performances immediately following the first performance. It then remained in the repertoire at the Comédie Française for 35 years. It was translated into several different languages and published. According to Clément and Larousse, "Mlle. Candeille, who is a charming woman, a distinguished comedienne,

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2 Ibid.

and an excellent musician, filled the principal role of her work, that of the beautiful farmer Catherine, and sings several pieces accompanying herself on the clavecin. She is applauded at once as author, composer, comedienne and singer." She composed two more operas, but they were not successful.

In Italy, Maria Teresa Agnesi composed seven operas in Milan between 1747 (Il ristoro in Arcadia) and 1771 (Notocri, Queen of Babylon). They were produced in Milan, Naples and Venice. According to Silvana Simonetti, her arias, cantatas and stage works were also frequently performed in the Saxon and Austrian courts. Her reputation as a composer was so well thought of that she was invited to visit Mozart in the Cloister San Marco in Milan on his first Italian trip. Count Giordano Riccati pronounced her work "perfettisime" because of the intensity of its expression and its masterful harmonic invention.2

In Germany the opera composers were all of aristocratic birth. It was customary for the aristocracy to provide their daughters a musical education, and many tried their hands at composing in a small, dilettantish way. However, a few such as Anna Amalie, Princess of Prussia (sister of Frederick the Great); Maria Antonia Walpurgis, Grand duchess of Saxony; Amalia Anna, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar; and Maria Theresa, Countess of Ahlefeldt composed works that were a step above the

1MGG, Vol. 15, col. 52.
2Ibid.
Anna Amalie (1723-1787) had her first music lessons from her brother Frederick. Later she studied with Kirnberger, and wrote a cantata "Der Tod Jesu" before Graun's work on the same subject. In addition she also wrote some instrumental movements, a trio for organ (published by Kahnt in Leipzig), and other choral works. She learned the strict contrapuntal style from Kirnberger, and used it to good advantage in the choruses of "Der Tod Jesu." According to Wilhelm Krabbe\(^1\) the opening chorus of this oratorio can stand comparison with Graun's. However, Krabbe also writes\(^2\) of her split musical personality, partly dependent on the Berlin School of K. P. E. Bach and partly on the learned contrapuntal style of Kirnberger. The latter gradually over­came the former. She was also a collector of printed music and manuscripts. Her library contains the best J. S. Bach collection now in existence.

Both Maria Antonia Walpurgis, Grand Duchess of Saxony and Amalia Anna, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar were persons of many talents. Amalia Anna, niece of Frederick the Great, married Duke August Konstantin of Saxe-Weimar who died two years later in 1758 leaving her, a young girl of 18, the head of state and regent for her son in a land that was foreign to her. She ruled wisely until her son reached his majority, but she

\(^1\)MGG, Vol. 1, col. 485.

\(^2\)Ibid.
never lost interest in music. In 1776 she wrote music for Goethe's Erwin und Elmire, and in 1778 she composed music for the same poet's Jahrmarktsfest zu Plunderweilen. According to Anna Amalie Abert⁠¹ her music exhibits a solid knowledge and a real gift for musical invention. The characters are well represented in the music which bears the stamp of a strong musical personality. In addition she must be credited with the literary taste and foresightedness to support Goethe and the Weimar circle of poets which formed at this time.

Also at Weimar was a beautiful actress—singer—composer Corona Schröter (1751-1802), by whom Goethe was smitten. Her laughing brown eyes, dark brown hair, dark but fresh coloring, shapely figure, proud carriage and grace of motion possessed a unique, harmonious beauty.² With her pure, soft and somewhat husky voice, she performed with uncommon expressiveness. However, she never appeared as a professional actress; she acted in plays opposite Goethe in the Amateur Theater in Weimar.

As a composer, she is indebted to Hiller and Seckendorff. Her best work is the setting of J. A. P. Schulz's simple, folk-like songs--strophic, with good declamation of the text, short clearly articulated forms, simple settings with occasionally pictorial expression. There is a facsimile of the first page of Corona's unassuming setting of Goethe's

⁠²Wilfried Brennecke and Chas. Cudworth, MGG, Vol. 12, col. 486.
Erlkönig in MGG. Its easy-to-sing folk song style would fit well in the Singspiel "Die Fischerin" in which she performed at Weimar, and also composed some songs. It does not fit the dialogue in the text however.

Mention should also be made of Corona's beautiful sister-in-law, Rebecca Schröter, who, after the death of her husband, became enamoured with Haydn. He saved her love letters that she wrote to him during his first visit to London in 1792. Later he said that he would have married her, had he been free. He dedicated his Trio Op. 82 to her.

Somewhat later at Weimar another woman, Maria Paulowna, Grand Duchess of Weimar and daughter of Tsar Paul I of Russia, studied with Liszt and composed piano music. Liszt used one of her themes for the fourth of his set of Consolations. She tried to intervene with her brother the Tsar so that the Polish princess Carolyne of Sayn-Wittgenstein could divorce her Russian husband in order to marry Liszt, but without success.

Maria Antonia Walpurgis, Duchess of Saxony, was the daughter of Elector Karl Albert of Bavaria, who later became Charles VII, Holy Roman Emperor from 1742-1745. Being gifted in literature as well as music, she often signed her compositions E. T. P. A. (Ermelinda Talea Pastorella Arcada) rather than with her own name. She was a student of Hasse, and wrote

\[1^{1}\text{MGG, Vol. V, col. 441-442.}\]

\[2^{1}\text{In The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue, 1762-1787, ed. by Barry Brook (Dover reprint, 1966), the overtures to her two operas Talestri, Regina delle Amazoni (1760), and Il trionfo della Fedeltà (1754) are so listed.}\]
the libretto to his oratorio "La Conversione de St. Agostino." She wrote the librettis for both of her operas, but not all of the music; Hasse is reputed to have written some of the music for "Il trionfo delle fedeltà." G. Hausswald\(^1\) claims that parts of the opera show unmistakable similarities to Hasse's melodic style while elsewhere there are awkward passages, obviously done by a student. According to Löwenberg,\(^2\) both operas were revived several times, published and translated into German and French.

Like Mozart, Schubert and Bellini, there were also precocious talents among women who died young. In this instance it was Lucille Grétry, daughter of André Ernest Modest Grétry. At the age of 16\(^3\) her operetta "Le Mariage d'Antonio" was successfully performed at the Comedie Italienne in 1786. In the same theater her "Toinette et Louis" was produced the following year. She also wrote a Vaudeville, "Dés les premiers jour du printemps"\(^4\) and other compositions.

She died in 1794 at the age of 24.

The Nineteenth Century

Like Lucille Grétry, many women composers were members of musical families. Their fathers, brothers or husbands

\(^{1}\text{MGG, Vol. VIII, col. 1647.}\)

\(^{2}\text{Op. cit.}\)

\(^{3}\text{Larousse and Clément erroneously write that she was 13 years old.}\)

were engaged in music professionally either as performers, composers or instrument makers. A few of the more prominent are as follows:

1. Francesca Danzi Lebrun (1756-1791), daughter of Franz Danzi, cellist and composer in the Mannheim school.

2. Nanette Stein (1769-1833), daughter of Johann Andreas Stein, famous Viennese piano manufacturer.

3. Sophie Corri Dussek (1775-1847), wife of Johann Ladislaus Dussek, the famous Bohemian organist, pianist and composer.


5. Sophie Lebrun (1781-d. after 1815), daughter of Francesca Lebrun.


9. Henriette Fahrbach (1851-1923), daughter of Joseph Fahrbach who, with his brother Phillip, were contemporaries of Joh. Strauss, Senior, and Joseph Lanner. Like them, the Fahrbachs directed, performed in and composed for Viennese dance orchestras.

All of these women were professional performers or teachers. Doubtless the most famous person of all is Clara Schumann, pianist-composer-teacher-mother and the wife of
Robert Schumann. She achieved her greatest success as a pianist, but she also actively engaged in teaching, composing, arranging and editing her husband's works and letters. This extraordinary woman also was the mother of seven children. She did not put a high value on her composition, but Robert did. He published three of her songs on texts by Rüchert as numbers 2, 4 and 11 of his Op. 37, twelve songs on texts from Rüchert's Liebesfrühling. According to I. Fellinger,¹ her earliest pieces, which were for piano, inclined toward virtuosity from which she soon turned away. In 1835, when she was only 16 years old, she wrote a series of brilliant variations on the Austrian national anthem for a concert tour to Vienna, Souvenir of Vienna, Op. 9. Robert Schumann, not yet married to Clara, did not review the "Souvenir" in his Zeitschrift für Musik, but he did write an essay on a similar work, a "Soirée for Piano," Op. 6, for her 18th birthday in 1837. In it he praises its depth of feeling and takes a slap at "academicians" for basing their judgements on superficial technical criteria. He writes "it may well be that her works derive from so exotic an imagination that more practice alone will not suffice to pursue these rarely interlaced arabesques—or from so profoundly tempered a spirit that, once the graphic, the representational in her compositions recedes into the background, one does not immediately

¹Imogen Fellinger, MGG, Vol. 12, col. 261.
grasp the dream-like and the introspective. Thus the majority will lay them aside after a quick glance; indeed it is easy to believe that contest juries will award these 'Soirées,' among a hundred entries, the last prize rather than the first, so far below the surface lie the pearls and laurel wreaths.

The 'Soirées' betray, on the one hand, and plain for anyone to see, a life effulgent and tender, apparently responsive to the slightest stirring; on the other hand, a wealth of unconventional resources, an ability to entangle the secret, more deeply twisting threads and then to unravel them, something one is accustomed to expect only from experienced artists—and males!"\(^1\)

Robert Schumann was not simply blinded by love; Chopin also spoke highly of Clara's compositional talents. A change of style is noticeable in her works, especially the songs, after her marriage to Robert in 1840. She wrote, for example, three preludes and fugues (Op. 16) and a piano trio, Op. 17, probably her finest work. In it she combines the facile melodic writing of Mendelssohn with the firm and often unexpected harmonic structure of her husband. After Robert's death in 1856, she composed almost nothing more.

In contrast to the brilliant concert career of Clara Schumann, passionately promoted by her father, Fredrick Wieck, a similar career was denied Fanny Mendelssohn by her father

Abraham Mendelssohn, who was supported by Felix in this judgement. Still reflecting the ancient Hebrew conception of the secluded woman, Abraham Mendelssohn had an almost pathological aversion to seeing his daughter play in public. He wrote to her on her 23rd birthday, "you must become more steady and collected, and prepare more earnestly and soberly for your real calling, the only calling of a young woman—I mean the state of a housewife. True economy is true liberality. He who throws away money must become either a miser or an imposter. Women have a difficult task; the constant occupation with apparent trifles . . . the unremitting attention to every detail, the appreciation of every moment and its improvement for some benefit or other—all these and more (you will think of many more) are the weighty duties of a woman." Fanny accepted her father's commands, and devoted her many talents to promoting Felix's career. She did not appear in public as a pianist until she was 33 years old. Then she played Felix's G minor piano concerto at a charity concert. Her husband William Hensel fully supported her appearance. Felix opposed publishing any of her music under her own name in order to spare her the pain of adverse criticism. When, in spite of his opposition, 2 books of her songs were published, Felix performed one of his favorites on a recital in Leipzig, and wrote to his sister that there "was much applause

\[^{1}\text{Herbert Kupferberg, The Mendelssohns, Three Generations of Genius (N. Y., 1972), p. 156.}\]

\[^{2}\text{He published three of her songs in his Op. 8 and three more in Op. 9.}\]
after it was over . . . I thank you in the name of the public
of Leipzig and elsewhere for publishing it against my wish."

Later in 1846 when more of her works were published,
he wrote, "may you taste only the sweets and none of the
bitterness of authorship . . . ". After her death in 1847 her
piano trio in D major, Op. 11, was published. None of this
music is still in print. It is unfortunate that Fanny's
music was not published as part of the complete works of
Felix, especially in view of the unusually close ties between
the brother and sister. It would be interesting to compare
the two styles.

The musical activities of the Fahrbach family are
nearly unknown today, but in 19th century Vienna they were
as well known as the Strauss family. Phillip Fahrbach (1815-
1885) organized a dance orchestra in the first half of the
19th century. From the beginning it was a family affair.
Besides Phillip, his brothers Joseph (1804-1883), Friedrich
(1811-1867) and Anton (1819-1887) took part as well as
Phillip's children, Phillip Jr. and Johanna (Jenny), and
Joseph's children Josefine, Wilhelm, Maria Johanna and
Henriette. All of the men played in the dance orchestras of
their day, and many, if not all, composed music. Of the women,
Jenny and Josefine became piano teachers in Vienna, Maria
Johanna was an opera singer and Henriette directed a touring
women's chorus. She wrote operettas and songs, waltzes,
idyls and the like, some of which were published.
Other families, like the Lebrun and Dussek families, were less prolific. Francesca Danzi Lebrun, being naturally endowed with a beautiful and agile voice, had an outstanding career as a singer. She was also a good pianist and harpsichordist, and published several sonatas for piano or harpsichord with accompaniment by violin. Most of these sonatas are in two movements in the Mannheim style.\footnote{Robert Munster, \textit{MGG}, Vol. VIII, col. 420.} Constantly travelling around Europe appearing in opera after opera finally took its toll, and she died of exhaustion. Her daughter Sophie\footnote{Ibid.} was a fine pianist who made successful concert tours of France, Italy and Germany. She composed sonatas, concertos and other piano pieces.

The Dussek family, of Bohemian origin, became international by choice. Veronica Rosalie Dussek, the sister of Joh. Ladislaus, married an Italian, Francesco Cianchettini, and they moved to London where Veronica became a popular piano teacher and composer of piano concertos and sonatas. Sophie Corri Dussek, who married Joh. Ladislaus, was of Italian origin. About the turn of the 19th century she reigned in London as the foremost singer, pianist and harpist. She wrote works for piano and harp.

Nannette Stein was the daughter of Johann Andreas Stein (1728–1792), the famous Viennese piano builder who gave the Prellmechanik of Silbermann its definitive shape. The
father tried to make his daughter into a Wunderkind, taking her on concert tours and playing at the Viennese court in 1777. Many of her hearers praised her playing, but Wolfgang Mozart dismissed her as "not a genius." As a child she was interested in the construction of pianos, and so learned something about her father's business. After his death she took over the business with her husband J. A. Streicher and her brother Matthaus as "Frere et soeur Stein." Even when the men took over the business and technical responsibilities, Nannette remained the mainspring of the firm. Her relationship with Beethoven, whom she had met at his parents' home in 1787 when Ludwig was 17, was close and supportive. She faithfully stood by him during the chaotic times from 1813-1818.

Finally we turn to Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg's daughter Emilie. Trained in voice and piano, she performed in public at the Museumsconcerten in Stuttgart. In later years she achieved an outstanding reputation as a music teacher. She wrote nearly 30 songs for one voice and piano, which were published by Simrock in Bonn, Schott in Mainz and by Zumsteeg in Stuttgart. H. J. Moser in Das deutsche Lied wrote that she combined "intense romantic expression with simplicity of means."¹

The women described above had careers of various kinds,

reaching out into many different fields. There were, in addition, many women who composed only instrumental music, mostly for keyboard. Marianna von Auenbrugg (d. 1786) was the only female pupil of Salieri, whose students included Beethoven, Liszt, Schubert, and Wolfgang Mozart's son F. X. W. Mozart. Artaria published her "Sonata per Clavicembalo o Forte Piano. Con ode di Ant. Salieri."¹ Catharina Bauer (b. 1785) from Wurzburg composed rondos and variations for keyboard. Schiller called her "ein wahres Genie."² The sister of Jean-Frederick Edelmann,³ an Alsatian composer at the time of the revolution, composed a sonata which was published as Sonata No. 2 of his Op. 8. Her Christian name is not known, but Mlle. Edelmann's sonata was reviewed in the Mercure for Jan. 23, 1779. While approving of the first sonata in c minor by M. Edelmann, the reviewer goes on to say that "we cannot approve of the titles 'L'ingenue' and 'L'indifferent' placed at the beginning of the main sections of the second sonata. That style is a thing of the past. While it is true that the first scribblers put at the start of their grotesque compositions, 'This is a horse,' or 'This is a tree,' the works of Mlle. Edelmann do not need this pitiful expedient." This overly critical writer apparently was unaware of, or excused the identical practice of her

brother, J. F. Edelmann.\footnote{Edward Reeser, MGG, Vol. 3, col. 1098, cites J. F. Edelmann's love of titles such as "La Capricieuse, La Gémis­sante" and so on for his sonata movements as a conservative practice, reflecting the influence of Couperin.} Moreover, in the Breitkopf thematic catalogue of 1779/80\footnote{Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue, p. 693.} there are no titles on any of the move­ments.

In England, Maria Hester Parke (1775-1822) was a mem­ber of one of the most famous musical families in London. Her father was one of the best oboists in England, who wrote many oboe concerti which remained unpublished. He taught his daughter very well indeed for she eventually published many of her compositions—piano sonatas, one concerto for harpsichord or piano, and a set of glee­s with the Dirge in Cymbeline\footnote{Charles Cudworth, MGG, Vol. 10, col. 805.}.\footnote{Percy M. Young, MGG, Vol. 13, p. 1224.} Ann Valentine was another member of a musical family in England. She published 10 piano or harpsichord sonatas with violin or flute accompaniment in London in 1798 and a piece in the Scottish manner, "Monny Musk".\footnote{Percy M. Young, MGG, Vol. 13, p. 1224.}

Finally, attention should be directed to women who composed in many different styles, like Maria Theresia Paradis and Marianne Martines. The former was the more famous of the two in her own lifetime. Born in Vienna in 1759, she was blind from her third year until her death in 1824. Her musical education was provided by her godmother, the Empress Maria Theresa. She studied with Salieri, Abbe Vogler, and...
Righini, but principally with Kozeluch, one of Mozart's principal rivals. She is said to have memorized 60 piano concertos with utmost accuracy, and it is as a performer that she achieved her fame. Leopold Mozart mentioned in a letter to his daughter that Wolfgang had composed a "magnificent concerto for Paradis in Paris," but did not give any further information about it. Today it is thought that this concerto must have been No. 14 in B flat major (K. 456). Einstein accordingly finds the solo part to have a different, "more feminine and more sensuous character than the preceding concertos." He interprets the second movement, a variations with coda in G minor as "superficially serious, appealing to French audiences." The whole concerto, he concludes, contains none of the "surprises of the great concertos." Girdlestone does not attempt to find anything "feminine" in the concerto. Instead he calls attention to the more intimate feeling of K. 456 which has a less showy piano part than K. 449 in E flat major and K. 453 in G major, which were both written for Babette Pleyer, Mozart's pupil.

Paradis herself composed dramatic works, instrumental music and songs. According to Ullrich, Paradis belonged to the older generation of Viennese song composers, a group that


2Herman Ullrich, MGG, Vol. 10, col. 743.
included J. Stefan and J. Holzer. Her canzonettas and operas exhibit the influence of Kozeluch. Ullrich finds the melodies pleasing, the harmony simple and the piano part well worked out. However, an anonymous writer for the Journal des Luxus und der Moden (1797, p. 566) was not so kind. In regard to her opera Rinaldo und Alcina with libretto by L. von Baczko, produced in Prague in the summer of 1797, the critic wrote "about the peculiar opera ... which was seen and heard by us this summer, suffice it to say that the writer of the opera and the composer are both blind ... . It is unfortunate for the opera that the public was not also blind."

Marianne Martines (or Martinez) (1744-1812) was a German composer, singer and pianist belonging to a cultured, aristocratic Neapolitan-Spanish family. Metastasio lived in their home in Vienna for awhile. She was a singer of the Italian school possessing well executed portamenti and ornaments, true intonation and, in Burney's words, "touching expression." As a composer she was influenced by the style of Hasse, Jomelli, Galuppi, and the older masters, Handel, Lotti and Caldara. She believed in strictly "grammatical" composition and execution. She accordingly became an associate of Padre Martini, and her diploma from his Accademia praised "die Zierlichkeit, das Genie, den Adel des Ausdrucks und die erstaunliche Präzision ihrer Komposition." Burney

1Quoted by Lowenberg in Annals of Opera, year 1797.
2Quoted by Helene Wessely in MGG, Vol. VIII, col. 1716.
3Tbid.
wrote that her style was "neither common nor unnaturally new" and Metastasio wrote that it was a "bella mescolanza d'antico e moderno." She composed many sacred works—about 10 motets, a mass and an oratorio, four secular cantatas (in Italian), three arias, a sinfonia, two piano concertos, an overture and two piano sonatas.¹

Thus, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, European women composers far surpassed in quantity anything that had been seen before. At the present time, we can make no judgement about the quality of the work because it is not readily available for study. There is an enormous amount of material here for study that one day, hopefully, will be published.

In the nineteenth century some women continued to compose, and continued to meet with resistance from the public, male composers and critics. Of course this is not evil; it is to be expected. Almost everything of value that has been introduced into the world was at first opposed by someone or some group because it threatened existing values.

We have already referred to Clara Schumann and Fanny Mendelssohn, but there are many other women composers who achieved a certain amount of success in their own day. They continued to write operas and stage works, songs and piano pieces, but women composers found some sentimental Romantic forms more congenial than the less emotional classic forms. This is particularly true in the case of the "Romance,"

¹Ibid.
which J. J. Rousseau defined as a melody to which one sings a short strophic poem. It had its beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, becoming especially popular during the first half of the 19th century. Pauline Duchambge (1778–1858) composed almost 400 Romances for voice and piano that were very popular in France between 1815 and 1840. The texts of the songs express strong personal sentiments, usually of a tender and delicate nature. Although these songs have now disappeared from the literature, in their time they captivated Lamartine, Hugo and Chateaubriand, and provided the necessary link to the songs of Gounoud and Massenet. Duchambge was so well known and admired that the poets mentioned above often wrote song texts expressly for her.

Louise-Françoise (Loisa) Puget (1810–1889) was also a composer of Romances and little songs which she performed in Parisian salons with great success from 1832 to 1842. She married Gustave Lemoine who became her most important producer of poetic texts. She composed between 300 and 400 songs from which Phillippe Musard and Johann Strauss selected some, and arranged them as quadrilles. Unlike Duchambge, however, she also tried to establish herself as a composer of stage works, using essentially the same musical style that was so popular in the salon. She was generally

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1Henri Gougelot, "Die Romance in Frankreich" in MGG, Vol. 11, col. 348.
unsuccessful. Larousse and Clément have this to say about her one act opera comique Le Mauvais Oeil, with text by Scribe and G. Lemoine, that was produced at the Opéra-Comique the first of October, 1836. "This piece is a little naive; it seems that the light salon musician tried to impose a task beyond her abilities. This is possibly an injustice. Mlle. Puget does not lack melodic inspiration; she gives abundant proof of that. It is necessary to supply qualities that are lacking in a framework more vast than an album. The expression and the sensibility that one finds in her romances do not rank far from Dezede, Gresnick and Della Maria." Nor was her second and last opera, La Veilleuse or Les Nuits de Milady (1869), any more successful. Both operas were published, however.

One of the most famous singers of the early 19th century, Laure Damoreau, (1801-1863) was quite versatile. She sang both grand opera and opéra comique. She taught singing at the Paris conservatory from 1834 to 1856. She composed Romances for Voice and piano, and vocalises; and Points d'orgue for Rossini's operas. She wrote a Méthode de Chant (Paris, 1849).

In the nineteenth century, countries around the periphery of Germany, Austria, Italy and France began to produce noteworthy composers and performers, women as well as men.

1Dictionnaire des Opéras.
2Félix Raugel, MGG, Vol. 2, col. 1881. Rossini wrote the principal female parts for her in "The Siege of Corinth" and "Moses." She also starred in operas by Auber and Meyerbeer.
Some of the more important came from Poland, Norway, England, and, later, from the North and South American continents.

Tekla Badarzewska-Baronowska (1834-1861) was a Polish pianist who concertized in Poland and foreign lands. She composed about 35 sentimental salon pieces for the piano alone, Romances without words. Some of these pieces received wide attention, which Zofia Lissa attributes more to the tastes of the publishers than to any intrinsic musical value of the composition itself. Her famous Modlitiva dievichy (Gebet einer Jungfrau) (Warsaw, 1851) was first published by the composer herself, but became so popular that some 80 publishers in France, Italy, Germany, England, America and Australia published it. She then wrote a sequel, Seconde prière d'une Vierge. The first composition has a very fetching melody, which is simply repeated over and over in different registers of the piano. All it really lacks is variety and development.

Maria Agata Szymanowska (1789-1831) was a Polish pianist who also composed short character pieces including Polonaises and Mazurkas for the piano on a higher level than Badarzewska-Baranowska. Schumann called her "zarte Szymanowska," in a short essay on the etude for piano. He said that the etude had its beginning in the Clavierubung of Bach and then describes its progress thus:

\[\text{[1] Zofia Lissa, MGG, Vol. 15, col. 398.}\]
No one can deny the indebtedness of Clementi and Cramer to him, i.e., Bach. From them to Moscheles there is a hiatus; perhaps it is due to the influence of Beethoven, who was an enemy of anything mechanical, and incited composers more to purely poetic creation. In Moscheles, and yet to a higher degree in Chopin, therefore, imagination reigns along with technique. Behind these five, who stand out as the most important figures, the most original are L. Berger and C. Weyse. Ries and Hummel have demonstrated their individual styles more clearly in free composition than in études. Kessler and Grund must be mentioned as solid and able, as well as A. Schmitt whose admirable clarity must appeal to the young at heart. Kalkbrenner, Czerny, and Herz have provided nothing of stature, but their works are worthwhile for their treatment of the instrument. Potter and Hiller, on account of their romantic spirit, cannot be passed over, nor can the gentle Szymanowska or the admirable C. Mayer. Bertini is disappointing—but in a graceful way. Whoever is interested in the most difficult will find it in the Paganini Études of the undersigned.

Szymanowska was the most important Polish composer before Chopin.

Agathe Grondahl (1847–1907) was a Norwegian pianist-composer who first studied piano in Norway before going to Germany to study with H. von Bülow. She made her pianistic début in Oslo in 1869, and concertized extensively in Scandinavia, Germany, England and France. She specialized in animated performances of Beethoven, Schumann and Chopin. As a composer she specialized in small compositions, songs and piano pieces, following the styles of Schumann and Mendelssohn. Her strength lay in her intimate lyrical style, but she could also cope with more powerful, architectural forms as proved by her often played concert-étude (from Sechs Konzert-Etuden, ^Olav Gurvin, MGG, Vol. 5, col. 937.)
Op. 11, Oslo, 1881).

Probably the most gifted woman composer of the mid-nineteenth century was Louise Farrenc (1804–1875) who wrote mostly piano music, but also composed chamber music and three symphonies. Much of her early piano music consisted of variations, rondeaux, souvenirs of Bellini, La Sonnambula Anna Bolena and so on. Her music was performed, but remained unpublished. Schumann wrote a laudatory review of her Air varié pour le piano, op. 17. He finds the music so well done, he suspects some help from her (male) teacher. He writes,\(^2\)

When I examine the variations of a young composer such as L. Farenc, I would praise it in great measure upon testimony of its pleasing outlines and masterful execution. These are short, neat, well-defined studies perhaps completed under the direction of a teacher, but so well-defined in outline, so rational in the working out, so finished, in a word, that one must take a fancy to them, the more so because a delicate Romantic dust hovers over them. Themes that permit imitation are well-known to be the best for variations, and so the composer uses this technique for all kinds of fluent canonic passages. She even introduces a fugue with inversion, stretto and augmentation—all of which is unlabored and lyrical. I would only have wished, ever so gently, that the ending had followed the fugue, as I expected.

These are rare words of praise for the works of a woman composer. Except for Clara Wieck, Louise Farrenc


and Delphine Hill Handley,\(^1\) Schumann generally dismisses music by women composers as trivial and overly emotional. For example, in his review of Maria Leopoldine Blahetka's music he wrote, "We will bypass the Variations of Fraulein Blahetka as quickly as possible. She is a first rate pianist. She cannot make me into a St. Simon for female composition."\(^2\) Another pianist-composer, Anna Caroline Belleville-Oury, he compares with Clara Schumann. "They should not be compared," he writes, "they are different mistresses of different schools. The playing of Madame B. is technically the finer of the two. Clara's is more impassionate. The tone of Madame B. flatters, but does not penetrate beyond the ear; that of Clara reaches the heart. Madame Belleville is a poetess, Clara is poetry itself."\(^3\) He dismisses Mme. Belleville's compositions as of "Weibliche Natur."

\(^1\)Née Schauroth (1814-1887). She was brilliant, beautiful and belonged to a rich, highly-regarded family. She was Felix Mendelssohn's first serious love. He dedicated his G minor piano concerto to her, and she frequently performed it in public. In 1835 Schumann reviewed her Sonata in C minor (Pleasant, op. cit., p. 44) predicting that she would develop into a "Romanticist, and then, with Clara, we would have two Amazons in the glittering array."

\(^2\)Kreisig, op. cit., p. 220. Also consult MGG, Vol. 15, col. 826 by Hans Jancik. The St. Simon reference is to M. le comte de Saint-Simon (Claude Henri de Rouvroy, 1760-1825), a French philosopher and social reformer. His social doctrines were developed by his disciples into a system called Saint-Simonianism. Within this system, all property is owned by the state, while the worker shares in it according to the amount and quality of his work. Among other things, St. Simon demanded equal rights for men and women, and this is what Schumann was not ready for.

\(^3\)Reinhold Sietz, MGG, Vol. 10, col. 491.
Schumann even castigates male composers for being too womanly. For example, he directed the following blast at Spohr and his school,^1

We must speak a word in favor of every one of the more powerful, masculine expressions in music today (which so preponderantly and in its most beloved masters tends to the contrary); as if Beethoven had not lived a short time ago and plainly said: 'Music must strike fire from the spirit of a man; emotionalism is only meant for women.' Few remember what he said; the majority aim at emotional effects. They ought to be punished by being dressed in women's clothes.

Elsewhere, he even takes Beethoven to task for being effeminate.²

There is one irritating passage in the slow movement of the A major symphony (there is only one A major. Symphony!) where the restrained melody rises and falls slowly—notes almost in the manner of Spohr /Schumann obviously means measures 123-138/ that is to say, in a manner repulsive to all who dislike softness and the effeminate. I wager Beethoven meant it ironically, which is also indicated by the aggressive bass that follows.

This passage cited by Schumann as "effeminate" is repetetive and somewhat indecisive, but it makes an effective contrast with what follows and what went before. In his attribution of indecisiveness to women, Schumann shows himself to be governed by his emotions rather than reason, a trait he attributes to women. There are, in fact, a great number of decisive women and indecisive men and vice versa. One cannot generalize on so basic a human trait, and rigidly assign it to one sex or the other. It is the person, not the sex, that

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determines the trait.

One of the more decisive women composers of the 19th century was Carlotta Ferrari (b. 1837), a pupil of Mazzucato, Strepponi and Pozzini at the Milan conservatory. She composed and produced three successful operas, the first, *Ugo*, in 1857 when she was only 20 years old. It met with success when first performed at the Santa Rodeonda theater in Milan. She composed two more, *Sofia* in 1867 and *Eleonora d'Aborea* in 1871. All were produced with "lively success" according to Larousse and Clément.  

Somewhat more problematical were the two operas by Louise Bertin (1805–1877) that were produced at Paris in the 1830's. Bertin was a French contralto, pianist and composer whose father was the publisher of the influential *Le Journal des Débats*. Berlioz was music critic for the *Journal*, and, with his support as well as her father's position, she had a better than average advantage in her attempt to establish herself in Paris as a writer of operas. She wrote both the libretto and music for her first opera, *Fausto*, which was produced at the *Théâtre Italien* in Paris. It was the first Italian version of Goethe's tragedy, and undoubtedly the only one written by a woman. According to Löwenberg, "it was unsuccessful but is reported to have been not unworthy of its great subject." The text for her second opera, *La

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1 *Dictionnaire des Opéras.*

2 *Annals of Opera, 1831.*
Esmeralda, was written by Victor Hugo himself, adapted from his novel, Notre-Dame de Paris. It was the first of a series of Esmeralda operas (Mazzucato, 1838; Dargomijsky, 1847; Battista, 1851; Fry, 1864; Campana, 1869; A. G. Thomas, 1883; and F. Schmidt, 1914), but it was a failure in spite of Hugo's text. Nevertheless composers continued to show an interest in it. Parts of it were revived in Paris in concert form on July 6, 1865. The piano-vocal score was arranged by Liszt, and Meyerbeer tried unsuccessfully to secure a German production of it in 1838. According to Sir George Grove the reason for the opera's failure was Bertin's flawed compositional techniques caused by imperfect or uncompleted study. He suspects, rather ungallantly, that Berlioz may have touched up her work.

Another composer of opera and other works, Augusta Holmes (1847-1903), was much better prepared technically. Of Irish ancestry, she lived in Versailles from an early age, and spoke four languages fluently. Self-taught at first, she realized her own shortcomings, and in 1875 became a student of Cesar Franck. In 1890 he dedicated his third Choral pour orgue to her. She was a prolific composer. There are 128 songs, four operas, 15 vocal and choral works, 9 symphonic works, all programmatic—some with chorus—and a few works for different instruments, but nothing for piano solo.

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1Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (5th Ed.).
Fearing bias against a woman who composed, Holmes published her first works under the name of Hermann Zenta. She later assumed her real name. According to Pougin, who knew her and her works, her influences were C. Franck and Saint-Saëns, but most of all Wagner. She was "Wagnérienne non seulement ardente mais intransigeante." Her opera La Montagne noire, which was produced on February 8, 1895 at the Paris opera on a text by the composer, was Wagnerian to the core. But, wrote Pougin, "the pages that were supposed to be vigorous are, for the most part, simply noisy, bordering upon banality.... However, the pages of grace, tenderness and sweetness are among the best in the entire score." Her songs are among her best works. R. Hahn wrote that "they have a popular air that few musicians can equal." 

Women were active in composition in England and the United States during the 19th century. In England Ethel Mary Smyth (1858-1944) studied music against her family's wishes. She studied composition in Germany, living in the home of the Herzogenberg's, a meeting place for many European musicians of the time. There she met Grieg, Tchaikovsky and Brahms. The latter, especially, was startled by the idea of a woman who composed music. She was rather prolific, writing 6 operas (serious and comic), several orchestral works, 

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1Ibid.
2Ibid.
3Michael Hurd, MGG, Vol. 12, col. 813.
several choral works, a few songs, sonatas and string trios and one string quartet. She also wrote 8 books, one entitled "Beecham and Pharoh" (London, 1935). According to M. Hurd, her music does not reveal a strong personality, but rather possesses ample proportions and meaty content. It is a level above the hundreds of Kleinmeister. She was one of the most important woman composers of her generation. Hurd picks out her operas "The Wreckers" and "The Boatswain's Mate" (A Ballad Opera) as her best works. The former contains "many powerful sections" (i.e., masculine), and the latter is really humorous. Brahms was her principal influence.

Another English composer, famous for her songs, was Maude Valerie White (1855-1937). Although she was born in Dieppe, Normandy, she was educated in music principally by British musicians, W. S. Rokstro, Oliver May and G. A. MacFarren. Charles Santley, a bass-baritone, was impressed with her songs, and sang them regularly, accompanied by the composer, at the "Popular Monday Concerts" in London. In February, 1879, she became the first woman in the Royal Academy to receive the Mendelssohn stipend. She was noted for her excellent settings of poems by Robert Herrick, parts of Tennyson's In Memoriam, lyric poems by Shelley, Schiller, Heine and R. Burns. She also made something of a reputation

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1Ibid.
2Jean Mary Allan, MGG, Vol. 14, col. 551.
for herself as a linguist, translating works from the French, German, Italian and Swedish. The first American woman to achieve recognition was Amy Marcy Cheney (1867–1944), better known musically as Mrs. H. H. A. Beach.¹ A child prodigy, she made her debut in Boston playing the G minor concerto of Moscheles with orchestra at the age of 16. A year later she played the Chopin concerto in F minor with the Boston Symphony, and the same year she performed the Mendelssohn G minor concerto with Theodore Thomas and his orchestra.² She married a physician in Boston, who died in 1910. After this she toured Europe as a pianist, and had the pleasure of hearing her works performed by major European orchestras. Her "Gaelic" symphony was especially popular in Germany. But in 1914 she returned to the United States, and devoted herself entirely to composition. She was accorded much recognition. The Chicago World's Fair commissioned a Festival Jubilate, The Trans-Mississippi Fair at Omaha, Nebraska, commissioned a Song of Welcome in 1898 and a Panama-Pacific exhibition in San Francisco commissioned a Panama Hymn in 1915. She wrote over 80 works—choral, symphonic, chamber music, concertos, sonatas—in every idiom except theatrical music. She belonged to the New England school of composers which included John Knowles Paine (1839–1906), George Whitfield Chadwick (1854–1931), Edward MacDowell (1861–1908), Arthur Foote (1853–1937),

Horatio Parker (1863–1919), Edgar Stillman-Kelley, (b. 1857) and Arthur Whiting (1861–1936). She was of the same generation as Frederick Converse (1871–1940).

A South American composer, Teresa Carreño (1853–1917) preceded Mrs. Beach as the first important woman composer from this continent. A Venezuelan piano virtuoso, she studied with Gottschalk and G. A. Matthias in Paris, and with Anton Rubinstein in New York.¹ She made concert tours all over the world, and, with the Bavarian pianist Sophie Mentor, she ranked as the greatest woman pianist of her time. She composed many brilliant virtuoso pieces, études, waltzes, a string quartet and the Venezuelan national hymn, but her pianistic abilities far surpassed her compositional attainments.

In the nineteenth century, women who composed began to range further afield, pursuing their musical interests along new paths. Born in France just before the revolution, Alexandrine Sophie Goury de Champgrand Bawr (1773–1860) was the natural daughter of the Marquise de Champgrand, who provided her with an unusually fine musical education for a woman of this time.² She studied composition with Grétry and Boieldieu. Losing everything in the revolution, including her husband, she became a Salon singer with remarkable success, especially in the performance of her own Romances.

Some of them were published. In 1801 she married Claude-Henri de Ronvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon, philosopher and founder of the Saint-Simonienne sect.¹ She left him within a year, and married a young Russian officer Baron de Bawr. After his death in 1810, she remained a widow, devoting herself to science and music.

The compositions of Mme. de Bawr exhibit an elegant melodic style and an excellent understanding of harmony.² But music was only one of her means of expression. She wrote a Histoire de Musique for the Encyclopedia des Dames and her autobiography, Mes souvenirs. Her literary style is fresh and concise, qualities not often found in the Romantic movement. As forerunners of the feminist movement, she adopted Germaine de Staël and George Sand as models. She was one of the first women in music to make a sustained effort to alter 19th century attitudes toward women.

Natalia Janotha (1856-1932) was a pianist of great sensitivity who also composed and edited previously unknown music of Chopin.³ Of German origin, her father was the teacher of Paderewski at the Warsaw Institute of Music. He also taught his daughter, but then sent her to study with Rudorffs and Borgiel in Berlin. Later she finished with Clara Schumann. She concertized by herself and with Joachim so extensively

¹St. Simon is mentioned earlier on page 98.
²Cotte, Loc. cit.
³Zofia Lissa, MGG, Vol. 6, col. 1716.
all over Western Europe that she was little known in Poland. She specialized in sensitive performances of Chopin's music (her mother was a close friend of Chopin's sister), and she published a few editions of his music such as a fugue in A minor from a manuscript in her possession, but in composition she was influenced by Brahms as well as Chopin. She wrote around 400 compositions, all for the piano, and she also wrote extensively on piano performance and the interpretation of Chopin.

One of the first women composers to encourage the rediscovery and performance of harpsichord music from the 15th to the 18th century was Juliette Folville (1870–1949), from Liège, Belgium. As a pianist, harpsichordist and violinist she toured Belgium, France, Holland and England. She composed sonatinas and short piano pieces, chamber music, concert pieces for piano and orchestra and an opera, "Atala," which was successfully performed in Lille\(^1\) and Rouen in 1892 and 1893. According to A. van den Linden\(^2\) her compositions spring from a gift for fresh invention, and reflect a profound acquaintance with the technical capabilities of the instruments. Her style, reminiscent of Massenet, is elegant, chromatic and technically well crafted.

Many 19th century women actively engaged in teaching, establishing their own schools in which they developed their

\(^1\)The composer conducted the performance at Lille, March 3, 1892.

own methods, which were highly successful in their own day. Many wrote extensive descriptions and explanations of their teaching methods and philosophies. Some of the most influential women in this area are Nanine Paris Chevè (1800-1868), Charlotte-Francès-Hortense Parent (1837-1929), Mathilde de Castrone Marchesi (née Graumann) (1821-1913) and Marie Trautmann Jaell (1846-1925).

The first, Mme. Chevè, was part of a school that taught a system of notation said to have been devised by J. J. Rousseau, which used numbers instead of notes, lines and spaces. It was effective in teaching young children to read, but was difficult for instrumentalists to read. Pierre Golin (1786-1821) perfected the method, and originated the school. Nanine Paris and her brother Aimé (1798-1866) studied with Golin. Then a Parisian physician, Emile Chevè, took musical instruction from Aimé Paris and, in 1838 or 1839, married his sister Nanine. All members of the family devoted the rest of their lives to teaching this method and writing books about it. Nanine continued after her husband's death, writing books not only on reading music, but also harmony and counterpoint. She did not compose.

Hortense Parent studied at the Paris conservatory. She was an outstanding student, winning many prizes. After leaving the conservatoire she founded her École Hortense

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1Jean Gribenski, MGG, Vol. 15, col. 1436.
2Guy Ferchault, MGG, Vol. 10, col. 746.
Parent, and instructed her students according to her pedagogical methods. She published numerous books about these methods, but wrote no compositions herself.

Mathilde Graumann was a German woman, born at Frankfurt am Main, who married an Italian singer, Salvatore Marchesi, and studied singing with Otto Nicolai in Vienna and Manuel Garcia Jr. in Paris. After concert tours of Germany, England, Belgium and Italy, she and her husband settled in Vienna, and began their teaching careers at the conservatory. In 1861 Mathilde opened a private singing studio in Paris for which she wrote the still valuable Praktische Gesang Methode as well as 24 books of vocalises. Mathilde Marchesi and Pauline Viardot-Garcia were the two most successful singing teachers of the 19th century. She did not write any music except vocalises.

Marie Trautmann Jaell (1846-1925) was another teacher of the highest quality. She studied with Liszt and others, and became one of the outstanding pianists of the generation following him. Liszt had said that she had the mind of a philosopher and the fingers of an artist.¹ Her philosophy, expressed epigrammatically, was, "the artist's instinct is unconscious reasoning." She freed piano study from mindless technical studies, and taught economy of hand movement, heightened intensity of tone, and refined differentiation between senses of touch; she placed greatest emphasis upon beauty of

¹Helene Kiener, MGG Vol. 6, col. 1660.
tone through sliding, rolling and pushing movements.

She wrote mostly piano music influenced by the styles of Schumann and Liszt. She also wrote a few compositions in other categories: songs, a piano concerto, a string quartet, symphonic poems, and a violin and a cello sonata. According to H. Kiener, her style is somewhere between Romanticism and Impressionism.¹

There is another group of women who, during the 19th century, wrote books about composers and music, translated composers' letters or wrote opera librettos. Belonging to this group are Helmina Chézy (1783-1856, née Wilhelmine Christiane von Klencke), Grace Maxwell Wallace (1800-1878), Lina Ramann (1833-1912) and Marie Lipsius (1837-1927), who wrote under the pseudonym "La Mara."

Helmina Chézy was a German woman who, after the break-up of her second marriage, lived as an "emancipated woman"² with her sons Wilhelm and Maximillian in different parts of southwestern Germany, always in contact with literary personages such as A. von Chamisso. In Paris after 1801, she belonged to a circle of French and German literati

¹Ibid.

like the Countess Stephanie-Félicité de Genlis, Germaine de Stael, Friedrich and Dorothea von Schlegel. She wrote many literary works including the libretti for Weber's Euryanthe (Vienna, 1823) and Schubert's Rosamund (Vienna, 1823) in the so-called "pseudo-romantic style." What in her day appeared to be fantasy and true sensitivity, appear today as weak and trivial. Her poetry carries musical elements, but always falls into sentimental, romantic clichés.

Lady Grace Maxwell Wallace was, first, the wife of Sir Alexander Don, Sixth Baronet of Newton Don, who was a friend of Sir Walter Scott. In 1825 Scott wrote of "Don and his new lady who is a very pleasant woman and plays on the harp delightfully." Sir Alexander died within two years, and his

1Before the revolution Mme. Genlis was the wife of Charles-Alexis Brulart, Conte de Genlis and the mistress to the Duke of Chartres (known as Philippe-Egalité). She was a harp virtuoso who published a harp method (Méthode de Harpe, 1802) filled with études of her own composition. She introduced many innovations; use of the smaller fingers of the right hand, vibrato, sustained tones and harmonics. She also wrote some Romances with harp or guitar accompaniment, a ballet and other pieces. When she returned from Germany where she had fled after the revolution, she brought a young boy, Casimir Baeker, adopted him, and taught him to be a harp virtuoso by her methods. This information is given by France Vermillot in Vol. 4, p. 1753 of MGG. Significantly, the fifth edition of Grove's Dictionary has an article on Casimir Baeker, but ignores Mme. de Genlis. The great German encyclopedia Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart takes women and their contributions to music much more seriously than does the editor of the fifth edition of Grove's Dictionary.

2Jean Mary Allan, MGG, Vol. 14, col. 163.
wife married a military officer Sir James Maxwell Wallace. Later in life Lady Wallace began to translate letters of composers, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Beethoven, K. P. E. Bach, Gluck, Haydn and Weber. She was the first person, male or female, to translate letters of this kind into English, and they are of first-rate quality. She did not compose music as far as is known.

Lina Ramann is another woman who did not compose music, but wrote extensively on musical and pedagogical subjects. In her early years she became associated with the "neudeutsche Richtung," a movement espoused by Liszt among others.¹ She spent some time in the United States, and then went back to Germany, where she established music schools in Gluckstadt, later in Nürnberg and then in Munich. She wrote nine books on music; some are biographical (Bach und Händel, Franz Liszt), some are analytical (F. Liszts Oratorium Christus), and others are pedagogical (Grundriss der Technik des Klavier—Spiels), and one seems to be contemporary history (Aus der Gegenwart). She was influenced to some extent by the nationalist or evolutionary ideas of her time, but she claimed that music instruction would achieve results "by the recognition of the progress of racial history, perceived according to anthropological—psychological principals, together with the recognition of general educational conceptions." Therefore she would make

¹Reinhold Sietz, MGG, Vol. 10, col. 1883.
vocal expression, especially the child's singing game, the basis of music education. The latter would have to build not "upon" (an) but "out of (aus) the artistic technique of the student, treating his actual understanding of the art as the common denominator of instruction."\(^1\) She also laid emphasis upon historical events. She established these principals as well as principals of piano playing according to Liszt's standards in her *Grundriss der Technik des Klavier-Spiels*. Liszt characterized her as a "femme de merite et savoir . . . aufgeklart et rationaliste."

Finally we come to Marie Lipsius\(^2\) who came from a famous Leipzig family of professors and educators. She wrote books, and articles for the periodicals of her day. Among her most successful works were the "Musikalischen Studienkopfe" (Lives of Composers), which appeared under the pen-name "La Mara."

**The Twentieth Century**

The twentieth century has witnessed the appearance of women composers, teachers, performers and writers on music in more countries than ever before. It is too soon to comment on the quality of their work, so we shall simply list those about whom biographical information appears in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. This list is quite incomplete and

\(^1\)Ibid.

out of date. For example, women composers from the United States are conspicuously absent, and others are of questionable importance. Nevertheless it will serve the purpose of indicating briefly the widespread interest in composition on the part of twentieth century women.

**GREAT BRITAIN**

1. Grace Williams¹ (1906–

   Welch composer who studied with Vaughan Williams. Sets Welch language and Welch folk songs effectively.

2. Phyllis Tate² (1911–


   English composer who was influenced by Hindemith, Stravinsky and Britten.

4. Elizabeth Maconkey⁴ (1907–

   English composer who first composed in style of Vaughn Williams, her teacher. Since 1930 has developed a sparse, concise style of her own.

5. Elizabeth Lutyens⁵ (1906–

   An English composer of experimental temperament. Beginning as a conservative, post-romantic, she moved toward a Webernesque, dodecaphonic technique emphasizing rapidly changing tone colors.

6. Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune\(^1\) (1910— ). Noted Belgian musicologist. Student of Chas. van den Borren, she is now professor of musicology at the University of Liège.

7. Maria Stohr\(^2\) (1905— ). German musicologist specializing in English and Byzantine music.

8. Marguerite Beclarq d'Harcourt\(^3\) (1884—1964). French composer and ethnomusicologist. Has composed numerous original compositions, published folk-song collections from South America and Quebec, and written scholarly articles on music of the Incas and the French in Canada.

9. Germaine Tailleferre\(^4\) (1892— ). A close acquaintance of Milhaud, Auric & Honegger, she writes music that is "gay & light" like the "petits maîtres" of the 18th century.

10. Elsa Barraine\(^5\) (1910— ). French composer of conservative persuasion, has written in every idiom; ballet, film, opera, choral, song, orchestral, chamber, organ and piano works.


\(^{2}\)Maria Stöhr, MGG, Vol. 12, col. 1377.

\(^{3}\)Gilbert Rouget, MGG, Vol. 5, col. 1501.


\(^{5}\)Frederic Robert, MGG, Vol. 15, col. 488.
THE NETHERLANDS

11. Catharina van Rennes\(^1\) A Dutch composer who specialized (1858-1940) in music for children.

NORWAY


POLAND


YUGOSLAVIA

15. Ljubica Maric\(^5\) (1909- ). Serbian composer who experimented with atonal music between the two world wars. Later sought an individual style borrowing from folk idiom.

AUSTRALIA


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\(^1\)Alf Annegarn, MGG, Vol. 11, col. 295.
\(^2\)Olav Gurvin, MGG, Vol. 5, col. 1358.
\(^3\)Zofia Lissa, MGG, Vol. 12, col. 710.
\(^4\)Zofia Lissa, MGG, Vol. 15, col. 376.
\(^5\)Stana Djuric-Klajn, MGG, Vol. 8, col. 1651.
\(^6\)Alphons Silbermann, MGG, Vol. 12, col. 1768.
17. Peggy Glanville-Hicks\(^1\) (1897- ).


Educated in Cuba and the United States, she returned to Cuba where she has been an official in the education ministry, written books and music.


We will close this survey of women composers and writers on music in the twentieth century with a brief look at the career of Nadia Boulanger (1887- ), the renowned French composition teacher who came into contact with three of the women on whose work this dissertation focuses, Margaret Bonds, Evelyn Pittman and Julia Perry. She came from a long line of musicians. Her grandmother, Marie-Julie Boulanger (née Hallinger) (1786-1850), had a successful career as a mezzo-soprano in the Paris opéra.\(^4\) Her father, Ernest-Henri-Alexandre (1815-1900), became a professor of composition and

\(^1\)Alphons Silbermann, MGG, Vol. 5, p. 214.
\(^2\)Arno Fuchs, MGG, Vol. 6, p. 242.
\(^3\)Helmut Kallman, MGG, Vol. 10, p. 1020.
teacher of singing at the Paris Conservatory in 1871. He married a Russian princess, Raïssa Mytchetsky, who is the mother of Nadia and her sister Lilli (1893-1918).

Both Lilli and Nadia composed early in life, but Nadia gave it up to devote herself fully to teaching. Her teaching is distinguished by strict technique, comprehensive organization and exploration of several stylistic directions. She is able to make her students eager to follow her lead in developing their gifts without damaging their creative personalities.

The current "revival" of interest in women's compositions can provide the exposure needed for their acceptance, as a matter of course, by professional musicians and the public. America, with its rich mixture of cultural traditions, creative talents, and financial resources, is in a unique position to support this movement. This dissertation concentrates on one facet of these cultural traditions: the synthesis of African and European cultural elements in the music of American women of African descent who have, in a natural way, absorbed elements of both cultures. Their music is expressive, technically polished and serious. It speaks a language that should be heard, because it expresses the thoughts and emotions of a vital part of America's cultural heritage.
Biographical Sketch

Florence Beatrice Smith Price was born in Little Rock, Arkansas. She was the daughter of Dr. James H. and Florence I. (Gulliver) Smith. Dr. Smith, a dentist, was the first black dentist to have an office on Main Street in Little Rock and, later, on the Loop in Chicago.¹

Florence Price received her early musical training from her mother, an accomplished musician (soprano and concert pianist).² Mrs. Price attended elementary school in Chicago at Forrestville, and high school in Little Rock. She finished high school at age fourteen and enrolled in the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, Massachusetts. She majored in piano and organ and received an Artist's Diploma in organ.³ She was an honor graduate of the Conservatory and

¹Interview with Mr. Neumon Leighton, member of the Music Faculty of Southwestern at Memphis and close friend of Florence B. Price, at Memphis, Tennessee, November 18, 1972.


was given a place of honor on the Senior class program. At the Conservatory she studied composition and counterpoint with George Chadwick and Frederick Converse. She wrote a string trio and a symphony while still a student.¹

At age nineteen, Florence Price began her career as an educator. Her first teaching position was at the Cotton Plant-Arkadelphia Academy in Cotton Plant, Arkansas. This school for black students, first grade through high school, was supported by a northern church organization.² She later moved to a position in the music department of Shorter College in North Little Rock, Arkansas.

In 1912 she was married to Thomas J. Price, an attorney, and to this union were born a son, Tommy, and two daughters, Florence Louise and Edith C. The son died in childhood and, in his memory, Mrs. Price set Julia Johnson Davis' poem, *To My Little Son*, to music.

Mrs. Price became a well known music educator in Little Rock, and, in addition to her position at Shorter College, she gave private violin, piano and organ lessons. There were several intimidations, characteristic of the South, which involved Mrs. Price as a musician. She made application to join the Arkansas Music Teachers Association but was denied membership because of her race.³

¹Letter from Mrs. Robinson.

²Interview with Mr. Leighton.

³Ibid.
The Prices left Little Rock in 1927 because of racial tension.\(^1\) They moved to Chicago where Mrs. Price continued to study, perform, compose, and teach.

In Chicago she became a close friend of Mrs. Estella C. Bonds, musician and mother of Margaret Bonds, who later achieved success in her own right as a composer. In her youth Margaret Bonds studied piano and composition with Mrs. Price. Mr. Neumann Leighton remembered Mrs. Price's philosophy of teaching composition: "Florence never tried to make Margaret copy her (Price's) style of composition. She heard and encouraged Margaret's concepts and style of composing."\(^2\)

Mrs. Price took advantage of the wider opportunity for study in Chicago that was not available in Little Rock. She studied composition with Carl Busch, Wesley LaViolette, and Arthur Olaf Anderson.\(^3\) She studied at the Chicago Musical College, Chicago Teachers College, Chicago University, Central Y.M.C.A. College, Lewis Institute and the American Conservatory of Music where she studied with Leo Sowerby.\(^4\) Her studies were not only in music but also in foreign languages and the liberal arts as well.

\(^1\)Mrs. Lawrence Finn, former Little Rock music student of Mrs. Price, recalled that many prominent black families left Little Rock in 1927 when a black man, accused of assaulting a white woman, was lynched. In order to maximize the emotional impact on the black community, the man was hanged on a corner in the heart of the well-to-do black neighborhood.

\(^2\)Interview with Mr. Leighton.

\(^3\)Letter from Mrs. Robinson.

\(^4\)Letter from Mrs. Robinson.
Her continued study, practicing and composing bore fruit in the early 1930's when she won the Wanamaker Foundation Award and had her winning symphony performed by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra at the Century of Progress Exposition.¹ Other performances followed. Her orchestral works were performed by the WPA Symphony Orchestra of Detroit, the Chicago Women's Symphony Orchestra, and one of her chamber works, a piano quintet, was performed by members of the faculty of the Music School of the University of Illinois and the Forum String Quartet of Chicago.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was present in Chicago at a rehearsal of Mrs. Price's Symphony in E Minor and she was so impressed that she cancelled her engagements in order to stay for the performance.² Mrs. Roosevelt later said:

... They played two movements of a new symphony by Florence Price, one of the few women to write symphonic music ... who has certainly made a contribution to our music. The orchestra rendered her symphony beautifully.³

Sir John Barbirolli, English conductor and former conductor of the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, knew of Florence Price's reputation as a composer. He once cabled her from England to ask that she write a suite for strings

¹Shirley Graham, "Spirituals to Symphonies," *Etude*, (November, 1936), 691. The Foundation offered $1,000 in awards and Mrs. Price won $500 for her symphony and $250 for a piano sonata. Her student, Margaret Bonds won the other $250 for an art song.

²Interview with Mr. Leighton.

³Press Comments on Florence Price, unpublished material supplied by Mr. Leighton.
based on Negro spirituals. The requested composition was eventually presented by Sir John Barbirolli in Manchester, England.¹

Besides her orchestral and chamber works Mrs. Price wrote art songs, arrangements of spirituals, works for violin, organ and numerous piano etudes. Throughout much of her music she made use of rhythms and melodies that are characteristic of the black idiom such as found in her Symphony in E Minor, Concert Overtures Nos. 1 & 2, Three Little Negro Dances, and Negro Folksongs in Counterpoint for string quartet. Two of her piano works, Were You There When They Crucified My Lord and Cotton Dance were included in Book V of the Oxford Piano Course.²

Once asked if her success was a source of great satisfaction, Mrs. Price said:

I feel deeply thankful for progress but satisfaction—no, not satisfaction. I am never quite satisfied with what I write. I don't think creators ever are quite satisfied with their work. You see there is always an ideal toward which we strive, and ideals, as you know, are elusive. Being of spiritual essence, they escape our human hands, but lead us on, and I trust, upward, in a search that ends, I believe, only at the feet of God, the one Creator and source of all inspiration.³

Mrs. Price died in Chicago, June 3, 1953, leaving much

¹Interview with Mr. Leighton who was present when the cable from England was delivered to Mrs. Price.


³Letter from Mrs. Robinson.
to inspire future black women composers in America.

Analysis of Works

**Songs to the Dark Virgin.** Florence B. Price dedicated this song to her daughter, Florence L. Price. The text is by Langston Hughes. The song was published by G. Schirmer in 1941.

According to Mr. Neumon Leighton, Marian Anderson included this song on her second American concert tour. Mr. Leighton heard the song, and impressed with the performance, he asked Mrs. Price when she had written it. She did not remember, for it had been in manuscript form when she gave it and several other unpublished songs to Miss Anderson. The day after the concert three publishers, equally impressed, asked to publish this work. ¹

Mrs. Price uses a modified strophic form for this work and each strophe begins with the same motivic idea. The strophes are relatively short. The first is only six measures long, the second is twelve measures and the third is eleven measures long.

A one-measure introduction begins the work. The composer uses an arpeggiated ostinato-like accompaniment in each strophe. Her setting of the text reflects the meaning of the very sensuous words. At the beginning of each strophe the poet fantasizes himself as a jewel, a garment or a flame; and

¹Interview with Mr. Leighton.
the accompaniment begins excitedly each time with arpeggiated chords and appoggiaturas rushing along in sixteenth notes. As the end of each strophe approaches, the poet's descriptive powers are overcome by his emotions and his excitement abates, the accompaniment slows down for emphasis and for a sense of resolution of the excitement of the beginning. The voice reaches its highest, climactic point just before the accompaniment slows at the end of each strophe.

There is some word painting in the vocal line in the second strophe where the words, "might wrap about thy body," are reflected in the intricate, folding line of the accompaniment in measures 10-11. Later, in the same strophe, the harmonic progression in the accompaniment, accompanying the words "Hold and hide thy body," is startling. The composer moves from a secondary dominant (V of G) in measure 13 accompanying the word "hold," a sustained note, to a dominant ninth chord built on the lowered second degree (B^bDFA^bC), a neapolitan ninth chord in the key of A minor. Then, at the end of this strophe the root progression on the words, "Thou dark one," is based on the melodic movement in the voice -- e, d, g. Taken together the harmonic progression of this phrase, is quite unexpected when first heard, but not illogical. It works out the expression of the text.

There are slight variations in the accompaniment of each strophe as well as in the melodic lines. The harmony is typical of the late nineteenth century with its emphasis
on dominant seventh and ninth chords and especially in the chromatic progressions at the end of the second strophe. The melodic treatment is quite simple. The form — A A' A" — has variations which create enough contrast to provide variety without obscuring the original idea.

**An April Day.** This composition for voice and piano is in E♭ major and was published by Handy Brothers Music Company in 1949. The text is by Joseph F. Cotter, and Mrs. Price puts it in a relatively simple musical setting.

This is an atmospheric setting where the composer sets the text in a comfortably flowing style recalling a pleasant April day "when earth and sky and nature's world are clad in April's bliss." The form is strophic with a brief transition between the two strophes. This transitional section (meas. 11-12) uses arpeggios in the piano to suggest the picture of "balmy zephyrs" conjured up by the text.

The phrases of the vocal line are usually characterized by sustained tones at beginning and end with evenly moving declamation within, thus:

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\[ \text{\textbf{On such a day as this I think,}} \]
```

This rhythmic movement suggests a comfortable mixture of relaxation and activity.

The same general characteristics which are found in most of Mrs. Price's vocal pieces are evident in this work: simplicity in melodic treatment, use of arpeggios, slow harmonic rhythms and seventh chords in succession. The melodic
range is just over an octave and, at several points the accom­paniment doubles the vocal line along with its rich chords. At the end of the first strophe Mrs. Price uses a chromatic progression which leads to the transition. Generally, the accompaniment consists primarily of arpeggiated chords.

The dynamic shadings range from pianissimo to fortis­simo. Each strophe begins moderately loud and builds to a forte in the first strophe and to an exuberant fortissimo in the last strophe. In contrast, the transition, on a text about "balmy zephyrs," is piano to pianissimo.

The work ends with a descending $E^b$ major arpeggio in double octaves for the piano against a sustained $E^b$ in the voice.

Two Traditional Negro Spirituals. "I am Bound for the Kingdom," and "I'm Workin' on my Buildin'," were published by Handy Brothers Music Company in 1949. Mrs. Price dedicated these works to Marian Anderson. Miss Anderson included them in her repertoire and recorded "I am Bound for the Kingdom" in her album *He's Got the Whole World in His Hands*.

Mrs. Price wrote very simple chordal settings for both spirituals, allowing the melodies to dominate. The form of both songs is strophic with refrain. "I am Bound for the Kingdom" has only one verse (R-V-R) while "I'm Workin' on my Buildin'" has two (R-V-R-V-R). In both songs each verse and each refrain is eight measures long.

Harmonically, both songs elaborate upon one chord,
the tonic, almost throughout. It is only in the seventh measure of each eight measure phrase that there is a brief turn to the dominant in order to conclude each phrase, refrain or verse with a V - I cadence. The verse of "I'm Workin' on my Buildin'" is somewhat richer harmonically with alternation of IV₆ and I and vii₇ of VII in the final cadence of the phrase.

Harmonically and rhythmically the two songs differ. "I am Bound for the Kingdom" is in G major and employs frequent chromatic colorations associated with the blues, such as the lowered leading tone and the minor third. In the first eight measures, in fact, Mrs. Price uses three different forms of the seventh scale degree, F. In measure 3 as a lower neighbor to g' in the vocal part, it is raised to F sharp. Then in measures 4 and 5 it is lowered to F natural as a part of the dominant seventh chord on G (V₇ of IV in theoretical terms). Finally in measure 9 the singer is instructed to sing a pitch between F and F sharp in a dominant seventh chord. Thus in the first six measures of the verse, the voice uses both the raised and lowered seventh and an ambiguous seventh degree. The return of the refrain is similar to its first appearance except that the voice is not instructed to sing a pitch between F and F sharp in its final cadence.

Rhythmically, "I am Bound for the Kingdom" is quite straightforward and unsyncopated except for the measure of ⁴ inserted just before the final "Glory in my soul" of the
refrain. It is a small change, but it provides just the right emphasis for the concluding words "Glory in my soul."

The melody of "I'm Workin' on my Buildin'," on the other hand is in F sharp (natural) minor and is diatonic throughout. In the voice part the seventh is natural throughout except for the final cadence where it is raised to become a leading tone. The harmony of the accompaniment is somewhat richer in chords and alternation as mentioned above, but is still quite simple. Here the rhythm of the melody is more complex. The syncopated motive associated with "I'm a Workin' on my Buildin'"

| I'm a workin' on my buildin' |

is prominent throughout the refrain. The verse uses a different kind of syncopation at the beginning of each phrase as in "If I was a mourner"

| If I was a mourner |

In fact, the first half of most of the measures of the song are syncopated. This placement in the measure insures a greater prominence to the rhythmic dislocations.

The minor form of the dominant harmony is also used giving more of the folk style flavor to the composition. A change of melodic direction and octave placement provide an impressive ending for the spiritual.

My Soul's Been Anchored in de Lord. This is probably
the best known of Mrs. Price's compositions. This spiritual was published by Gamble Hinged Music Company in 1937 for voice and piano. Mrs. Price also arranged it for voice and orchestra. Both arrangements have been recorded by several artists.

The most striking feature of this arrangement is the rhythmic setting. Mrs. Price avoids duplication of the vocal line with an interestingly rhythmic and primarily autonomous accompaniment. The syncopation of both the melodic line and the accompaniment are presented in such a way as to provide contrasting rhythms one to the other. Other rhythmic contrasts are provided when syncopated rhythms are presented against even rhythms.

The piece is in strophic form with a verse and three different kinds of refrain: a full refrain (4 meas.), a brief refrain (2 meas.), and a shortened refrain (3 meas.). The full refrain (FR) occurs at the beginning and end of the song. The brief refrain (BR) concludes each of the verses and the shortened refrain (SR) follows the verse and brief refrain as seen in the following figure:

Figure 1: Form of *My Soul's Been Anchored in de Lord*, by Florence B. Price.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FR</th>
<th>Verse 1 + BR</th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>Verse 2 + BR</th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>FR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4½</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4½</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. of Meas.: 8
These verses and refrains are closely related melodically. The first half of each phrase is a variant of the other two, while the last half is a standardized cadential figure (Example 1). The last half of the refrain is an unvarying melodic passage but the composer provides variety in the repetition by varied cadences in the accompaniment. Although the melodic cadence does not vary, there are no less than ten different harmonizations provided for it (Example 2). Most of the harmonic progressions differ from each other; even those that are similar or the same (e.g. meas. 23 and 48) vary in the spacing and voicing.

Example 1: Florence Price, My Soul's Been Anchored in de Lord (Meas. 5–8; 17–20; 24–26) (Comparison of Refrains and Verse). Music arranged by Florence Price. Copyright MCMXXXVII by Carl Fischer, Inc. N.Y. International Copyright secured. All rights reserved. Used by permission.
Example 2: *My Soul's Been Anchored in de Lord*  
(Harmonizations of final melodic cadence of refrain).
Other interesting harmonizations are used in the plagal cadence in measures 15-16; the progression from ii\(^7\) to iv\(^6\) in measures 14-15 is embellished by the insertion of a chromatically altered upper neighbor harmonized in parallel diminished seventh chords (Example 3).

Example 3: *My Soul's Been Anchored in de Lord*
(Measures 14-16)

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Finally, there is a rather complex chromatic progression that accompanies the second statement of verse 1 (meas. 21-23). This same melody, first heard at the beginning of verse 1 (meas. 17-19) was harmonized diatonically. For variety the composer set the repetition of the melody chromatically (Example 4).

Example 4: *My Soul's Been Anchored in de Lord*
(Measures 21-24)
In addition to the augmented fifth (III\(^7\) in A minor) and and the German augmented sixth chord, the composer has spiced the sound with dissonance. On the first beat of measure 22, the d" clashes with the d sharp'(e flat') and d'sharp clashes with the a. Both dissonances resolve on the second beat.

All in all this is a quite unexpected and imaginative harmonization of the simple melody. These examples of chromaticism coupled with the varied cadences testify to Mrs. Price's vivid harmonic imagination.

**Song for Snow.** This work, published by Carl Fischer, Inc., in 1957, is for chorus of mixed voices with piano in G Major. The lyrics are by Elizabeth Coatsworth and were originally published in *New Yorker Magazine* in 1934.

The poem falls into three parts, which are sharply delineated in Mrs. Price's musical setting. The first section (meas. 1-10) sets the winter scene of vast expanses of snow: "The world is wider than in spring, the world is lighter than the air. . . ." The second section (meas. 11-28) introduces sleighs on the white roads and the sound of sleigh bells. The third section (meas. 30-40) begins with a nostalgic observation that the birds are all gone south and the leaves are fallen on the ground. But this brief melancholy disappears with the realization that the mouths of the sleigh bells are singing trills like the birds and their leaf-like ears listen to the sound. Mrs. Price set the poem in A B A' form.

In the first section the empty sound of open fifths
in the accompaniment suggest the vast and empty expanses of snow. Then the principle motive, a light and airy theme outlining the tonic triad, begins in the soprano part (Example 5).

Example 5: Song for Snow - meas. 3-6. Music by Florence Price. Lyrics by Elizabeth Coatsworth, copyright MCMLVII by Carl Fischer, Inc. N.Y.: International copyright secured. All rights reserved. Used by Permission.

It is imitated by the alto and expanded slightly by the tenor. The tenors and basses are given supportive chord tones. The static tonic harmony through most of this section contributes to the sense of sameness created by a landscape covered with snow.

In the second section the composer imitates the sound of trotting horses pulling the sleigh by using a rather conventional ostinato throughout the section. There is alternation, every two measures, of melodic material between the soprano and tenor parts. In contrast to the first section, this section is treated in strict homophonic chordal style. The harmonic progressions in this section become more adventuresome, especially in the second half (meas. 18-28) where the composer uses a series of consecutive secondary dominants: \( \text{vii}^7 \) of \( V \), \( V^7 \) of \( iii \), \( V^9 \) of \( vi \). In measure 21 the progression is to a diminished chord (\( \text{vii}^7 \) of \( vi \)), then to an extended German augmented sixth (meas. 23-26) which begins to resolve conventionally to a tonic six-four (\( I^6_4 \)) in measure 27, only to change into a prolonged dissonant five-four (\( 5_4 \)) harmony...
which is not resolved until the last beat of measure 30
(Example 6).

Example 6: *(Song for Snow — meas. 18-31).*

In that measure the beginning of the next section overlaps
with the end of the preceding one. It is a nice effect and
makes for a smooth transition into the last section where
the airy motive of the first section returns much like the
beginning but without the open fifths in the accompaniment.

For the final cadence on the words "turn to the
sound," the composer writes a very sonorous progression in a
low and mellow register colored with a few chords borrowed
from G minor. Although the composition is only two minutes
in duration, it is filled with many descriptive musical ideas
which perfectly depict the simple, ingenuous text.

**The Moon Bridge.** This work for three part women's
chorus (SSA), was originally published by Gamble Hinged Music
Company in 1930 for solo voice and piano. The text is taken
from a book of poems written by Mary Rolofson Gamble, "mother
of Mr. Gamble, Sr.," of Gamble Hinged Music Company.¹ Mrs.
Price arranged this work for women's chorus during the summer
of 1950.²

¹Letter from Mrs. Price to Mr. Neumon Leighton,
September, 1950.
²Ibid.
This is a nostalgic piece that seeks to recall childhood fantasies which see, in the moon's rising out of the silver bay, the reflection on the water that seems to make a bridge between heaven and earth, on which fairies come out to play and dance in jeweled robes. There is even a miniature drama that unfolds in the middle section where a mist appears that made the moon bridge disappear. But all ends happily as the fairies glide away to their home in the rose tree's bowers and continue dancing.

Mrs. Price's musical setting is quite straightforward with regular phrases of four measures in length and a simple A B A form. There is a short piano introduction, interlude, and a postlude.

The descriptive sections, such as the beginning which tells how "the moon like a big round ball of flame rose out of the silver bay," are simple, triadic and diatonic. But where the magical happenings occur as in measures 17-18 where the poet "longed to stand on the magic bridge," the harmony becomes chromatic. For the most part the tonality is quite stable being principally in F major.

The middle section is in the key of A minor at its beginning. There is a nice harmonic touch near the end of the middle section where "the beautiful bridge went under the sea." The long dominant seventh on G (meas. 34-41) unexpectedly resolves as an augmented sixth chord, in B major, beautifully reflecting the feeling of the moon bridge slipping under the sea.
Rhythmically the composition is quite straightforward, and unvarying. The textures are homophonic throughout with little contrast. The composer has concentrated most of the musical interest in the unexpected and lovely chord progression.

Three Little Negro Dances. This work was published for piano by Theodore Presser Company in 1933. Mrs. Price also arranged them for two pianos. "Later the publisher had them arranged for both standard and symphonic bands by Eric Leidzen. They have been widely played by outstanding bands, notably the U.S. Marine Band. . . . They are syncopated and rather 'catchy'!" The three titles in the set are: "Hoe Cake," "Rabbit Foot" (both out-of-print), and "Ticklin' Toes".

"Ticklin' Toes" is a lively, rhythmically syncopated piece written for the elementary level. Written in $\frac{4}{8}$ meter, the tempo of the piece is fast (Allegro - M.M. = 138). The prominent rhythm $\frac{1}{4} \frac{3}{4}$, is varied slightly to provide contrast. The form is ternary with a coda (figure 2).

Figure 2: Form of Three Little Negro Dances by Florence B. Price.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Meas.</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Coda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8+8</td>
<td>8+8+8</td>
<td>8+8</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Letter from Mrs. Price to Mr. Neumon Leighton, September, 1950.
The A sections are the most strongly unified rhythmically and harmonically. In the B section, each of the eight measure phrases presents a new idea. The effect is very tuneful and rhythmic. In order not to detract from these elements, Mrs. Price has simplified the harmony enormously. It consists mostly of tonic and dominant harmony with very little chromaticism.

The Sea Swallow. This work was published by Clayton F. Summy Company in 1951. It is written in \( \frac{2}{4} \) meter and the tempo is Andantino (M.M. = 80).

This short, graceful piece is an etude in C major that is akin to the arpeggiated prelude of the Baroque era made famous by the first prelude in Bach's Well Tempered Clavier. Here the style is much simpler and there is also the added programmatic touch comparing the gliding motion of the hands to the flight of a sea swallow. The form is very simple binary, A A', with the second half consisting of a more prominent melody in sustained tones in the right hand. The two sections are held together by a short, six measures, chordal progression.
CHAPTER IV

MARGARET BONDS

Biographical Sketch

Margaret Bonds' interest in the black idiom in art stemmed from her childhood. Her mother, Estella C. Bonds, was an accomplished musician in Chicago with a wide circle of friends which included artists and humanitarians of all racial and religious groups. Margaret, a child prodigy, had opportunities for "actual physical contact with all the living composers of African descent"\(^1\) as well as with others who were eminent in their fields. These artists, of such vastly different temperaments and talents, influenced the direction her creative drive was to take her. Thus, in her childhood and youth, Margaret Bonds became close friends with such prominent artists as sculptor Richmond Barthe, poets Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen, soprano-actress Abbie Mitchell and composer Will Marion Cook.

Langston Hughes is one of the most respected and widely read of the black poets. Margaret Bonds had read much of his work before they met in her mother's home. Both black

artists found much that they had in common and became close friends, almost like close relatives, for the rest of their lives. It was through Hughes and others like him that she immersed herself in black literature and became thoroughly dedicated to the black experience. Also through him she cultivated the discriminating taste that served her well later in the choice of texts for her vocal works. For some of her greatest inspiration she turned to the works of Langston Hughes, *Three Dream Portraits*, and *The Negro Speaks of Rivers* among others. At her request, he wrote the libretto for her cantata *The Ballad of the Brown King*. All of these works will be discussed below in greater detail.

Her acquaintance with Abbie Mitchell was of a different order. The daughter of a black mother and Jewish father, Miss Mitchell was a renowned performer of German Lieder and French art songs as well as the music of composers of African descent. She introduced Bonds, still in her teens, to many volumes of vocal literature, "a cross section of the world's great songs." She taught her "the importance of the marriage between words and music which is demanded if one is to have a song of any consequence." Bonds' own settings of texts, whether drawn from the anonymity of the Spiritual text or from

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1 Interview with Miss Hortense Love, close friend of Margaret Bonds who sang much of Miss Bonds' music, Chicago, Illinois, May 18, 1973.


3 Ibid.
the works of established poets like Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen, show that these lessons were well learned. Rather, they were so well assimilated that her music fits the text as though the two were conceived together by one person. The settings are natural, expressive and highly effective.

Her association with Will Marion Cook led her toward a more popular type of composition. Miss Bonds herself wrote about this experience and her reaction as follows:

... and when composers like Will Marion Cook had an opportunity to present a Negro choir on NBC, I was sent to extract all of his choral parts, which, incidently, he changed daily. Even now, when I write something for choir and it's jazzy and bluesy and spiritual and Techaikowsky all rolled up into one, I laugh to myself, "That is Will Marion Cook."¹

Cook, with whom she corresponded through the years, once wrote to her: "... get right into the heart of Negro inspiration. ... Go where the Negro creates."² From these diverse sources, serious black poetry, European art songs and Afro-American popular music, Margaret Bonds fused a personal style thatutilizes the best qualities of each, but which remained unique.

Miss Bonds had an opportunity to show some of her works to the world-renowned teacher, Nadia Boulanger, in New York. Boulanger liked The Negro Speaks of Rivers, a setting

¹Letter from Will Marion Cook to Miss Bonds, n.d.

of Langston Hughes' poem which she had done earlier in her career, as well as her other compositions. Boulanger refused, however, to take Miss Bonds as a student saying that Margaret Bonds "had something" but she was not sure just what to do with it. She did tell Miss Bonds that her style of composition "felt right to her" and that she should continue to do whatever it was she was doing. She added that Bonds should not study with anyone and "certainly should never study fugue."¹ Boulanger's genius as a teacher is quite evident in her refusal to accept Margaret Bonds as a student. She instinctively knew that Bonds, through innate talent and previous study, had grasped certain European compositional techniques. Her style, however, abounded in a combination of these techniques and black improvisation to an extent that her own natural direction might easily have been stifled with further study of European traditions.

The basic facts about her life and career have been collected from friends and relatives in order to create a complete picture of the inheritance, background and experiences that went into the making of the composer.

Miss Bonds was born in Chicago and studied piano with her mother when she was barely out of infancy. Realizing her innate musical talents, Mrs. Bonds envisioned a career as a concert pianist for her daughter. Margaret's creative gifts, however, made themselves felt early and eventually won out.

She composed her first song at age five. The story of its creation was told by Miss Ruby Clark, a close friend of the Bonds' family, who also taught music. As a child Margaret often visited Miss Clark and her mother. She had to walk down Marquette Road to get to their house. During one visit, the five year old Margaret announced that she had composed a song called "The Marquette Road Blues." "Of course," said Miss Clark, "the piece was not written down but she played it proudly for us."¹ The composition was never put in written form.

While Miss Bonds was a student at Parker High School in Chicago, she began to study composition with Florence B. Price, with whom she also studied piano, and William Dawson. Mrs. Price had lived, for a short time, with the Bonds family and Margaret often helped her copy parts in meeting various contest deadlines. Throughout her high school and college years, Margaret Bonds had a variety of important experiences. She worked closely with various singers, such as Etta Moten and the already mentioned Abbie Mitchell. She played for the rehearsals and dance routines of Muriel Abbott, a well known dancer, in the Empire Room of the Palmer House in Chicago. When black composers, such as Noble Sissle, Dawson and Cook, had their works performed in Chicago, Margaret was often among those who copied parts. The inspiration and

¹Interview with Miss Ruby Clark, Chicago, Illinois, May 18, 1973.
wealth of knowledge gained through these experiences proved to have a great influence on the creative output of Margaret Bonds.

In high school also, she joined the National Association of Negro Musicians, an organization that has effectively promoted the cause of black music and musicians. Margaret Bonds became a charter member of the Junior Music Association which was organized in the mid-1920's. Her mother was one of the charter members of the NANM itself. Miss Bonds worked so effectively for the organization that Mr. Theodore Charles Stone stated that "Margaret Bonds represented all that is stated in the purpose of the NANM."  

After graduating from high school, Miss Bonds entered Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. She continued, along with other musical studies, to develop her compositional talents. She became more and more interested in the creative process and composed constantly. She would even write while riding the train to and from school each day, at times jotting down her ideas on the edges of magazine pages. At the age of twenty-one she had completed both the Bachelor of Music and Master of Music degrees at Northwestern.

In the early 1930's Margaret Bonds opened a school in Chicago for ballet, art and music called the Allied Arts

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1 Interview with Mrs. Nelmatilda Ritchie Woodard, close friend of Margaret Bonds and Director, Division of Music, Chicago Public School, Chicago, Illinois, May 20, 1973.

2 Interview with Mr. Stone, National President of NANM, concert singer, music critic and close friend of Miss Bonds, Chicago, Illinois, May 20, 1973.
Because this was during the Great Depression, the school did not fare well, so the project was eventually abandoned. "Margaret was always very eager and, despite the obvious economic problems of the times, she was determined to try this business venture."  

Later she decided that the opportunities for further study and a career as composer-pianist would be greater in New York City. So in 1939 she moved to New York where her talent and industry took her through many successful experiences. She first worked for a short time as an editor for a music company where her duties also included composing for people who could not write their own music. Harry Revel, a well known writer in Hollywood, was among the musicians for whom she edited music. She was also successful in getting a number of her popular songs published such as "Peach Tree Street," "Georgia," and "Spring Will be so Sad." The first two were done in collaboration with Andy Razaff and Joe Davis and the last with H. Dickinson. "Peach Tree Street" and "Spring Will be so Sad" were also recorded by various artists including Glenn Miller, Charley Spivak, Woody Hermann and The Three Suns. 

In 1940 Margaret met and married Lawrence Richardson, a probation officer with the Supreme Court in New York. The couple's only child, a daughter, was named Djane after Djane

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1 Interview with Miss Ruby Clark.

2 Interview with Margaret Bonds' husband and daughter Lawrence and Djane Richardson, New York City, May 28, 1973.
Herz with whom Margaret had studied piano at the Juilliard School of Music. She also studied piano with Henry Levine and composition privately with Roy Harris, Robert Starer and Emerson Harper, whose wife, Toy, encouraged Margaret Bonds' interest and dedication to the black experience.

Miss Bonds had wide theater experience in New York and also formed the Margaret Bonds Chamber Society which prepared and presented concerts featuring black musicians and the works of black composers. Her other experiences included a career as concert pianist, private piano teacher and church musician.

As a concert pianist Miss Bonds performed in Canada and the United States appearing as guest soloist with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Chicago Women's Symphony Orchestra, Scranton Philharmonic Orchestra and the New York City Symphony Orchestra. The program given by the Chicago Women's Symphony was especially interesting, being devoted to women in music. Miss Bonds performed Florence B. Price's *Concerto in F Minor*. She also appeared on radio programs in New York and on Mary Astor's Showcase, CBS radio, in Hollywood. Miss Bonds gave concerts in Orchestra Hall in Chicago and Town Hall in New York City. As a member of duo-piano teams she toured with Gerald Cook, Calvin Jackson—both her piano students—and Frances Kraft Reckling. They appeared both in concerts and night clubs such as New York's Cafe Society, Spivy's Roof, Cerutti's and the Ritz Tower Hotel and at the Jai-Lai in
Columbus, Ohio.

Margaret Bonds' career as a private teacher of piano began in Chicago and she continued to teach in New York. Teaching was an important part of her career. She also taught at the American Theatre Wing; served on the staff of Stage for Youth in New York and later taught both piano and music theory at the Los Angeles Inner City Institute. Miss Bonds also gave a number of lectures concerning her music, black music and black musicians. "She felt that it was especially important for black children to understand their heritage... and that they have an appreciation for music even if they had no plans for a career in music. For this reason teaching was an important phase of her career."¹

The church was also a great influence in Miss Bonds' life. She had been brought up in the Baptist tradition. She was very proud of the fact that her mother, a teacher, was also a church organist. She was impressed with the black church. When Dr. Monroe A. Wall, pastor of the Mt. Calvary Baptist Church in Harlem, wanted to improve the music of his church she readily agreed to help. The idea was to begin teaching more "serious" music. Miss Bonds began with a program designed to teach the people to read music and sight sing. She felt that this was especially important for the young people. She was concerned that music be learned systematically rather than haphazardly.

¹Interview with the Richardsons.
Margaret Bonds believed in the oneness with God and "she felt that we were all put here for a purpose."\(^1\) She believed that God had meant her to be a composer in spite of the fact that her mother strongly encouraged her to pursue a career as a concert pianist. Her whole life was centered around music. There was a single-mindedness of purpose. Composing was a great joy for her and nothing disturbed her thought when she was writing. She would often work late into the night or, for example, when she took her daughter to dancing class she worked busily on a score while other mothers exchanged gossip.\(^2\) She was able to shut out everything else when working on her music. Unlike some composers, she was, according to her family, very organized in all that she did, and her plans were always well thought out.

In composition Margaret Bonds' interest was primarily in the "development of the Negro idiom into larger forms." Her works include either spiritual melodies or original melodies in spiritual style. Her works are often very pianistic and, in many instances, are difficult to perform. When reproached about the difficulties, she refused to compromise her principles in this respect.\(^3\) Many of the accompaniments in her spiritual arrangements bear this out. The melodic lines are simple and the accompaniments compliment, not duplicate, with a counter-flow of ideas against the melodic line.

\(^1\)Interview with the Richardsons.

\(^2\)Ibid.

\(^3\)Interview with Miss Hortense Love.
Even with the seeming complexity in the often rhythmic and syncopated accompaniments, there is a basic simplicity which comes through.

Miss Bonds' compositions include art songs, choral works, orchestral works, piano pieces and popular songs. Her works have been included in the repertoires of several leading artists such as Betty Allen, Carol Brice, Eugene Brice, McHenry Boatwright, Adele Addison, Todd Duncan, Hortense Love, Charlotte Holloman, Theodore Charles Stone, William Warfield, Martina Arroya, and Leontyne Price. Miss Price often commissioned Margaret Bonds to make special spiritual arrangements for her. She was also commissioned by her life-long friend, Hortense Love, to arrange five spirituals, collected from the music of Creek-Freedmen. The Creek-Freedmen are "a mixture of Creek Indian and Negro."¹ These five spirituals were first performed at Miss Love's Town Hall debut.

Margaret Bonds received numerous scholarships, fellowships and awards including the NANM Scholarship, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority Scholarship, Rodman Wanamaker Award in Composition, Julius Rosenwald Fellowship, Roy Harris Fellowship, Honor Roll of Most Distinguished Negro Women of the Century (Illinois Centennial Authority), and ASCAP Awards 1964-66. In 1967 she received the Alumni Medal, "the highest distinction granted by Northwestern University to its alumni members.

who have achieved eminence in their communities and fields of endeavor." Other Northwestern alumni who were also honored at the same Honors Convocation included Arthur Goldberg, U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations, George S. McGovern, U. S. Senator and Patricia Neal, actress.

The recognition by her alma mater was an especially important event in Margaret Bonds' life because it represented real progress toward her goals of establishing the black idiom in the arts as well as unbiased acceptance of the black artist. She well remembered that when she had attended Northwestern University during the Depression years, there had been only a few black students there, but they were denied free access to some facilities because of their race. Because of the progress her award represented in overcoming traditional biases and prejudices, Miss Bonds was understandably proud of the honor. The following citation was included in the program:

Truly a master musician, Margaret Bonds has given full measure of her special talent to the world. A "goodwill ambassador" extraordinary, she has been invited coast-to-coast in America and to foreign lands, including Russia and Africa, to hear her compositions performed by student choirs. She is a brilliant pianist, having an extensive background of concertizing with leading orchestras. Many of her works have been recorded by noted artists. The outstanding achievements of Margaret Bonds are a source of great pride to her alma mater.

In 1967 Miss Bonds attended the NANM convention in Los Angeles, California and met a friend whom she had helped many years before. This meeting led to an invitation to

return to California to work in films and other musical projects which she accepted. While in California she became associated with the Inner City Cultural Center and served as teacher and musical director there until her death in April, 1972. One of her works, *Credo* for chorus and orchestra, was premiered by the Los Angeles Symphony conducted by Zubin Mehta in 1972.¹

Margaret Bonds was an indefatigable worker. As a composer she made a truly significant contribution to American music.

Analysis of Works

*The Ballad of the Brown King.* The idea that one of the men who visited Christ after His birth was a man of color² fascinated Margaret Bonds, a deeply religious black woman. She wanted to celebrate the event so she commissioned her close friend, the black poet Langston Hughes, to write a libretto on the subject of the birth of Christ with focus on

¹Interview with the Richardsons.

²In the Gospel according to St. Mathew, the Wise Men are identified only as being "from the east." During the Middle Ages it became traditional to interpret Psalm 72:10 as prophesying the visit of the Wise Men to the Christ Child. It reads, "The kings of Tarshish and the isles of Araby shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts." Sheba or Saba is the region in southern Arabia encompassing Yeman and the Hadramaut (south coast of the Red Sea). In early Christian times Sheba colonized Ethiopia which lies directly across the Red Sea from it. Ethiopia twice held the south coast and Yemen, from 300 to 378 and from 525 to 570. There is also a legend that the Queen of Sheba's legendary visit to King Soloman (1 Kings:10) resulted in her bearing him a child, Menelek, from whom the Abyssinians are descended.
the fact that one of the three wise men, Bathazar, was a member of a dark-skinned race.

The original composition, of shorter duration than the final published version, had its premiere on December 12, 1954 in New York City. After that performance she put the manuscript away and, for all practical purposes, forgot about it until certain significant happenings in the civil rights movement recalled it to her attention. She was especially attracted to the successful direction of the Montgomery, Alabama passive resistance movement by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. She was deeply impressed by the non-violent philosophy of Dr. King. These ideas were reinforced by an earlier interest in the heroism of Martin Luther, champion of religious freedom for the German people.  

One can notice certain interesting associations between the subject of the Cantata and Dr. King. Bathazar was a dark-skinned wise—man who was a king. Martin Luther King was a dark-skinned wise man whose name was King, who exhibited a royal command of his people. Moreover, both Dr. King and Bathazar took part in events surrounding the birth of a new movement of a socio-religious nature.

The completed work was performed by the Westminister Choir of the Church of the Master in New York City and televised by CBS on "Christmas U.S.A." on December 11, 1960.  

1Miss Bonds had written a treatise on Luther's life and hymns while she was a student at Northwestern University.

The Ballad of the Brown King was originally scored for chorus, soloists and orchestra, but, when published the orchestral part was reduced to piano score.

The work is divided into nine movements. The text presents the traditional Christmas story but focuses on the "brown" wise man. The mixed chorus is the predominant ensemble used by Miss Bonds. It forms the basis of seven of the nine movements. It is used either by itself (movements 2, 3, 8) or with soprano, alto, tenor or baritone soloists (movements 1, 4, 6, 9). The remaining two movements are either for men's chorus (movement 5) or women's chorus (movement 7). This work, in keeping with Miss Bonds' interest in the "development of the Negro idiom into larger forms," has characteristics of the spiritual, jazz, calypso style rhythms, blues and folk styles. She makes frequent use of syncopated rhythms, and contrasting rhythmic complexities. The Cantata is cyclic in that the opening melodic idea (Example 7), recurs, with some variations, in several different movements throughout the work. Other thematic material is given cyclic treatment in various movements.

Example 7: Margaret Bonds, The Ballad of the Brown King, Movement 1, measures 1-3. Copyright 1961 by Sam Fox Publishing Co., Inc. Used by permission.
The libretto is written in plain, direct and eloquent language typical of Langston Hughes. The first movement text introduces the subject of the Cantata: "Of the three wise men who came to the King, one was a brown, so they sing. Alleluia." The movement, for tenor solo and chorus, begins with a piano introduction which sets the mood of the work. The melodic line is based on the pure form of the F minor scale which suggests an exotic Eastern atmosphere. There is a change from the minor to the major mode during the first six measures (F minor to the relative A flat major). This alternation of modes occurs throughout this movement. The relationship of keys used in this movement is close: F minor – A flat major – F major.

The tenor solo announces the subject of the Cantata, "Of the three wise men..." much like a minister announces a sermon text. The solo is very brief, only four measures long, both in the beginning of the movement (meas. 9-13) and when it returns at measure 36. The melodic material of the solo recurs in complete and fragmented form in the choral parts.

Two basic musical ideas are presented in this movement: (1) the material for the tenor solo; (2) the choral idea on the word "Alleluia" (Example 8).
Example 8: The Ballad of the Brown King, Mov't. 1 - meas. 9-13; 15-16.

The chorus follows the soloist, singing a slow moving, legato "Alleluia" in the upper three voices (SAT). This material, against a staccato, contrasting idea in the basses, is in a choral style. The contrast is created with an eighth-note staccato pattern divided on the second and fourth beats of each measure for the basses. The melodic and textual material of the opening tenor solo is echoed in the choral section which follows (meas. 19-22). Miss Bonds expands upon this material throughout the movement. The movement ends with a return of the material of the introduction as a postlude for the piano.

The second movement is for mixed chorus and is more sombre than the first movement. The tempo is much slower \( J = 84 \) than that of the first movement \( J = 108 \). The use of seventh chords in succession, widely spaced, and parallel
tenths shows a jazz influence. The chords appear primarily in the vocal parts with counter melodic material in the piano accompaniment.

The text describes the "fine gifts" brought by the wise men: "... silver and gold in jeweled boxes of beauty untold..." The rich chords used serve to describe the text musically."

Miss Bonds uses syncopated rhythms and suggestions of syncopation showing more of the influence of the jazz idiom (Example 9). Quartal harmony, C-F-B flat - E flat - A flat, is used prominently in this movement at measures 15, 21, 37 (Example 9, meas. 21).

Example 9: The Ballad of the Brown King, Mov't. 2 - meas. 20-21).

The movement ends with descending ninth chords moving in half steps and a final quartal chord. This chord is sustained in the choral parts over a piano accompaniment that is based on the introduction of this movement. The descending chords are especially effective in depicting the final statement in the text: "They came and bowed their heads in Jesus' name."

The third movement, also for mixed chorus, is a capella and is written in a spiritual style. The text is
"Sing Alleluia to our King," with the emphasis on the word "Alleluia."

The predominant characteristics of this movement are simple four part harmony with traditional progressions, repetitive patterns and a limited melodic range. The simplicity, repetitions and limitations of the melodic line are characteristic of the folk style found in spirituals. The form of the movement is strophic. This is the shortest movement of the work, only eight measures repeated.

The fourth movement, for soprano solo and mixed chorus, is based on a combination of contrasting rhythms and is reminiscent of calypso song styles. The text speaks of the birth of Jesus:

Mary had a little baby,
Jesus, that was His name.
All the world became much brighter
When little Jesus, the Christ-child came.
That was in a lowly manger
outside the night was cold.

But within that lowly manger,
Behold how warm His love is;
Oh, behold!
Mary had a little baby,
in the night a bright star shone.
I, so lost and lonely,
Nevermore shall be alone.

Miss Bonds uses a ternary form in this movement with the following scheme:
Introduction  A  B  A  Postlude

Soprano  Chorus  Chorus &
Solo  Sop.Solo

The piano introduction sets the mood with two contrasting rhythms: a syncopated rhythm in the right hand against an on-the-beat pattern in the left hand. The quarter-note triplets in measure 3 add to the feeling of syncopation (Example 10).

Example 10:  Ballad of the Brown King, Mov't. 4 - Meas. 1-3.

The soprano solo is based on the material of the introduction with contrasting rhythms in the accompaniment. The basic accompaniment rhythm (\(\text{\(\cdot\cdot\cdot\)}\)) is continued when the chorus enters at measure 17 with a dotted, though less syncopated, idea. At measure 25 the women's voices have a contrasting idea based on the solo rhythm (\(\text{\(\cdot\cdot\cdot\)}\)) against the basic accompaniment rhythm.

Abrupt changes of harmony (meas. 28-29) create a dissonant effect. This is reinforced with the wide spacing of the vocal parts against the closed positions of the chords in the accompaniment. A brief piano interlude, based on the
opening melodic idea, leads to the return of the solo which is heard in unison with the tenors and basses. The sopranos and altos sing a counter idea in even rhythm as an obbligato accompaniment. The movement ends with the voices in four part harmony and a brief piano postlude based on the solo material.

The fifth movement, for men's chorus, has an introduction which is based on material from the introduction of the first movement. In this introduction the rhythm is varied with slower note values; but the general melodic material is the same.

The form of this movement is binary with an asymmetrical structure. In the first section the tenors and basses sing the first four lines of the text in a straightforward narrative in octaves.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{C min.:} & \text{Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem,} \\
&\text{F maj.:} & \text{Behold there came wise men from the East saying,} \\
&\text{C maj.:} & \text{"Where is He that is born?"} \\
&\text{For we have seen His star in the East."}
\end{align*}
\]

The second section consists of the last line of text sung in harmony in response to the first section. The key scheme reflects the meaning of the text. It begins in C natural minor, a subdued and slightly oriental sound underscoring the text's announcement that Jesus was born in Bethlehem in the days of Herod the King. Then the arrival of the wise men from the East coincides with the arrival of the fresh, new key of F major. Finally, for the last section in which the wise men
announce they have seen His star in the east, the composer
returns to the key of C but in a major rather than a minor
mode. These are simple but effective techniques which raise
this work above the ordinary.

The first section is mildly dissonant with the voices
singing a relatively simple legato melodic line in unison
against a repetitive pattern in the accompaniment. The dis-
sonance is created partly through the suggestion of ninth
and eleventh chords which suggest on polychordal treatment at
times (Example 11).

Example 11: The Ballad of the Brown King, Mov't 5 -
meas. 20-21 .

In the second section the mood also changes. The
voices enter with a lyrical legato idea in triadic harmony
with new accompaniment. The vocal lines in this section move
in a step-wise fashion in contrast to the more disjunct quality
of the unison line of the first section. The accompaniment
pattern is repetitive with only slight variations.
The text of the sixth movement is speculative and concerned with the identity of the tall, dark, wise man. "Could he have been an Ethiope . . . ? Could he have been an Egyptian King . . . ?" The poet indicates that the true identity is not known but "he was a kingly man," a wise man who "followed the star that night." A personal note is added in the last lines of the text:

Of all the kings who came to call,
One was dark like me,
And I'm so glad that he was there
Our little Christ to see.

The movement, scored for baritone solo, soprano and tenor duet and mixed chorus, has an introduction that is also based on the material from the first movement. The rhythms of this introduction are different from those of the first movement, but the melodic and harmonic structures remain nearly the same.

The baritone solo, which begins at measure 14, uses exactly the same pitches as in the opening melodic idea from the introduction of the first movement. The solo passage is made up of phrases that generally end with upward inflections to indicate the questions presented in the text. The style of this solo is quasi-recitative.

The choral entry at measure 26 repeats the statements of bewilderment of the solo text. There is imitative treatment of the choral material at measures 45–47 re-emphasizing the speculation of the text. The altos present a motive at measure 45 which is imitated in measure 46 by the sopranos at
the interval of a fourth. The basses present the same material in measure 47 at the octave in imitation of the original alto theme. The imitation is of the one measure alto motive only (Example 12).

Example 12: The Ballad of the Brown King, Mov't. 6 - meas. 45-47.

A combination of various rhythms, in dialogue style, is presented in a brief section beginning at measure 52.

A transitional passage for piano leads to the tenor solo which presents the portion of the text in which the poet has interjected his personal feelings. The piano interlude is interrupted abruptly at measure 72 to present an accompaniment introducing the tenor solo which begins at measure 74. The soprano and tenor duet begins at measure 82, in unison, and is a literal repeat of the tenor solo. This is presented against a chant-like choral accompaniment. The chant-like quality is intensified by the piano accompaniment with its chordal right hand and staccato single eighth notes in the left hand. At measure 92 the final section of the movement begins, and is in a sombre mood with a homophonic choral style. The accompaniment of this section is chordal over a D pedal to the end of the movement.
The seventh movement, for women's chorus, is the most rhythmically energetic section in the work. The form is strophic: two strophes with an introduction and piano interlude. The formal scheme is presented in the figure below.

Figure 3: Formal scheme of Mov't. 7 — The Ballad of the Brown King

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>Strophe 1</th>
<th>Interlude</th>
<th>Strophe 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Voices and Piano</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Voices and Piano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Meas.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The text, similar to the texts of the first two movements, here suggests that one "sing of a king who was tall and brown," who followed the single star across the desert from a distant land to bring gifts to the Christ child.

The piano introduction begins with a very rhythmic jazz-like style. The vocal parts, in contrast, are less active rhythmically and are in three part harmony. The accompaniment makes use of the rhythmic introductory material at the end of each vocal phrase. The use of triplets (meas. 19, 23, 49, 53 - of vocal part; meas. 43, 45 - of the accompaniment) and the downward two-note slurs (meas. 71, 73, 76, 80 - of vocal part) suggest a performance style similar to that found in the blues and jazz styles (Example 13).
A piano interlude, based on material found in the first and sixth movements, occurs before the second strophe. The movement ends with a slightly varied restatement of the material of the first strophe.

The eighth movement is short, only 17 measures long, and is for mixed chorus. The text is like a summary statement and repeats the textual material of the first movement:

That was a Christmas long ago,
When the three wise men bowed so low.
The three wise men who followed the star;
One was a brown man from afar. . . .

This movement draws its musical ideas from the first and second movements. The introduction is an exact repetition of the introduction of the second movement and the vocal material is similar to that of the first movement. Although it is not so marked, because of its length and transitory impression, this movement is actually a transition to the
final movement.

The last movement is for soprano and alto duet and mixed chorus. The text is an exclamation of praise for Christ the King. Based primarily on the one word "Alleluia," there are two interjections: "He is Christ the King!" and "Praise His name!"

The movement begins softly with a repeated A flat in the basses and piano for two measures. To this is added the tenors and altos with alternating F minor and B flat major triads. The A flat is dropped by the basses in measure 3 but is continued as a pedal in the accompaniment to measure 20.

The alternating chords and the A flat pedal serve as an accompaniment to the syncopated alto solo (meas. 5-12), and the duet. The duet (meas. 13-20) is a repetition of the alto solo in two-part harmony.

At measure 21, a rhythmically intricate section begins with material similar to that of the first movement. The tenors sing a legato "Alleluia" while the basses sing a staccato "Alleluia" in an eighth note pattern on the second and fourth beats. These ideas are taken from measures 15-18 of the first movement. The women's voices have a contrasting syncopated rhythm in three parts on the text "He is Christ the King" against the material of the male voices (Example 14).
Example 14: Margaret Bonds, Ballad of the Brown King, Mov't. 9 — Rhythm of meas. 21-22.

A lengthy piano interlude based on the material from measures 21-28 of this movement leads to a new section at measure 53. This section is based on material from the first movement. The Cantata closes with the chorus singing the legato "Alleluia" previously sung by the tenor voices. The voices are in unison and the accompaniment continues the material of the interlude. The final measure is an exciting full chorus (four part) statement of "Christ the King" in syncopation immediately following a dramatic measure of rest.

This cyclic work represents diverse sources and styles of compositional techniques. Miss Bonds drew from the spiritual style (folk style), jazz rhythms and harmonies as well as styles associated with the European tradition, especially that found in operatic styles such as quasi-recitative material and imitative passages. Concerning this last influence, Miss Bonds once wrote:

"The "so-called Negro" in America today is a marginal person. He is 'neither white nor black.' He is a Judeo-Christian by religion. Most times his blood is very mixed. His influences, if he is educated are mostly European. He uses European techniques to express his talents. What other techniques could he possibly know?" 1

Table I: Medium, Form, Keys of each movement of Margaret Bonds' *The Ballad of the Brown King*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Tempo</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Form and/or Character</th>
<th>Keys Used (in order)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Of the Three Wise Men</td>
<td>( \mathfrak{d} = 108 ) ( 67 ) meas.</td>
<td>Tenor Solo with Mixed Chorus</td>
<td>Strophic</td>
<td>( f \quad A^b \quad F ) ( A^b \quad F )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. They Brought Fine Gifts</td>
<td>( \mathfrak{d} = 84 ) ( 40 ) meas.</td>
<td>Mixed Chorus</td>
<td>Through-Composed</td>
<td>( A^b )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sing Alleluia</td>
<td>( \mathfrak{d} = 80 ) ( 8 ) meas. (repeated)</td>
<td>Mixed Chorus ( (\text{a cappella}) )</td>
<td>Choral interjection</td>
<td>( E^b )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mary Had A Little Baby</td>
<td>( \mathfrak{d} = 100 ) ( 52 ) meas.</td>
<td>Soprano Solo and Mixed Chorus</td>
<td>Strophic</td>
<td>( E^b )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Now When Jesus was Born</td>
<td>( \mathfrak{d} = 69 ) ( 83 ) meas.</td>
<td>Men's Chorus</td>
<td>Binary (verse - refrain)</td>
<td>( c \quad F \quad C )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Could He Have Been An Ethiope</td>
<td>( \mathfrak{d} = 69 ) ( 109 ) meas.</td>
<td>Baritone Solo; Soprano and Tenor duet and Mixed Chorus</td>
<td>Through-Composed</td>
<td>( f \quad (F) \quad f \quad (g) \quad d \quad D )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table I: (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Tempo</th>
<th>No. of meas.</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Form and/or Character</th>
<th>Keys Used (in order)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Oh, Sing Of A King Who Was Tall and Brown</td>
<td>J = 104 meas.</td>
<td>Women's Chorus</td>
<td>Strophic form, with a piano interlude between strophes</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. That Was A Christmas Long Ago</td>
<td>J = 80 meas.</td>
<td>Mixed Chorus</td>
<td>Transitional</td>
<td>A^b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three Dream Portraits. This work for voice and piano was published by G. Ricordi in 1959. The texts are by Langston Hughes. One of the songs, *Dream Variation*, was written for Adele Addison and the other two, *Minstrel Man* and *I, Too*, were written for Lawrence Winters. Both of these black singers were once associated with the New York City Opera Company.

The three poems by Langston Hughes that Margaret Bonds chose to set to music depict related segments of the black experience. The first, *Minstrel Man*, is the grimmest with its bitter contrast between the minstrel man's gay facade and his inner feelings. The second and third, however, are full of hope, exploring feelings of being black and expressing irrepressible good humor in the face of adversity. *Dream Variation* is expansive; the imagery is first energetic: "fling my arms wide," "to whirl and to dance," and then calm, "rest at pale evening," "night coming tenderly, black like me." *I, Too* is confident, proud and patriotic without chauvinism. Thus the three poems show a progression from despair and resignation to confident hope which perhaps reflects the reality of black existence in America from, say, the first part of the twentieth century until the late 1950's when the songs were written. Langston Hughes originally published the poems in 1932 in a collection called "The Dream Keeper," but the composer chose these three from all the rest, and arranged them in this order deliberately to reflect changing attitudes.

The settings are not related musically. At most one
might try to relate them by their forms, which are all essentially strophic. But the composer has given us three different interpretations of strophic form. In *Dream Variation* the vocal parts of both strophes are quite similar, but in *I, Too* the second strophe takes the form of a freely improvised restatement of the first strophe. Intimate acquaintance is essential to recognition of this structure. Then *Minstrel Man* is somewhere between these two structurally. The first half of each strophe is nearly identical in both melody and accompaniment, but the second halves part company. Only the prominent use of long, sustained tones on words like "pain," "long," "known," and "die," show that the two parts are related. The work is a series of mood paintings which abound in characteristics of the jazz style.

**Minstrel Man**

Because my mouth
Is wide with laughter
And my throat
Is deep with song,
You do not think
I suffer after
I have held my pain
So long?

Because my mouth
Is wide with laughter
You do not hear
My inner cry?
Because my feet
Are gay with dancing
You do not know
I die?

---

The first song, *Minstrel Man*, begins in C minor with a syncopated ostinato that sounds like weary ragtime. Just before the voice enters, however, the mode changes to C major as the minstrel man puts on the wide grin with which he habitually greets the public. In something like spiritual style, each short phrase of the text ends with a long tone that is sustained for at least a measure, until the next phrase begins. Then at the end of the strophe the sustained tones lengthen out to twice their former value on the words "I have held my pain so long." This kind of writing could easily be overdone, but Miss Bonds does not exaggerate; her setting is appropriate to the text, and the old minstrel style that she seeks to suggest, muted in the background.

Prominent examples of word painting are found at measures 23-26 on the word "long," and 45-48 on the word "die," where long sustained tones are used. In measures 35-38 the accompaniment rhythm suggests the idea of dancing expressed in the text. Rhythmically the song is unified by a varied ostinato which supports the entire piece except for nine measures near the end of the last strophe which is the emotional high point on the words "Because my feet are gay with dancing, you do not know I die." There, in order to intensify the climax, the rhythm of the accompaniment changes to a simple syncopated chordal pattern. At this point all attention is focused on the countermelody in the right hand of the piano and the vocal line which moves up to g" and a". The ostinato
changes continuously as shown in Example 15 while maintaining the sense of rhythmic continuity that is essential to support the vocal line with its constant alternation of movement and pause on a sustained tone.

Tonally the composition is quite simple. It is all in the key of C minor; but harmonically it is rich and complex with a great many altered chords—secondary dominants, and Phrygian relationships—sevenths, ninths, elevenths and thirteenth chords, and polyharmonies—one chord in the right hand and another in the left hand. Progressions are often unexpected as in measures 12-13 where a dominant seventh is resolved deceptively to a $D^b$ major harmony built on the lowered second degree of the scale, an alternation suggesting a sudden shift to the Phrygian mode (Example 16).

Example 15: Variants of the ostinato pattern of Minstrel Man.

Example 16: Minstrel Man - meas. 12-15.
The progression is complicated by the F flat major appoggiatura chord (spelled $A^b C^b E$) in the right hand in measures 13-14 that resolves to D flat major. The third relationship, such as this between F flat and D flat, is a favorite progression of Miss Bonds. It is a frequently heard root relationship in spirituals, and it is also common in late nineteenth century European music. This being the case, it is not surprising to hear progressions of this type frequently throughout her compositions.

Another effective progression occurs a short time later, measures 19-23, at the end of the first strophe on the words "I suffer after I have held my pain so long" (Example 17).

Example 17: Minstrel Man - meas. 19-23. Copyright 1959 by Belwin-Mills Publishing Corp. Used by permission.

In measure 19 the composer writes a minor dominant, a chord with a lowered seventh scale degree, a typical feature of black music from spirituals to New Orleans jazz. Also one
notes that the voice gives emphasis to the word "suffer" with an ornament. The composer uses devices like this sparingly so that their effect is not weakened. In the next measure the left hand of the accompaniment changes to an A flat major chord (VI in C minor), while the right hand repeats the fifth (D-G) of the chord in the preceding measure. Thus, instead of progressing conventionally in blocks, the harmonies overlap. In the next measure accompanying the words "held my pain," the chord is basically a dominant thirteenth of the dominant. This chord ordinarily would be spelled D F sharp A C E G B and several of the tones, such as the fifth, ninth and eleventh, would probably be omitted. Miss Bonds, however, uses them all either in a harmonic or melodic capacity, some with alternation. A becomes A flat (in the voice), E becomes E flat and B becomes B flat. In addition, the major third, F sharp, is colored by the addition of a simultaneous F natural in the right hand of the piano. In the next measure, still accompanying the word "pain," the composer introduces another clash between the major third in the right hand of the piano and the minor third in the voice. Finally, in measure 23 we reach the tonic at the end of the first strophe. Within the strophes the tonic is avoided. Thus the composer enriches the simple melody with her remarkably fertile harmonic imagination. At the end of the second strophe, in the same relative position, the harmonies become quite thick and impressionistic, especially in measures
38-41 on the words "You do not know I die." Although the desired climactic effect is achieved by this means, the choice of harmonies is less original than in the passage previously illustrated. One might say that Miss Bonds' music is most effective when she relies on her own imagination, rather than falling back on convention.

**Dream Variation¹**

To fling my arms wide  
In some place of the sun,  
To whirl and to dance  
Till the white day is done.  
Then rest at cool evening  
Beneath a tall tree  
While night comes on gently,  
   Dark like me --  
That is my dream!

To fling my arms wide  
In the face of the sun,  
Dance! Whirl! Whirl!  
Till the quick day is done.  
Rest at pale evening. . . .  
A tall, slim tree. . . .  
Night coming tenderly  
Black like me.

The poem of **Dream Variation** is simply constructed. In allusion to the title, the second strophe is a close variant of the first. The same thoughts and feelings are expressed in parallel with the first strophe, but with changes of detail. "White day," "cool evening," "tall tree" and "gently dark" in the first strophe become "quick day," "pale evening," "tall, slim tree" and "tenderly Black" in the second. The rather neutral thoughts "To whirl and to dance" become

¹Hughes, *The Dream Keeper*, p. 69.
imperative in the second strophe—"Dance! Whirl!" Miss Bonds responds to this poem on its own terms. The form is simple strophic in the voice which pronounces the text. The piano, on the other hand, is not bound by a text and so the accompaniment to the second strophe differs markedly from the first in melody, harmony, rhythm and texture. Here we have the unusual example of a voice part in strophic form with a through composed accompaniment.

This song is less active rhythmically than the other two songs. The slower tempo and the rocking movement of the accompaniment sets a tranquil mood which might be associated with the idea of dreaming suggested by the text.

Probably in allusion to dreaming, the tonality of this composition is more ambiguous than that of Minstrel Man. The key signature of four sharps implies E major or C sharp minor. The voice, however, begins in G major as shown in Example 18.

Example 18: Dream Variation - meas. 4-7. Copyright 1959 by Belwin-Mills Publishing Corp. Used by permission.
The first two measures of the melody are pentatonic, using only the tones G A C D E, harmonized as a dominant ninth in G major. Then when the sustained tones on "sun" (F sharp) and "dance" (B) are introduced in the third and fourth measures of the melody, they appear fresh and dramatic because they fill in the gaps of the G scale that is only suggested at the beginning. The B, however, is harmonized as the fifth of a dominant ninth of IV in E rather than the third of the tonic on G. Embellishing the conventional $V^9$ harmony in measures 4-5 are parallel quartal chords, which recur frequently throughout the song with this simple undulating motive, and dance rhythm on the word "dance."

Throughout the song the harmonization is unconventional. The first strophe, for example, ends in E major but the progression from the time the voice enters until it reaches
the final cadence at the end of the strophe does not follow the traditional pattern of root relationships by ascending fourths and descending fifths. From measures 4-14, the first strophe, the progression is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4-6</th>
<th>7-8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10-11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G Major</td>
<td>E Major</td>
<td>F Major</td>
<td>A Major</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the root relationships are primarily by step, third, and tritone.

The composer shows her fondness for the third related progression near the end of the second strophe on the words "pale evening . . . a tall, slim tree." The mood is relaxed and the progression reflects it by drifting from C sharp minor to A major and back, then changing suddenly to C sharp major and continuing on through A and F major as illustrated in Example 19. This passage, in keeping with the feelings expressed in Example 19: *Dream Variation* - meas. 22-23.
the text, lacks the tension of other passages in Miss Bonds' songs.

Finally, another interesting harmonic subtlety concerns the use of parallel sevenths in the first part of the piece for harmonic coloring. The progression is not related to any particular part of the text. These progressions (meas. 8, 13) are related to the progression of parallel quartal chords that the composer uses periodically throughout the song. Near the end, however, the parallel sevenths change to octaves in measures 20-21, giving a sense of resolution as we approach the end of the song.

Dream Variation is the shortest of the three songs with only 27 measures. The first song is 48 measures and the last song is 41 measures long.

I, Too

I, too, sing America
I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.

Tomorrow,
I'll sit at the table
When company comes.
Nobody'll dare
Say to me,
"Eat in the kitchen,"
Then.

Besides,
They'll see how beautiful I am
And be ashamed --
I, too, am America.

Hughes, The Dream Keeper, p. 76.
I, Too is the most aggressive, dynamically and rhythmically, of the three songs. The introduction begins with a melodic motive in the left hand of the piano and is characterized by a syncopated rhythm. A variety of rhythmic patterns is characteristic of this piece, the most prominent being the triplets in both quarter note patterns (meas. 13, 23-24, 28-29, 33-34) and eighth note patterns (meas. 26). The accompaniment is marked by syncopated patterns throughout the song.

This song is simpler harmonically than Minstrel Man and Dream Variation. There are more triads and open chords and the last strophe is dominated by a harmonic-rhythmic ostinato that is based on just two chords which are repeated for ten measures (Example 20).


In this song the composer concerns herself with the intricacies of melodic variation for the melody of the second strophe is a very free, quasi-improvisatory variant of the first (Example 21). The two parts begin alike and come
together occasionally on single notes, but in between these concordances, the second part differs widely from the first. Example 21 is written so that the two strophes can be carefully compared. The points of contact are tabulated in the figure below.

Figure 4: Points of contact between strophes 1 and 2 of I, Too.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Strophe</th>
<th>Second Strophe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meas. 6-7</td>
<td>Meas. 20-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meas. 11-12</td>
<td>Meas. 26-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meas. 15</td>
<td>Meas. 30-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meas. 17-18</td>
<td>Meas. 34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The composition is written as though the composer kept certain notes of the first strophe in mind as points of contact, and then returned to them in the second half, keeping their relative position in the strophe the same. In principle the procedure is the same as that used by Louis Armstrong or Duke Ellington in improvising on a well known tune like *When the Saints Go Marching In* or *Mood Indigo*. Here, however, this tune is original with Miss Bonds, and she no sooner states it, than she improvises upon it. This is one of the clearest examples of the employment of improvisational compositional techniques that is one of the unique characteristics of black composers. One finds traces and suggestions of it throughout this music, but in this song, it can be substantiated by direct comparison of the strophes.
Example 21: Comparison of the two strophes of I, Too.
The second is a free variant of the first.

Strophe 1

I too—sing Amer-i-ca— I'm the dark'er bro'ther—
They

Strophe 2

To-mor-row— I'll sit at the table when company comes—

Strophe 1

Send me to eat in the kit-ten— when company comes— But I

Strophe 2

No-body'll dare say to me "Eat in the Kit-ten" then—

Strophe 1

Laugh— and eat well and grow strong.

Strophe 2

Be-sides— they'll see how beautiful I am— and be a-shamed—
It is not accidental that Miss Bonds adapted an unchanging ostinato as the accompaniment for the second strophe, so that all of the performer's and listener's attention could focus on the unfolding improvisation in the voice part. One might point out also that the harmonic background of the second strophe is dominated by tonic-subdominant harmony suggestive of the harmonization of the blues (See Example 20).

The setting of the text "But I laugh" reveals another interesting facet of Miss Bonds compositional technique -- word painting. The accompaniment literally laughs in staccato and syncopated eighth notes as shown in Example 22.

Example 22: I, Too - meas. 15.

The composer avoids a rather obvious and unconvincing reference here by working the laughter motive into the motivic structure of the entire song. The motive is first heard briefly at the end of the introduction (meas. 4) and then again in the concluding section (meas. 39). In the song proper the motive is skillfully developed for four measures as a concluding section for the first strophe. Thus what could have been a
passing and whimsical exercise in literal word painting becomes an essential part of the song.

Miss Bonds, omitting the final line of the poem in her musical setting, leaves the fundamental intent of the poem unexpressed. Instead, almost abruptly, the same material of the introduction returns to end the song, effectively leaving the listener to surmise that "I, too, am America."

To a Brown Girl Dead. This work was published for high voice and piano in A minor and for low voice in F minor by R. D. Row Music Company in 1956. The poem is by the black poet Countee Cullen. The poem, with a mood of quiet sadness, tells of a young girl's death and her mother's sacrifice to bury her.

To a Brown Girl Dead

With two white roses on her breasts,  
White candles at head and feet,  
Dark Madonna of the grave she rests;  
Lord Death has found her sweet.

Her mother pawned her wedding ring  
To lay her out in white;  
She'd be so proud she'd dance and sing  
To see herself tonight.

The song is written in the style of a funeral dirge with a constantly moving, slowly pacing rhythm. The texture is entirely homophonic and thick. Almost all of the chords in the accompaniment are seventh chords and the voice, which

seldom doubles a tone in the accompaniment, adds yet another layer to the chordal structure. The chord progressions do not follow any regular scheme. All in all, the effect is to produce a grief-stricken impression, frequently moving to chords and tonal areas one does not expect.

The voice part, although melodic to be sure, often sounds more like a part of the harmony. A very lovely effect is created in measure 19 at the end of the second phrase when the text tells that "Death has found her sweet." Until the final word "sweet," the chords and vocal melody are low, thick-textured and dissonant. On "sweet" however, we suddenly hear a consonant, widely spaced A minor chord (Example 23).

Example 23: To a Brown Girl, Dead - meas. 17-22. Music by Margaret Bonds. Lyrics by Countee Cullen. Copyright MCMLVI by Carl Fischer, Inc., N.Y. International copyright secured. All rights reserved. Used by permission.

There is another subtle word painting effect near the end of the last phrase at the suggestion that she would be so proud
she would dance and sing. At this point we hear a suggestion of syncopated dance rhythms for the only time in the song (Example 24).

Example 24: To a Brown Girl, Dead — meas. 30-36.

In the second half of the composition the motion speeds up to some degree both in the voice and the accompaniment. Much of the harmony is more widely spaced as well.

The song is through composed. The four phrases of the melody are somewhat irregular in length with extensions at the end of each phrase in the form of a simple sustained tone. The phrase structure is shown in figure 5.

Figure 5: Phrase Structure of To A Brown Girl, Dead by Margaret Bonds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of meas.:</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>First phrase</th>
<th>Second phrase</th>
<th>Third phrase</th>
<th>Fourth phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I Got a Home in that Rock. Miss Bonds arranged this spiritual for voice and piano and for voice and orchestra. It was published by Mercury Music Corporation in 1968.

This traditional spiritual is given a dramatic setting by Miss Bonds that raises it from its comparatively simple beginnings as a deeply felt improvised expression to the Lord, to the realm of art music. Whether or not it loses some of its spontaneity thereby would depend upon the performer. Miss Bonds takes the four verse text and raises the intensity of each verse to the climactic last strophe which refers to the promised destruction of evil by "fire next time."

The melody is quite simple and somewhat repetitive. Each phrase is four measures in length which could be represented:

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \quad a' & \quad b & \quad a \\
4 & \quad 4 & \quad 4 & \quad 4
\end{align*}
\]

The beauty of the melody lies in its simplicity and its unceasing fervor as the pitch rises in each of the first three successive phrases from the comparatively low and low statement that "I got a home in—a that Rock," to the climactic cry on a high F, "Between the earth and sky — Know I heard my Saviour cry," then back to the low calm original statement "You got a home in—a that Rock, don't you see." Miss Bonds writes an accompaniment for this melody that supports it but does not draw attention away. The rhythm moves, but it complements rather than distracts one from the slow, syncopation of the
principal melody.

Harmonically, the accompaniment is always flavored with the widely spaced chords featuring tenths in the left hand and a free-voiced texture in the right hand. In some measures the chords are thick -- from six to eight notes each in measures 9-10 -- to simple four-part harmony in measures 17-18. The texture of the accompaniment reflects the intensity of the thought expressed in the text. Therefore, the most complex, emphatic statement is in the last strophe with its thick chromatic chords backing up "God gave Noah the rainbow sign, can't you see, no more water but fire next time, Better get a home in that Rock, can't you see." There is also some very effective word painting in the slowly ascending sixth chords in the right hand accompanying the words "God gave Noah the rainbow sign."

The accompaniment is characterized by jazz rhythms and chords throughout the work. Miss Bonds uses polychords, quartal harmony and both major and minor forms of chords, a characteristic leaning toward jazz-blues styles. The work ends dramatically with a penultimate D flat major chord and a descending scale leading to a final F major chord.

*The Negr Speaks of Rivers.* When Abbie Mitchell introduced Margaret Bonds to the various works by black composers, one work in particular made quite an impression on Miss Bonds. The work was "Ethiopia Saluting Colors," by Harry T. Burleigh. Miss Bonds wrote about the experience:
In my teens and highly impressionable I began unconsciously to copy Harry T. Burleigh. In a basement of the Evanston Public Library I found works of a poet named Langston Hughes. I was intrigued by his first published poem "The Negro Speaks of Rivers." I myself had never suffered any feelings of inferiority because I am a Negro and I had always felt a strong identification with Africa, but now here was a poem which said so many different things I had known and was not able to verbally express. Burleigh's "Ethiopia Saluting Colors" became Margaret Bonds's "The Negro Speaks of Rivers." ¹

Miss Ruby Clark told of the day she first sang Margaret Bonds' "The Negro Speaks of Rivers":

Margaret rushed to my house and said that I must learn a new song of hers. Langston Hughes was coming to hear her new composition based on his poem. The ink was literally dripping from the manuscript. We rehearsed for a few hours and I sang it (Margaret played) for Langston Hughes that afternoon.²

Before Margaret Bonds did her setting of the Hughes poem, Roland Hayes, the famous tenor, had sung another setting in which the accompaniment was characterized by arpeggios. Miss Bonds showed her composition to one of her teachers who told her that it was "too far out," and that she should take out those "jazzy augmented chords." Miss Bonds said that she "changed not a note because God had 'gotten at me' for several hours during the song's creation and I believed that I had recorded what He wanted me to record."³

³Bonds, p. 192.
Miss Bonds gave the song to Marian Anderson, and, though Miss Anderson was very polite, the composer felt that the "jazzy augmented chords" frightened her. Marian Anderson never sang the setting by Margaret Bonds but later did a more sombre setting by the black composer Howard Swanson. Miss Bonds' composition was published by Handy Brothers Music Company, for solo voice and piano. Later she arranged it for mixed voices and piano.

The poem is rather freely written in a mixed prose and poetic style:

I've known rivers:
I've known rivers ancient as the world and older than the flow of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.
I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.
I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramid above it.
I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln went down to New Orleans, and I've seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset.

I've known rivers:
Ancient, dusky rivers.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

It tells of the vast areas of the earth inhabited by black men, as identified by their historical rivers -- the Euphrates, in Asia minor, the Congo in Africa, the Nile in Egypt and the Mississippi in North America. The poem is set in a through composed form by Miss Bonds. The music enhances

the historical and geographical references. With the Euphra­
tes we hear exotic augmented arpeggios; with the Nile there
are parallel octaves and fifths simulating an oriental sound.
Then speaking of the Mississippi, the style turns to an easy­
going American folk idiom that contrasts with the rather
exotic atmosphere previously depicted.

Through it all flows a river motive that is transformed by the various locales spoken of in the text. It is
the major unifying musical element. At the beginning, for example, the river theme is played by the piano alone in a
rather bare form (Example 25).

Example 25: The Negro Speaks of Rivers - meas. 1-2. Words
by Langston Hughes. Music by Margaret Bonds.
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Cross Road, London, W.C.2, England. All rights
reserved including - The right of Public Perform­
ance for Profit. Used by permission.

Later it is transformed through full harmony and aug­
mented chords to depict the Euphrates in measure 23 (Example
26).

At measure 41 the theme is transformed to empty harmonies representing the exotic Nile. The composer consciously planned the left hand chords in measures 39-48 to represent, pictorially, the pyramids mentioned in the text (Example 27).

Example 27: The Negro Speaks of Rivers — meas. 41-42.

Then the harmony becomes more conventional from an American point of view when the subject turns to the Mississippi. Here the river motive is heard in both the voice and accompaniment (Example 28).

1 Interview with Miss Ruby Clark, Chicago, Illinois, May 18, 1973.

The composition closes as it began with the philosophical observance that "My soul has grown deep like the rivers," accompanied by the same river motive in a low, rather muddy register (Example 29).

Example 29: The Negro Speaks of Rivers - meas. 74-77.
Biographical Sketch

Evelyn LaRue Pittman revealed an interest in music as a child, which led eventually to her career as a teacher of young people, choral director, and composer. As early as the first grade she was able to make up parts to songs. She was also considered a prodigious story-teller in elementary school. Miss Pittman recalled that once in the fifth grade, she told and sang a story which never seemed to have an ending. This talent proved to be important later in her career as a writer of educational materials aimed at black children.

Evelyn Pittman is a native of McAlester, Oklahoma. After her father's death the family moved to Oklahoma City where she attended the public schools. When she was to enter the tenth grade she went to Detroit, Michigan to live with relatives. She enrolled in the Highland Park High School, and became active in the musical organizations, being the first of her race to sing in a special choir in the school.

1Interview with Miss Pittman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, August 1, 1972.
Miss Pittman's interest in music intensified when she had an opportunity, while still in high school, to help in training a choir at a small church just outside of Detroit. For two years she taught and directed the choir.

During the summer following her graduation from high school, Miss Pittman returned to Oklahoma City. She was asked to train a group of young people from the Tabernacle Baptist Church to enter the District Contest held for church choirs in that area. The choir won the contest that year and each summer for three years following. Each summer following her college freshman and sophomore years she returned to Oklahoma City to prepare the youth choir for this annual competition. The choir won a trophy each year, and was permitted to keep it permanently after winning for three consecutive years. She also taught some of the youngsters to play various instruments during those summers.

Miss Pittman's only sister, Blanche, was a graduate of Spelman College, a school for black women located in Atlanta, Georgia, which has enjoyed a reputation for its high academic standards. She encouraged Evelyn to attend her alma mater. Evelyn enrolled in Spelman and became a student of Kemper Harreld, reknowned black violinist and head of the music departments at Spelman and Morehouse Colleges.

Instead of returning to Oklahoma City and the youth choir which had occupied her previous summers, Miss Pittman decided to remain in Atlanta to study during the summer
following her junior year. She enrolled in a course in Negro history at Atlanta University, which proved to be a rewarding experience. After learning about the many valuable contributions that Afro-Americans had made and were making to mankind, she began to feel a "surge of new pride and a strong sense of belonging to a great race." ¹ Through the research done for this course she became more aware of the omissions made by white historians in reporting the achievements of the black man in America. She discovered the achievements and contributions of her own great-uncle, Dred Wimberly, who served two terms in the House of Representatives in North Carolina in 1879. He later served a term in the State Senate. Wimberly, a carpenter by trade, was responsible for the reopening of the North Carolina University after the Civil War. ²

Evelyn Pittman realized that this new-found knowledge should be shared by the youth of all races, and she resolved that someday she would "help spread this good news."

Miss Pittman composed her first music at Spelman. During her senior year she wrote original music for a Greek play produced by the Morehouse-Spelman Players. This work received honorable mention in the Crisis, a magazine published by the NAACP. Following graduation from college she entered Langston University in Langston, Oklahoma, to complete

¹Interview with Miss Pittman.

²Written material supplied in an interview with Miss Pittman, Oklahoma City, August 1, 1972.
requirements for certification to teach in Oklahoma. She received a Life Certificate to teach public school music and history in Oklahoma.

Her teaching career began in Oklahoma City at the Wheatly Junior High School, which had been established for problem children. During her first year of teaching she organized and trained a thirty-piece orchestra, a forty-voice chorus, and presented an operetta. She also taught in the elementary grades, and was asked to present a weekly radio program for the city school system. With her one-hundred-voice chorus of fourth, fifth, and sixth graders, she demonstrated various teaching techniques. Many of the broadcasts were sent abroad as exchange material.

Once when her sister, who taught music in one of the elementary schools, wanted a song to teach her class about Frederick Douglass, Miss Pittman wrote it. The class liked the song so much that she continued to write other songs about black leaders. Within six months she had written twenty-one songs and short stories about famous black Americans. Now she was finally able to pursue her long awaited dream of sharing the news of the black man's achievements. In 1944 she published Rich Heritage, a collection of these songs. She sent a copy of the book to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who immediately replied with favorable comments. This work will be discussed later in more detail.

Aside from her teaching, Miss Pittman founded a
professional choir that bore her name. For twelve years the Evelyn Pittman Choir performed in Oklahoma City, and made local radio broadcasts. For six months the programs were also aired on NBC radio. This organization became philanthropic, and gave music scholarships to Langston University, and made other donations to various local charities. In 1938 the choir represented Oklahoma and Texas at the Chicago World's Fair. Miss Pittman also conducted a three-hundred-voice Interdenominational choir in concerts sponsored annually by the YWCA in Oklahoma City. These programs included such guest artists as Marian Anderson, William Warfield, Todd Duncan, and Etta Moten.

Miss Pittman, a functional composer, writes what is needed for her choral groups. For the Evelyn Pittman Choir she arranged a number of Negro spirituals including Rocka Mah Soul, Anyhow, Sit Down Servant, and Nobody Knows de Trouble I See. These works will be discussed later in detail.

She also found time to write a column, "Lady Evelyn Speaks," for an Oklahoma City newspaper, The Black Dispatch. Through her column she corresponded with soldiers throughout the world during the World War II period. The column was cited as a morale builder.

In 1948 Miss Pittman moved to New York City to attend the Juilliard School of Music, where she studied composition with Robert Ward. While at Juilliard she wrote music for a

stage work, *Again the River*, with story by Helen Schyler. When the racial bars were lifted at white universities in the south and border states, she decided to attend the University of Oklahoma in Norman. She studied composition with Harrison Kerr, Dean of the College of Fine Arts at the University. It was here that she began her folk opera, *Cousin Esther*, fashioned after the Biblical story of Esther, for an all-black cast. She wrote the libretto, music and orchestration in the manner of a music drama. Dean Kerr remembered that she was influenced by George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess*. "But not to the extent that she imitated the style so much as the general overall treatment."¹ The first scene of the work was used as a thesis for her Master of Music degree, which she received from the University of Oklahoma in 1954.

Dean Kerr, a former student of Nadia Boulanger, wrote to Boulanger about the possibility of Evelyn Pittman's studying with her. Mlle. Boulanger accepted Miss Pittman, and in 1956 she began her studies. During her stay in Paris she completed *Cousin Esther*, and it was performed there. Excerpts of the opera were presented at the American Church and for UNESCO. On May 7 and 10 in 1957 the entire work was performed at the International Theater in Paris by an international cast of University students sponsored by the cultural centers of the American Embassy, Cité Universitaire, the American Church and the American House.

¹Interview with Dean Harrison Kerr, Norman, Oklahoma, July 20, 1972.
After her return to the United States, excerpts from the opera were presented in New York City at Carnegie Recital Hall, Manhattan's Colonial Park, and Woodlands High School in Hartsdale, New York. It was also performed on radio station WNYC during its American Music Festival of 1963. Cousin Esther received outstanding reviews from both French and New York critics.

Evelyn Pittman now lives in White Plains, New York. She is a member of the music faculty at Woodlands High School in nearby Hartsdale. Her high school chorus sang at the World's Fair in New York in 1965, and also had the distinction of being one of the few high school groups to perform with Duke Ellington's band.

In 1968 the second edition of her book, Rich Heritage, was released. Since that time she has served as a resource person in workshops in which she discusses the material in her book. She explains ways in which the songs can be presented to the various grade levels as well as ways the book can be correlated with other units of study. She also presents assembly programs using the material in the book.

Miss Pittman has written a new opera based on the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. called Freedom's Child. She came to write the opera when she and her students were to present a musical program at a neighboring school in New York State. She based this program on the life of Dr. King. For source material she used portions of an unfinished book.
that she had written. Again she wrote both the libretto and the music. In the Spring of 1972 an ensemble of students from Woodlands High School presented the opera in Atlanta, Georgia for an audience including several members of the King family. In the Summer of the same year the ensemble performed the same work on a tour of several Scandinavian countries. Miss Pittman sees her opera as "a statement of involvement on the race question."

Evelyn Pittman's works, especially her operas, show her instinctive dramatic sense. She makes use of the black idiom in much of her writing, and the influence of the music of the black church is readily detected in her original works. The published works include music for the elementary grades, solo vocal works and a number of spiritual arrangements for mixed chorus. Neither of her operas are yet published.

Analysis of Works

Rich Heritage. Volume one contains short biographical sketches and original songs about twenty-one black Americans. It was written for solo voice and piano accompaniment for use at the elementary level, kindergarten through grade six. The first edition was published in 1944, and the second edition, with minor revision, was published in 1968.

Volume two, in preparation, is to feature the contributions of several other famous Afro-Americans. In addition to solo songs this volume will also include rounds and two and three-part songs.
The outstanding personalities of Volume one include black Americans from the recent and distant past. The earliest include famous blacks who lived during the 18th century, such as soldier Crispus Attucks, poetess Phillis Wheatley, mathematician-inventor Benjamin Banneker, race leader Sojourner Truth, statesman Frederick Douglass, and artist Henry O. Tanner. Those who were active during the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century include educator Booker T. Washington, scientist George Washington Carver, singer-composer Harry T. Burleigh, poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar, "Father of the Blues" W. C. Handy, nationally known minister L. K. Williams and dancer-actor Bill "Bojangles" Robinson. Finally the most recent include personalities quite prolific during the 20th century such as violinist-music educator Kemper Harreld, singer Roland Hayes, singer-actor-athlete Paul Robeson, singer-actor Todd Duncan, singer Marian Anderson, boxing champion Joe Louis, Oklahoma educator Inman Page and "trash craft queen" C. Rosenberg Foster. The songs are written with melodies and rhythms suitable for young singers, and are similar to material often found in many elementary series. A variety of music learning experiences are provided, such as concepts of music reading, simple musical design, patterns of pitch and rhythms. A variety of musical terms and signs are also used.

Each song has a brief introduction for piano and the accompaniments are generally simple patterns with traditional
chord progressions. The vocal line, in most cases, is duplicated in the accompaniment. Both the major and minor tonalities are used, and Miss Pittman appears to prefer the picardy third for the endings of the songs in minor keys.

The songs, with texts by the composer, are all in simple strophic settings, and have rather limited ranges (usually within one octave). The melodic lines are basically very simple. There are some embellishments used in an attempt at implied improvisation (Example 30).


Though much of the melodic movement is by step, certain intervallic movements are used which provide material for teaching characteristics of tonal patterns such as high-low or movement by skips (Example 31).
The same is true of many rhythmic patterns in the songs which provide interesting exercises for teaching purposes (Example 32).

Rocka Mah Soul. Miss Pittman dedicated this work to her mother, Mrs. Florence K. Greer. This spiritual arrangement, published by Carl Fischer in 1952, was popularized by the Evelyn Pittman Choir.

The choral arrangement of Rocka Mah Soul shows a combination of the black communal experience of spiritual singing with the white American tradition of strict choral discipline. The a cappella performance and Refrain-Verse form of the original spiritual is faithfully preserved; the solo baritone singing with the chorus suggests a minister or song leader drawing choral responses from a congregation; and, in the final two phrases of the refrain, the baritone soloist and the first sopranos of the chorus sing a rather free heterophonic duet in improvisatory style against the rhythmic chanting of the chorus. These three remnants of the original spiritual performance lend an air of authenticity to the arrangement.

On the other hand, the precisely notated rhythms with carefully synchronized syncopations demand a very precise, well rehearsed performance, typical of professional choruses in the United States. In addition the composer writes sharp contrasts of range; precise, carefully articulated rhythms tied to the rhythm of the words; and an intricate passing of the melody back and forth between the second sopranos and altos. One would not hear a precise, polished setting like this in the original, unrehearsed group of black worshippers who had assembled simply to express their religious feelings spontaneously.
The setting seems to be for a five part chorus and baritone solo, but in reality the basic chorus only consists of four voices, Soprano, Alto, Tenor and Bass. Miss Pittman divided the sopranos of the choir into first and second in order to use some of the sopranos to sing with the chorus and a smaller number to provide vocal embellishment in a high register contrasting to the low register of the solo baritone. The first sopranos are actually a rather freely roving part that sometimes double the second sopranos at irregular intervals as in the first refrain; sometimes sing a heterophonic part an octave higher than the melody as in the second and third refrains; or sometimes sings only sustained pedal tones as in the second verse.

The role of the baritone soloist is also both melodic and embellishing. He doubles the melody an octave lower than the second sopranos and altos in the first two verses and refrains, and in the final two statements of the refrain, he sings an embellishing part that is heterophonic to the first sopranos as indicated in the figure below.

Figure 6: Over-all Form of Rocka Mah Soul.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refrain</th>
<th>Verse 1</th>
<th>Refrain</th>
<th>Verse 2</th>
<th>Refrain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Meas.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Chorus; Baritone Soloist</td>
<td>Chorus; Baritone Soloist</td>
<td>Chorus; Baritone Soloist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The heterophonic treatment used in the last refrain is illustrated in Example 33.

Example 33: Evelyn Pittman, Rocka Mah Soul, measures 56-59.¹

Aside from the structural analysis offered above, in terms of its impact the setting is a highly professional and effective example of choral writing. It begins rather quietly, and gradually becomes less restrained, finally culminating in

¹Excerpt from Rocka Mah Soul, arranged by Evelyn LaRue Pittman. Copyright MCMLII by Carl Fischer, Inc., New York. International Copyright Secured. All rights reserved. Used by permission.
the last refrain with the first sopranos and solo baritone seeming to take off with improvised embellishment of the melody in the chorus. Unlike many passages of notated music that try unsuccessfully to capture the spontaneous sound of improvisation, this written-out, improvisatory passage sounds natural. Proof of the effectiveness of the arrangement can be found in performances by choirs of other than black races to whom the original experience of spontaneous, congregational performance of Spirituals is foreign. Simply by reading the work as the arranger has notated it, any group of sufficient skill can recreate a reasonably accurate facsimile of the original.

Sit Down, Servant. This work is for mixed chorus with alto and baritone solos. The verses and refrains are laid out symmetrically as shown in figure 7.

Figure 7: Over-all form of Sit Down Servant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Refrain</th>
<th>Verse 1</th>
<th>Verse 2</th>
<th>Refrain</th>
<th>Verse 3</th>
<th>Verse 4</th>
<th>Refrain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Meas.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Alto Solo and Wordless Chorus</td>
<td>Bari-tone Solo and Wordless Chorus</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Alto Solo and Wordless Chorus</td>
<td>Bari-tone Solo and Wordless Chorus</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key</td>
<td>f minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c minor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rhythm of this spiritual is dominated by the iambic rhythm of the first two words, "Sit down", which is realized by the
notes — . This syncopated rhythm is incorporated into the first phrase at the beginning and end as follows:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Sit down, servant, can't sit down}
\end{array} \]

In the first measure, the "sit down" motive syncopates the first and second beats while in the second measure it syncopates the second and third beats. This alternation of position in the measure gives the spiritual its sprightly vitality that belies the words "sit down." The music constantly springs up.

Miss Pittman wisely makes the rhythmic vitality of this melody the center of attention. The harmony is quite straightforward. The bass has a somewhat independent part in the refrains, but it compliments the word rhythm of the soprano, alto and tenor. In the verses, the chorus provides a wordless background consisting of sustained chords to set off the moving solos to best advantage.

Nobody Knows de Trouble I See. This spiritual arrangement, sung by the Evelyn Pittman Choir, was published by Carl Fischer in 1954. It is for a cappella chorus of mixed voices with a solo, written in the treble clef, for unspecified voice. With a range of d - g' or d' - g" it could conceivably be sung by either soprano, alto, tenor or bass.

The composer uses divided vocal parts, four to seven parts, at various points. The work has a Verse-Refrain structure as shown in figure 8.
The rhythmic character of this song is syncopated, but its text is a lament, not a bundle of restless energy. The melody is entirely diatonic, but the harmony is quite chromatic, especially in the introduction and verse sections. The arranger chose, perhaps unconsciously, to use chromatic harmony in the style of famous laments like the "Lament" from Dido and Aeneas by Purcell and the "Crucifixus" from Bach's B Minor Mass. There is no ground bass in this setting, but the moving chord parts accompanying the diatonic melody abound in chromatically altered passing tones (Example 34). In fact, chromatically altered or not, the accompanying voices move more independently and freely than in any of the other spiritual arrangements analyzed in this study.
Example 34: Evelyn Pittman, Nobody Knows de Trouble I See, measures 1-2; 19-20.

The texture of this work constantly shifts from homophony to the polyphony. The introduction is basically a homophonic section for four-part men's chorus until the final phrase when the women's voices, in three parts, join with the spiritual melody against the men's voices. In the varied refrain at measure 23, there is more polyphonic treatment, where the solo melody is accompanied by the chorus with different ostinato-like patterns. The choral parts are made up of two basic rhythmic patterns: one in the soprano I and bass voices — — , and the other in the soprano II, alto and tenor voices — — .

Anyhow. This spiritual melody, also known by the title "By 'n By," is arranged for a cappella chorus of mixed voices. It was performed by the Evelyn Pittman Choir and was dedicated to Miss Pittman's sister, Blanche P. Clardy.

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Excerpt from Nobody Knows de Trouble I see, arranged by Evelyn LaRue Pittman. Copyright MCMLIV by Carl Fischer, Inc., New York. International Copyright Secured. All rights reserved. Used by permission.
This spiritual has a Verse-Refrain structure as shown in figure 9.

Figure 9: Overall form of *Anyhow*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Refrain</th>
<th>Postlude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Meas.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>Wordless Chorus</td>
<td>Sopranos sing melody (call) and altos, tenors and basses sing response.</td>
<td>Wordless as in introduction except for word &quot;Anyhow&quot; at end of last phrase.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic Level</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>Cresc. $&lt;f$ $p&lt;f&lt;ff&gt;mf&gt;p$</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The arrangement is the shortest of the four spirituals of Miss Pittman that are analyzed in this study. There is only one verse and refrain, set off by a brief introduction and postlude. The style throughout is Call-Response with the sopranos making the call which is responded to by the rest of the chorus. The composer adopted this style because the rhythmic ebb and flow of the melody lends itself to this type of setting. Once begun, the antiphonal pattern is maintained throughout with the exception of the last phrase of the verse and refrain "cause I'm on my way to heaven anyhow." Here all the voices sing the phrase together.

The work is slow with a flowing quality, and has an arch shape dynamically as shown in figure 9.
Julia Amanda Perry, born in 1924, is a native of Lexington, Kentucky. Her family later moved to Akron, Ohio. She was encouraged by her family to pursue the study of music. At first she wanted to be a violinist, but she was most positively influenced by Mable Todd, a voice teacher in Akron.1

After graduating from high school in Akron, Perry attended the Westminster Choir College in Princeton, New Jersey, where she received both the bachelor's and master's degrees. She studied piano, violin, voice, conducting and composition. In addition to composition, in which she showed the greatest talent, she found conducting to be her most rewarding medium of performance. In addition to the satisfaction of the performance itself, she was able to use the voices and instruments to experiment and learn more about the musical effects of her own compositions at first hand. She found an experience in 1946, the summer before her senior year at Westminster, especially rewarding. She had the opportunity to train and conduct a young choir in Birmingham,

1Letter from the composer, January 25, 1974.
Alabama. They performed one of her own works. Subsequently she went on to write a secular cantata Chicago for her Master's thesis at Westminster Choir College.¹

After her graduation from Westminster Choir College, Miss Perry moved to New York, where she continued to study composition at the Juillard School of Music, at the same time continuing to compose and take part in the musical activities of that city. Her sacred cantata Ruth was performed at the Riverside Church in New York on April 16, 1950 and several of her compositions were published. Also in 1950 Miss Perry served as assistant coach and participant in the Columbia Opera Workshop in New York. Later, in 1954, her one-act opera The Cask of Amontillado was produced at the McMillan Theatre at Columbia University in New York City.

In the summer of 1951 Miss Perry studied with Luigi Dallapiccola at Tanglewood. She received two Guggenheim Fellowship awards which enabled her to study in Europe. She first went to Europe in 1952, where she continued her studies in composition with Dallapiccola in Italy and with Nadia Boulanger in France. She received the Boulanger Grand Prix at Fountainbleau for a viola sonata in 1952. During her second trip to Europe to study with Dallapiccola (1955-56), she also studied conducting during the summers of 1956-58 with Zecchi and Galliera at the Accademia Chigiana in Siena.²

¹Alumni records of the Westminster Choir College, Princeton, New Jersey.
In 1957 Miss Perry organized and conducted a series of concerts sponsored by the U.S. Information Service in several European cities, which received wide acclaim by European critics, especially in Siena, Rome and Genoa.

Back in the United States, Miss Perry continued to compose and teach until illness forced her to restrict her activities. She taught at Florida A & M University in Tallahassee in 1967, and, in 1969, she served as a visiting music consultant at the Atlanta Colleges Center.¹ In 1964 she won the American Academy and National Institute of Arts and Letters Award, and in 1969 she received Honorable Mention in the ASCAP Awards to Women Composers for Symphonic and Concert Music.

Analysis of Works

Stabat Mater. Julia Perry composed Stabat Mater in 1951, and dedicated it to her mother. This composition launched her career, and it has been widely performed in both Europe and the United States.

The Stabat Mater, a sequence of the Roman Catholic liturgy which did not survive the Council of Trent, was restored to the liturgy in 1727. As a sequence the Stabat mater was appointed for use in the office of the Seven sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary (September 15). As a hymn it is used for two other liturgical occasions: the Friday before Second Passion (Palm Sunday) and as the "Hymn of the Compassion of

¹Ibid.
the Blessed Virgin Mary" to be used during Lent.¹ This famous text has been set to music by such composers as Josquin, Palestrina, Pergolesi, Haydn, Rossini and Dvorak. 

**Stabat mater dolorosa** is a Latin poem attributed to the 13th century Francisan Jacopone da Todi. The poem is cast in double versicles or couplets. Because of the double versicles, many settings involved antiphonal writings or double choruses. Palestrina used two choruses, and combined several couplets which suggest larger musical units. Later composers of the 17th and 18th centuries produced large works for chorus and orchestra with the text often divided into a number of autonomous and characteristically differentiated movements.² The settings of the 19th century composers leaned toward more elaborate works with characteristics of operatic style. They are divided variously into sections either by individual or double versicles. Josquin and Palestrina divided their works into two main sections; Pergolesi divided his into twelve sections (the last section ends with an "Amen" chorus—Presto assai). Haydn's setting is in thirteen sections, and Rossini and Dvorak set theirs in ten sections. The works are written for five voices (Josquin), double chorus (Palestrina), two solo voices (Pergolesi), or mixed chorus and soli (Haydn, Rossini and Dvorak).

²Ibid.
It is interesting to note many similarities between this setting by Miss Perry and those of Pergolesi and Rossini. Miss Perry's text does not agree, in several instances, with the current text in the Liber usualis. In many cases her text corresponds more closely to those used by Rossini and Pergolesi. Other changes appear to have been due to the personal preferences of Miss Perry. She changes both words and letters, mostly vowels. For example, versicle 8 of the original Latin poem begins Vidit suum dulcem natum which Miss Perry changes to Vidit Jesum dolcem natum. Other changes include moriendo desolatum to morientem desolatum in versicle 8; cordi meo valde to corde meo valde in versicle 11, and in versicle 19, Morte Christi to Morte Christe (see text, p.234). The composer was apparently more interested in euphony and repetition of vowel sounds and consonants than in linguistic accuracy. The text, with translation by Miss Perry, provides an opportunity for a musically dramatic setting, full of emotion, showing the pathos that underlies the story of the poem. The vocal conception of this work is dramatic, and, at times, reaches the extent of being somewhat operatic.

There are a number of musical similarities between Miss Perry's work and those of Pergolesi and Rossini. Her setting is particularly close to Rossini's in the use of some word painting and orchestral devices. The specific similarities will be pointed out later.

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The scoring of Julia Perry's *Stabat Mater*, for contralto and string orchestra or string quartet, is similar to Pergolesi's setting for solo voices (soprano and alto) and string orchestra. Perry's setting is divided into ten sections with two versicles to each section, but this differs from both Pergolesi and Rossini who grouped the versicles in a less regular way (see Table II, p. 235). Even with the ten sections indicated in the score, the work divides, aurally, into two large sections (Part I - versicles 1-8; Part II - versicles 9-20 - similar to the division found in Josquin's setting). In Part I the poet, somewhat like a spectator, describes the scene and circumstances of the Mother weeping at the foot of the cross. The poet, in very poignant language, describes the sorrow of the Mother and the suffering of Jesus. In Part II the language becomes more personal as the "spectator", as supplicant, asks the Mother to let him share in her sorrow.

Perry's work is cyclic in that the opening motive (introduction) recurs at various points throughout the composition. Her work may be described as generally dissonant and tonal.

A slow, solemn introduction begins the work. The cellos and basses announce the subject followed by freely imitative entrances of the viola and violin II. This theme is similar, in contour, to the theme used in the Pergolesi and Rossini settings. The main point of similarity is the
use of the descending appoggiaturas found in each of the melodies. The general direction and shape is basically the same as well. Each of these lines begins with an ascending movement turning to a descending movement. Each motive begins in a low voice, and is freely imitated in a higher voice. The distance and interval of imitation vary. In Pergolesi's setting the distance is two beats (one half measure) at the interval of a second; Rossini begins the imitation at a distance of twelve beats (two measures) at the interval of an octave; Perry begins at the distance of six and one half beats (one and one half measures) at the interval of a third (Example 35).

The violin I is given a brief pizzicato accompaniment figure and then a short cadenza-like solo, with an improvisatory character, based on the opening motive. Open fifths on G and D (meas. 15) anticipate the opening interval of the vocal line. A tonality of D is suggested in this introductory section. The voice enters with a relatively step-wise, almost mournful melody to present the first versicle. The melody has suggestions of improvisation in measures 18 and 20 which support the idea of weeping presented in the text. The melody is dissonant against the sustained two-note accompaniment. The return of the opening motive, at measures 22-26, is treated imitatively, and serves as a transition to the second versicle at measure 27. An E minor ostinato (violas & violin II) with the major third (G sharp)
Example 35: Comparison of 1st movement motives, Pergolesi, Stabat Mater, measures 12-15 of vocal part; Rossini, Stabat Mater, measures 32-36 of tenor and bass parts; Julia Perry, Stabat Mater, measures 1-4 of viola, cello and bass parts; Copyright, 1954, by Southern Music Publishing Co., Inc. Used by Permission.
in the cellos and basses, and a change in meter signals a new idea in the vocal line, and the beginning of versicle 2. The style is more animated there. The accompaniment continues the E minor ostinato. The versicle ends, "through whom passed the cruel sword," and Miss Perry sets the text with a disjunct vocal line in the style of a dry recitative to end the section.

There is no real break between the first and second sections. The thematic material for the second section (versicles 3 & 4) is presented by the solo violin with a diminished fifth in the violas. The theme of the violin solo, with its ascending movement and dotted rhythm, is similar, in general contour, to the opening theme used by Rossini for the tenor aria in the second section of his setting (Example 36).

Example 36: (Rossini, Stabat Mater, tenor aria, 2nd movement; Perry, Stabat Mater, meas. 44-45.

The vocal line is very lyrical and somber, and is based on the violin solo. The character of this melody matches the solemnity of the text. The vocal line reverses the two halves of the melodic idea presented by the violin in measures 44-46.
An E pedal is heard throughout the setting for versicle 3. The accompaniment changes to a pizzicato ostinato for solo cellos in versicle 4 at measure 57. The E pedal returns at measure 63, and an E minor tonality is suggested to the end of the section.

Section three (versicles 5 and 6) has a mournful and mysterious quality. It has a faster tempo (Allegro) and more rhythmic activity than the previous sections. The section begins with a rhythmic variation of the main motive from section one. The motive is developed in the orchestra to measure 76 where the emphasis is focused on the repeated descending appoggiatura in anticipation of the vocal entrance.

The contour and intervals of the vocal line are strikingly similar to the vocal line in Rossini's duet as shown in Example 37.

Example 37: Comparison of 3rd movement vocal lines. Rossini, Stabat Mater, 3rd movement, meas. 8; Perry, Stabat Mater, meas. 80-81.
There is also a similarity between the vocal line in versicle 6 in all three versions (Example 38). The contour of each line is similar in a very general way. One striking similarity is the intervallic make-up of each melody. On the whole, the intervals most prominent are the second and third. Finally, there is a hard-to-define aural similarity.

Example 38: Comparison of vocal line for versicle 6.
Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater*, movement 5;

A doleful countermelody in the violas is heard against the vocal line in measures 90-96, which is supportive of the commiseration expressed in the text. The dissonance between the voice and accompaniment is more pronounced in this section. An E flat in the accompaniment produces a static harmony (meas. 90-100). The faster tempo and the agitated treatment of material, both vocal and instrumental, contributes to the sense of intense dissonance.
In section four (versicles 7 and 8) the high level of dissonance continues. The general mood of this section is one of agitation representing the drama inherent in the text. There is an arpeggiated ostinato which is based primarily on descending and ascending fourths giving a quartal harmonic effect. The accompaniment figure used is similar to the accompaniment of versicle seven in Pergolesi's work as shown in Example 39.


This pattern is heard throughout the section. At measures 111–112, versicle 8, a dotted rhythm appears in an otherwise smooth vocal line. It is interesting to note that Rossini also used a dotted rhythm for the vocal line of the same versicle (Example 40).

A whole tone scale appears at measures 117-118 (violins), adding further to the vagueness of tonality already created with the quartal harmony. An increase in the agitated rhythmic activity—rising lines, trills, and tremolos—help to create the climactic feeling at measures 119-127 that concludes Part I of the work.

Section five has a quieter character and a more stable tonality than in the previous sections. Miss Perry has yielded to the demand of the text, which also changes in mood and character at versicle 9.

A simple, unaccompanied vocal line, with a modal quality, opens the section. The voice presents a Dorian melody on A (meas. 131-133). The voice and instruments are used antiphonally. This treatment appears to reinforce the pleading nature of the "spectator's" requests. There is a close relationship between the vocal line and the accompaniment. At measure 141 the instruments provide a contrasting
answer, rather than the previous imitation of the vocal line, signalling the entrance of versicle 10 at measure 143. The answer gradually overlaps with the vocal line. The mood of this section, one of calmness, is a contrast to the more agitated character of sections three and four.

Section six (versicles 11 and 12) begins with imitative entrances of the instruments. The ascending motive (meas. 157-159) becomes an ostinato accompaniment heard throughout the section either in imitation or in one of the instruments alone. The introduction of this section is aurally reminiscent of Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* (*Rondes Printaniers*). The intervals of the vocal line are similar to the intervallic structure used by Rossini in his setting for the same versicle as shown in Example 4.1.


Another intervallic similarity is evident between Perry's vocal line at measures 168-169 (versicle 12) and Rossini's setting as shown in Example 4.2.

The opening motive of the introduction returns, with a different rhythm, in the opening of section seven. Rossini also used a dotted rhythm in his setting of versicle 13 as did Perry here. The text (versicles 13 and 14) becomes more insistent, and the music is appropriately energetic, with much rhythmic activity. The vocal line is rather disjunct with its wide leaps and dotted rhythms. It is also based on the motive of the introduction of section one. The faster tempo (Allegro molto) and the rhythms combine to create the frantic energy of this section. At measure 190 a suggestion of the introductory motive recurs in the cellos in diminution (the melodic contour is the same).

Word painting is evident at measure 201 on the words *in planctu*, "in agony." Here, to emphasize the text, Miss Perry used longer note values. The energy of the movement subsides. There is no break between section seven and eight, and the calm character at the end of section seven anticipates
the mood of the following section.

Section eight, in contrast to section seven, has a much more quiet character, and is marked *misterioso*. It is an appropriate setting for the text of these two versicles (15 and 16), which further entreats the virgin to help the "spectator" share in the grief.

A prominent improvisatory figure in the violins helps to create an oriental mood. A whole-tone melody is used in the vocal line which adds to the quiet mysterious quality of this section. The half-step figure from the introduction (descending appoggiatura) recurs in the otherwise sustained accompaniment (meas. 226-231). A fermata serves to separate this section from section nine, which has the longest introduction of all the sections and much more rhythmic activity than any of the other sections.

A whole-tone ostinato, glissando and the tempo (Presto) create the feeling of improvisation, great activity and anticipation in section nine. The whole tone ostinato from d to d' lasts almost throughout this section. The text (versicles 17 and 18) expresses the desires and vehemence of the poet. Diminished fifths are used prior to the entrance of the voice, similar to measures 15-17 in section one and 44-46 in section two. The vocal material, with a recitative-like character, is more syncopated than that of previous sections, adding to the activity and intensity of this section. At measure 258 the motive of the introduction of section one returns, and is
treated imitatively, with each line taking a different accompaniment figure as the next entrance of the subject occurs. A two part counterpoint doubled in octaves begins at measure 268, and creates a dissonant effect. The dotted rhythm as used here is also found to be very prominent in Rossini's setting of versicles 16 and 17 (Example 43).

Example 43: Comparison of rhythms used in Rossini, Stabat Mater, movement 7, meas. 30; Perry, Stabat Mater, meas. 258.

The tremolos used at measures 271-278 reinforce the text: *inflammatus et accensus*, "Here I stand inflam'd and excited," (versicle 18). This section ends with a slower rhythmic movement, parallel quartal chords (meas. 279-281), and the descending appoggiatura motive from section one. Open fifths on B and F sharp against a dissonant tone (F) lead without pause to the final section.

Section ten (versicles 19 and 20) begins with a change of mood and tempo. This section has a slower and calmer character. Word painting is evident at measures 297-299, with a descending vocal line in a low tessitura and tremolos in the lower strings when the text speaks of death
with the words \textit{quando corpus morietur}. By comparison, Rossini's setting of the same text is very similar. He uses the bass voice with a descending melodic line as shown in Example 44.

Example 44: Comparison of text settings of versicle 19.
Rossini, \textit{Stabat Mater}, Movement 9, meas. 1-9;

The accompaniment has a dissonant C sharp against the C natural in the vocal line in measures 297, 300, 302. A portion of the vocal line is repeated in the violin II at measures 299-301 overlapping with a rising (contrasting direction) vocal line. The accompaniment at measures 303-305 anticipates the interval and rhythm of the vocal line at measures 309, 312, and 313. The harmony is characterized by quartal and cluster chords (meas. 303-310). The work ends with an intense quiet, as the vocal line rises against a sustained accompaniment while the dynamic level moves from a fortissimo to pianissimo. The tonality of D is again suggested (vocal line) at the end.

Besides its intensity and eloquence, Perry's \textit{Stabat Mater} exhibits vestiges of improvisatory techniques in her
probably unconscious recall and transformation of certain unrelated parts of Pergolesi's and Rossini's Stabat Mater. One cannot be sure, of course, but the irregularity and unpredictability of Perry's reference to some of the musical ideas of Pergolesi and Rossini reveal an intuitive, subconscious level of composition. This is often the result of strongly felt emotions and remembrances, not the carefully planned, architectural composition so often turned out by the intellectual composer who delights in explaining why and how he decided to write every note. To Julia Perry, music is an intense emotional experience.
Text of Stabat Mater

with translation by Julia Perry

Part I

Stabat Mater dolorosa
Juxta crucem lacrimosa, 1
Dum pendebat Filius.

Cujus animam gementem,
Contristatam et dolentem,
Per transivit gladius.

Quae morebat et dolebat,
Et tremebat* cum videbat
Nati poenas inclyti.

Quis est homo qui non fleret
Christi Matrem si videret
In tanto supplicio?

Quis non posset contristari,
Piam* Matrem contemplari,
Dolentem cum Filio?

Pro peccatis suae gentis
Vidit Jesum in tormentis,
Et flagellis subditum.

Vidit Jesum dolcem natum
Morientem* desolatum,
Dum emisit spiritum.

Part II

Eia Mater, fons amoris,
Me sentire vim doloris
Fac, ut tecum luguem.

Fac ut ardeat cor meum
In amando Christum Deum,
Ut sibi complaceam.

Tender Mother, fount of love,
Let me feel thy sadness,
That with thee my tears shall flow;

Make my heart so steadfast for Him,
O Mother
Make it burn with love for thy Son,
That I may be pleasing unto Him.

1Punctuation follows the Liber Usualis, pp. 1634–37. The words underlined differ from those in the Liber Usualis either in spelling or in the word itself. Underlined words followed by an asterisk (*) follow Rossini's text.
Sancta Mater, istud agas, 
Crucifixi fuge plagas  
Corde* meo valide.  

Tui nati vulnerati,  
Tam dignati pro me pati,  
Peonas meam divide.  

Fac me verum tecum flere,  
Crucifixus condolore,  
Donec ego vixero.  

Juxta crucem tecum stare,  
Te libenter* sociare  
In planctu desidero.  

Virgo virginum praecclara,  
Mihi jam non sis amara:  
Fac me tecum plangere.  

Fac ut portem Christi mortem  
Passionis eijus sortem,*  
Et plagas recolere.  

Fac me plagas vulnerari,  
Cruce hac*inebriari,  
Ob amorem* filii.  

Inflammatus et accensus,*  
Per te Virgo, sim defensus  
In die judicii.  

Fac me cruce custodiri,  
Morte Christe praemuniri,  
Confoderi gratia.*  

Quando corpus morietur,  
Fac ut anaeae donetur  
Paradisi gloria. Amen.  

Holy Mother, this be granted:  
Let His wounds be firmly planted  
In my heart forevermore;  

See the Saviour wounded,  
 Depths unbounded for me suffered;  
Pangs of grief me divide.  

Make me weak with thee in union  
At the crucifix, there condoling;  
I shall help to bear the blame:  

Near the cross with you standing,  
Sharing freely agony with Him  
Forever, forever: this I desire.  

Virgin, of all virgins dearest,  
Be not bitter when thou hearest  
Make me with thee to weep.  

Make me bear the death of Christ  
His passion sharing shamefully  
While renewing pains in me.  

Wound for wound be there created  
By the cross intoxicated,  
For love of thy Only Son.  

Here inflam'd I stand in the fire  
of love.  
Through thee, virgin protect me  
On the judgement day.  

Of Thy cross, Lord, make me keeper  
Of Thy cross, Lord, defender  
With a grateful heart to Thee.  

When the body death has riven,  
Grant that to the soul be given  
Glories bright of Paradise.
Table II: Comparison of Versicle Grouping in the Stabat Mater of Pergolesi, Rossini, and Perry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Versicle</th>
<th>Pergolesi</th>
<th>Rossini</th>
<th>Perry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>Chorus and Quartet</td>
<td>All movements for alto solo and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Soprano aria</td>
<td>Tenor aria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alto aria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>Soprano duet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Soprano aria</td>
<td>Bass aria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alto aria</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bass recitative &amp; chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alto aria</td>
<td>2nd Soprano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>IX</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>1st Soprano and chorus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chorus Finale</td>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

Presto Assai "Amen" | X |
Homunculus C.F. This work for percussion, harp and piano was composed during the summer of 1961 in Miss Perry's apartment. The apartment, located on the top floor of her father's (physician and surgeon) office building, "was equipped with all of the necessary facilities except a piano. These clinical surroundings evoked memories of the medieval laboratory where Wagner, youthful apprentice to Faust, made a successful alchemy experiment, fashioned and bringing to life a creature he called homunculus" (a test tube man).

The composer selected percussion instruments for her simulation of test tube creation; "then maneuvering and distilling them by means of the Chord of the Fifteenth (C.F.), this musical test tube baby was brought to life."

The chord is built on an E root with the following intervallic make up:

- augmented 15th
- major 13th
- augmented 11th
- major 9th
- major 7th (minor 7th)
- perfect 5th
- major 3rd

1Anonymous record jacket notes for Julia Perry's Homunculus C.F., for 10 Percussionists, performed by the Manhattan Percussion Ensemble, conducted by Paul Price (Composers Recordings, Inc., CRI:SD-252).

2Although it is pure speculation, C.F. may also stand for Cantus Firmus, a term that Perry was certainly acquainted with, and which describes the role of her "Chord of the Fifteenth." From a purely academic point of view, Cantus Firmus is a more accurate interpretation of C.F. because her Cantus Firmus chord is really an augmented 15th.

3Ibid.

4The composer establishes the chord with a D♯ although a D♭ occurs frequently in one section of the work.
The chord, built from a succession of superimposed thirds, is actually the simultaneous combination of two major-major seventh chords:

\[ \text{\includegraphics{image.png}} \]

In describing her work, which does not belong to any conventional major or minor key, Miss Perry calls it a "pan-tonal" composition. The work is scored for standard percussion instruments: 4 timpani, large and small suspended cymbals, 2 medium cymbals, snare drum, bass drum, large and small woodblocks, xylophone, vibraphone, celesta, piano and harp.

The composition is divided into four sections. The first section is entirely rhythmic using only the non-pitched percussion instruments. The second section is principally melodic, the third is principally harmonic, and the fourth combines the melodic, rhythmic and harmonic elements (see Table III).

Section I (meas. 1-40) begins with a rhythmic canon between the snare drum and the large woodblock. In the rhythmic canon, the second 4 measures is the retrograde of the first 4 measures put together in overlapping sections (Example 45). The imitation continues to measures 15-16 where both instruments
Table III: Instrumentation, Presentation of C.F. Tones and Features of Julia Perry's Homunculus C.F.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Meas.</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Presentation of C.F. tones</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1-40</td>
<td>Rhythmic</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Entirely rhythmic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sn.dr., w.bl., 2 cym., b.dr., cym.(susp.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transition</td>
<td>41-60</td>
<td>Timp., sn.dr., w.bl., cym.</td>
<td>D# G# F#</td>
<td>Introduces melodic elements. Alternates with rhythmic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>61-80</td>
<td>Melodic</td>
<td>E F# G# D#</td>
<td>Duet between timp. and harp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Timp., harp 2 cym.</td>
<td>B E G# F#</td>
<td>New motive presented and developed heterophonically.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melodic</td>
<td>81-94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cel., vibr., harp, w.bl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>95-105</td>
<td>Harmonic</td>
<td>E F# B G# D#</td>
<td>Based on E7 or E9 chord throughout section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sn.dr., B. dr., cel., vibr., harp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>106-end</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>E G# B D# F# A# C# E#(D)</td>
<td>D (not in C.F.) Alternates with D#. entire C.F. presented (M.177).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sn.dr., xyl., cel., vibr., harp, timp., w.bl., cym., piano</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

drop out. Measures 1-20 serve as an introductory passage. A little more than half way through this rhythmic canon the bass drum enters (meas. 9) with an ostinato-like counter-rhythm, and continues to measure 20. At the end of the rhythmic canon the bass drum rhythms are varied somewhat as the two cymbals enter bringing the introduction to a close.

In the second half of section I, measures 21-40, the rhythms are nearly identical with those in the first half. Here the notation of the snare drum rhythm is changed from a single dotted quarter note to a thirty-second followed by a doubly dotted eighth note for greater emphasis (Example 46).

Example 46: Julia Perry, Homunculus C.F. - measures 1-2; 21-22 of the snare drum part.

A transitional passage begins at measure 41 with melodic material presented by the timpani. The melodic pattern makes use of the 3rd, 7th and 9th of the C.F., and is presented monophonically. The snare drum and woodblock interrupt the pattern twice in measures 45-47 and 52-54. This transition features an overlapping of the rhythmic and melodic material, and leads to the second section and its melodic presentation of tones from the C.F.

Section II (meas. 61-80), the melodic section, begins
with a duet between the timpani and harp introducing the fundamental tone of the C.F. (E) and its enharmonic equivalent (F flat). The pattern used in this duet also includes the 3rd (G sharp), 7th (D sharp), and 9th (F sharp) of the C.F. Although this is primarily a melodic section, the harmonic element is anticipated when a chord is introduced briefly at measures 76–80 in the harp. A new motive is presented at measure 81, and is based on the root (E), 3rd (G sharp), 5th (B) and 9th (F sharp) of the C.F. This new motive is developed heterophonically in the celesta, vibraphone and harp. The melodic material is punctuated with a slightly syncopated pattern alternated between the large and small woodblocks in measures 85–88 and 91–94.

Section III (meas. 95–105), the harmonic section, begins with sustained tones in the celesta and vibraphone. The motive of the melodic section becomes absorbed and obscured as it is combined with chords and presented between the various parts. At measure 98 the harp enters with a seventh chord notated with its enharmonic spelling, which gives a reinforced sound on the harp (Example 47). There is rapid movement in the other instruments. This entire section is based on $E^7$ or $E^9$ chords which further points up the basis of the composition—the C.F. built on E.
Section IV (meas. 106-180), the final section, begins with a gradual combination of the rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic ideas. The section opens with melodic-rhythmic motives similar to those found in sections I and II. The harmonic element is introduced in the harp (meas. 122), but does not become really prominent until measure 150. There are fast moving rhythmic motives in the pitched percussion instruments in a quasi-ostinato fashion. Each instrument has certain notes of the C.F. (meas. 106-121—xylophone: E, B, D; vibraphone: B, F sharp, D; celesta: G sharp, A sharp). It is interesting to note the use of a D in the xylophone and vibraphone instead of the D sharp of the C.F. There is prominent use of the D which alternates with the D sharp (meas. 140-41, 145, 147-150 —See Example 48). More tones of the C.F. are added in measures 150 (C sharp — harp and vibraphone) and 169 (E sharp — xylophone). At this point the chord tones are gradually built up in arpeggiated fashion until the C.F. is finally presented in its entirety at measure 177.
Example 48: Julia Perry, Homunculus C.F. — measure 141 of the xylophone and celesta parts.

The pitches gradually get higher and higher as the end is approached. The final xylophone notes are E sharp" and C sharp "'. The intensity is increased through this rise in pitch, textural changes, faster tempo, repetitive rhythmic and chord patterns along with an increase in dynamic level to a climactic and abrupt ending.

This work is based primarily on tones of the chord of the fifteenth with the exception of the D found in the last section. The timpani established E as the fundamental tone of the chordal structure in the duet with the harp (meas. 61). This is reinforced in the third section which is based solely on E⁷ or E⁹ chords. The tones of the C.F. are introduced in the composition in the following order:

7th 3rd 9th root 5th 11th 13th 15th
D sharp G sharp F sharp E    B A sharp C sharp E sharp

"The Homunculus," in Goethe's Faust, "a spirit or an idea or an archetype seeking realization, is searching for a way to break from his test-tube phase and to come into
being."

Faust learns that "one must approach the ideal by degrees, repeating nature's own process." The logic of the formal structure of this musical composition and the gradual build up of the chords of the fifteenth seems to suggest an attempt to represent the idea of growth suggested in Miss Perry's statement concerning the metamorphosis of her "musical test tube baby"--Homunculus.

Our Thanks to Thee. This anthem was published by Galaxy Music Corporation in 1951. It is for mixed chorus, contralto solo and organ accompaniment. The text is by the composer.

The most prominent feature of this work is the quartal harmony and the frequent use of chord inversions which emphasize the interval of a fourth. This creates a mildly dissonant effect throughout the composition. The form is ternary with introduction, interludes and postlude for organ (figure 10). The composition is in E major, and modulates to C minor and, briefly, to C major in section B (see figure 10). The general style is homophonic with some independent part writing, especially the imitative accompaniment in measures 53-57. Here a three-note pattern alternates between the sopranos and tenors accompanying a solo line.

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2Ibid.
The work opens with a brief introduction for organ which has a motive that is to recur frequently in the composition. The contralto solo begins, immediately after the introductory material, with a melody characterized by simplicity. The chorus follows with a harmonized version of the contralto solo, but now the melody is in the choral sopranos. Parallel quartal chords are used in measures 6-7, 14-15 (D sharp, G sharp, C sharp, F sharp, B moving directly to C sharp, F sharp, B, E, A) and measure 19 (G sharp, C sharp, F sharp, B moving directly to A sharp, D sharp, G sharp, C sharp). Elsewhere the fourth appears in triads and seventh chords in the traditional manner, i.e. $\frac{6}{3}, \frac{6}{4}, \frac{6}{4}$, $\frac{3}{2}, \frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{3}{4}, \frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{4}{3}, \frac{3}{2}$ chords. The text of this section expresses thanks to God through humble prayer, and the musical setting has a rather quiet character.

The interlude is based on the introductory motive, which is gradually diminished until it becomes and . The motive is, at first, doubled in thirds and, toward the end of the section, in triads.

The mode and character change at section B. The first text line speaks of "tumultuous strife," and "wars and rumors
of wars." To reinforce the text Miss Perry changes the mode and character. Fanfares appear in the accompaniment. The section is marked *Poco piu mosso e ben marcato* to further stress the text. However, the mood changes almost immediately when the text speaks of "humble submission to Thy will." The tempo slows down, and the accompaniment gradually becomes more majestic (*Maestoso* is indicated in the score) in preparation for the return of section A. The transitional section ends on an unharmonized E in unison and octaves signifying unity in turning to God "in all abiding love and hope for our existence."

The simple variations and extensions add interest to the final A' section. The organ interlude, based on the first motive from measures 1-2 and the first interlude, is only two measures long. The solo line, based on the choral melody of section A (meas. 18-20), is accompanied by a countermelody which alternates between the sopranos and tenors for four measures. The section ends with a homophonic setting of the solo and choral parts. The work ends quietly with an organ postlude based on the introduction and interludes.

*Ye Who Seek the Truth.* This anthem, published in 1952 by Galaxy Music Corporation, is for mixed chorus, tenor, solo and organ accompaniment. The text is by the composer.

The work is in F major, and the form is ternary with introduction, interlude and postlude for organ (figure 11). As an introduction, the organ presents an ostinato melody in the manner of Bach in his *Passacaglia and Fugue in C minor,*
but the composer uses this theme in rondo-like fashion, not a Passacaglia-like variation. It returns in the interlude, section A', and the postlude providing a major unifying effect for the composition (See figure 11).

Figure 11: Over-all Form of Ye Who Seek the Truth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Interlude</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Postlude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Organ</td>
<td>Tenor solo SATB</td>
<td>SATB (SATB)</td>
<td>Organ</td>
<td>Tenor solo &amp; SATB combined</td>
<td>Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unifying Motive</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key</td>
<td>F Major</td>
<td>F Minor</td>
<td>D Minor</td>
<td>F Major</td>
<td>F Major</td>
<td>F Major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Meas.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tenor solo begins with a recitative-like phrase sung on one pitch against the same sustained pitch in the accompaniment. This phrase, "Saith the Lord," summons the listener's attention to the text which follows as the solo continues after a pause. The treatment of the solo text is mainly syllabic. At one point, on the word "merciful," the composer allows the line to become melismatic (meas. 22-24).

An a cappella chorus in chorale style follows the solo. Here the bass voices are assigned the ostinato theme of the introduction. The other voices sing a simple chordal accompaniment above this melody for four measures. The texture then takes on a polyphonic character as each part (SATB) continues with a separate melodic idea of its own.

The next section (B) is for accompanied chorus.
The accompaniment, for the next seven measures, uses simple triads. A change of mode occurs at the beginning of this section. The tonality, for the first four measures, is D minor. The harmony alternates from dominant, for one measure, to tonic, for one measure. This alternation, in D minor (meas. 38-42) and then in F minor (meas. 43-46) reinforces the antiphonal treatment of the vocal material. The sopranos and altos alternate with the tenors until measure 46 where the bass voices are added and the parts are combined. A brief transition for organ, in F major and based on the motive of the introduction, leads to the next section. Here the tenor solo and mixed chorus are combined. The first half of the section, sung a cappella, is based on the choral section of the A section. At measure 66 the tonality shifts briefly to G minor as a final tonal excursion before returning to the main F major tonality for the finale. The vocal material is varied, and sung with accompaniment. The F major tonality returns at measure 71 for the final phrase which recalls the opening statement of the tenor solo "Saith the Lord." An organ postlude ends the composition. The final four measures repeat the opening motive, but this time with chordal accompaniment.

Song of Our Saviour. This work was published by Galaxy Music Corporation in 1953. It was written for the Hampton Institute Choir, Hampton, Virginia, and is for unaccompanied mixed chorus. The text is by the composer.
Tonally, the anthem is in the Dorian mode transposed to A. It is a miniature variation form as shown in the figure below. Each variation becomes a little more elaborate rhythmically.

Figure 12: Variation Form of Song of Our Saviour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section:</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A'</th>
<th>A''</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medium:</td>
<td>Altos &amp; Tenors</td>
<td>SATB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Measures:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ostinato on which most of the anthem is based is an expanding intervallic succession in two-parts of one measure duration. It is hummed by altos and tenors, and remains in the background as the sopranos sing the principal melody beginning in measure 3. This soprano melody, incidentally, has many of the characteristics of a spiritual. It is repetitive; in the four measure tune, the first three measures repeat the same motive over and over, finally coming to a new cadential passage at the end in the fourth measure. This repetition, in addition to the repetition of the ostinato, creates an almost hypnotic effect until, in measure 12, the ostinato is augmented so that its length is two measures instead of one. It still accompanies the same melody with no rhythmic change. In addition, a new ostinato appears in the bass, also wordless. It is a display of contrapuntal virtuosity which is introduced seemingly without effort.
The text of the first section presents the scene of Jesus' grave as Joseph offers flowers and Mary offers a prayer. The solo melody which presents the text is of a plaintive character. The entire section is wordless except for the final phrase "and breathed a prayer," sung by the solo voice. Up to this point the harmony has been conventional and static, primarily because of the repetition of the ostinato. But, at the end of this section, there is a sudden shift to an F sharp minor chord on the final word of the solo text, "prayer," with prominent cross relations between f and f sharp and a simultaneous clash of c and c sharp. It is a confused progression, bringing to an end the previous section that sounded well in control of itself owing to the orderly progression of the ostinato.

In the next section, A', the tempo increases (poco piu mosso), and a quick, new motive of one measure duration is introduced in the tenor to the text "Jesus was born in a manger lowly" answered by a slower-moving, calm reply by the basses, "child of Bethlehem." Here the typical call-response principle of the Spiritual is incorporated into a composed anthem. The composer considered this new call-response ostinato of great importance because it continues while the original ostinato disappears in measure 27. Musically, this change of ostinato was necessary to prepare for the return to the beginning, in which the original ostinato reappears. In context it sounds new and fresh upon its reappearance.
The alternation is continued into the next section, A", with one exception. The sopranos are given new material, an interjection resembling the shout style used in spirituals. The interjection, "Glory Hallelujah," occurs every two measures until, in the last phrase, all voices sing this text. The end of the section overlaps with the return of the introduction, now an interlude, and section A. The work ends with a repeat of the opening sections ending on the contorted progression in measures 16-18 previously cited.

The whole anthem is distinguished by fine workmanship and remarkably intense expression. That it is a highly personal expression of the faith of the composer cannot be doubted.

Lord! What Shall I Do? Miss Perry dedicated this spiritual to her mother. It was published by McLaughlin and Reilly Company in 1949 for voice and piano. It was featured by Nan Merriman of the Metropolitan Opera Company.

The setting is basically simple and short. As usual, it places the focus on the vocal line. The piano accompaniment uses tertian harmony throughout with a descending step-wise progression. The chords have an even, on-the-beat rhythm against the more syncopated vocal line. The form is strophic with a Verse-Refrain structure (figure 13).

Figure 13: Verse-Refrain Structure of Lord! What Shall I Do?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A'</th>
<th>A''</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Refrain (4 meas.)</td>
<td>Verse (4 meas.)</td>
<td>Refrain (7 meas.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The four measure refrain at the beginning is extended and varied slightly after the verse is presented. The variation is the change in accompaniment style. Here the chord rhythm changes to every half-beat in contrast to the chord rhythm of the first refrain where the chords occurred on each beat. There is an illusion of a somewhat free style rhythmically. This is created by the various tempo markings, ritardandos, fermatas and caesuras.

_Free At Last_. This freely arranged spiritual was published by Galaxy Music Corporation in 1951. It is arranged for voice and piano.

The piece is in strophic form with a Verse-Refrain structure as shown in the figure below.

Figure 14: Verse-Refrain Structure of _Free At Last_.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section No. of Meas.</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>Re Frain</th>
<th>Verse 1</th>
<th>Re Frain</th>
<th>Verse 2</th>
<th>Interlude</th>
<th>Modified Verse</th>
<th>Re Frain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The spiritual is in F major, and begins with a brief melodic introduction for the piano. It is based on a fragment of the vocal line, and has a short, syncopated character. The fragment has a prominent syncopated rhythm (\(\uparrow\downarrow\uparrow\downarrow\)) and is associated with the text words,"Free at last."

The vocal line of the refrain is simple, syncopated and somewhat repetitive. The melody outlines a tonic triad like a trumpet-call signalling freedom. Miss Perry pairs this
with a slowly moving accompaniment in conjunct parallel sixth chords in the right hand and a tonic-dominant pedal in the left. It makes a good contrast with the syncopated, disjunct melody. The first verse is in D minor. It makes use of the "Free at last" syncopated rhythm in almost every measure. The parallel movement of the accompaniment is similar to that of the first refrain except that it changes from chords to a two-voiced pattern moving against a D pedal. A somewhat impressionistic sound has dominated to this point.

The accompaniment of the second verse continues the ostinato-like parallel pattern in the left hand, and the composer adds a countermelody in the right hand. The countermelody occurs with the first and third phrases of the verse while the second and fourth phrases, "I thank God I'm free at last," (taken from the refrain) has the same parallel chordal accompaniment used in the refrain. A two-measure interlude leads to the modified verse. This interlude is based on the introduction pattern in the right hand with the parallel chords in the left hand. Here the chords are changed from triads to tenths.

The first four measures of the modified verse present an interesting combination of the melody and parallel chordal accompaniment of the refrain against new vocal material that is similar to the vocal lines of verses one and two. This gives way entirely to the new material for the next four measures. The accompaniment abandons the refrain material and becomes supportive again. The character of these eight
measures is one of majesty, and a ritardando prepares the way for the final refrain.

The last refrain is varied at the beginning with an octave displacement of the first note of the vocal line, and the accompaniment has large chords on the first and last beats for two measures. The last phrase is repeated to end the refrain and the spiritual. The composer has taken a simple, repetitive tune and created a short dramatic setting.

*I'm a Poor Li'l Orphan in this Worl'*. This arrangement, in E minor, is for voice and piano, and was published by Galaxy Music Corporation in 1952. It is an extremely simple and effective setting.

The melody is slow and plaintive in character. Simplicity is the prominent feature and Miss Perry chose a very uncomplicated, exiguous accompaniment. The form is strophic, and each verse consists of three repeated lines and a refrain (a—a—a—R).

The accompaniment elaborates upon one chord, the tonic, in the first and third verses. At the end of the third line of each of these verses there is a brief turn to the dominant and then back to the tonic for the refrain line. The first and third verses have basically the same accompaniment pattern, a widely spaced, sustained, broken-chord for one measure followed by simple two-note chords in the right hand.

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The second verse is accompanied by a single line counter-melody creating a polyphonic texture in contrast to the homophonic texture of the first and third verses. An E major (picardy third) chord ends the piece.

The setting is entirely diatonic with a modal character. Miss Perry's treatment of this spiritual melody is true to the characteristic style of folk music.
CHAPTER VII

LENA McLIN

Biographical Sketch

Lena Johnson McLin was born in Atlanta, Georgia in 1929. Her father is minister of the Greater Mt. Calvary Baptist Church in Atlanta, and her mother, an accomplished musician, worked in the Church as a teacher and choir director. As the daughter of a minister and church musician, Lena received a spiritual background that proved to be a great influence in her future creative output.

Lena's mother believed in strict discipline in the rearing of children. She provided the early musical training for Lena through piano lessons and exposure to a wide variety of musical literature. It was her belief that by providing the proper musical atmosphere in the home and by planning outside cultural activities, her children would have the necessary exposure to what she called "finer culture."\(^1\) She often took Lena to concerts and operas, and considered music in the home a necessary part of this formal training. She


255
also played recordings of symphonies and other serious music for Lena. Lena's love for the piano was evident at this time, and she feels that her mother's strict attention to her early music education helped to build her "ear and musical sense."¹

Because of her father's and mother's duties as minister and choir director, Lena was in church services at least three times each Sunday. As a teenager she assisted her mother in the teaching and directing of the choir. Lena's duty was to teach the anthems, which were considered to be the "classical music," while her mother taught the gospel music. This experience was to be of great value in her career as church musician and teacher.

Another important early influence was Lena's grandmother, who was born a slave. She kept Lena aware of her familial and racial heritage by singing many of the old spirituals. Many of these were less familiar than the spirituals sung today. Lena later remembered these melodies as she searched for folk material for her choral arrangements.

Lena attended the public schools of Atlanta, but also spent several years during her youth in Chicago. In fact, she spent the last of her elementary school years in Chicago public schools. She went to Chicago to live, intermittently, with her mother's brother, Thomas A. Dorsey, the composer of "Precious Lord" and "There Will Be Peace in the Valley" among others. Of course she was exposed to her uncle's music during.

¹Ibid.
these times, but she feels that it had no positive effect on her musical style. On the conscious level, she was more sympathetic toward "classical" music and spirituals than she was to blues and gospel styles. Dorsey, formerly known as "Georgia Tom," the blues singer, had switched from blues to gospel music in the 1920's. Both the blues and gospel were considered to be of little or no value to the student of "serious" music, which may account for McLin's feeling that this music had a negligible influence on her style. However, the careful listener to her music can detect certain turns of phrase and harmony that show her unconscious assimilation of her uncle's style.

After graduation from high school Lena enrolled in Spelman College in Atlanta, the same college attended by Evelyn Pittman. Her choice of a major was automatically made—music. However, complications arose concerning the area of music in which she would concentrate. Her love for the piano had developed early in her life, but a serious hand operation had threatened to end her plans for a career as a pianist. However, the combination of her own strong will to succeed and a sympathetic teacher at Spelman, Florence Brinkman Boyton, overcame many obstacles, and led eventually to her playing many difficult works, such as Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto, that once had seemed impossible. McLin also

1See Chapter V, p. 196.
studied violin at Spelman, and was a student of Leonora Brown and Willis Lawrence James in music theory and composition.

After she received her baccalaureate degree she went to Chicago to live. She married, and became the mother of two children to whom she devoted her full time for the next few years. With customary thoroughness, Mrs. McLin turned her interest to courses in child psychology and general education. These courses were not only of value to her as a parent, but also later as a teacher.

Later she began graduate studies in music, studying voice with Thelma Waide Brown at Roosevelt University in Chicago. She also studied music theory and counterpoint with Stella Roberts and piano with Howard Hanks at the American Conservatory of Music, where she received her Masters degree. Later she began studies in Electronic Music at Roosevelt University, where she is continuing to study and work in that medium.

Lena McLin is a functional composer who composes what is needed. Like J. S. Bach, she has served as director of a church choir for several years, and, when music is needed, she writes it. She wrote an anthem, call and hymn (words and music) for each Sunday during one period. These were written to fit the text of the sermons, and the medium of each work varied to fit the voices that were to sing in the choir that

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1A black singer and vocal teacher who was a contemporary of Marian Anderson.
particular week.¹

She composes in the same manner for the needs of her teaching position. McLin believes that "today's teachers must know the language, and recognize the meanings in the songs of today." Her interest lies, at the moment, in young people and the rock movement. She feels obligated, as a teacher, to avoid what she calls the "amoral" songs of the 60's and 70's. "With so much emphasis on dope, sex and revolution... I decided to write songs with a message... geared away from these amoral things."² This has led her to write her own topical texts such as We Just Got to Have Peace All Over This World, If We Could Exchange Places, I'm Moving Up, Miracle For Me, and In This World. These songs, she says, sum up the positive things she thinks that young people can accomplish. She has also arranged many songs for vocal groups singing in night clubs, theaters or colleges.

The influence of the black church and its music is evident in McLin's musical style. There are characteristics of the gospel style, for example, in many of her works. Characteristics such as segmented passages, implied improvisation, repetition of short phrases, embellishments of the vocal and/or instrumental melodic lines are found in her works. Some examples are: Eucharist of the Soul (a Liturgical Mass for the Episcopal service), Sanctus and Benedictus, We Just Got to Have Peace All Over This World, Free At Last (a cantata) and

¹McLin interview. ²Ibid.
If They Ask You Why He Came (a piece that McLin calls a gospel song). The latter two works will be discussed in more detail later.

McLin believes that gospel music is rejected by many serious musicians. She says:

I know that some of us avoid the gospel, thinking it makes us look small. This is the same thing the spiritual went through, but it managed to survive the disdain and disrespect of the second generation. . . . I think too that the day has come where we ought to stop being ashamed of any folk contribution!1

She is also concerned with distinguishing between the spiritual and the gospel song. "A spiritual," she says, "is a folk song, originated by the black American, which must have a personal relationship with the deity. . . . It's been handed down from generation to generation. . . . Gospel songs are composed but the singer expresses this music in a personal style, free, unrestricted in any way."2

Concerning the status of gospel music, Mrs. McLin says:

From 1924 the hidden folk idiom has been the gospel song and it has had a forceful denial by the elite and structured musician. In every race the creative people have to draw from the folk and they (creative people) have to chart the way we are to go. The structured musician is the 'philosopher' of music—he must put it down and preserve it (folk contribution). The folk never preserve—they always put it in the raw. It is there but the serious musicians have to take it and make it into something. That is why I feel that there will be an emphasis by, at least some of the structured musicians to deal with the

1Lena McLin, "Black Music in Church and School," Black Music In Our Culture, Dominique-René deLerma, ed. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press), p. 35.

2Ibid., p. 39.
gospel song in the proper manner.\(^1\)

The musical impact of the gospel song "depends on the ability of the singer to interpret, to 'worry' the notes. It can't be sung straight. That's not living the experience."\(^2\) When McLin writes anything in the gospel style, she says that her aim is to place emphasis on the accompaniment with enough written out improvisation to make up for performers who lack the ability to "worry the notes." Always the teacher, it is her goal to write gospel songs that demand correct vocal technique.

McLin's style is not limited to the use of gospel characteristics. She has been called a composer of atonal to gospel music and a female Bach. Her works show a variety of influences such as the liberated dissonances found in *The Torch Has Been Passed, The Earth is the Lord's, Let The People Sing Praise Unto the Lord* and Free At Last (the last two works will be discussed in detail later), and rock styles as in her collection of SATB choruses in *In This World* and *If We Could Exchange Places*. Many of her choral works make frequent use of natural word rhythms, syncopated rhythms, imitation and unison writing. Often the choral sonority is contrasted with an independent instrumental accompaniment.

Mrs. McLin is now the head of the music department at Kenwood High School in Chicago. She has attained

\(^1\)McLin interview.

outstanding success as a composer-arranger, clinician and as a creative teacher working with inner-city students. She was a very important source person in the establishment of the music-major curriculum for the Chicago Public Schools. Her school was one of the three in Chicago that hosted the pilot music-major program. Several years ago McLin served as an advisor on the unit on Rock for the M.E.N.C., a project that was funded by a grant from a large corporation. She is in the process of completing a textbook which includes units on various types of music. It is designed for use in high school survey courses, but can also be adapted for use at the college level.

McLin has conducted workshops in many states including Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Florida, Maryland, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts. Her courses include traditional teaching methods as well as information on Black Music and related performance practices.

Lena McLin is extremely modest, for she says that she has not composed enough to be considered a composer of note, yet "she continues to write vital music so fast that she could never account for her opera omnium (sic) for even one year."¹ Mrs. McLin's major contribution is that of providing fresh and varied pieces for young choral groups as well as larger choral works for advanced choirs.

¹Dominique-René deLerma, ed., Black Music In Our Culture, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press), p. 35.
McLin's works include cantatas, masses, spirituals (solo and choral arrangements), works in spiritual style, anthems, art songs, art-rock songs, operas (for kindergarten through high school levels — including "rock" operas), soul songs, works for piano, orchestral works and works for the electronic medium. Her works have been performed both in the United States and abroad.

Analysis of Works

Free At Last. Lena McLin subtitled Free at Last "A Portrait of Martin Luther King, Jr." In traditional terms it is a passion cantata dramatizing the role of Martin Luther King in the liberation of his people. The work does not attempt to immortalize him in pretentious poetry and music. Rather it is a contemporary recreation of the black experience of a constant, often bitter, struggle for freedom and equality. We relive the sense of separation felt by the slaves separated from their native land and separated from parents, sisters and brothers. The theme of violence and repression runs through the work. Slaves are repressed, forbidden an education and beaten. Then, after emancipation, they are repressed politically and socially.

Moving on rapidly to the recent past, the black experience of the protest rally is here. Marchers go to jail, they listen to sermons, they sing gospel songs, marching songs

1Dominique-René deLerma, ed., Black Music In Our Culture, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press), p. 35.
and spirituals. They suffer, struggle and exult in their success under their leader, Martin Luther King.

The text, written by Mrs. McLin, is terse and repetitive, like a spiritual. The music and text were conceived together as a unit in order to make the strongest possible impact upon the listener. The impact is heightened by the organization into short sections with tuneful music, often a recognizable spiritual or gospel song, to drive home the point. Most of the sections are short, and make an immediate impression like a radio newscast or TV commercial. In this respect it is genuinely contemporary. In regard to idiom, it does not at all resemble a traditional work like a Bach cantata or Handel oratorio.

Five spirituals appear in the course of the work— "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child," "Mama is Massa gonna sell us Tomorrow," "Can't You Hear Those Freedom Bells Ringing," "He Had to Move When the Spirit Say Move," and "Free At Last"—but all of these focus on the specifically black experience. The conventional, white Christian and Judaic personages—Jesus Christ, Moses, Joshua and others—are absent. Abraham Lincoln is the only person of any race mentioned by name. The people (Turba) are usually represented musically by the chorus. Martin Luther King, Jr., as a leader of the freedom marches, is personified by the baritone soloist in Section IV. In addition, there are marching songs in the gospel idiom invoking the freedom movement of the 1960's and
descriptive passages depicting slave auctions and racial conflict. One whole section near the end is in the style of a melodrama, a nineteenth century European form used by Beethoven in *Fidelio* and Schoenberg in the *Gurrelieder*.

The cantata is in one continuous movement with pauses between sections, but no separation into large, independent movements as, say, a conventional Lutheran cantata. It moves along with great speed and urgency. The rapidly changing musical scenery coalesces into six scenes as follows:

I. Introduction—Sometimes I Feel Like A Motherless Child

II. Sold into Slavery

III. Repression as Slaves—Emancipation—Repression as Free Men

IV. Social Protest and Racial Conflict

V. Climax of Racial Conflict—Death of King

VI. Finale—Free At Last

Following is a brief summary of each section. The musical style will be discussed later in more detail.

The introduction is based almost entirely on the well-known spiritual "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child." The dramatic force derives from the gradual emergence of the spiritual during the section. It is not heard in its complete form until the end, where the soprano sings it simply, accompanied by the piano. Before this, we hear separate phrases, "True believer" at the beginning and, later, "A long ways from home." The phrase, "A long ways from home," continues
to be heard in the next section as a refrain.

The second section is entirely on the subject of slavery. It is composed mostly in a contrapuntal idiom common to white Europeans but foreign to blacks. The principle idea, which recurs three times throughout the section, is a two part canon on the text, "Slaves were taken and stood on blocks." This kind of musical setting depicts the strangeness and hostility Africans felt in being taken from their native lands and sold into slavery in a foreign country. Later in the cantata, the composer depicts a sense of hostility and conflict by means of dissonance and polytonality, but here she achieves it by means of idiom alone. One slave song, "Mama, is Massa gonna sell us tomorrow?" is introduced lending an atmosphere of authenticity to the section.

The third section is primarily about repression. There is a short passage in the middle about emancipation, but the music and text make it clear that manumission, humane and well-meaning in itself, did little to change the social relationships between blacks and whites. Word painting is prominent in this section. The harsh commands of the text, "Don't think! Don't Read" leap out in fortissimo, staccato chords alternated in piano and chorus. The effect is like that in the mid-section of Handel's aria "He was despised" from the Messiah and "He smote the first-born of Egypt" from Israel in Egypt, but it does not develop; like most of the effects in this work, it flashes by in a few seconds. This motive returns briefly after emancipation, on the words
"Beat Them, Lynch Them!" Political emancipation scarcely changed the social environment.

The middle of this section depicts emancipation by one strophe of the spiritual "Can't you hear those freedom bells ringing," a short chorale setting of the text "Lincoln signed the paper" and a reprise of the opening section of the introduction, "Oh Freedom." The composer works into the musical texture, in this passage, several melodies associated with freedom, which will be described later. The wealth of detail strengthens the dramatic impact. But, at the end of this section, oppression returns in the form of "hooded men."

Although he is never mentioned by name, Martin Luther King appears in the fourth section, which begins "God sent a leader to right the nation's wrong." Like the other sections, there is a spiritual here ("He had to Move When the Spirit Say Move"), but the whole is dominated by a marching song written by the composer in gospel style. There is even one quotation of the text, but not the tune, of a famous protest song "We shall not be moved."¹ In this section, the

¹Tom Glazer quotes this song in Songs of Peace, Freedom and Protest (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 332-333, as being an old union song first sung in 1931 by striking miners. "It is based on an old hymn, 'I Shall Not Be Moved,' itself based on a line from Jeremiah in the Bible, 'Blessed is the man who trusteth in the Lord, for he shall be as a tree planted by the waters.'" Bruce Jackson also cites the song in Wake Up Dead Man: Afro-American Worksongs from Texas Prisons (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 288. He comments that "Charlie Patton, in the early 20's one of the two most influential bluesmen in the Mississippi Delta, recorded a very fine version of this song." A more modern version of it is on the Folkways record We Shall Not Be Moved: Songs of the Freedom-Riders and the Sit-ins (GH-5591).
composer adopted a musical style that fit the circumstances. The form of the songs is strophic like the gospel song, rather than the typical call and response of many spirituals. The musical structure gives an interesting lesson in improvisation. The principal musical ideas are stated at the beginning on the words "Jails could not hold him, Liberty enfolds him" and "He came to Alabama, one strong to right a wrong." These two short phrases form the principal melodic material of the entire section which unfolds in a march-like idiom with two episodes depicting prayer and racial conflict, and concluding with a spiritual, "He had to move when the spirit say move."

The penultimate section is like a sermon with a narrator who, preacher-like, addresses himself directly to God. He speaks throughout this section. Music is provided in the background by the piano at first, and then by the choir, a cappella. While the music recalls the protest songs and spirituals of the previous sections, the narrator reflects on the sufferings of the marchers, their physical exhaustion and unjust accusations. Their sacrifices proved their faith in God. The narrator then turns to the real world of the Memphis Sanitation Workers' strike: "It happened on a day, a bright and sunny day, with singing birds and waving hands and dedications." The music does not weep, or even mention the death of King. Instead we hear the spiritual
"Can't you hear those freedom bells ringing." In spite of the loss of their leader, black people still demand freedom, "right now."

The last section is again in the choral idiom. It begins with a choral meditation paraphrasing Martin Luther King's words, "He had a dream", and leads to the triumphal setting of the spiritual "Free at Last."

Musical Style

The most remarkable feature of the entire work is the melodic invention. Most of the work is freely invented in the style of a gospel song, a recitative, a chorale melody or the like. In addition, the melodies of five spirituals lend authenticity. Some appear in their entirety and others in part. Occasionally, motives from several related spirituals cluster together enriching musical associations. Such an instance occurs at the beginning of the cantata with the simple words "Oh freedom" as illustrated in example 49.

Example 49: Lena McLin, Free At Last. c 1973 General Words and Music Company, Publisher. Excerpts reprinted by permission.

This beginning arouses many associations. The melody in measures 2-3 comes from a transitional phrase of "Sometimes I feel Like a Motherless Child" where the text is "True
Believer," or, as sung by Paul Robeson, "Come my brother" and "Come my sister" (Example 50).

Example 50: "True Believer" from "Sometimes I feel like a Motherless Child"

The second—two measure melody in example 49 exhibits a relationship with two other freedom songs, "Oh freedom" and a song called simply "Freedom" as sung by Sidney Poitier to the tune of "Amen" in the motion picture "Lilies of the Field." Both of the latter tunes begin with a rising motive in a dotted half-quarter note rhythm (Examples 51 and 52). The contours of the entire melodies resemble the rise and fall of the motive from measure 4—5 of "Free at Last", and, of course, they all have a common text.

Example 51: "Oh Freedom"

Example 52: "Freedom"
Then, later in the second section, the "Oh Freedom" motive (Example 51, meas. 1-2) appears as a contrast motive in the midst of text and music about the brutalizing treatment of slaves as illustrated in example 53.

Example 53: "Free at Last," Section 2 (Slavery)

Don't think! Don't read! Brother, you'll get the lash. Cry out, Oh freedom! Great is thy soothing bos-om,

Mrs. McLin's own melodic invention exhibits the improvisatory background of the gospel song. In the fourth section on social protest and racial conflict, she states the principal melodic subject matter at the beginning in two four measure phrases in hymn style, example 54, and then fashions two protest-like songs from them in gospel style for baritone solo.

Example 54: "Free at Last," Section 4, beginning
Both tunes are in F natural minor. The first is the most repetitive, rhythmically and melodically. It is used later with additional material. The second short tune, measures 201-205, displays more contrast. It also contains a memorable rhythmic figure in the triplet in measure 202. This syncopated motive emphasizing the last beat of the measure furnishes the basic ingredients of the first marching song of the section as illustrated in example 55.

Example 55: "Free at Last," Section 4, First marching song

The melody of the marching song resembles the subject-answer of a fugue more than the usual gospel song or spiritual. The principal melody of four measures unfolds in
D minor, and then repeats a fifth higher in the second four measures like the tonal answer of a fugue subject. The whole theme has the compact sound of a fugue subject. The texture is homophonic however.

The second marching song begins with the words of a famous protest song, "We shall not be moved," but with new music (Example 56). The original tune of "I Shall Not Be Moved" has been provided for purposes of comparison (Example 57).

Example 56: "Free at Last": Section 4, Second marching song.

Word painting enhances the original tune in the third and fourth measure where, on the words "I shall not be moved," a single note is emphatically reiterated. The composed tune in example 56 also emphasizes repeated notes (g's, b flats, and c's), but the melodic contour differs from the original.
Here the composer borrowed a phrase of the text and the pictorial idea of the song, but not the melody itself. To this new melody she adds the contrasting phrase "Jails cannot hold us, Liberty enfolds us" taken from the introductory hymn illustrated above in example 54. Thus the second marching song follows somewhat different structural principles than the first one for the sake of variety and contrast. These tunes are all essentially simple, outlining triads or simple intervals like the third or fifth. It would be easy to fall into a rut and simply repeat oneself over and over. Mrs. McLin preserves the innate simplicity of the gospel song, but, at the same time, avoiding mere repetition.

Homophony is the basic texture of the piece. There is usually a leading melody with chordal or ostinato accompaniment. The chordal accompaniments differ considerably in style depending on context. Near the beginning, the composer harmonizes the simple diatonic melody of "long ways from home" with a combination of chromatic and diatonic chords, which pictorially represent the text. "Long ways" is vividly illustrated by a progression beginning a long way from the central tonality of A minor as shown in example 58. At this point the progression reminds one of late nineteenth century German practice. On the word "home," however, the harmony immediately simplifies, moving to the tonic through a minor dominant chord. Thus in this short passage we move from a
highly chromatic style emphasizing leading tones to a modal, diatonic progression avoiding them.

Example 58: "Free at Last," First section

This harmonic style is basically triadic as is much of the work. However, a few harshly dissonant passages using quartal harmonies and tone clusters depict racial conflict as illustrated in example 59.

Example 59: "Free at Last": Section 4
Example 59 (Continued)

The baritone soloist sings a simple reciting tone style while the piano provides pictorial effects. The essential harmony in this passage is a quartal chord D-G-C in the right hand with minor seconds and major sevenths added (G sharp, F sharp, D sharp and C sharp) primarily in the left hand. Throughout the section, the G natural in the right hand clashes with the G sharp in the left hand.

Other interesting harmonic effects include the "blues" harmonization of the hymn-like tune that introduces section 4 (See example 54). In measure 204 of this example, Mrs. McLin harmonizes the A flat of the augmented triplet rhythmic motive as a dominant thirteenth in F minor moving immediately to a major tonic. One does not expect a Tièrce de Picardie after a chord of this nature.

Finally, there are some interesting examples of contrapuntal texture. Such departures from the norm occur because of the text. Near the beginning of section two, Mrs.
McLin writes a two voice canon for the text, "Slaves were taken and stood on blocks in most parts of the new land."

Empty intervals such as the fifth, octave and eleventh and twelfth predominate. Elevenths occur in parallel in measures 37-39 as illustrated in example 60.

Example 60: "Free at Last": Section 2, Beginning

Note the wide separation between the parts and their pentatonic mode. The composer intended this passage to sound strange. It represents the slaves being separated from their native land, and carried into a new, foreign land. It returns periodically throughout the second section.

Then, at the end of the fourth section, we hear another unusual contrapuntal device in this context, the quodlibet. The spiritual tune "He had to go where the spirit say go" combines with "America" as illustrated in example 61.

Example 61: "Free at Last": Section 4, Conclusion
This device also has a pictorial cause. In his speech at the March on Washington in 1963, Martin Luther King remarked that, with the achievement of the reforms he advocated—voter rights, desegregation, equal opportunities—he could proudly say "My country 'tis of thee." Mrs. McLin combines the spiritual and the traditional patriotic hymn of white America as symbolic of the difficulties encountered in the integration of the two races.
### TABLE IV. FREE AT LAST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene (No. of meas.)</th>
<th>Tempo</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Key</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meas. 1-10)</td>
<td>Freely</td>
<td>Choral Sopranos and SATB Chorus</td>
<td>A minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meas. 11-33)</td>
<td>Slow and Sustained</td>
<td>Soprano solo and SATB Chorus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Sold into Slavery</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two part Chorus and SATB Chorus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meas. 33-119)</td>
<td>Allegro giusto</td>
<td></td>
<td>C major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Repression as slaves</td>
<td>Andante mosso</td>
<td>SATB Chorus</td>
<td>A minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meas. 120-133)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emancipation</td>
<td>Lively--Andante</td>
<td>SATB Chorus and Soprano Solo</td>
<td>F minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meas. 134-170)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repression as Free Men</td>
<td>Presto--Andante</td>
<td>SATB Chorus</td>
<td>A minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meas. 171-192)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Social Protest and Racial Conflict</td>
<td>Andante Religioso</td>
<td>SATB Chorus</td>
<td>F minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meas. 193-205)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meas. 206-304)</td>
<td>Alla Marcia and Changing Tempos</td>
<td>Baritone or Mezzosoprano Solo</td>
<td>D, minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meas. 305-329)</td>
<td>Changing Tempos</td>
<td>E, minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Climax of Racial Conflict</td>
<td>Lento triste</td>
<td>Narrator and SATB Chorus</td>
<td>F minor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Torch Has Been Passed. This choral work, for a cappella chorus, has a text by the composer, based on a text by John F. Kennedy. The work was published in 1971. It is a pronouncement of peace—"We shall have no war... This is the new generation of love."

This work is characterized by syncopated rhythms, some unison passages, an ostinato pattern and some dissonant passages. The form is ternary with an introduction and coda as illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 15. Form of The Torch Has Been Passed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A'</th>
<th>Coda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>measures</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>7-22</td>
<td>23-49</td>
<td>50-65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The introduction begins with unison chorus for two measures. The remainder of the introduction is for four-part
chorus with prominent use of word rhythms and syncopated rhythmic patterns on the "Americans." The A section is based primarily on one rhythmic pattern reflecting a somewhat distorted setting of the text, "We shall have no war." Here the composer rather inexplicably emphasizes the word "have" instead of "we," "no," and "war" which would seem to be the more important words in the phrase.

\[ \text{We shall have no war.} \]

A two-part ostinato pattern begins section B at measure 23 with the women's voices in unison pitted against the men's voices in unison and in contrary motion. A few selected voices (meas. 33), in three-part harmony, sing a rhythmic chant-like figure above the ostinato. The section ends with three measures of the ostinato alone. The A section returns, and is altered by the combination of A material and the chant-like figure (selected voices) of section B, this time in both unison and three-part writing. The selected voices drop out, and the choral material is varied and extended through repetition providing a coda to end the work.

\textit{Let The People Sing Praises Unto The Lord.} This anthem is for mixed chorus with keyboard (piano or organ) and B flat trumpet accompaniment. It was published in 1973.

The work is characterized by driving rhythms, syncopated patterns, quartal and mildly dissonant harmonies. The form of the work is ternary with an introduction and coda.
(Figure 16).

Figure 16. Form of *Let The People Sing Praises Unto The Lord*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Coda (A')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Measures 1-8</td>
<td>m. 9-16</td>
<td>m. 17-36</td>
<td>m. 37-44</td>
<td>meas. 45-58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The introduction is for solo trumpet and keyboard accompaniment. The trumpet solo is in a fanfare style and features a prominent triplet figure on E. The keyboard part has quartal chords providing an interesting accompaniment for the rather disjunct line of the solo. A slight ritard and crescendo (to fff) lead to section A (measure 9) for chorus and keyboard accompaniment. Each phrase of the choral part features syncopated rhythms. The word "Alleluia" is repeated three times, each time with the same rhythm, but with some change in pitches at the end of each phrase.

Section B also has quartal harmonies (measures 17-20 - piano; 21-22 - chorus, for example). The section features the instruments with choral interjections. Both instruments (trumpet and keyboard) have material based on that taken from measures 11-16 of the A section (the "Alleluia" phrases) at measures 23-24 and 31-34.

Section A returns at measure 37 with a literal repeat. The coda begins at measure 45 with the first phrase from
section A. Immediately following is a short a cappella section for chorus in which the material of section A is varied and extended. The last four measures of the work, with alternation between instruments and chorus, are a literal repeat of the last four measures of section B.

*If They Ask You Why He Came.* Mrs. McLin dedicated this choral work to her brother, Rev. B. J. Johnson, III. The work is scored for accompanied mixed chorus. Several gospel style characteristics are used in this work and the composer has called it a gospel song. The work was published in 1971. The text is by the composer. The work is in E flat major, and the form is binary with an introduction and coda (Figure 17).

**Figure 17. Form of *If They Ask You Why He Came***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-6</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The introduction has a progression marked by secondary dominant-seventh chords, a prominent feature of the harmonic style of the entire work, accompanying a flowing legato melody. The introduction begins, in fact, with a secondary dominant-seventh chord, and the progression, which has other secondary dominant-seventh chords, avoids the tonic until the end of the section finally establishing the tonality. This is the harmonic treatment in nearly all of the phrases of the work.
At the end of the first phrase of the introduction the melody has embellishments which suggest an improvisatory style that is characteristic of contemporary gospel music. The entire introduction is wordless. The voices sing the syllable "Oo."

Section A has a slightly faster tempo than the introduction. The left hand of the accompaniment has typical rhythmic patterns also found in contemporary gospel performances: \[ \frac{6}{8} \text{ figure} \]. The chorus has a more expressive part against the accompaniment rhythms. The entire section is repeated.

Section B, also repeated, presents other gospel performance styles. The accompaniment figure in measures 27 and 29 (\[ \text{figure} \]) is another typical gospel pattern. It is used here against a sustained chord in the vocal parts. The embellishment of the right hand of the accompaniment in measure 34 and the embellishments of the soprano line in measure 36 and measure 40 (second ending) are other examples of gospel style characteristics.

The coda is an almost literal repeat of the introduction. The final phrase ending is basically the same with octave displacement.

Gospel accompaniments are generally not written out in the style in which they are actually performed. The scores simply serve as a skeleton to which the "meat" of the performer's improvisations is added. Here Mrs. McLin has deliberately written the accompaniment with some embellishments and
other implied improvisational effects which are normally left to the performer. But there is still enough room in this written style for other desired improvisation.
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study has been to investigate the role of black women in twentieth century composition as revealed in their lives and works. This subject combines two interesting traditions. One is the tradition of written composition and the other is the tradition of extemporaneous performance.

In much of the research it was found that women were usually assigned musical roles relating to the duties and station appointed them. For example, from the earliest research, the women were limited by their biological functions in musical roles. These included music associated with puberty rites, child-bearing and rearing. Only in instances where women were given special esteem does one find a variety of musical roles assigned to women. This is true in both European and African cultures. Matrilineal societies naturally afforded more of these opportunities to the women than the patrilineal ones. Much of the differences found between the sexes in the various cultures were imposed by social and cultural forces. Innate talent and personal interest were decisively influenced by these social and cultural forces.
It is, for example, not unlikely that women with the technical and creative gifts of, say, Wolfgang Mozart have been born at one time or another only to leave their talent undeveloped or even surpressed because they were not prepared psychologically to fulfill this kind of promise.

This is an introductory work and has, of necessity, been limited to just five composers whose works demonstrate an inventiveness that comes through clearly in spite of apparently different backgrounds. The selected composers were known by reputation to the investigator, who had performed or heard performances of some of their works.

The five composers and the reasons for their inclusion in the study are: (1) Florence B. Price (1888-1953), of Little Rock, Arkansas and Chicago, the first black woman to receive international recognition as a composer. A graduate of the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, Mrs. Price represents the first generation of black women composers in America. Her compositional style, showing a preference for certain black idioms, reflects her training which was dominated by white American male teachers steeped in nineteenth century European tradition.

(2) Margaret Bonds (1913-1972), of Chicago and New York, studied first with Florence B. Price. She represents the second generation of black women composers in America. She received both the bachelor's and master's degrees from Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. An accomplished
pianist, her knowledge of the instrument is reflected in her
works. Her works also show the influence of blues and jazz
styles which she had the experience of playing in various
supper clubs and theatrical productions. Her association
with well-known black poets, artists and musicians had a
decided influence in determining her style.

(3) Evelyn Pittman (b.1910), of Oklahoma and New York,
is of the same generation of black women composers as Miss
Bonds. She is both composer and music educator. She studied
composition with Harrison Kerr at the University of Oklahoma,
where she received the master's degree, and with Nadia Bou­
langer in France, where her folk opera, Cousin Esther, was
completed and performed. Her compositional style is tradi­
tional with conventional harmonies and techniques. The black
idiom is also quite evident in her works.

(4) Julia Perry (b. 1924), of Lexington, Kentucky and
Akron, Ohio, is one of the youngest composers included in
this study. She received her bachelor's and master's degrees
from Westminster Choir College in Princeton, New Jersey. She
studied composition with Luigi Dallapiccola in Italy and with
Nadia Boulanger in France. Her style is eclectic for she
combines various compositional techniques. Many of her works
are characterized by a liberal use of dissonance and uncon­
ventional harmonies.

(5) Lena McLin (b.1929), of Atlanta, Georgia and
Chicago, also represents the youngest generation of black
women composers included in this study. Both a composer and
music educator, Mrs. McLin studied composition with Leonora
Brown and Willis Lawrence James at Spelman College in Atlanta,
where she received the bachelor's degree, and with Stella
Roberts at the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago,
where she received the master's degree. She has also studied
Electronic Music at Roosevelt University in Chicago. Her
works show a variety of influences including rock, gospel,
dissonant and traditional styles.

These composers represent a diversity of esthetic
goals and harmonic idioms. The backgrounds and experiences
provided the musical vocabularies from which each composer
speaks. Despite the apparent diversity mentioned above, cer­
tain influences and traditions can be seen in all of their
styles.

One such influence is the church. Each composer in
the study had the experience of working with church choirs,
and they have created works which show this influence to some
extent. It is evidence either in the selection of religious
texts and forms or in the synthesis of certain musical styles
related to the church. Examples of this influence are found
in the music of Margaret Bonds (The Ballad of the Brown King);
Julia Perry (Stabat Mater, Ye Who Seek the Truth, Song of Our
Savior, Our Thanks to Thee); Lena McLin (Let the People
Sing Praise Unto the Lord, If They Ask You Why He Came). The
spiritual arrangements of each composer are other examples;
however these would show the influence of the folk elements as well.

The religious influence is further reflected in statements made by two of the composers. Florence B. Price, in a statement concerning her ideas about creativity, said: "... there is always an ideal toward which we strive, and ideals ... are elusive. Being of spiritual essence, they ... lead us on, and I trust, upward, in a search that ends, I believe, only at the feet of God, the one Creator and source of all inspiration." Margaret Bonds, brought up in the Baptist tradition, was greatly impressed with the black church. She firmly believed in the oneness with God and that every person had a God-given purpose in life. Evelyn Pittman and Lena McLin, both church musicians and products of the Baptist church, reflect the styles of church music, especially the gospel styles, in some of their works. Though not analyzed in this study, Evelyn Pittman's musical drama, *Freedom's Child* shows a marked gospel style influence. Lena McLin's *If They Ask You Why He Came* is a gospel song.

Another influence which pervades the styles of each composer in the study is the incorporation of the folk idiom, more specifically, the black folk idiom into their works. Each of the composers has several spiritual arrangements among their works. They also have cultivated styles, in their original works, reminiscent of folk styles such as the spiritual, blues and the like. Examples of the latter are especially
prominent in the music of Margaret Bonds (The Ballad of the Brown King, The Negro Speaks of Rivers), and Lena McLin (Free At Last).

The settings for the spiritual arrangements vary. Each composer takes a different approach. For example Florence B. Price's arrangements are, for the most part, quite straightforward and relatively simple. One exception, however, is her well-known arrangement of My Soul's Been Anchored in de Lord, which features a very rhythmic setting marked by rather complex chromatic harmonies.

Margaret Bonds' jazz/blues influence is quite evident in her spiritual arrangements. The settings are dramatic with supportive accompaniments that complement the melodies. Her interesting and, sometimes, unusual accompaniments are characterized by jazz rhythms and chords.

Evelyn Pittman uses a rather straightforward approach in her choral settings. Her arrangements are especially effective because she combines the effects of the black communal experience of spiritual singing with the strict choral discipline. She uses traditional harmonies.

Julia Perry's spiritual settings are generally marked by simplicity. Her approach shows an attempt to retain the purity and original character of the true folk style. The accompaniments are usually uncomplicated but extremely effective.

Lena McLin's spiritual arrangements are varied,
ranging from chorale-like settings to quasi-gospel style. For this study the analysis of McLin's arrangements was limited to the five spiritual melodies used in her cantata, *Free At Last*. One interesting example from this work is near the beginning where the composer harmonizes the simple diatonic melody of "long ways from home" with a combination of chromatic and diatonic chords to represent the text pictorially. The progression begins a long way from the central tonality. In general, however, Mrs. McLin uses rather traditional chordal accompaniments for the spiritual melodies.

The five composers were not limited to works of a religious or folk style nor were they limited to writing in one type of performance medium. Their compositions range from orchestral works (Florence B. Price wrote four symphonies and concerti, for example) to chamber works for various instrumental combinations, operas (Evelyn Pittman, Julia Perry and Lena McLin have had several of their operas performed), art songs, choral works and keyboard compositions. The styles are equally diverse as expressed in the discussion of spiritual and religious settings above.

All of the composers were, at one time or another, music educators. This role had a more than passing influence on the creative output of at least two. Evelyn Pittman and Lena McLin, for various reasons, found it necessary to create materials for their teaching and performing purposes. The combination of these two roles reflects diverse creative
inspiration as well as variety in the levels of proficiency for which black women composers write. The contributions made by the composer/music educator are evidence of the attempts to meet the need of providing young performers with fresh and suitable compositions.

Women composers have never been sufficient in number to rival men, but they have gradually become accepted as something more than an oddity or joke. With continued changes in social concepts, psychological attitudes and the like, the future of women composers, and black women composers in particular, can be brighter, and composition will no longer be considered the exclusive territory of men. Judith Rosen supported this position in a recent article when she said:

there is of course a real need for the further liberalizing of social and educational barriers so that more and more women can fulfill their desire to write music, for it is only out of quantity that quality will emerge.¹

It is quite apparent, however, that black women composers in America have made and are making a substantial contribution to music. The women included in this study have written music which reflects a degree of cultural interchange evidenced by the combination of native characteristics with traditional European techniques.

Recommendations

Eileen Southern has said that "... we have no

recourse but to engage in research and begin to document the
history of our music." She states further that unless there
is documentation, the names of our black musicians may mean
nothing to readers in the twenty-first century, just as the
names of the nineteenth century black musicians mean little
to most of us in the 1970's.¹

A number of topics for further research are suggested
as a result of this introductory study. First of all, the
contributions of women composers throughout history and in
the various cultures is one area which certainly needs fur­
ther investigation. This largely unorganized information
needs to be assembled, performed and studied.

Another area for further study suggested by the find­
ings of this study is the preparation of editions of works,
now in manuscript or otherwise unavailable, by women composers.
Analysis of the entire works of individual women composers is
a great need as well.

Subjects for further research that are more specifi­
cally related to this particular study would include studies
of the lives and works of other contemporary black women com­
posers. Suggested names for such studies would include Eva
Jessye, Undine Moore, Betty Jackson King, Dorothy Rudd Moore
and Camille Nickerson.

¹Eileen Southern, "Music Research and the Black Aes­
F. ċ.
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Finn, Mrs. Lawrence. Personal correspondence to the investigator, February 8, 1973.


Pittman, Evelyn. Personal interview. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, August 1, 1972.

Price, Florence B. Personal correspondence to Mr. Neumon Leighton, September, 1950.


Miscellaneous Sources


_____. *I'm a Poor L'il Orphan in This Worl'*. New York: Galaxy Music Corp., 1952.

———. Our Thanks to Thee. New York: Galaxy Music Corp., 1951.


APPENDIX

Catalogue of Works

I. Florence B. Price (1888–1953)

Orchestral Works

Colonial Dance Symphony, n.d.

Concert Overture No. 1, n.d.  
(based on Negro Spirituals)

Concert Overture No. 2, n.d.  
(based on 3 Negro Spirituals)

Mississippi River Symphony, n.d.  
(4 movements)

The Oak, n.d.  
(Tone Poem)

Songs of the Oak, n.d.  
(Tone Poem)

Suite of Dances for Orchestra, n.d.

Symphony No. 1 in E Minor,  
(Wanamaker Prize – 1932)

Symphony No. 3 in C Minor, n.d.

Symphony in D Minor, n.d.

Symphony in G Minor, n.d.

Concertos

Concerto in One Movement, n.d.  
(Piano & Orchestra)

Concerto in F Minor, n.d.  
(Piano & Orchestra)

304
Concerto in D Minor, n.d.  
(Piano & Orchestra)

Concerto in D, n.d.  
(Violin & Orchestra)

Rhapsody for Piano & Orchestra, n.d.

Band

Three Little Negro Dances  
Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Theodore Presser, 1939

Chamber Works

By Candlelight (Violin & Piano)  

The Deserted Garden (Violin & Piano)  
Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Theodore Presser, n.d.

Mellow Twilight (Violin & Piano)  

Moods (Flute, Clarinet & Piano), n.d.

Negro Folksongs in Counterpoint (String Quartet)  
n.d.

Playful Rondo (Violin & Piano)  

Quintet for Piano and Strings, n.d.

Suite for Brasses and Piano, n.d.

Keyboard Works

Piano

Anticipation  
Chicago: McKinley Publishers, Inc., 1928

At the Cotton Gin  

Bright Eyes  
Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Theodore Presser Co., 1937

The Butterfly  
New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1936
Cabin Song
Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Theodore Presser Co., 1937

Clover Blossom
Chicago: McKinley Publishers, Inc., 1947

The Cotton Dance
New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., n.d.;
Oxford Piano Course, Fifth Book, Oxford
University Press, 1942

Criss Cross
Chicago: McKinley Publishers, Inc., 1947

Dances in the Canebrakes
Los Angeles: Affiliated Musicians, Inc.,
1953

Doll Waltz
Chicago: McKinley Publishers, Inc., 1928

The Engine

The Gnat and the Bee
New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1936

The Goblin and the Mosquito
Chicago: Clayton F. Summy Music Co., 1951

Here and There
Chicago: McKinley Publishers, Inc., 1947

Levee Dance

March of the Beetles
Chicago: McKinley Publishers, Inc., 1947

Mellow Twilight

Morning Sunbeam
Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Theodore Presser Co., 1937

Nobody Knows the Trouble I See

The Old Boatman
Chicago: Clayton F. Summy Co., 1951

Rock-a-bye
Chicago: McKinley Publishers, Inc., 1947
The Rose
New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1936

A Sachem's Pipe
New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1935

The Sea Swallow
Chicago: Clayton F. Summy Co., 1951

Sonata in E Minor, n.d.

Tecumseh
New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1935


The Waltzing Fairy
Chicago: McKinley Publishers, Inc., 1928

The Waterfall

Were You There When They Crucified My Lord

Zephyr (Mexican Folksong)
Chicago: McKinley Publishers, Inc., 1928

Piano Duets

Annie Laurie

The Goblin and the Mosquito
Chicago: Clayton F. Summy Co., 1951

Silent Night

Three Little Negro Dances (2 Pianos)
Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Theodore Presser Co., 1949

Organ Works

Adoration

Evening Song
New York: Galaxy Music Corp., n.d.
In Quiet Mood
New York: Galaxy Music Corp., 1951

Offertory

Organ Sonata No. 1, n.d.

Passacaglia and Fugue, n.d.

Suite for Organ, n.d.

Variations on a Folksong, n.d.

Vocal Works

Spirituals (solo)

My Soul's Been Anchored in the Lord (Voice & piano; voice & orchestra) New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1937

Two Traditional Negro Spirituals: "I'm Bound for the Kingdom," "I'm Workin' on My Buildin'" (Voice & Piano) New York: Handy Bros. Music Co., Inc., 1949

Art Songs (voice & piano)


Cobbler. (Words by David Morton), n.d.

The Dawn is Awake, n.d.

The Dream Ship, n.d.

Fantasy in Purple. (Words by Langston Hughes). n.d.


Moon Bridge. (Words by Mary Rolofson Gamble). Chicago: Gamble Hinged Music Co., 1930


Songs to a Dark Virgin. (Words by Langston Hughes). New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1941

Song of Hope. (Words by Florence B. Price), voice & orchestra. n.d.

Song of the Open Road. n.d.

To My Little Son (Words by Julia Johnson Davis). n.d.

Travel's End. (Words by Mary Folwell Hoisington). n.d.


Choral Works


Lincoln Walks at Midnight. SATB chorus & orchestra. n.d.


Sea Gulls. SSA chorus with strings and brasses. n.d.


Spring Journey. SSA chorus & string orchestra. n.d.

The Waves of Breffney. SATB chorus a cappella. n.d.
The Wind and the Sea. Mixed chorus & string orchestra. n.d.

Witch of the Meadow. SSA chorus. Chicago: Gamble Hinged Music Co., 1947

II. Margaret Bonds (1913-1972)

Orchestral Works

The Nile Fantasy. piano and orchestra. n.d.

Peter and The Bells. (Symphony). n.d.

Ballets

Migration. n.d.

Wings Over Broadway. n.d.

Stage Works

Romey and Julie. (Musical comedy), n.d.


Troubled Island. (words by Langston Hughes). n.d.


Winter Night's Dream. n.d.

Piano Works

Mary Had a Little Baby (from the Ballad of the Brown King). New York: Sam Fox Publishing Co., 1962

Spiritual Suite for Piano (The Valley of Bones — based on "Dry Bones"; The Bells — based on "Peter Go Ring Dem Bells"; Group Dance — based on "Wade in the Water,"). n.d.

Vocal Works

Spirituals (voice & piano)

Didn't It Rain.  New York: Beekman Music Co., 1967

Ev'ry Time I Feel the Spirit.  1970

Ezek'el Saw the Wheel (also for voice and orchestra). New York: Beekman Music Inc., 1959

Five Spirituals.  Dry Bones, Sit Down Servant, Lord I Just Can't Keep from Crying, You Can Tell the World (also for voice & orchestra) I'll Reach to Heaven. New York: Mutual Music Society (Chappelle & Co., agent), 1946


He's Got the Whole World in His Hands (also for voice & orchestra). New York: Beekman Music Inc., 1963


I Got a Home in that Rock (also for voice & orchestra). New York: Beekman Music Inc., 1959; 1968


Run Sinner Run. 1970


Sinner Please Don't Let This Harvest Pass, 1970

This Little Light of Mine, 1970

Art Songs

African Dance (duet - words by Langston Hughes), 1956

Don't Speak (words by Janice Lovoos), 1968

Hold the Wind, 1970


Joy (words by Langston Hughes), 1936


Pot Pouri. Six songs (words by Janice Lovoos)
   Will There Be Enough, Go Back to Leanna,
   Touch the Hem of His Garment, Bright Star,
   No Man Has Seen His Face, Animal Rock n' Roll, 1968


Sea Wolf. (won the Wanamaker Prize), 1932

Sleep Song (words by Joyce Kilmer), n.d.

Stopping By the Woods on a Snowy Evening. (words by Robert Frost), 1963

Three Dream Portraits (words by Langston Hughes).
   Minstrel Man, Dream Variation: I, Too.
   New York: G. Ricordi, 1959

Three Sheep in a Pasture. New York: Clarence Williams Music Co., 1940

To A Brown Girl Dead (words by Countee Cullen). Boston: D. Row Music Co., 1956

What Lips My Lips Have Kissed (words by Edna St. Vincent Millay), 1966

When the Dove Enters In (words by Langston Hughes), 1963
Popular Songs

**Empty Interlude.** New York: Robbins Music Co., n.d.

**Georgia** (with Andy Razof and Joe Davis). New York: Dorsey Bros. Music Corp., 1939

**Peachtree Street.** New York: Dorsey Bros. Music Corp., 1939

**Spring Will Be So Sad** (with H. Dickinson). New York: Mutual Music Society, 1941

Choral Works

**The Ballad of the Brown King** (Christmas Cantata—words by Langston Hughes), SATB chorus, soli & piano. New York: Sam Fox Publishing Co., 1961

**Children's Sleep** (words by Vernon Glasser) SATB chorus & piano. New York: Carl Fischer, 1942

**Credo.** chorus & orchestra. (Introduced April 1972 by Zubin Mehta, conductor of the Los Angeles Symphony).

**Ezk'el Saw the Wheel.** SATB chorus & piano. New York: Mercury Music Corp., 1966

**Fields of Wonder.** (words by Langston Hughes). Cycle for male chorus - Heaven, Snail, Big Sur, Moonlight Night, Carmel, Snake, New Moon, Birth. n.d.

**Go Tell It on the Mountain.** SATB chorus a cappella. New York: Beekman Music Inc., 1962

**I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel to Be Free.** (arr.) soprano solo & SATB chorus, n.d.

**Mary Had A Little Baby.** arr. for women's chorus (from The Ballad of the Brown King). New York: Sam Fox Publishing Co., 1963

**Mass in D Minor.** (Latin text) chorus & orchestra. n.d.

Sinner Please Don't Let This Harvest Pass. Soprano solo & SATB chorus, 1970

Standing in the Need of Prayer. Soprano solo & SATB chorus, 1970


III. Evelyn Pittman (b. 1910)

Choral Music

Anyhow. SATB chorus a cappella. New York: Carl Fischer, 1952


Oklahoma is My Home. SATB chorus. n.d.


Rocka Mah Soul. SATB chorus & baritone solo a cappella. New York: Carl Fischer, 1952

Sit Down Servant. SATB chorus, alto & baritone solos a cappella. New York: Carl Fischer, 1949

Trampin'. SATB chorus a cappella. Stamford, Conn.: Jack Spratt Music Co., 1961

We Love America. SATB chorus. Oklahoma City: Evelyn Pittman, 1951

Operas

Cousin Esther, 1954 (Revised, 1956)

Freedom's Child, 1971
Music for Elementary Grades


IV. Julia Perry (b. 1924)

Orchestral Works

Contretemps, 1963

Episode, n.d.


Short Piece. New York: Peer-Southern Organization, 1952


Chamber Works


Concertos


Violin Concerto. New York: Carl Fischer, 1966

Piano Works

Lament, 1947

Pearls on Silk, 1947

Suite of Shoes, 1947

Three Piano Pieces for Children. n.d.
Vocal Works

Stabat Mater for contralto & string orchestra
or string quartet. New York: Southern
Music Co., 1954

Seven Contrasts for baritone & chamber ensemble,
n.d.

Art Songs

By the Sea (words by composer). New York:
Galaxy Music Corp., 1950

Deep Sworn Vow, 1947

How Beautiful Are the Feet. New York: Galaxy
Music Corp., 1953

King Jesus Lives, 1947

To Electra, 1947

Spirituals (voice & piano)

Free At Last. New York: Galaxy Music Corp.,
1951

I'm A Poor L'il Orphan in the Worl'. New York:
Galaxy Music Corp., 1952

Lord, What Shall I Do? Boston: McLaughlin &
Reilly Co., 1949

Choral Works

Be Merciful Unto Me for mixed chorus. New York:
Galaxy Music Corp., 1953

Carillon Heigh-Ho (words by composer) mixed
chorus. New York: Carl Fischer, 1947

Frammenti Dalle Lettere de "Santa Caterina"
 Fragments from the Letter of St. Catherine
--Italian text). Soprano solo, mixed
chorus & small orchestra. New York:
Southern Music Co., n.d.

Is There Anybody Here? Women's voices, 1947

The Lord is Risen. Men's voices, 1947
**Missa Brevis.** chorus & organ, n.d.

**Our Thanks to Thee.** (words by composer) Mixed chorus. New York: Galaxy Music Corp., 1951

**Song of Our Saviour.** Mixed chorus. New York: Galaxy Music Corp., 1953

**Ye Who Seek the Lord.** Tenor solo & mixed chorus. New York: Galaxy Music Corp., 1952

**Cantatas**

**Chicago.** (secular cantata after Carl Sandburg's poems). Narrator, baritone solo, mixed chorus & orchestra. n.d.

**Ruth.** (sacred cantata). Mixed chorus & organ. n.d.

**Three Warnings.** (dramatic cantata). n.d.

**Operas**

**The Bottle.** n.d.

**The Cask of Amontillado.** One act. (adapted from the story by Edgar Allan Poe with libretto in English, German and Italian by the composer with the collaboration of Virginia Card). New York: Peer-Southern Organization. n.d.

**The Selfish Giant.** Three Act opera-ballet. n.d.

V. Lena McLin (b. 1929)

**Orchestral Works**

**Impressions No. 1.** n.d.

**Piano Works**

**Impressions for Piano,** 1957

**Song in C Minor.** n.d.

**A Summer Day.** n.d.
Vocal Works

Art Songs

And She Took a Ring and Placed it on His Finger
(Inspired by Jacqueline Kennedy), 1963

Gay (words by Paul Lawrence Dunbar) for baritone voice. n.d.

I Cannot Believe (words by composer), n.d.

If I Could Give You All I Have. n.d.

Silence (words by Paul Lawrence Dunbar). n.d.

Song Cycle (words by composer) On Money Passing Through Our Hands, On Why Didn't We, On Didn't We, On It's Not Too Late. n.d.

The Year's At the Spring. n.d.

Spirituals

Done Made My Vow to the Lord.

Don't Let Nobody Turn You Around. n.d.

Down By the River. n.d.

Give Me that Old Time Religion. n.d.

Gonna Rise Up in the Kingdom. n.d.

I'm So Glad Trouble Don't Last Always. n.d.

Lord, Oh Hear Me Praying. n.d.

Low Down the Chariot Let Me Ride. n.d.

Why Don't You Give Up the World? n.d.

Popular Songs (Soul Songs)

Now that I've Come to You. n.d.

I'm Gonna Make it Anyway. n.d.

I Wish that I Could Hear You Say. n.d.
Choral Works


Burden Down. SATB Chorus. n.d.


Give Me Jesus. SATB chorus. n.d.


God Made Us All. SATB chorus. n.d.


I Am Somebody. SATB chorus, narrator & piano. n.d.

If We Could Exchange Places. (words by the composer) SATB chorus, flute, electric piano, electric bass guitar. New York: Marks Music Corp., 1971.

I Heard the Preaching of the Elders. SATB chorus. n.d.


In This World. (words by composer); For the Air That's Pure (words by composer); Miracles For Me (words by composer); I Love No One But You, Baby (words by Beverly McLin and Nathaniel McLin); Peace Talk (words by composer). Park Ridge, Illinois: General Words & Music Co., 1970.


Jesus Stayed in the Wilderness. SATB chorus. n.d.

Judas. SATB chorus. n.d.

Keep Silence. SATB chorus. n.d.


0 Sing. SATB chorus. n.d.

Out of the Depths Have I Cried Unto You. SATB chorus. n.d.


Psalm 113. SATB chorus. n.d.


Psalm 124. SATB chorus. n.d.


Steady, Jesus Listening. SATB chorus. n.d.


We've Just Got to Have Peace All Over This World. (words by composer). SATB chorus & piano. New York: Sildet Music Co., 1971.


When Jesus Met the Woman at the Well. SATB chorus. n.d.

Who Knowest Whether Thou Art Comest to the Kingdom. SATB Chorus. n.d.


Masses


St. Raymond the Pinafold. Liturgical Mass. n.d.

Cantatas

The Agreement. Marriage Cantata. n.d.


The Ascension. Easter Cantata. SATB chorus & soprano and tenor solo. n.d.

The Church Cantata. SATB chorus, narrator, piano & chimes. n.d.


The Johnny Coleman Cantata. SATB chorus, baritone solo & narrator. n.d.

The Stoning of Stephen. SATB chorus, baritone solo & narrator. n.d.

Operas

Bancroft, Inc. Mezzo soprano, 2 baritones, tenor, contralto, SATB chorus. n.d.

Comment. Rock opera. n.d.

Humpty Dumpty. n.d.
Jack and the Beanstalk.  n.d.
The Party.  n.d.
Rumplestiltskin.  n.d.