

American Music Research Center Journal

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The American Music Research Center Journal is dedicated to publishing articles of general interest about American music, particularly in subject areas relevant to its collections. We welcome submission of articles and proposals from the scholarly community, ranging from 3,000 to 10,000 words (excluding notes).

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Jay Keister, John J. Sheinbaum, Jeremy L. Smith

## American Progressives of the 1970s: A Colloquy

The articles of this colloquy originated from a panel presented at the 2nd International Conference of the Project Network for the Study of Progressive Rock on 26 May 2016. In his pioneering study, Edward Macan defines progressive rock as a style based on the contributions of a select group of white male British bands of the 1970s.<sup>1</sup> According to Macan, progressive rock is “best remembered for its gargantuan stage shows, its fascination with epic subject matter drawn from science fiction, mythology, and fantasy literature, and above all for its attempts to combine classical music’s sense of space and monumental scope with rock’s raw power and energy.”<sup>2</sup> Progressive rock has long been a favorite target of rock critics who have miscast the genre as an escapist fantasy that lacked political and social relevance.

We numbered among those at the conference who sought to challenge such stereotypes of progressive rock, in particular the notion that the aesthetic of progressiveness could or should be confined to a genre of music that has been virtually defined by race, gender, and nationality. Working from Theodor Adorno’s definition of a “progressive artistic consciousness” that “appropriates the most advanced materials” and responds “to the historical substance sedimented in them,” we argue that the term progressive is an appropriate descriptor for the wide range of music in the post-*Sgt. Pepper/A Love Supreme* era that tended toward the use of extended forms, eclectic sources, and self-conscious, politicized lyrics.<sup>3</sup> In this broader sense, progressive is a term that applies not only to groups labeled as prog rock such as Yes, Genesis, and King Crimson. It is an era much better understood when a traditionally compartmentalized white progressive movement is viewed as part of a much larger movement that includes American artists of all races and genders who

specialized in what we call “black prog” as well as the conceptual works of their iconic singer-songwriter compatriots Carole King and Bruce Springsteen.

Our first paper, by Jay Keister, “Black Prog: Soul, Funk, Intellect and the Progressive Side of Black Music of the 1970s,” re-examines African American music of the early 1970s with a focus on the progressive poetics that dominated popular music of that period. The extended forms and cross-genre appropriation commonly associated with progressive rock are not only found in the music of artists as diverse as George Clinton, Sun Ra, and Stevie Wonder, but works of “black prog” were also fraught with the aesthetic and political tensions that characterized African American music of the 1970s. The individualism and artistic autonomy so valued by progressive musicians were at odds with the search for a black aesthetic that could serve the collective needs of the African American community.

In “Reading Carole King’s *Tapestry* as a Penelopean Retelling of the Homeric *Odyssey*,” the second paper, Jeremy L. Smith argues that King’s iconic album, long viewed as a collection of disparate songs, is marked throughout by thematic coherence. Through the process of retelling, King, in this reading, brings new life to a canonic work of Western literature. Specifically, by shifting the epic’s original, Odyssean, male perspective to that of his wife, Penelope, King produces a complex, album-long narrative that is provocative, innovative, and meaningful on political and social as well as musico-literary levels. When seen in this light, *Tapestry* is not only musically and socially progressive, but it also, as a work of art, sheds new light on King’s times and our own.

In the third paper, “There’s an Opera Out on the Turnpike: Springsteen’s Early Epics and the Fantasy of the Real,” John J. Sheinbaum considers Bruce Springsteen’s tendency to construct songs that fit broadly under a “prog” rubric musically by including through-composed elements and other stylistic / formal complexities, but where visions of utopia or escape are simultaneously grounded in a lyrical realism rather than the fantastic imagery most commonly associated with classic progressive rock of the time. Springsteen’s early epics also evoke prog by highlighting the E Street Band as a musical collective, metaphorically complicating the notion of a fundamentally selfish “Me Decade.”

Underlining all three studies of this colloquy is a view that rethinks the wider historiography of 1970s popular music. We argue that progressive music can be considered closer to the center of the era’s popular music than is usually suggested, given that most historical treatments of popular music consider prog something of an unfortunate tributary, rather than a main stream in the popular music of the time.<sup>4</sup> Extended compositions, immersive musical journeys, and other hallmarks of prog can all be found in various 1970s styles well

beyond narrowly delineated boundaries of “progressive rock.” Perhaps more importantly, such a perspective questions the assumption that progressive music necessarily lacks a socially engaged stance.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Edward Macan, *Rocking the Classics: English Progressive Rock and the Counter-culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Macan, *Rocking the Classics*, 3. For other critical studies of the genre, see John Covach, “Progressive Rock, ‘Close to the Edge,’ and the Boundaries of Style,” in *Understanding Rock: Essays in Musical Analysis*, John Covach and Graham M. Boone, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 3-31; Allan F. Moore, *Rock: The Primary Text: Developing a Musicology of Rock*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), esp. 64-118; Kevin Holm-Hudson, ed., *Progressive Rock Reconsidered* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002); Jay Keister and Jeremy L. Smith, “Musical Ambition, Cultural Accreditation and the Nasty Side of Progressive Rock,” *Popular Music* 27 (2008): 433-55; Chris Anderton, “A Many-Headed Beast: Progressive Rock as European Meta-Genre,” *Popular Music* 29 (2010): 417-35; Jarl A. Ahlkvist, “What Makes Rock Music ‘Prog’? Fan Evaluation and the Struggle to Define Progressive Rock,” *Popular Music and Society* 34 (2011): 639-60; Matthias Lundberg, “To Let it Be Without Pretense”: Canon, Fugue, and Imitation in Progressive Rock 1968-1979,” *Music Theory Online* 20, <http://www.mtosmt.org/.../mto.14.20.3/mto.14.20.3.lundberg.php>.

<sup>3</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, translated and edited by Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 275.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Kyle Smith, “Prog Rock: A Noble but Failed Experiment,” *National Review*, 15 June 2017, <https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/06/show-never-ends-review-prog-rock-was-terrible-glorious/>. According to Smith, “[p]rog rock was the exclusive domain of a certain kind of nervous, experimentally minded, cautiously intellectual young white guy.”





Jay Keister

## Black Prog: Soul, Funk, Intellect and the Progressive Side of Black Music of the 1970s

*They tried to make Stan Kenton a “white hope,” called modern jazz and my music “progressive,” then tried to tell me I played progressive music. I said, “You’re full of shit!” Stan Kenton? There ain’t nothing about my music that’s cold, cold like his.<sup>1</sup>*

*We didn’t want anything to do with progressive music. So we stayed with soul. And the kind of soul we wanted was fast dance things. We work hard, bloody hard, and we want to work hard on the dance floor. The faster the better.<sup>2</sup>*

These refutations of progressive music by Dizzy Gillespie and James Brown are indicative of the problematic nature of the label “progressive” in popular music. Perhaps more than any other stylistic label, for a musician to be attributed as playing progressive music is especially damning. Unlike the use of the term in the political sense of liberal thought and action for initiating social change, the term progressive in popular music is used purely as a marker of musical ambition that typically includes extended form, harmonic and rhythmic complexity, and eclectic appropriation as in progressive rock or progressive jazz. In this sense the term progressive connotes musical change beyond the normative boundaries of popular song. Many musicians, fans, and writers have been quick to distance themselves or their music of choice from the faintest whiff of the progressive label to avoid critical derision or guilt by association.<sup>3</sup>

The above statements by Gillespie and Brown also reveal the extent to which the term is racialized, casting progressive music as overly intellectual, cold,

and conspicuously white. Conversely, white critics have often praised the spontaneity and naturalness of black music in contrast to more calculated approaches by white musicians at the risk of reifying racial stereotypes.<sup>4</sup> The notion that rock music must stay close to “authentic” black roots has been a central argument in the critical dismissal of progressive rock bands such as Yes, Genesis, King Crimson, Jethro Tull and others from the early 1970s.<sup>5</sup> This demonization of a small number of UK “prog” bands has contributed to a misunderstanding about this era in which being musically progressive was common to a much broader range of musicians in rock, jazz, and R&B. Progressive music featuring extended forms and ambitious concepts was at its height in the early 1970s and included some of the most musically diverse works by African American artists such as Marvin Gaye, Stevie Wonder, George Clinton, Miles Davis, and Sun Ra. These boundary-crossing artists made music during this era that could easily be conceived of as a kind of “black prog.”<sup>6</sup>

This article considers black progressive music of the 1970s as a way of examining the problem of being progressive in popular music, especially when viewed from an African American perspective. It also serves as a reminder that during the early 1970s being musically progressive was not just some aberrant practice by a handful of white musicians in UK bands; it was arguably the dominant musical aesthetic in popular music. Technological advances in studio recording and concert performance enabled greater musical sophistication at the same time that pop musicians found a new power to express political views in the wake of the sixties counterculture. Musicians in the seventies gained a certain degree of autonomy—or, at least, the appearance of autonomy—in the creation of popular music as art, effectively distinguishing themselves as more serious or “authentic” compared to the inauthenticity of musicians of more standard pop music, while also finding commercial success.<sup>7</sup> With the newfound power and elevated status of pop musicians emerging out of the political idealism and social turbulence of the sixties, there seemed to be an imperative for a brief period of time that pop music *must* progress.

The development of progressive music among African American musicians paralleled similar developments in rock music at that time. Expansion of song form and stylistic eclecticism were central to the psychedelic experiments of Jimi Hendrix, Arthur Lee and Love, and The Chambers Brothers in the late sixties. At the same time, Miles Davis created a sprawling style of fusion from an eclectic mix of jazz, rock, South Asian timbres, and avant-garde electronica. In the seventies, Afro-futurism was also at its height in the music of Sun Ra and George Clinton, two artists whose outer space-inspired eclecticism resists easy generic categories. And two of Motown’s leading artists demonstrated

the commercial potential in making progressive pop. Against the wishes of Berry Gordy, Marvin Gaye recorded and released one of the most celebrated concept albums in pop music, *What's Goin' On* (1970), a social protest song cycle linked together by melodic and rhythmic motives. Around the same time, Stevie Wonder began his legendary string of ambitiously conceived albums that won numerous Grammy Awards and transformed his career. Many of the leading African American musicians were riding the progressive wave at the same time as white musicians, but with one major difference. If the overall imperative of the time was that music must progress, for African Americans it was more specifically that “*our* music must progress.”

### **The Black Arts Movement, Black Intellectuals, and a Black Aesthetic**

The imperative to advance *black* music and art, as well as maintain autonomy and control over black cultural expression was explicitly articulated by writers of The Black Arts Movement (BAM) that emerged out of the Black Power movement in the mid-1960s. BAM sought to create a new African American aesthetic that would be truly black and not imitative of, or subservient to, European American models. Larry Neal states that the movement “is radically opposed to any concept of the artist that alienates him from his community” and proposed a “radical reordering of the Western cultural aesthetic.”<sup>8</sup> For black artists working in a white-dominated world, notions of art for art’s sake and the autonomy of the individual artist had little meaning. Thus, the goal of a black aesthetic was to define culture that explicitly served African Americans. Maulana Karenga outlined three criteria for BAM: usefulness to black people; origins in collective black culture and experience; and commitment to liberation from racism.<sup>9</sup> To achieve these goals, it would be necessary to develop black mythologies, history, social and political organizations, economic structures, creative motifs, and a black ethos without the distracting influences of white culture.<sup>10</sup>

Ideas about black intellectualism, aesthetics, identity, and representation had been subject to debate among black writers since the Harlem Renaissance. W.E.B. Du Bois sought to transcend racial identity and the burden of having to represent one’s race, or in Ross Posnock pithy phrase, to “be free to delete the first word or accent the second in the phrase *black intellectual*.”<sup>11</sup> Zora Neale Hurston wanted to banish the “black intellectual” from what she called “the American Museum of Unnatural History.”<sup>12</sup> Hurston characterized this figure as “most amoral” and lollygagging “outside a sharecropper’s shack mumbling about injustice.” For Hurston, race consciousness had to a certain extent *weakened* black intellectualism and she hoped that “a less encumbered black intellectual will emerge.”<sup>13</sup>

Others argued that black aesthetics should be less encumbered by folk elements of African American culture at the cost of eclipsing more universal aspects of human nature. Psychologist Allison Davis argues that black artists “failed to interpret this broader human nature in Negroes, and found it relatively easy to disguise their lack of a higher imagination by concentrating upon immediate and crude emotions.”<sup>14</sup> Davis argued that when black artists replaced racist stereotypes, such as emotionalism, degeneracy and savagery, with more positive traits that were equally stereotypical—being childlike, innocent, devoted, and good-natured—racial essentialism played into the hands of white culture and abetted racism.<sup>15</sup>

Although celebrated as a high point for African American arts, the Harlem Renaissance was viewed critically by the more radical BAM writers of the 1960s as a movement that only represented the Black middle-class. An aesthetic that could represent all black culture must address the harsh realities of being born black in a white world.<sup>16</sup> Black intellectuals such as Neal, Karenga, and Amiri Baraka argued for an unflinching black aesthetic, entirely independent of white culture in its representation of the struggles of black people. BAM writers did not hesitate to draw on the stereotypes of black folk culture, positive or negative. Arguing that “Afro-American life and history is full of creative possibilities,” Neal advocated the use of “folk heroes like Shine and Stagolee to historical figures like Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X”<sup>17</sup> in an effort to “sing new songs (or purify old ones).”<sup>18</sup>

Popular culture was also fair game for artists. BAM embraced popular culture in order to create what Smethurst describes as a “popular avant-garde.”<sup>19</sup> Amiri Baraka, a staunch advocate of the black avant-garde in music, imagined a synthesis of folk, popular, and avant-garde forms in what he called “unity music.”<sup>20</sup> Baraka linked the most extreme jazz experimentalists of the time, such as Cecil Taylor and Ornette Coleman, to African American folk roots and the blues and envisioned a “social spiritualism” that would sweep away African American’s dependence on white musical forms or styles.<sup>21</sup> Music became a central battleground in a fight for independence and territorial claims within popular culture. African American pop musicians faced significant challenges making music in the political climate of this era. Was the myth of the autonomous artist truly liberating, or was it incompatible with a black aesthetic? If black artists enacted their artistic autonomy, would the idiosyncratic individualism of “art for art’s sake” sacrifice the emphasis on community and social function demanded by black leaders? If autonomous black artists exercised their freedom of appropriation by adopting symbolically loaded European American forms, would they be seen as aiding and abetting an oppressive white culture?<sup>22</sup> Should black American stereotypes be avoided, embraced,

or “purified” through some process of artistic deconstruction?

The tension between artistic autonomy and black demands for social relevance and unity underlies much of the progressive black music of the 1970s. The next section considers overall stylistic traits of progressive black music by various artists, followed by case studies of George Clinton and Sun Ra to understand how artistic autonomy and social unity played out in music during that era.

### **Black Prog: Extended tracks, Eclectic appropriation, and Music for Listening**

Like white progressive rock musicians of the time, Black prog musicians of the 1970s exercised their autonomy in what Anderton might identify as a commitment to “individualism, artistic progression and writing for posterity” characteristic of progressiveness in music.<sup>23</sup> Although Anderton identifies progressiveness in popular music as “an attitude to making music rather than a set of stylistic traits or political engagement,” the individualistic urge to progress beyond pop music convention and write for posterity nevertheless did produce certain stylistic traits and political critique that can mark music as progressive.<sup>25</sup> In the case of black popular music of the 1970s, such progressive traits could also bring artists into conflict with the ideals articulated by BAM during this time period, and this tension will be explored in the rest of this article. This section considers three stylistic features of progressive rock found on several albums by African American musicians in the 1970s.

Progressive popular music extended the typical pop song by stringing together related songs into a song cycle or concept album, or by extending the length of a single song. White progressive rock artists typically structured such lengthy tracks with clearly divided sections, essentially creating song suites. Extended tracks by black artists, however, tended to be unified by a rhythmic groove underlying the entirety of the track with different sections implied by altering instrumental textures over the groove. For example, in Sun Ra’s “Space is the Place,” a 5/4 bass line maintained by bass and baritone sax grounds the twenty-one-minute track as the lead vocalist sings in 4/4 with a supporting horn section. While this groove is maintained throughout the entire piece, Sun Ra’s large ensemble of musicians and vocalists improvise freely, weaving in and out of a shifting mix of varying instrumental and vocal textures. Like many extended tracks in psychedelic and progressive rock, “Space is the Place” presents a cosmic message of epic proportions. In this case, Sun Ra expresses an Afrofuturist vision in an extended “freak out” with a large ensemble and ecstatic vocalists singing that “there’s no limit/to the

things that you can do.”<sup>26</sup> Listeners feel a constant groove throughout, even in moments when most of the instruments drop out. A similar approach to lengthy tracks can be found on early albums by George Clinton’s Funkadelic. For example, “Wars of Armageddon” (*Maggot Brain*, 1971) consists of a bewildering array of voices and sound effects that fade in and out over a steady funk groove. At times, the groove in “Wars” disappears at moments, only to re-emerge moments later in the track.

Eclectic appropriation of diverse styles defined seventies progressive rock, and African American musicians at the time also borrowed from many different genres. While white British prog artists drew inspiration from European art music, many black prog musicians turned to African and African American idioms. Some black prog artists appropriated European American styles to enhance the social critique of a particular song. Stevie Wonder used string textures in his song “Village Ghetto Land” (*Songs in the Key of Life*, 1976). In this song, Wonder takes the listener on a walk through “his neighborhood,” the impoverished, crime-ridden, drug-infested urban ghettos that were economically devastated by the recession of the early seventies. Wonder’s use of pleasant string accompaniment makes this dismal stroll especially ironic.

Funkadelic’s “Qualify and Satisfy” (*Funkadelic*, 1970) uses the braggadocio of blues to take aim at many possible targets. On the surface, the song appears to be a classic blues tune in which the singer brags of his sexual prowess over all rivals, claiming to be “qualified to satisfy.” The “corny square” who is criticized in the song could easily be a black rival, perhaps someone with straightened hair who is conforming to white standards of personal appearance, or a white American hipster striving to be black. The musical arrangement of “Qualify and Satisfy,” however, seems to target white British rock stars who appropriated black American music in the 1960s. For example, guitarist Eddie Hazel imitates the heavy electric blues sound of Cream’s Eric Clapton. This reverse appropriation of the post-war urban blues style stands out as an oddity on an early funk album precisely because the blues had lost its appeal with younger black audiences by the late 1960s and was especially criticized by black intellectuals as a music of resignation in the face of white oppression.<sup>27</sup> Funkadelic’s reclaiming of the stereotype of the sexually boastful Delta blues man is an effective attack on white bands that had commercially hijacked the blues. From Funkadelic’s satirical point of view, British rock stars may have been successful financially and even sexually, but they clearly lacked the most obvious qualification of being black. Such clever insult connects “Qualify and Satisfy” with African American games such as “the dozens”<sup>28</sup> and folklore such as the signifying monkey.<sup>29</sup>

Progressive music of the era was often chastised by critics for favoring complex music intended for contemplative listening over rhythmically driving music designed for dancing. The dichotomy of listening versus dancing is a familiar one in the history of African American music. In seeking to be free of their role as dance accompanists, bebop musicians of the 1940s established modern jazz as a form of music for listening. In the wake of listener-oriented bebop, the 1950s subgenre of soul jazz developed partly as an attempt to reconnect jazz with dance and black popular music. By the late 1960s, Miles Davis had begun developing his fusion style partly as a way to reinvigorate jazz with popular music but veered towards the avant-garde/pop fusion advocated by Baraka. Davis proclaimed his 1972 album, *On The Corner*, to be a move back towards dance music. *On The Corner* was packaged to look like a pop album with cartoonish street characters drawn in an urban street scene; however, the album was anything but danceable. At the time, Davis was interested in Stockhausen's ideas of "universal" music which paralleled the jazz pioneer's desire to be rid of the standard AABA song forms of jazz in order to create an expanded sense of musical time.<sup>30</sup> While Davis did feature repetitive rhythmic grooves on this album, his approach to the melody instruments was closer to *musique concrete* than jazz, cutting up assorted melodic parts and splicing them into a disorienting musical mix. Saxophonist David Liebman recounts his befuddlement at recording parts for that album in which he was encouraged to play without being able to hear any of the other accompanying instruments.<sup>31</sup> Equally befuddled were many critics, such as Lester Bangs, who initially panned this perplexing album, though he later praised it as an "environment" record that captured the disruptive rhythms of the urban cityscape depicted on the cover.<sup>32</sup> Whereas Stockhausen presented his art as a kind of universal music with significance for all mankind, Davis seemed intent on presenting this as black music. *On The Corner* was unmistakably black music and a fusion of high and low musical ideals that could be seen as an example of what Baraka meant by "unity music."

### **Questioning Soul and Funk in the Music of George Clinton**

Perhaps the best exemplar of unity music of this era was George Clinton, whose parallel projects Parliament and Funkadelic drew on highly eclectic influences and explored extended tracks that were often danceable, yet very focused on the listening experience. True to its name, Funkadelic was a psychedelic, guitar-oriented band that laid the groundwork for the style of funk that Clinton would fully develop by the mid-1970s. The first two Funkadelic albums, both released in 1970, featured psychedelic rock's distorted electric guitar and keyboards, slurred speech and varispeed tape manipulation, and



a dense sound mix suggestive of sensory overload or an altered state. Unlike white psychedelic bands of the period, however, Funkadelic explored the drug counterculture from a distinctly African American point of view.

Clinton also cited the specific sources he drew on at the time, especially “Black Power books” and the music of Bob Dylan and The Beatles, with a particular fascination for songs like “I Am the Walrus,” in which they “made an art out of nonsense.”<sup>33</sup> However, Clinton’s seriousness in exploring the African American experience through music was laden with absurdity and especially lowbrow, bathroom-oriented humor not unlike Frank Zappa’s Mothers of Invention.

Funkadelic’s eponymous 1970 album is framed by two extended tracks that pose questions about the band’s philosophical mission. “Mommy What’s a Funkadelic?” opens the album with reverb-drenched voices singing and moaning with erotic pleasure that suggests earthiness, yet the vocalist announces that Funkadelic is “not of this earth” and reassures listeners that surrendering to erotic pleasure will “do you no harm.” The final track, “What is Soul?,” concludes the album with a similar endorsement of pleasure by posing a more vital philosophical question in a recording that sounds like the group is getting stoned while engaging in a dialogue about soul. Funkadelic’s search for the meaning of soul in this song draws not on the kinds of affirmation commonly heard in soul records of the 1960s, but from “lowbrow” southern folk imagery and urban black culture in a call and response suggestive of the black church. The back-and-forth dialogue repeats the vocal call of “what is soul?” followed by the response of “I don’t know” with the answers consisting of images drawn from the economic hardships of black life: a “hammock in your cornflakes,” “the ring around your bathtub,” and “a joint rolled in toilet paper.”

*Free Your Mind...and Your Ass Will Follow* (1970) continued in a similar vein with a deeper focus on spiritual questioning. Clinton elaborates on the intellectual trends of the time as well as the musical eclecticism and ambition characteristic of progressive rock:

It dealt with lots of things that were in the air at the time: issues of social control, self-awareness, the failure of intellectuals to connect their utopian philosophies to what was actually happening on the street. We recorded the album quick, over a matter of days, which gave it a unified feel and a unified philosophy. It was also the first time that I tried to match the power of the band—that mix of hard rock and prog rock, of deep soul and classical composition—with appropriate lyrics, and to write something with deep meaning that gestured toward something larger and more literary.<sup>34</sup>

Composed and recorded under the influence of LSD, the album featured psychedelic guitar, gospel, electronic effects, and tape manipulation in an eclectic mix that Clinton felt was too confusing for some listeners:

When we used gospel songs, it just confused people further: were we mocking divine music, suggesting some alternative system, or directing it toward sincere ends? Legitimate soul musicians might have had some right to draw upon gospel, but did freaked-out, psychedelically wrecked black rock and rollers?<sup>35</sup>

Here, Clinton refers specifically to the album's final track, "Eulogy and Light," on which gospel vocals are run backwards over a cynical parody of the Lord's Prayer that attacks American greed and materialism. When the narrator shouts, "Fuck 'Down by the Riverside'" over a backwards recording of a spiritual, the effect is startling and suggests multiple meanings. On one level, the narrator invokes a greedy capitalist, but the text could be referring to anyone from a Wall Street financier to a local street corner drug dealer. On a deeper level, the rejection of "Down by the Riverside" suggests that the safety and solace found in religious expressions of unity among the oppressed can be a dangerous opiate that stands in the way of revolutionary advancement.

By contrast, the title track of the album calls for the exploration of spirituality on a purely individual level. In another invocation of the black church, the song is structured around the chant, "free your mind, and your ass will follow," followed by the response of "the kingdom of heaven is within." The chant presents funk as a unification of body and spirit that actually prioritizes the intellect, not at the expense of the body, but in service to the body in the process of an individual spiritual quest. Understandably, such a spiritual quest is not an easy one and is fraught with uncertainty. Background voices become denser as the track progresses, and a panicked voice expresses doubt: "I can't free my mind! My ass can't follow!" Instead of voices of affirmation that one associates with sixties soul, Funkadelic features desperate voices doubting the inner source of soul. The conflicted self that is portrayed in the title track suggests W.E.B. DuBois' "double-consciousness" of African Americans who are psychologically bound to seeing themselves through the eyes of a racist society.<sup>36</sup> The "bad trip" depicted in these panic-stricken moments greatly enhances such psychological disorientation.

Psychedelic music served Clinton well in his exploration of African American urban life at the beginning of the decade, demonstrating how drug culture captured the anxieties of black experience. Although the psychedelic elements would disappear from his music, Clinton's indulgence in the vulgarities of inner city culture—the "immediate and crude emotions" that black intel-

lectuals such as Allison Davis worried could reinforce racist stereotypes— became important elements of 1970s funk, a music that celebrated the raw physicality of music and dance.<sup>37</sup> With the merger of Funkadelic and Parliament into the P-Funk All-Stars by the mid-1970s, Clinton crafted an ambitious Afrofuturist vision of black life in outer space which will be examined in the next section.

### **Unity in Outer Space: From Space is the Place to the P-Funk Mothership**

At the peak of a public fascination for outer space and science fiction in the early 1970s, there was a growing cynicism on the part of African American thinkers that the gains of the space program had little to offer black people. The absence of black astronauts was only a part of the problem. For some, it seemed that government spending on the Apollo program came at the expense of struggling African American communities, an argument expressed in Gil Scott-Heron's "Whitey on the Moon" (1970). By 1973, the Nation of Islam's Elijah Muhammed warned that the white man, after conquering the earth, was now spending billions of dollars to conquer space.<sup>38</sup>

As if in response to this disparity, Sun Ra and George Clinton pioneered their unique styles of Afrofuturist music, envisioning a future in which African Americans could stake a claim in humankind's journey beyond the earth. While both artists sought liberation in outer space, there was little resemblance between the avant-garde sounds of Sun Ra and the danceable funk of Clinton's P-Funk All-Stars. The two artists also had different approaches to representing black stereotypes. Sun Ra imagined an outer space utopia free of urban stereotypes while Clinton reveled in images of pimps and street hustlers in his Afrofuturist vision. Both artists, however, experienced a certain degree of tension between individual artistic autonomy and renewed calls to serve the African American community in the wake of BAM of the 1960s.

Sun Ra's music, though not widely known outside the world of underground jazz, featured an open invitation for all humanity to "travel the spaceways" in search of worlds where people could truly be free, for example on the track "Space is the Place." Sun Ra constructed a fictional persona for himself, completely abandoning his former identity as Herman Blount from Birmingham, Alabama. Instead, he claimed Saturn as his birthplace and cultivated a colorful space fantasy in sharp contrast to black-and-white everyday reality. In spite of his welcoming message, the experimental, free jazz style of Sun Ra's music in the 1960s and 1970s, combined with the science-fiction and ancient Egyptian imagery, had a distancing effect as the most alien elements of his

musical project were foregrounded. With his outer space sounds, imagery, and persona, Sun Ra projected an image of individualism and autonomy that was not always consistent with the communal goals of African American unification advocated by BAM. The tension between Sun Ra's space fantasy and African American demands for a unified community is evident throughout his science fiction film *Space is the Place* (filmed in 1972, released in 1974). The film portrays Sun Ra as he presented himself through his music: as a being from Saturn who comes to earth with a message that space is the place where people can truly be free. While the lyrics to the song "Space is the Place" suggests a universalist utopia for all mankind, in the film Sun Ra specifies that black people are his intended audience of potential pilgrims for space travel. Fully aware of the politically charged atmosphere of the time, Sun Ra was careful with how his character in the film spoke about, and interacted with, other characters based on their race.

Radical black politics of the time necessitated a tempering of Sun Ra's universalist message in favor of black empowerment through the founding of an alternative, segregated society. The film opens with Sun Ra walking through a forest on a distant planet chosen as a place to where black people can migrate in order to "see what they can do on a planet all their own." Sun Ra, the Moses-like savior, then travels to earth to recruit people for this migration and, although the film originally planned to show Sun Ra saving a few white people, this was cut from the script as Sun Ra feared an angry reaction from the NAACP.<sup>39</sup> In one scene Sun Ra turns away a white man who is desperately seeking employment on Ra's spaceship. Ra's rejection of this engineer who claims to have once worked for NASA makes clear that his Afro-centric space program has no room for "whitey on the moon."

Sun Ra's relationship with his earthling brothers and sisters in the film, however, is strained; he is greeted with apprehension and skepticism. Sun Ra invokes the progressive trope of the futuristic artist ahead of his time, in this case a misunderstood prophet addressing a doomed planet with a corrupt civilization that seems unable or unwilling to accept his message. In one scene, Sun Ra magically appears in an urban community center where a group of black teenagers play games in a room decorated with portraits of Malcolm X, Angela Davis, and numerous other black power heroes. The black youths are highly skeptical of Sun Ra and especially critical of his alien appearance; they even mistake him for a hippie. When he informs them that he has come to recruit them to travel to his utopian planet, one teenager asks, "What if we won't come, you gonna make us come?" Sun Ra replies that he will have to "do you like they did to you in Africa; chain you up and take you with me." His trick of inverting the practice of slavery for the sake of saving African Ameri-

cans is more than just a clever joke. It also suggests Sun Ra's real-life working method as an autonomous artist known for running an authoritarian musical commune that he himself described as the "Ra jail" in the documentary film, *Sun Ra: A Joyful Noise* (1980).

George Clinton's Afrofuturist project came to fruition by the middle of the decade, and it stands in sharp contrast to Sun Ra's more esoteric and adversarial approach. Whereas Sun Ra's film depicts the artist locked in a battle between interplanetary freedom and earthly degradation, Clinton's touring shows were relatively free of such anxieties, bringing street culture into outer space and embracing the urban stereotypes that Ra fought against. As Clinton's dual interconnected projects of Funkadelic and Parliament began to journey further into the realm of science fiction in the mid-seventies, Clinton's musical ambitions culminated in the concept album *Mothership Connection* (1975). This was followed in 1976 by the elaborate stage show designed for his touring group called P-Funk. Presenting his dual projects as a single, collective entity, Clinton ruled over several dozen musicians in a tour that resembled a Broadway show, with a sizable budget from Casablanca Records that he never would have imagined just a few years earlier when his touring musicians were forced to improvise costumes out of garment bags from the dry cleaners.

Unlike Sun Ra's avant-garde evangelism, George Clinton's professed a simple message: "Ain't nothin' but a party, y'all." For the climax of the P-Funk Earth Tour, the mothership would land on stage, and Clinton's alter ego, Dr. Funkenstein (who resembled a flamboyant pimp from outer space), swaggered down the ramp to greet the audience of earthlings. The landing of P-Funk's mothership was met with tremendous applause and celebration, so much so that this pinnacle moment that was originally planned as the opening of the concert, had to be moved to the end of the show to avoid being anti-climactic.<sup>40</sup> Whereas Sun Ra's spaceship was powered by the free jazz of the Arkestra, P-Funk's soulful, driving dance music came from the inner city streets that Sun Ra viewed with ambivalence.

Like Sun Ra, Clinton also felt pressure from black politics of the time. At one performance, a group of bow-tied Nation of Islam members in the audience began shouting at him:

"Teach the knowledge, Brother George" they were saying. The knowledge? Holy shit. It suddenly struck me that they were serious. When I looked at their faces, they were bowing down, praying almost. I started looking directly at them and saying, "Ain't nothing but a party." I started making more jokes about money

and pussy, to make sure that everyone in the crowd, bow ties included, knew that I was getting paid for entertaining people. I wasn't interested in promoting an eternal truth of any kind.<sup>41</sup>

Although avoiding political evangelism, Clinton's message was nevertheless an earnest one that drew on a complex mix of mythology and black history. Clinton's mothership was partly inspired by the mythology of the "mother plane," an interpretation of the visions of Ezekiel in the Old Testament that came to be an important element in Elijah Muhammad's leadership of the Nation of Islam.<sup>42</sup> For Clinton, however, the mother plane was "just another mythology to draw on, no different from stories of mummification in ancient Egypt, from sci-fi movies and their vision of outer space, and cloning."<sup>43</sup> Clinton's use of the spiritual "Swing Low Sweet Chariot" to accompany the arrival of the mothership clearly marked it as a symbol of emancipation, but set a tone in these concerts that was celebratory and fun.

These conceptually ambitious musical projects inspired by science fiction reflect the different values of Sun Ra and George Clinton. Musical differences are the most obvious with Sun Ra's free use of form and rhythm contrasting with Clinton's disciplined funk, in which musicians must submit to "the one," meaning the accented first beat of each measure that drives funk rhythm. Philosophically, both artists communicated messages to their audiences mixed with a great deal of humor. While Sun Ra could seem heavy-handed at times, Clinton refused to let seriousness eclipse any of the fun promised to his fans. Sun Ra's musical vision was driven by a desire for beauty, thus his one regret with the end result of the film *Space is the Place* was that there was "not enough beauty in the film."<sup>44</sup> The unknown utopia of mysterious planets, like his imaginative and eclectic approach to jazz, represented beauty for Sun Ra, but there was precious little interplanetary beauty depicted in the film. Instead, *Space is the Place* took place almost entirely on earth with Sun Ra immersed in the stark reality of urban black life and waging war against black stereotypes amidst inner city decay. Conversely, George Clinton embraced and celebrated urban culture, turning soul on its head and making it funky. For Sun Ra, beauty may have been the rings of Saturn, but for Clinton, soul and funk were the rings around your bathtub.

### **Conclusion: The African American "Me Decade"**

The backlash against progressive in popular music emerged as part of a broader critical response to the culture of the 1970s, a decade in which individuality came to be viewed negatively in the wake of idealistic hopes for social change that characterized the 1960s. The most well-known charac-

terization of the decade was by journalist Tom Wolfe, who coined the phrase “The Me Decade.” Wolfe described the self-absorption of the era as the direct result of a “Third Great Awakening” in which individualism had gotten out of control.<sup>45</sup> Likening the 1960s to earlier “Great Awakenings” in the US when Americans discovered religion through ecstatic experiences of Christianity, this new spiritual awakening encompassed Eastern religions, LSD, and Scientology. Such spiritual navel-gazing by the self-obsessed, white, middle-class led Wolfe to declare the 1970s to be the “greatest age of individualism in American history.”<sup>46</sup>

What about African Americans during the “Me Decade?” What about those who were economically less able to flock to the suburbs or retire in leisure villages and less likely to indulge in fashionable EST sessions or visit California’s Esalen institute? The Black “Me Decade” saw a different kind of individualism, not one of privilege but of individualism that privileged survival of the self. The communality of African American life in the sixties—non-violent protests, community organizing, the singing of hymns—gave way to an atomized individualism. The positive communal messages of soul and spirituality were soon replaced by cynical and aggressive messages of survival and a greater obsession with material gain. As Nelson George described it, “no one was singing ‘We Shall Overcome’ in the early 70s.”<sup>47</sup> Funkadelic expressed this same sentiment in the poem recited on the final track on *Free Your Mind* as the vocalist shouts, “Fuck ‘Down By the Riverside!’”

The ensembles of Sun Ra and George Clinton offered models of communality on a small scale with their musician collectives of free-thinking Afrofuturists in search of new worlds. These Afrofuturist collectives appeared as groups of individuals escaping earth in search of “space” that was not at all an abstract extra-terrestrial concept of other worlds, but a very physical sense of space, as in the saying “I need my own space.” At the dawn of the seventies, the much desired “my own space” for African Americans was to be found on the streets which is precisely where the black aesthetic developed as an individual quest for self-reliance during the Black “Me Decade.”

Black prog musicians mixed high and low culture in ways that parallel the music of white prog rockers of the time and supports recent critical re-evaluations of 1970s progressive rock as a genre that blends high and low musical elements<sup>48</sup> and as a genre motivated by social criticism.<sup>49</sup> Upon closer examination, progressive popular music turns out to have a much closer relationship to progressive politics than most rock critics would care to admit. It is perhaps not so much the pretensions of appealing to upper class music that is a problem in the aesthetics of rock, but it is instead the eclectic borrowing

in progressive popular music that places high and low culture on an equal footing, threatening what Lester Bangs claimed was “gutter pure” in rock.<sup>50</sup>

Black prog musicians were in a unique position to blend high and low culture. Compared to white prog rock musicians who, operating from a position of white privilege, borrowed freely from their European roots as well as music from around the world, black prog appropriations of both high and low risked reifying an unequal binary of highbrow/European versus lowbrow/African American. However, black musicians could use lowbrow to their advantage with a greater effectiveness than white musicians given the greater legitimacy credited to music with African American roots. In the world of pop music, in which Bourdieu’s distinction model is turned upside down, resulting in an inversion of cultural values, middle-class white musicians typically seek distinction from below, drawing stylistically on working class and ethnic music that is already granted legitimacy in the aesthetics of rock.<sup>51</sup>

But what about the triumph of negative stereotypes against the hopes of black intellectuals? The up-from-the-sidewalk aesthetics of funk certainly exploited all the worst negative stereotypes—old and new—that had troubled black intellectuals since the Harlem Renaissance. The hopes of Du Bois and Zora Neale Hurston for black people to be free of all manner of racial stereotypes appear to have crashed by the seventies. However, the new funk aesthetic, what Ward disparagingly described as “the sound of unassimilated black life”<sup>52</sup> could hardly be described as a regression. George Clinton constructed a progressive vision of soul that was based in both reality and fantasy in a way that fit Amiri Baraka’s prescription for social spiritualism and fulfilled Ron Karenga’s three criteria for black art: to be functional, collective, and committed. The difference being that social spiritualism during the Black “Me Decade” had to be more individualistic and idiosyncratic to connect to African American audiences. Funk served to unify everything, from the most dignified of outer space heroes to the lowest of street pimps.

Perhaps most importantly, unity music had to be physical in order to make the connection sought after by musicians like George Clinton. P-Funk exploited the stereotype of black music as booty music for all it was worth, yet the intellectual/spiritual quest was equally present in an Afrofuturism that boasted of technological and musical supremacy, in addition to packing a powerful critical punch. Funk’s claim to universality was its focus on the human body, and it did not have to be a *black* body because funk welcomed *all* bodies, including many who would eventually find their “Me” dancing in the much maligned, funk-derived disco craze of the mid-1970s. Unity in black progressive popular music was to be sought after in physical interaction, not in the “cold” domain



of white intellectualism that Dizzy Gillespie protested at the outset of this article. The ingredient necessary to create intellectually ambitious progressive music that made the deepest connection was a return to the physicality that James Brown described as working “bloody hard” on the dance floor.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Dizzy Gillespie with Al Fraser, *To Be, or Not...to Bop* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1979), 337.

<sup>2</sup> Ken Tucker, “The Seventies and Beyond,” in *Rock of Ages: The Rolling Stone History of Rock and Roll* (New York: Rolling Stone Press/Summit Books, 1986), 523.

<sup>3</sup> The critical derision of progressive rock has been mentioned in many studies of the genre (Macan 1997, Martin 1998, Moore 1993) as well as the conscious avoidance of the term by musicians (Keister and Smith 2008:450). The eagerness to reject any association with progressive rock is apparent throughout a recent study of German “krautrock,” a 1970s genre associated with progressive rock, in which the author goes to great lengths to disassociate his subject from prog rock (Stubbs, 2014). In the BBC documentary *Prog Rock Britannia* (2009) progressive rock keyboardist Rick Wakeman suggests that prog is a dirty word to be uttered as inconspicuously as possible, describing prog rock as the “porn of the music industry.”

<sup>4</sup> Edward Macan, *Rocking the Classics: English Progressive Rock and the Counter-culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 171. Also see Allan Moore, *Rock: The Primary Text: Developing a Musicology of Rock* (Buckingham, UK: Open University Press, 1993), 65-66.

<sup>5</sup> Macan, *Rocking the Classics*, 169.

<sup>6</sup> In his study of progressive rock, Bill Martin suggests the term “progressive soul” to describe the many African American musicians in the 1970s with an approach similar to progressive rock. Bill Martin, *Listening to the Future: The Time of Progressive Rock, 1968-1978* (Chicago and La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1998), 41.

<sup>7</sup> Iain Chambers, *Urban Rhythms: Pop Music and Popular Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), 118-120.

<sup>8</sup> Larry Neal, “The Black Arts Movement,” *The Drama Review* 12 (1968): 29, 28-39.

<sup>9</sup> W.D. Wright, *Black Intellectuals, Black Cognition, and a Black Aesthetic* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), 148.

<sup>10</sup> Neal, “The Black Arts Movement,” 33.

<sup>11</sup> Ross Posnock, *Color and Culture: Black Writers and the Making of the Modern Intellectual* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1998), 5.

<sup>12</sup> Posnock, *Color and Culture*, 4

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Davis, quoted in Wright, *Black Intellectuals*, 16-17.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>16</sup> Neal, “The Black Arts Movement,” 39.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>19</sup> James Edward Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2005), 58-76.

<sup>20</sup> Amiri Baraka, "The Changing Same," in *Black Music: Essays by Leroi Jones (Amiri Baraka)* (New York: Akashic Books, 1968), 239-240.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Lorenzo Thomas, *Don't Deny My Name: Words and Music and the Black Intellectual Tradition* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 2008), 162.

<sup>23</sup> Chris Anderton, "A Many-Headed Beast: Progressive Rock as European Meta-genre," *Popular Music* 29, no. 3 (2010): 417-435.

<sup>25</sup> Anderton, "Many-Headed Beast," 420.

<sup>26</sup> Jay Keister. "The Long Freak Out: Unfinished Music and Countercultural Madness in Avant-garde Rock of the 1960s and 1970s," in *Countercultures and Popular Music*, Sheila Whiteley and Jediah Sklower, eds. (Surrey, England: Ashgate 2016), 141-156.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas, *Don't Deny My Name*, 158.

<sup>28</sup> Roger D. Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," *The Journal of American Folklore* 75, no. 297 (1962): 209-220.

<sup>29</sup> Henry Louis Gates, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African American Literary Criticism* (New York: Oxford, 1988).

<sup>30</sup> Barry Bergstein, "Miles Davis and Karlheinz Stockhausen: A Reciprocal Relationship," *Musical Quarterly* 76, no. 4 (1992): 511, 502-525.

<sup>31</sup> Philip Freeman, *Running the Voodoo Down: The Electric Music of Miles Davis* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2005), 98.

<sup>32</sup> Lester Bangs, "Miles Davis: Music for the Living Dead," in *Mainlines, Blood Feasts, and Bad Tastes: A Lester Bangs Reader*, John Morthland, ed. (New York: Anchor Books, 2002), 47-55.

<sup>33</sup> Freeman, *Running the Voodoo Down*, 98.

<sup>34</sup> George Clinton, *Brothas Be, Yo Like George, Ain' That Funkin' Kinda Hard on You?: A Memoir by George Clinton with Ben Greenman* (New York: Atria Books, 2014), 97.

<sup>35</sup> Clinton, *Brothas Be*, 101.

<sup>36</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Avenel, NJ: Gramercy Books), 1994.

<sup>37</sup> Allison Davis,

<sup>38</sup> Elijah Muhammad, *The Mother Plane: Elijah Muhammad's Analysis of Ezekiel's Wheel*. (Irving, TX: Secretarius MEMPS Publications, 2008).

<sup>39</sup> Jerome J. Langguth, "Proposing an Alter-Destiny: Science Fiction in the Art and Music of Sun Ra," in Mathew J. Bartkowiak, ed., *Sounds of the Future: Essays on Music and Science Fiction Film* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland Press, 2010), 158.

<sup>40</sup> Clinton, *Brothas Be*, 158.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>42</sup> Muhammad, "Ezekiel's Wheel."

<sup>43</sup> Clinton, *Brothas Be*, 161.

<sup>44</sup> Langguth, "Proposing an Alter-Destiny," 156.

<sup>45</sup> Tom Wolfe, "The 'Me' Decade and the Third Great Awakening," *New York Magazine* 23 August 1976, 27-48.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>47</sup> Nelson George, "fools, suckas & baadasssss brothers," in *Rolling Stone – The Seventies*, Ashley Kahn, Holly George-Warren, Shawn Dahl, eds. (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1998), 58.

<sup>48</sup> John J. Sheinbaum, "Progressive Rock and the Inversion of Musical Values," in *Progressive Rock Reconsidered*, Kevin Holm-Hudson, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 21-42.

<sup>49</sup> Keister and Smith, "Musical Ambition," 2008.

<sup>50</sup> Bangs, *Mainlines*, 50.

<sup>51</sup> Barbara Bradby, "Too Posh to Rock? The Exposure of Social Class in Popular Music," in *Popular Music Matters: Essays in Honour of Simon Frith*, Lee Marshall and Dave Laing, eds. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 11-29.

<sup>52</sup> Brian Ward, *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1998), 354.

John J. Sheinbaum

## There's an Opera Out on the Turnpike: Springsteen's Early Epics and the Fantasy of the Real

Bruce Springsteen first rose to prominence in the early- to mid-1970s. Critical and scholarly portraits often place him as something of a musical, lyrical, and cultural heir to “authentic” American singer-songwriters such as Woody Guthrie and Bob Dylan.<sup>1</sup> Even in terms of marketing, Columbia Records offered a contract to Springsteen under the assumption that he would present himself in such a folk mold. He surely helped this along by auditioning as a solo artist for John Hammond—the Columbia executive who also had signed Dylan—accompanied only by his acoustic guitar. When recording his debut album, however, Springsteen instead insisted on working with his rock-and-roll band, in the role to which he was more accustomed as a seasoned performer on the New Jersey bar-band circuit, resulting in heated debates with his manager.<sup>2</sup> But Springsteen's brand of rock was steeped just as strongly in an ethos of authenticity, a “nostalgic, or ‘retro’ aesthetic” evoking ‘50s and ‘60s rock and soul,” as David Brackett writes, which led to “ecstatic responses” from critics who were “yearning for a return to rock's roots.”<sup>3</sup>

At the same historical moment, a number of primarily English groups were developing a very different style of rock music, usually called “progressive” or “prog” rock. Stemming in many ways from the Beatles' studio experimentation during the recording of *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967),<sup>4</sup> prog found a wide audience across Europe and the United States during the 1970s. The “progressive” label generally refers to expanding the boundaries of rock, and as Edward Macan argues in his influential study of prog, to connections between the style and the late 1960s counterculture.<sup>5</sup> In broad

terms, its chief features can be seen against the background of rock conventions, well established by 1970. These include mixed meters and difficult rhythms; non-standard chord progressions; riffs that have the potential to develop rather than merely repeat; explorations of sound, often through keyboard instruments; lyrics and album covers that employ surrealistic and mythological imagery; eclectic musical influences, often derived from various eras of classical music; lengthy instrumental sections; virtuosic playing; contrasts between acoustic and electric passages; and multisectional songs that embellish traditional AABA or verse-chorus forms, at times expanding to multimovement structures and entire “concept albums.”<sup>6</sup> Given this foregrounding of musical complexity and seeming distance from typical rock, critics considered prog a decidedly “inauthentic” sort of rock music, and the style is infamously marginalized in conventional narratives of ‘70s rock.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, it is perhaps surprising, even counterintuitive, that on his first albums Springsteen—paragon of “rock authenticity”—undertook sustained efforts at extended compositions that fit broadly under a “progressive rock” rubric. Indeed, the prog aesthetic of extended songs with numerous contrasting sections, often with through-composed elements and other stylistic and formal complexities, was taken up in many areas of mainstream 1970s rock outside the usual bounds of prog. Such features can be heard in many enduring tracks from the decade. The 1970 Eric Clapton-led Derek & the Dominos song “Layla” (7:03), for example, concludes with a slow instrumental section strongly contrasting to the main verses and choruses, and comprising more than half of the recording’s seven minutes. Billy Joel’s 1977 “Scenes From an Italian Restaurant” (7:35) consists of a sprawling narrative set in a number of different musical styles, as does that year’s three-movement opus of teenage sexual frustration, Meat Loaf’s “Paradise by the Dashboard Light” (8:26). Kevin Holm-Hudson explores how bands of the time such as Styx could appeal to arena-size audiences by “fusing prog elements” (such as references to classical music, dramatically contrasting sections, and pronounced synthesizer textures) with “hard-rock guitars” in a style he terms “prog lite.”<sup>8</sup>

Springsteen’s albums of this era surely don’t employ all the hallmarks of prog and wouldn’t be confused for music by classic progressive bands such as Yes, Genesis, or ELP. One won’t come across passages in 7/8 time, for instance, or album covers with psychedelic imagery. Yet the legendary epic nature of his live performances with the E Street Band was indeed matched, time and time again, with songwriting that similarly aimed to take the audience on all-encompassing musical journeys. Each of the songs on his second album, *The Wild, The Innocent & The E Street Shuffle* (1973), for example, is musically substantial and formally adventurous, resulting in a full-length

record comprised of only seven tracks, four of them lasting more than seven minutes each, while the finale, "New York City Serenade," clocks in at just shy of ten minutes. Even the shorter and stylistically stripped down songs from his later '70s work, such as *Darkness on the Edge of Town* (1978) and the double album *The River* (1980), were still carefully—even tortuously—chosen from a copious amount of material to create a coherent lyrical and sonic atmosphere at least as convincing as any prog multimovement suite or concept album. As Springsteen describes the process of recording *Darkness* in his recent memoir, "we cut forty, fifty, sixty songs of all genres. Maybe after our two-year shutdown I was just hungry to record, to get all the songs and ideas out of my head, to clear a space for the record I really wanted to make.... I eventually cut the massive block of songs I had down to the ten toughest. I edited out anything that broke the album's mood or tension."<sup>9</sup> More recent songs similarly don't shy away from extended musical statements, at least when he deems that the content warrants it. A slowly building tragic arc unfolds across "American Skin (41 Shots)," an indictment of institutional racism [first released on *Live in New York City* (2001) then later the studio album *High Hopes* (2014), at 8:45 and 7:24 respectively]. And in the more optimistic "Land of Hope and Dreams" [(6:58) from *Wrecking Ball* (2012) but first released on *Live in New York City* (9:46)], lyrics extolling diversity are matched by a through-composed structure where the song opens up to a new, captivating second half after the initial pair of verse-chorus cycles.

This article focuses on one particular 1970s-era Springsteen epic, "Jungleland," the nine-and-a-half-minute closing song from his breakthrough album, *Born to Run* (1975). "Jungleland" engages a number of progressive tropes. The song expands a traditional AABA pop form to encompass a complex musical and dramatic journey. Along the way "Jungleland" employs contrasts between acoustic and electric sections, musical ideas that develop to further the narrative, and references to the grandeur of classical music. Most provocatively, its extended contrasting instrumental section pushes against the image of closed coherence implied by the overall form, crafting instead a through-composed structure that hints at the sublime. I explore three main points: first, the notion that Springsteen's songwriting might be taken more seriously than the conventional view might allow; second, how we might analyze "Jungleland" fruitfully from the perspective of a progressive rock toolkit; and finally, how "Jungleland" also might be seen as contributing to a progressive social agenda within its cultural context. Taken together, such a perspective highlights that Springsteen's lineage of musical influences should be extended farther than the conventional portrait to include '70s prog and that progressive rock itself should be positioned more centrally in historical narratives of rock.<sup>10</sup>

### Springsteen's songwriting and the sublime

Many Springsteen songs go far beyond the mere fact of multisectional songs to create passages that are of provocative, even sublime, interest in their own right. I mean "sublime" not only in the contemporary dictionary sense, as "uplifting" or "grand," but, crucially, in the classical and 18th-century sense of Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant, in dialectic opposition to the "beautiful": beyond reason and coherence, such as the primal forest as opposed to the human-controlled garden.<sup>11</sup> These sections function as much more than merely filling boxes in an abstract formal scheme and often include details that themselves aspire to structural importance.

Yet it is often taken as a given that Springsteen's music is simple; as Larry David Smith puts it, "his mystery is genuine, but his art is without mystery."<sup>12</sup> In Simon Frith's estimation, "the textures and, more significantly, the melodic structures of Springsteen's music make self-conscious reference to rock and roll itself, to its conventional line-up, its cliched chord changes, its time-honored way of registering joys and sadness."<sup>13</sup> There is no sign that this is meant to be a slight towards the artist; indeed, most commentators are more than positive overall, and in-depth considerations of Springsteen's lyrics are common enough. Instead, such critical discourse equates musical and formal simplicity with tropes of folk-derived authenticity. As Gareth Palmer puts it, it is "important to note ... how very conservative much of the music is. But this is the point. True authenticity as a rocker involves strict adherence to rock and roll's traditions. A lack of innovation here is a sign of commitment to the fan."<sup>14</sup> Simplicity strikes us as authentic because we assume that the musical directness is a natural outgrowth of music made by naturally simple people. As Dave Marsh, Springsteen's most prominent biographer, asserts, "basic three-chord rock" lies at the heart of this music not "out of commitment to pure simplicity or simple purity, but because the basics were their limit."<sup>15</sup>

Such a view does justice neither to the careful and detailed construction of Springsteen's music nor to the ways the music affects its listeners. Indeed, according to Daniel Cavicchi, while many fans report that they do pay attention to lyrics, quoting, discussing, and debating them often, they also actively "*resisted* the idea that the lyrics were primary in shaping the meaning of the music."<sup>16</sup> Instead, fans do talk about the music, and they actively interpret it. Having digested the conventional value system surrounding music in Western culture that prizes classical music as "art" but denigrates popular culture as "entertainment," Cavicchi's informants, positioned as a representative sample of Springsteen fandom, actively seek to find "some of the qualities of high culture" in Springsteen, such as "complexity" and "seriousness," so as to justify their deep-seated belief that his music is "good or legitimate."<sup>17</sup>

My position is somewhat different. I do not mean to imply that Springsteen's music is "good" music because it is complex but rather that the value system of authenticity built around Springsteen does not fully capture the music-cultural strains at play within the music, its creation, and its reception.<sup>18</sup> I call attention to one particular aspect of Springsteen's songwriting that lies in a more multifaceted relation to baseline "authentic" rock than is usually recognized. Across Springsteen's output, he incorporates numerous musical passages that go beyond the usual boundaries of straightforward rock-and-roll in ways that evoke the musical and cultural expectations of progressive rock. From Springsteen's own perspective, too, there is no need to construct a binary opposition between the bodily effects of rock on listeners and the desire by musicians to imbue rock with some amount of complexity. As he himself put it when inducting Bob Dylan into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1988, Dylan "showed us that just because the music was innately physical did not mean that it was anti-intellectual."<sup>19</sup>

More often than not, Springsteen constructs compound AABA forms. Such a form operates on two basic levels. "Simple" AABA form is organized into three cycles of the A material, and one contrasting B section. By contrast, each letter in a "compound" AABA form encompasses more than a single musical phrase and often its own complex form. Most common is for each "A" to contain both a verse, where the words change upon each repetition of the music, and a chorus whose music is set to the same words each time. In a compound AABA structure, then, we might hear two cycles of verse-plus-chorus, then a contrasting section or sections, and then a return for a final cycle of verse-plus-chorus.

As John Covach points out, compound AABA forms, due to their synthesis of formal types, are "more complicated" than the baseline structures found in classic rock and roll, and this approach to songwriting is most characteristic of 1970s rock,<sup>20</sup> not the earlier styles most assume lie at the heart of Springsteen's music. From a songwriter's perspective, the existence of a B section that goes beyond the verse and chorus is rich with implication. As Peter Holzapfel of the dB's has argued, the "bridge" section, as it's commonly called, takes "the melody and chords to a whole 'nother place," and is a way to "pack more song into the song.... These sections would drive the band off into another zone entirely.... You could infuse it with tempo shifts, key changes and lead guitar breaks, and somehow return to the comfort of the established structure."<sup>21</sup> The "tangent" of the bridge section is considered a "fine key to progress": a sign of mature, "adult" songwriting, for without them songs seem "monochromatic and unfinished."<sup>22</sup>



Rather than simply embracing the “comfort” of simple return after a contrasting bridge section, I suggest that we can think about these passages fruitfully in terms of a framework of “breakthrough,” “suspension,” and “fulfillment” fields the social and musical philosopher Theodor W. Adorno finds in the symphonies of Gustav Mahler (1860-1911), whose works now stand at the center of the classical music repertoire.<sup>23</sup> In Mahler’s works, Adorno hears the entrance of outside voices into the closed world of the piece, and these alter the future course of the work.<sup>24</sup>

Moments of breakthrough, suspension, and fulfillment constitute a Springsteenian sublime in the artist’s early, prog-influenced works. Collectively, these devices found regularly in Springsteen’s early epics linger in the imagination, coloring our experience of the music, and providing a prism through which we might examine his songs from more surprising angles than we might have first envisioned. Adapting David Beard and Kenneth Gloag’s description of the musical sublime, I hear instances of the Springsteenian sublime as adding “a heightened sense of value” that “overshadows all that surround” them, as they exhibit “forces ... that cannot be contained.”<sup>25</sup> The sublime episodes in Springsteen’s epics call out for interpretation. More than simply surprising moments within otherwise straightforward rock songs, these fully dialectical expressions give voice to and simultaneously call into question the structural expectations and cultural resonances of the “authentic” rock song itself.

Each of Adorno’s categories can be outlined in ways that resonate with songs on Springsteen’s *Born to Run*. In the case of the “breakthrough,” a sonic “rupture originates from beyond the music’s intrinsic movement, intervening from outside.... The breakthrough ... affects the entire form. The recapitulation to which it leads cannot restore the balance demanded by [traditional] form.”<sup>26</sup> Thus these are not merely momentary effects, but openings that lead the way to telling deviations from expectation from this point forward. For example, side two begins with the title track, which uses a compound AABA form. Its bridge concludes with an unexpected, syncopated, unison chromatic descent over an entire octave (beginning at 2:52). The music suddenly loses its connection to the key area, melodies, and chord progressions that have defined the song thus far, seeming to come from outside the song’s boundaries. At the descent’s end, time seems to stop entirely, needing “the Boss” to count the band back in for the final verse. The return to earlier music brings together the verse with the song’s instrumental melodic hook as a countermelody, two ideas which until this point had only appeared diachronically. Thus, the song’s chromatic breakthrough leads to a climactic culmination of the song’s main materials.<sup>27</sup>

Adorno's notion of "fulfillment" arises from outside influences that make their presence felt near the end of a musical work, extending "a musical context by something fundamentally new."<sup>28</sup> A fulfillment "collide[s] with the idea of the intrinsic closedness of modern [classical] music."<sup>29</sup> The final passages of "Thunder Road," *Born to Run's* iconic opening track, resonate strongly with Adorno's argument that fulfillment is "the physical pattern of freedom.... Accumulated power is unleashed."<sup>30</sup> Radical in its structure, the final A section of the AABA form is taken not as a sign of satisfying closure, but instead as a mere way station on the path to another destination. By adding a new concluding section after generally following the dictates of an AABA form, the song's structure is generally of a piece with the desire for escape described by the lyrics: "these two lanes will take us anywhere." Calling the very idea of closure into question, after the end of the final A, "Thunder Road" moves to a new section of seemingly endless groove. This is no mere coda tacked on at the end, but the essential climax of the song itself. After the powerful conclusion to the final A and the completion of the full AABA form—there's a dramatic move to an emphatic tonic chord, and Springsteen tells us he's "pulling out of here to win"—we realize instead we'll get a sense of the journey that follows. At 3:50, a new instrumental section begins; each phrase works towards the dominant, refusing closure and bringing the music back to the tonic and a new phrase. The song never truly ends; it eventually fades away instead, leaving us imagining the hero's car off in the distance, driving out of view.<sup>31</sup>

### **"Jungleland," the suspension, and the real**

Adorno calls his third category of sublime intrusion affecting formal structure the "suspension," and its particular characteristics are relevant to "Jungleland," *Born to Run's* concluding song. According to Adorno, suspensions "stretch themselves out" and

tend to be sedimented as episodes. These are essential...: round-about ways that turn out retrospectively to be the direct ones.... The suspensions give notice to formal immanence without positively asserting the presence of the Other; they are self-reflections of what is entangled in itself, no longer allegories of the absolute. Retrospectively they are caught up by the form from whose elements they are composed.<sup>32</sup>

One of the most notable features of "Jungleland" is Clarence Clemons' "stretched out" saxophone solo (3:54-6:26) within the B section of the song's expansive variant of compound AABA form. At two-and-a-half minutes, the

solo is almost the length of a standard pop song, and in Springsteen's own estimation, it represents "Clarence's greatest recorded moment."<sup>33</sup> The genesis of this solo is central to Springsteen's personal hero mythology. During a grueling sixteen-hour recording session, Springsteen dictated the solo, at points one note at a time, to Clemons. Ultimately, the songwriter assembled the final solo from manifold takes, constructing a continuous passage of ever-rising expression.<sup>34</sup> The solo is "entangled" within the overall form, to use Adorno's evocative language, comprising much of the contrasting B section (3:27-6:26). Yet Clemons' solo also "gives notice to formal immanence," as it enters a measure early, eliding the previous phrase, and announces a new key and tempo without preparation. Further, the solo leads to a final verse and coda that are unmistakably altered, creating a dramatic through-composed structure rather than a more architecturally balanced form that would be signaled by a straightforward final repetition of the A section.

The through-composed aspects of "Jungleland" can be seen in dialogue with the more traditional, AABA-derived background structures evident at a quick glance (see Example 1). Rather than the expansions on a single feeling, person, or idea that might lend themselves to a more traditional pop song's static alternating verse-chorus format, the lyrics' overall dramatic narrative is matched by a continually evolving formal trajectory. In Springsteen's words, "the band works its way through musical movement after musical movement," leading at the conclusion to the "knife-in-the-back wail of my vocal outro, the last sound you hear, [which] finishes it all in bloody operatic glory."<sup>35</sup> After a slow 10-measure opening in C major led by Suki Lahav's violin, a timbre beyond the normal sounds of the rock band, Springsteen sings three dramatically-rising verses in the faster main tempo of the song. He introduces the character of the "Magic Rat," who drives a "sleek machine," and his nameless and barefoot lover "sitting on the hood of a Dodge / Drinking warm beer in the soft summer rain." They live amidst the police who chase them and the urban street gangs who "assemble" to battle each other late into the night. Springsteen ties narrative events to the heightened passions evoked by music, in prog-like fashion referencing both rock ("kids flash guitars just like switchblades" [2:30-2:34]) and classical genres, as the scene is described as an "opera out on the Turnpike" and "a ballet being fought out in the alley" (2:09-2:15).

Beginning with three verses in a row evokes the sort of strophic songwriting derived from folk traditions, but the static nature implied by such a form belies how dramatically active the musical changes are throughout. As the tale builds the texture increases: Roy Bittan's fluid piano accompaniment in the first verse is joined by Danny Federici's increasingly intense organ sounds in

[Intro in C: slow tempo (qtr. note = ca. 84), 10 mm. (4 + 4 + 2), violin and piano]

[Main groove (0:27): fast tempo (qtr. note = ca. 132), 8 mm. (4a + 4a), piano]

A [Verse 1 (0:42): 16 mm. (4a + 4a + 4a + 4b), voice and piano]

a "The rangers had a homecoming...."

a "And the Magic Rat drove his slick machine...."

a "Barefoot girl sitting on the hood of a Dodge...."

b "The Rat pulls into town, rolls up his pants...."

[Groove: 4 mm. (add soft organ)]

A [Verse 2 (1:19): 16 mm. (4a + 4a + 4a (add pipe organ) + 4b)]

a "Well the Maximum Lawman run down Flamingo...."

a "And the kids 'round here look just like shadows...."

a "From the churches to the jails...."

b "As we take our stand...."

[Groove: 4 mm. (add full band)]

A [Verse 3 (1:55): 32 mm. (4a + 4a + 4a + 4a / 4c + 4c + 4d + 4d), full band]

a "Well, the midnight gang's assembled...."

a "They'll meet 'neath that giant Exxon sign...."

a "Man, there's an opera out on the Turnpike...."

a "Until the local cops, Cherry Top...."

c "The street's alive as secret debts are paid...."

c "Kids flash guitars just like switchblades...."

d "The hungry and the hunted...."

d "That face off against each other out in the street...."

[Groove: 4 mm.]

A [Guitar solo (instrumental verse) (2:59): 16 mm. (4a + 4a + 4a + 4a)]

B [Bridge (3:27): 15 mm. (4 + 4 + 4 + 3)]

4 "In the parking lot the visionaries dress...."

4 "Inside the backstreet girls are dancing...."

4 "Lonely-hearted lovers struggle...."

3 "Just one look and a whisper...."

[continued on next page....]

**Example 1.** "Jungleland," overall structure

[elision to saxophone solo]

[Saxophone solo in E-flat (3:54): slow tempo (slower than intro, qtr. note = ca. 72), 43 mm., “suspension”]

(6 + 8 + 8 (full texture resumes, I-vi-IV-V in E-flat begins) + 8 + 8 + 5 (progression stops; rit.))

A' [Altered groove (6:26): even slower tempo (qtr. note = ca. 60), 8 mm. (“a” motive above sax progression), piano]

[Verse 4 (6:58): 32 mm. (E-flat: 4a + 4a + 4a + 4 pivot / C: free tempo, 4c + 4c + 4d + 4d), voice and piano, soft organ, later add strings]

a “Beneath the city two hearts beat....”

a “In a bedroom locked, in whispers....”

a “In the tunnels uptown the Rat’s own dream guns him down....”

(pivot) “No one watches when the ambulance pulls away....”

c “Outside the street’s on fire in a real death waltz....”

c “And the poets down here don’t write nothing at all....”

d “And in the quick of the night they reach for their moment....”

d “But they wind up wounded, not even dead....”

[Coda (8:37): fastest tempo (qtr. note = ca. 148), 28 mm. (4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 (rit., fermata on C))]

the second verse, from an initial soft countermelody to fully-voiced pipe organ chords, opening to a full band accompaniment for the third verse. Harmonic motion shifts as well. The first two verses conclude their repeating “a” phrases with a contrasting phrase (labeled “b” in the example) that aims downward towards the tonic note (1:04-1:11 in the first verse, and 1:41-1:48 in the second verse). The third verse, though, omits the “b” phrase, and inverts that motion in a rising progression (labeled “c”) targeting the dominant (2:24-2:31, and 2:31-2:37). Phrase rhythms alter as well, doubling the 16-bar length of the first two verses for the 32-bar third verse, and introducing new subphrases (“c” and “d”) to comprise the second half of that verse. To push the tale further forward, Springsteen avoids a repeating chorus section after each verse, instead employing a verse-ending refrain that itself evolves, from “down Flamingo Lane” (1:09-1:12) to “down in Jungleland” (1:44-1:48) and the final “tonight in Jungleland” (2:49-2:53), even waiting until the conclusion of the second verse (almost two minutes into the track) to introduce the song’s title word.

At this point, even more pronounced changes enter. An energetic 16-bar guitar solo rides above four statements of the verse's "a" phrases (beginning at 2:59), breaking the pattern of vocal verses. This leads to the song's main structural contrast, the B section, comprised of two distinct stages. First is a bridge (beginning at 3:27), centered around a new chord progression where the phrases point towards the subdominant. The lyrics of the bridge emphasize this change, highlighting The Rat's yearning to escape the bleak urban landscape. "Visionaries dress in the latest rage," "girls are dancing" to records, and "lonely-hearted lovers struggle," "desperate" to be "gone."

But the bridge is cut short before it can sound its expected sixteenth bar, and the most important change of all erupts into the musical fabric (3:54). The saxophone entrance immediately announces the new and unprepared key of E-flat,<sup>36</sup> a dreamy and distant minor third away from C major, and stakes out a slow tempo even slower than the introduction (ca. 72 beats per minute, compared to about 84 bpm for the introduction and about 132 bpm for the verses). The uptempo musical and lyrical action of the main song is suspended throughout this long passage, which threatens to overshadow the song. At times bleak and at times majestic, the Adornian suspension paints a scene that evokes the sonic world of film noir. The passage builds slowly, as Clemmons and the band take 6 measures seemingly out of time to find their footing (3:54-4:15), and then another 8 bars to set up the new groove (4:15-4:42). Almost a full minute elapses before a regular drumbeat returns, which now underpins three 8-bar phrases around a I-vi-IV-V chord progression in the new key (4:43-6:04). The episode ends with motion suspended even further, as instruments drop out of the texture and time slows even more than before, appearing to come to a complete stop (6:04-6:26).

A fourth vocal verse (beginning at 6:58), modeled on the 32-bar third verse, ends once again with a variation of the refrain. But in Adornian fashion, the suspension passage is no mere way station before a final repetition of A. Instead, the saxophone solo affects the form from this point forward, altering the trajectory of what might at first seem merely—or perhaps victoriously—recapitulatory. The tempo is still slow, in fact even slower than during the sax solo (ca. 60 bpm, compared to 72 bpm during the solo). Springsteen's vocal affect is emotionally empty, punctuated with bursts of anger and intensity. The key area is still E-flat, that of the suspension section, rather than the C major of the original verses. The underlying chord progression retains the I-vi-IV-V motion during the solo, including the telling move from I to vi, E-flat to C minor. The three-flat key itself hints at an alteration from the earlier C major to an orbit closer to C minor, and the sax solo that established the new key often leans on the pitch C in addition to E-flat as an anchor tone. The piano accom-

paniment in this verse rotates around the local tonic in another way that hints at C minor (see Example 2). The earlier verses' accompaniment (Example 2a) continually outlines a melodic contour from E down to C and back again, from scale degrees 3 to 2 to 1, and back up to scale degrees 2 and 3, over and over within the key of C major. (This can be heard easily at 0:27-0:42, the introduction to the first verse.) As can be heard in the equivalent introduction to the fourth verse (6:26-6:58; Example 2b), the tonal context of the same contour has shifted, outlining E-flat to D to C, and back up through D to E-flat again, heard as scale degrees 8-7-6-7-8 in E-flat. In a C-minor context, however, that motion would be heard as altering the original C-major idea to the telltale minor scale degrees flat-3 to 2 to 1.

a) Verse 1 introduction (0:27-0:34)

b) Verse 4 introduction (6:26-6:42)

**Example 2.** “Jungleground,” piano accompaniment comparison

During bars 13-16 of this verse, Springsteen pivots harmonically (7:45-8:00) to return to C major for the verse's second half, concluding the song tonally where we began. But the rest of the verse remains unmistakably altered by the provocative suspension section, nonetheless. The tempo becomes flexible, with the beat even dropping out at times, as the band follows Springsteen's natural speech pattern-based lyrics. The final refrain holds out each syllable (“...night...in...Jun...gle...”) as if under fermatas (8:31-8:38), leading to a C-major coda characterized by the fastest tempo of the entire song (around 148 bpm), and the fastest rhythmic activity yet in Bittan's lightning piano figuration, worthy of any prog keyboard wizard. The feeling is not a “happy ending,” but rather a release of pent-up energy, punctuated by Springsteen's wordless vocal wails. And all this matches the lyrics for the final verse, where we learn that the Magic Rat leaves his lover and is “gunned down,” “no one watching when the ambulance pulls away.” The scene is described once

more by borrowing terminology from the world of classical music and dance, "the street on fire in a real death waltz."

Unlike the expectations associated with the extended songs of progressive rock, in "Jungleland" lyrical and musical elements of Romantic utopia and dramatic escape are simultaneously grounded in an un-Romantic, even harsh realism that underlies the protagonist's tragic trajectory. On one hand, a desire for escape from mundane existence is symbolized by equating gangs with rock-and-roll bands and focusing on teens' love for listening to records and dressing in the latest fashions. But in a move common for Springsteen, and matching his ostensibly untrained and raw vocal quality, the lyrics continually evoke the real of the everyday, from the settings of Harlem, the "tunnels uptown," and the "Jersey state line," to the Magic Rat and the "bare-foot girl" being chased by the police "down Flamingo Lane" and the gangs meeting beneath "that giant Exxon sign." Indeed, Springsteen's magic often stems from his ability to navigate between common settings and emotions and the heightened narrative of an epic. In Springsteen's fictional world, the violence of a "real death waltz" mediates "between flesh and what's fantasy." The final image is of "poets" not miraculously victorious, or even tragically dead, but merely—and painfully— "wounded," simply "trying to make an honest stand." Such artistic types might wish they could transform reality in this existence, but instead, as the final verse declares, they simply "stand back and let it all be."

### **Springsteen's songwriting and the socially progressive**

Springsteen's outlook in '70s-era epics like "Jungleland" is dialectical in nature; the struggle depicted in the songs contains more than its share of hope, even joy, not in spite of but due to its grounding in the difficulties of the real world. "Jungleland" ends with such a glimpse, the frantic motion of the coda slowing and settling into a final held C major chord, string timbres reinforcing the resolution both below the band and floating high above it. This, too, is somewhat reminiscent of the progressive rock style. As Macan claims, prog did not use its classical-music ambitions to disdain the counterculture or "exist beyond society," but instead reinforced the counterculture's concerns by contrasting passages of electric virtuosity indicting mainstream culture with acoustic, utopian visions.<sup>37</sup> As Springsteen describes it, the album's characters have

had their early hard-won optimism severely tested by the streets of my noir city. They're left in fate's hands, in a land where ambivalence reigns and tomorrow is unknown.... This was the album



where I left behind my adolescent definitions of love and freedom; from here on in, it was going to be a lot more complicated.<sup>38</sup>

An important dialectic hinting at social concerns in Springsteen's music is the contrast between the individual, neatly encapsulated in the mythical figure of the "Boss" himself, and the musical collective, the E Street Band.<sup>39</sup> In "classic prog" of the '70s the focus is often away from the lead singer, with ample attention drawn to the virtuosic contributions of the other band members, and abundant time given to solos and other manner of extended instrumental passages. The E Street Band's seemingly simple and intuitive style is similarly better understood as a purposeful choice, rather than a limitation based on the players' abilities. The months spent in the studio laboriously creating *Born to Run*, for instance, rivals the process that went in to any prog concept album created in the shadow of *Sgt. Pepper*.<sup>40</sup> The dozens of takes needed for each song exemplify how much careful work was actually necessary to create the illusion of an apparently effortless sound and arrangement.

The sense of many instrumental strands coming together to form a participatory musical texture is a sonic correlate of community. Textures constructed like this are among the most salient characteristics of the arrangements heard on the bulk of Springsteen's recorded output. As Jimmy Guterman suggests in the context of *The Wild, the Innocent & the E Street Shuffle*, "Springsteen intended [that the album would be] the romanticized story of a community, and his band was intended to stand in for that community."<sup>41</sup> In a model of American civics at their best, all work together for a common purpose, but each individual's voice is still heard and is never entirely subsumed into the collective. In Frith's words,

the E Street Band makes music as a group, but a group in which we can hear every instrumentalist. Our attention is drawn, that is, not to a finished sound but to music-in-the-making. This is partly done by the refusal to make any instrument the 'lead' ... and partly by a specific musical busy-ness—the group is 'tight,' everyone aiming for the same rhythmic end, but 'loose,' each player makes their own decision how to get there.<sup>42</sup>

"Jungleland" highlights various instruments in ways that illustrate Frith's account. Lahav's violin *obbligato* is often added to the texture, not only as the lead instrument during the opening, but also throughout the sax solo, as she adds interest above the main texture yet somehow does not take away from the attention duly paid to Clemons' lead. There are both guitar and saxophone solos in the sprawling middle sections of the song, and often attention is drawn to Bittan's piano figuration. And for all the featuring of various lead in-

struments here and there, the dramatic entrances of the full band for the third verse, the main portion of the sax solo, and the coda underscore the importance of the band's rhythm section—Garry Tallent's bass and Max Weinberg's drums—at least as much as any of the instruments above.

Indeed, such a collective approach to music making metaphorically complicates the very notion of the 1970s as a fundamentally selfish “Me Decade,” in Tom Wolfe's memorable term, an individualistic reaction to and push against the 1960s counterculture's call for community.<sup>43</sup> Springsteen's songs instead do much to diagnose and reflect on 1970s socioeconomic decline, and also provide an ample musical argument for a progressive resistance. Rather than merely self-indulgent, his extended song structures depict a shared struggle and hint at hopes for a better future. As Springsteen describes the trajectory his music took in the wake of “Jungleland,” toward the “leaner” sound of *Darkness on the Edge of Town*:

I was on new ground and searching for a tone somewhere between *Born to Run*'s spiritual hopefulness and seventies cynicism. That cynicism was what my characters were battling against. I wanted them to feel older, weathered, wiser but not beaten.... I steered away from escapism and placed my people in a community under siege.<sup>44</sup>

Rather than lacking concern for the fraying social fabric of society, such performances create a rich participatory environment (along with, at least from a 1970s perspective, an integration of race and gender within the largely white and male rock band). Springsteen's songs also provide a cathartic outlet for the audience, signs of something better that occasionally reveal themselves, whether through the nostalgia of 1950s rock and roll, or through a progressive orientation to his immediate setting of the 1970s. The “Me Decade,” according to cultural historian Ben Alpers, “does not look like a particularly accurate way to sum up the decade in hindsight.”<sup>45</sup> Indeed, Bruce Springsteen—a central figure in 1970s popular culture—instead constructed a progressive approach underlying much of his music making, strands of which can be incorporated into more nuanced understandings of the period.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> See Bryan K. Garman, *A Race of Singers: Whitman's Working Class Hero from Guthrie to Springsteen* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Larry David Smith, *Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, and American Song* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Dave Marsh, *Bruce Springsteen: Two Hearts. The Definitive Biography, 1972-2003* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 56 ff.

<sup>3</sup> David Brackett, *The Pop, Rock, and Soul Reader: Histories and Debates* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 352.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, George Martin with William Pearson, *With a Little Help from My Friends: The Making of Sgt. Pepper* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1994), and Allan F. Moore, *The Beatles: Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Edward Macan, *Rocking the Classics: English Progressive Rock and the Counter-culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* For a chart that crystallizes Macan's stylistic characteristics of progressive rock, see John J. Sheinbaum, *Good Music: What It Is and Who Gets to Decide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 126.

<sup>7</sup> See Macan, *Rocking the Classics*, esp. 167-178, and Sheinbaum, *Good Music*, 120-152. As Covach and Flory summarize the situation in their rock history textbook, "some fans devoted to the emotional aspects of rock were repelled by such ambitious topics ..., and critics often dismissed progressive rock as pretentious." John Covach and Andrew Flory, *What's That Sound? An Introduction to Rock and Its History*, 5th ed. (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2018), 307.

<sup>8</sup> Kevin Holm-Hudson, "'Come Sail Away' and the Commodification of 'Prog Lite,'" *American Music* 23 (2005): 378, 377-394.

<sup>9</sup> Bruce Springsteen, *Born to Run* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 263, 265.

<sup>10</sup> As Covach and Flory position progressive rock within rock history, for example, "progressive rockers may have taken themselves and their music very seriously, but the style was a logical development of the increasingly lofty ambitions that rock had adopted over the course of the 1960s," which they call the "hippie aesthetic" (307). And this development is central to understanding the popular music of the 70s; they write that "of all the music of the 1970s, progressive rock was most faithful to the hippie aesthetic, making it the prime target against which punk rebelled later in the decade" (315).

<sup>11</sup> Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), ed. James T. Boulton (London: Routledge, 1958, 2008); and Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1764), trans. John T. Goldthwait (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).

<sup>12</sup> Smith, *Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen*, 122. A rare exception is in Deanna D. Sellnow and Timothy L. Sellnow, "The Human Relationship from Idealism to Realism: An Analysis of the Music of Bruce Springsteen," *Popular Music and Society* 14:3 (1990): 71-88, though the attempt to apply strict binaries to each song, such as fast vs. slow, rock vs. folk, and many vs. few instruments, results in rigid sorts of observations and conclusions.

<sup>13</sup> Simon Frith, *Music for Pleasure* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 100. Meanwhile, Springsteen's lyrics are thought to function similarly; as Frith puts it, "the formal conservatism of the music reinforces the emotional conservation of the lyrics" (99).

<sup>14</sup> Gareth Palmer, "Bruce Springsteen and Masculinity," in *Sexing the Groove: Popular Music and Gender*, ed. Sheila Whiteley (London: Routledge, 1997), 110.

<sup>15</sup> Dave Marsh, *Bruce Springsteen: On Tour 1968-2005* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2006), 22-23.

<sup>16</sup> Daniel Cavicchi, *Tramps Like Us: Music and Meaning Among Springsteen Fans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 111.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>18</sup> This statement is taken from John J. Sheinbaum, "'I'll Work for Your Love': Springsteen and the Struggle for Authenticity," in *Reading the Boss: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Works of Bruce Springsteen*, ed. Roxanne Harde and Irwin Streight (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 237.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Smith, *Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen*, 121.

<sup>20</sup> John Covach, "Form in Rock Music: A Primer," in *Engaging Music: Essays in Music Analysis*, ed. Deborah Stein (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 74.

<sup>21</sup> Peter Holsapple, "Words and Bridges," *Measure for Measure: How to Write a Song and Other Mysteries* (blog), July 9, 2008 (<<http://measureformeasure.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/07/09/words-and-bridges/index.html>>), esp. paragraphs 2-7.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of Adorno's conception of formal structure in Mahler, see John J. Sheinbaum, "Adorno's Mahler and the Timbral Outsider," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131 (2006): 38-82.

<sup>24</sup> The notion of the "outside voice" is provocative to contemplate within the context of a relatively contained popular song. In a comment responding to Holsapple's "Words and Bridges," music theorist Sumanth Gopinath suggests that "the 'B' in the compound AABA song form ... is the location of 'The Other' within the standard, post-Tin Pan Alley popular song, creating a dialectical twist."

<sup>25</sup> David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2005), 180.

<sup>26</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 5-6.

<sup>27</sup> See Sheinbaum, "I'll Work for Your Love," 235.

<sup>28</sup> Adorno, *Mahler*, 42.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> This discussion is largely taken from Sheinbaum, "I'll Work for Your Love," 239.

<sup>32</sup> Adorno, *Mahler*, 41-43.

<sup>33</sup> Springsteen, *Born to Run*, 221.

<sup>34</sup> Springsteen describes the "three-day, seventy-two-hour sprint" to complete the *Born to Run* album as the saxophone solo was being put together "phrase by phrase" while other songs were being completed in two other studios at the same time, and the band was rehearsing in yet another room, finishing just in time for the band to "flop" into the vehicles that would take them to Rhode Island for the opening night of the tour to support the record. See Springsteen, *Born to Run*, 222.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 221.

<sup>36</sup> The key of E-flat could be seen as prepared through the addition of the prominent B-flat chord in the previous bridge section. However, B-flat during the bridge functions instead not as a dominant towards the key of E-flat, but instead on the “flat side,” as a subdominant pointing towards F, functioning as IV/IV within the main C-major tonic.

<sup>37</sup> Macan, *Rocking the Classics*, ix, 13.

<sup>38</sup> Springsteen, *Born to Run*, 221-222.

<sup>39</sup> Even in terms of marketing, Springsteen’s studio recordings with the E Street Band are credited to “Bruce Springsteen” alone, while tours with the group are advertised as “Bruce Springsteen and the E Street Band.”

<sup>40</sup> Such an extended creative process in the studio is echoed further on a long list of albums from the 1970s and later decades beyond progressive rock per se.

<sup>41</sup> Jimmy Guterman, *Runaway American Dream* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2005), 63. Guterman contrasts the community feeling of the E Street Band with the “frosty studio musicians” (188) who played on and toured with Springsteen solo projects during the late 1980s and early 1990s; contemplating a filmed performance during this period, Guterman reports that Springsteen is “distanced from the band, which has no believable interaction with him” (196).

<sup>42</sup> Frith, *Music for Pleasure*, 100. Much of this paragraph comes from Sheinbaum, “I’ll Work for Your Love,” 233-234.

<sup>43</sup> Tom Wolfe, “The Me Decade and the Third Great Awakening,” *New York Magazine*, August 23, 1976, reprinted in Wolfe’s *Mauve Gloves & Madmen, Clutter & Vine* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1976).

<sup>44</sup> Springsteen, *Born to Run*, 262-263.

<sup>45</sup> Ben Alpers, “Whatever Happened to the ‘Me’ Decade?,” *Society for U. S. Intellectual History Blog* (<s-usih.org/blog>), April 4, 2015.

Jeremy L. Smith

## Reading Carole King's *Tapestry* as a Penelopean Retelling of the Homeric *Odyssey*

After sweeping the 1972 Grammys with four awards, Carole King's second solo album, *Tapestry* (1971) went on to stand for some time as the best-selling work of its kind. The album also became a monument of second wave feminism, and many of the era, as James E. Perone has noted, now recall its release as a meaningful and even consequential event in their lives.<sup>1</sup> Musically, *Tapestry* is rightly viewed today as a collection of hits and other songs so well-conceived and produced that they have reached the status of timeless classics and yet, thanks to the persistency of the era's mass media, still fit variously but firmly into an imaginary soundtrack that plays on and on within the memories of the Baby Boomer generation.<sup>2</sup> Lyrically, some songs refer at times to specific events and others generalize. But even those that mention specific details still tend to emphasize basic feelings associated with events in a way that listeners easily find themselves communing with the singer as they reflect on their own unique experiences. Many of the album's songs generously create this communal but individualistic cathartic space, which is arguably what explains its lofty commercial and aesthetic achievement.<sup>3</sup> Certainly, the album's title encourages the view that it could stand as a quilt-like celebration of the diversity of experiences each individual song inspires us to contemplate and re-experience. But *Tapestry* may also be read as a thematically cohesive work, especially when viewed as a retelling of the Homeric *Odyssey*, and particularly when read as one of a number of modern works that turned the classic story into a feminist one, by putting Odysseus's wife Penelope in the starring role.<sup>4</sup>

Along with the internal evidence of the musical sounds and words that emerge from the single continuous groove of the album, this paper considers photographs, Facebook posts, memoirs, and other historical data surrounding King's life and times that point to her potential interest in the *Odyssey*. This paper also draws on a rich store of scholarly work on King's musicianship, songwriting, and feminism. At one point I will even argue that King's 1971 album is more Odyssean than her authorized re-release of *Tapestry* in 1999. Nonetheless, the nature and extent of King's actual involvement with the *Odyssey* is a matter about which I can only speculate; and even though a feminist figure by the name of Carole King will play a substantial, complex, and, at times, leading role in the discussion that follows, this study makes no claim to be a proper feminist reading nor to offer any substantial new material for King's biography as a musician and songwriter.<sup>5</sup>

What I do aim to achieve with this reading relates to what the noted literary critic Karl Kroeber claimed generally about stories, namely that they "improve with retelling, are endlessly retold, and are told in order to be retold."<sup>6</sup> By comparing King's *Tapestry* to the *Odyssey* I hope to expose what I believe to be a significant version of a classic story, one that sheds special light on the social, political, and musical world of today as well as that of its time. Although it is an argument, not a story, this is *my* retelling, and thus it is, for better or worse, the product of a once-aspiring rock keyboardist who is now an academic musicologist writing mainly for students and fellow scholars of music, but who hopes perhaps to reach some interested in the Homeric achievement, inter-epochal cultural interactions, and storytelling in general.

Partly because this is a hermeneutic study, and partly because I am a long-time fan of Carole King, I have structured my topics in a way that approximates how I believe the Homeric theme in *Tapestry* would enter into, and then remain, in the mind of avid listeners of that era.<sup>7</sup> Ideally, this would be a pre-arranged event staged in a crowded dorm room or teenager cave, in a basement, where matters would proceed as follows: Once everyone is assembled and comfortably seated, the album, in its cardboard cover, is passed around and all pore over the title and visual images, searching for clues. Next, remembering that the songs have been heard and appreciated individually many times, everyone agrees to listen uninterruptedly to the album "all the way through," perhaps for the first time, and thus to consider the songs as a whole, in succession.

Now the search is on for some kind of narrative or thematic consistency, which could be aided or thwarted by earlier experiences and pre-conceptions. At first many theories are rejected. Eventually, however, someone raises

a notion that is deemed strong enough to test, and then individual songs are studied to see if they support or advance the mooted idea. Matters could become contentious at this juncture. If so, those who disagree with the hypothesis might leave the room, tune out, press their points of disputation, or just start to heckle those that agree, while the latter would start avidly, and at times defensively, to discuss what the once-hidden idea, theme, or story means to them and why their understanding of it only enhances their appreciation of the individual works of the album.

### PRE-CONCEPTIONS

I believe that I attended an event such as the one described above and that it was what motivated me to pursue the idea that *Tapestry* could be read as a retelling of the *Odyssey*. My interest was furthered after hearing *Odyssean* themes in songs by other rock artists, discussed below. But, I only began seriously to suspect that such a connection might be made after I had researched songs by the Renaissance composer William Byrd (1540-1623) on the topic of Penelope, the fictional wife of Odysseus, and had taken note of a poetic sequence by Byrd's contemporary, Sir Philip Sidney, who linked his extensive work to the classic story in various secretive ways.<sup>8</sup>

On its surface, the Homeric tale has a plot so extraordinarily complex that few have tried to summarize it. Quite a number of commentators, as Barbara Clayton has shown, have chosen instead simply to describe it, and for this they often use a weaving metaphor.<sup>9</sup> In 1958, in an influential work, Cedric Whitman, for example, exclaimed, with a slightly marred sense of appreciation, "to dispose with skill and transform into meaningful image and scene so vast and varied a *tapestry* [my italics] was to undertake a new form; and indeed, the *Odyssey* is not an epic in the same sense as the *Iliad*, but, with its openness to all detail, however homely, and its concern with social types and forms, something verging toward the novel."<sup>10</sup>

Whitman's use of the term "tapestry" opens intriguing interpretive possibilities for the present study. Before turning to these, it is important first to note that Clayton sees the weaving metaphor as an "invitation to think about the poetics of the *Odyssey* in gendered terms."<sup>11</sup> As Clayton shows, this gendering idea has a long history. After making the claim, which many still accept, that "Homer wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies to be sung by himself for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals," eighteenth-century commentator Richard Bentley asserted that the *Iliad* was "made for men, and the *Odyssey* for the other sex."<sup>12</sup> In 1897, the literary critic Samuel Butler took the gendering idea further, by setting out to prove that the *Odyssey* was authored



by a woman.<sup>13</sup> Butler's theory met resistance on a number of fronts, and it should be noted that it stemmed from his severely backhanded and anti-feminist view that the *Odyssey* was the weaker of the two Homeric epics. Nonetheless, Clayton argues that Butler's striking proposition inspired the likes of Robert Graves to retell the tale positively and extensively as the product of a woman.<sup>14</sup> Graves, in turn, inspired Margaret Atwood to write her celebrated novella, *The Penelopiad*, which also tells the tale from a female perspective.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps due in part to the plot complexities, most who have retold the *Odyssey* tale have focused on a particular scene, character, or theme, usually in some kind of combination and usually in order to put some special twist on what is commonly understood about the original epic. At the very psychedelic start of the rock era, Cream's "Tales of Brave Ulysses" (1967, by Martin Sharp with music by Eric Clapton) focusses on Odysseus's sexual escapades, including his seven-year stint with Calypso, all of which is described as a radical journey to the "violence of the sun."<sup>16</sup> Clearly inspired by the hedonism of the original poem, Sharp paints Odysseus's home in Ithaca, to which the Homeric tale insists he will return, not as a place of comfort and satisfying closure. Home, for this "brave" hero is a heavy and cold place, of "leaden winter." Intriguingly, in discussing his lyric, Sharp openly admitted it was self-referential: that it had to do with his return to "dreary" London after a holiday in the Balearic Islands of Greece.<sup>17</sup>

At very apex of the rock era, in 1977, Walter Becker and Donald Fagen, aka Steely Dan, in their "Home at Last," focus too on Odysseus's island adventures, particularly on the famous Sirens scene.<sup>18</sup> Here, with typical musico-lyric sophistication, they keep intact the *Odyssey*'s homecoming theme—or *nostos* (return), to use the Greek term— but change the storyline around completely. Rather than returning anywhere, their hero "remains tied to the mast," and thus listening forever to the bewitching Sirens. Whether or not this song is self-referential is difficult to assert with confidence, but fans, nonetheless, have noted a special feature that suggests it might be. Rather than to feature other instrumental soloists from a wide array of talented studio musicians on this track, which they otherwise did so often that most fans expected this in every instance, it is Becker and Fagen themselves who perform the two well-admired solos on "Home at Last."<sup>19</sup>

Finally, in 1987, as rock reached its twilight years as a dominant force in popular culture, Suzanne Vega, in her "Calypso," retold the same Odyssean scene that had formerly been retold by Sharp and Clapton: namely, the one where Odysseus leaves his longtime island lover, Calypso, to return to his faithful wife in Ithaca.<sup>20</sup> Vega shows that, when viewed from Calypso's perspective,

the whole set of adventures Odysseus embarks upon before he returns to Ithaca could be distilled down to nothing more than an elaborate foil. And, to quote from Vega's closing verse, the island where "the sky will burn" promises only a "lonely time ahead," after Calypso decides not to "ask [Odysseus] to return." In this haunting song Vega comments on the Homeric tale as well as Sharp's strangely positive image of a voyage toward the "violence of the sun." It might even be fair to claim, to the extent it might be a self-referential commentary on her times, that Vega's song enriches, as it retells, a, or even *the*, story of the hedonistic rock generation as it came to a heartrending close during the horrors of the AIDS epidemic; or, at least, that is how I hear it now.<sup>21</sup>

For all the light these songwriters discussed above shed on how the *Odyssey* was retold in the rock world, Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* (Star Lover and Star)—which is accepted now as the first and finest of the Elizabethan sonnet cycles—has more in common with *Tapestry*, in my reading, than any of the above.<sup>22</sup> In Sidney's time, just as in the rock era, the *Odyssey* was usually treated as a tale of *nostos* or homecoming. It was also common then and therefore expected that a retelling would focus on the adventures of Odysseus, although the tendency of the time was to emphasize his bravery and *mētis* (wisdom, cunning, craft, trickster power), rather than to focus on his hedonism.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, in the Elizabethan era, perhaps more than any other, it was the ultimate *success* of Odysseus's marriage, rather than any indiscretions or failings, that was celebrated in retellings.

Under these marriage-affirming circumstances Odysseus's steadfastly faithful wife, Penelope, naturally gained considerably in stature.<sup>24</sup> She was then widely admired for exercising her own *mētis*, which she used to keep herself, her son Telemachus, and their fortunes intact in the face of threats from the often-enumerated 108 Suitors plaguing them in Ithaca while Odysseus slowly treks homeward.<sup>25</sup> Specifically, Penelope puts all 108 of these suitors off for so long by craftily telling them individually and collectively that they must wait for her to complete a shroud she is weaving for her father-in-law, Laertes. Because she weaves this cloth each day, but then unweaves it each evening, she does manage to keep them all at bay for a considerable time as she faithfully awaits her husband's return.<sup>26</sup>

The suitors are reviled throughout the tale. Indeed, because the story ends soon after Odysseus and Telemachus slay all 108 of them, *en masse*, in a famous bloodbath, it is difficult to accept that the *Odyssey's* author, at least, meant for them ever to be seen in any other than a truly negative light.<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, Sidney's clever twist was to retell the story from their collective point of view. His sonnet cycle contains exactly 108 sonnet verses and 108 verses

of what he called “songs.” By this means Sidney tells the same story twice. Each verse of the cycle is an unsuccessful attempt to woo Penelope.<sup>28</sup>

There was, too, a real-life Penelope in Sidney’s life. Her name was Penelope Rich (*née* Devereaux), and she was most likely not Sidney’s real-life lover but rather his muse, the Star of the cycle’s title.<sup>29</sup> By playing on the Latin meaning of “philo” as “lover of” and its likeness to his given name “Philip,” Sidney self-referentially cast himself as the Star Lover. Revealingly, in a sonnet where he obliquely mentioned his muse’s married surname, Rich, Sidney turned his poetic speaker, the lyric “I,” into a woman in labor, insinuating thereby that the constant but unsuccessful and even sinful wooing of Stella throughout the cycle was also its motivating force, the inspiration that creatively brought the poems to life.<sup>30</sup>

In the way it is expressed in Sidney’s sonnet, the act of giving birth functions as a metaphor for literary creativity, and it is notable that Sidney has his poetic speaker shift from one gender to another in order to make the figural connection. That Sidney, in playing the role of all the Penelopean suitors, got creative energy from desires provoked by unrequited love fell perfectly in line with the then-current Neo-Petrarchan ideas about poetic creation in general.<sup>31</sup> Because there was something of a vogue for Neo-Petrarchan verse at this time, no one would necessarily need to know Sidney’s Homeric conceit in order fully to appreciate each separate sonnet and song of his cycle. For all the aesthetic autonomy of these individual works, however, few today would wish to set aside the evidence of the poet’s hidden references to various literary sources, nor his self-referentiality, nor any techniques he developed to disguise either of the above. As Ellen Moody has eloquently claimed, under “a mask [of] aesthetic playfulness,” Sidney performs “a serious expression of the self.”<sup>32</sup>

In Sidney’s time only a few knew about his *Odyssean*, self-referential, conceit or “mask.” One was the aforementioned music composer, Byrd. It might seem inappropriate for me to make a claim to know now what Byrd knew then, as it would make me guilty of committing an “intentional fallacy.”<sup>33</sup> But in the world of retellings there are ways to gain special insights into poetic motivations. Specifically, if we enter into that hermeneutic realm we can “know” now what Byrd knew then because in his own cycle of songs (with music, in this case) the composer retold Sidney’s tale in a way that unambiguously brought the Homeric Penelope into the story. In his retelling Byrd also set one of Sidney’s own poems to music and, in so doing, nearly spoiled his lyricist’s secret, which I will suggest below has a parallel in *Tapestry*.<sup>34</sup> But because he kept his own storyline hidden and changed things around so that Astrophil and Stella

actually do come together, but only spiritually, in the afterlife, it is difficult to see Byrd's work as revealing anything new to anyone about Sidney's work. Rather, Byrd, like Sidney himself, spoke to a small group of those who were either already in the know, or who might be pre-disposed and especially prepared to discover that beneath the arcane, semi-evasive, and self-referential surface of the cycle there is a Sidneian Ithaca wherein each Penelopean suitor gets to have his say, before all are annihilated.

Eventually, literary masks and secret references such as Sidney's and Byrd's make their way into the realm of public discourse, to then become fodder, in turn, for more retellings. In his ground-breaking *Ulysses*, James Joyce mentioned the same Penelope Rich figure that was so important to Sidney.<sup>35</sup> Joyce's rendition is the most famous of modern retellings of the Homeric epic. A film version of this controversial novel premiered in 1967 and was banned, just as the book had once been banned, for its sexual explicitness.<sup>36</sup> Because Joyce portrays Penelope in a very un-Homeric, sexually active, light, it seems possible that there might be a connection between Sidney and those in the hedonistic rock world who showed an interest in the *Odyssey*, such as Sharp, and possibly King. It would be interesting to pursue such an idea, of course. But that kind of thinking, at this point in our story, would only contribute to the store of pre-conceptions that an individual interpreter might bring to an idealized event wherein King's album would be passed around and everyone would start their own search for a theme, first by looking at its cover.

### **PENELOPE THE ROCK STAR AND TELEMACHUS THE CAT**

In my search for confirmation about King's design, it was the late rock photographer Jim McCrary who, without mentioning the *Odyssey*, disclosed the most conclusive external evidence I could find that *Tapestry* had an intimate relationship with the epic poem. In discussing his photograph of King that appears on the album's cover, McCrary related that his subject, who sits barefoot in a comfortable looking room in her Laurel Canyon home, holds on her knees a cloth that she had been weaving for several months.<sup>37</sup> The cloth itself is somewhat difficult to see, but when McCrary mentioned "weaving" he moved us closer to drawing the following Homeric connection: that King strikes a Penelopean pose on her album cover. As Edith Hall has vividly suggested, "arguably the most important symbol in the *Odyssey* is neither Odysseus's bow nor Phemius's lyre but Penelope's ... loom."<sup>38</sup>

There is no loom portrayed on *Tapestry*'s cover. But might the cloth on King's lap symbolize the incomplete shroud, often called a web or tapestry, which is usually depicted along with "Penelope at the loom"?<sup>39</sup> King included in the



**Figure 1.** Carole King weaving, photograph by Jim McCrary, out-take from *Tapestry* album cover session, © Getty Images

album's gatefold a photograph of her incomplete tapestry, which portrays a house in a meadow. As it might symbolize a yearned-for home, the image on this woven cloth could be seen to project the *Odyssey's* central *nostos* theme. The fact that it is incomplete— with strands of unwoven threads visible— could link the image even closer to the *Odyssey*, as Penelope's famous “trick” was to secretly and continuously unravel, and thereby undo, her work in a way so that it always looked unfinished.

One of the photographs McCrary took during the session actually features King in the act of weaving, which, had it been chosen for the cover, may have further encouraged viewers to surmise that here she truly poses as the classic figure of “Penelope at the loom” (see Figure 1). But rather than to cast King in an active, creative pose, McCrary and King settled on a different photograph



**Figure 2.** Carole King and Telemachus, photograph by Jim McCrary, *Tapestry* album cover, © Getty Images

for the cover, one that places the cloth in her lap and adds at the forefront of the composition a charming new character, King's cat, whose name, as it turns out, is very Homeric. He was named after Telemachus, Penelope and Odysseus's son (see Figure 2).

As Irène Aghion explains, "Telemachus has a very limited iconography" and "appears mostly in the company of Ulysses or Penelope."<sup>40</sup> In perhaps the most well-known representation of Telemachus from Greek times—a red figure skyphos (vase) depiction that has been copied extensively in modern illustrations—Telemachus appears with his mother, who is weaving at her loom with the incomplete cloth in view (see Figure 3).<sup>41</sup> Anyone passing around the *Tapestry* album searching for clues as to its potential theme who happened to have representations of Odyssean characters in mind surely would see in the



**Figure 3.** Telemachus talking to his mother Penelope, red-figured style, detail, skyphos by so called Penelope painter, Attica, circa 440 B.C., National Etruscan Museum, Chiusi, © Alamy

double portrait clinching evidence of the album's strong Homeric connection, turning the discovery into something of an "Aha!" moment. But it would be very difficult to appreciate the cat's arguably telltale name by means of the album cover alone, as the pet strikes a pose of typical feline inscrutability and there are no captions to aid the unsuspecting viewer as to its dramatic role in the picture. It prompts one to ask: When exactly was this information disclosed? and Why was it apparently kept secret for so long?

By 2009, at the latest, King had mentioned the name of her cat in a newspaper interview and now, thanks to the Internet, King's cat's revealing moniker is within searchable reach of the public at large, although it got there somewhat furtively.<sup>42</sup> McCrary mentioned Telemachus by name on a site that appeared on 2 March 2011, which was reposted in a blog titled *Stuff Nobody Cares About* in 2018 and that served, paradoxically (in my case, as I did indeed "care" at this point in my search), as the main source for the information discussed above. Perhaps aware of McCrary's disclosure online, King herself posted a picture of Telemachus as a kitten on the internet on 26 July 2011.<sup>43</sup> But she did so only to celebrate the then newly-established Throw-

back Thursday tradition on Facebook, a forum where everyone is encouraged to post memorabilia in the form of photographs from the past. Since this exercise is repeated each week, these Thursday postings create an ephemeral environment that makes them seem at least to be rather offhand and frivolous.

For my reading, King's posting happens to be quite informative. Not only could it confirm for some that the Laurel Canyon setting is meant to evoke Odysseus's home in Ithaca. Because King mentioned in the post that her daughter, Louis Goffin, born 23 March 1960, took the photograph when she was five, it could also settle the question of when the cat was named for the Greek character. The year, at least, may reliably be set at 1965: thus it happened eight years before *Tapestry* was released and two before Cream's hedonistic "Tales of Ulysses" and the controversial and film *Ulysses* had been produced. I think this shows that the King/Goffin family had special interests in the *Odyssey*. In her 2012 memoir, finally, King explains, revealingly, but with disarming and evasive self-deprecation, that she "probably would have named [her kitten] Puss-in Boots or something equally obvious," but that she was "glad" that her then-husband Gerry Goffin's "scholarly suggestion of Telemachus, after the son of Ulysses and Penelope, had prevailed."<sup>44</sup> That Goffin named the cat after the Homeric character is significant, in this reading, as it allows for the possibility that King had Goffin in mind, just as Sidney arguably had Penelope Rich in mind, as someone in the know who could move the story forward both as an ideal audience member and as a hidden subject or "star."<sup>45</sup>

In 1971, when the album was released, and throughout the period when it rose to the top of the charts to take its own place as a timeless classic, it seems unlikely that many outside King's intimate circle of friends and acquaintances would have been aware of the literary source of the cat's name and how this could relate to the album's title and the fabric in King's hands. Now, thanks to her memoir and the Internet postings discussed above, all who take interest in *Tapestry* and King's family are welcome to search out the once-hidden details that relate the album to the *Odyssey*.

On an external level, then, if my theory is correct, King offers her audience potent clues about a potential literary source for the album. And yet she does so in ways that are self-referentially playful and disarming—as we find in Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*—on the one hand, but also, calculating, clever, and deceptive on the other. Notably, the latter listed traits happen to be those almost universally attributed to the Homeric character Penelope herself, which anyone who owned a pet named Telemachus would surely know.<sup>46</sup> Because the point is likely to have been allusive, then, rather than direct in divulging its source, the evidence in McCrary's chosen photograph is about as decisive as



any we are likely to get from King herself that the *Odyssey* is referenced on the cover, unless of course she changes tactics and decides to be forthcoming, arguably then ruining the essential semi-evasive element of a conceit of considerable ingenuity (one that her Renaissance forebears Byrd and Sidney might well have admired).

After gleaning this information from the cover, one group in our aforementioned interpretive community— which their opponents might somewhat derisively call “story-lovers” and “intentionalists” — would be quite eager now to press on to consider how this new information might relate to the songs on the album. Not only would they see in the cover evidence of a Homeric theme but also King’s guiding spirit at work.<sup>47</sup> At this point a group of “presentists” might object on the grounds that auditors have thus far enjoyed the album to its fullest without having any idea of an Odyssean connection. But for all their conviction that each song derives its deepest meaning through the process of reception, as fans of King, they might be willing at least to let the intentionalists try their hand at a new theory. Finally, a group we will call “historicists” might contend that even if we accept that King posed for McCrary as a Homeric Penelope, it is uncertain how much interpretive weight we should give to this evidence of visual allusion. Given the vagaries of purpose and intent when it comes to designing covers and picking titles for albums in the rock world, proof found within the songs themselves would seem necessary before it becomes possible to assert with any confidence that the connection between the visual image and the songs in question is the result of something more than whimsy.<sup>48</sup> Thus we have reached the point where it is time to test the significance of our Homeric idea by “listening all the way through” King’s album.

### **A NOSTOS-INSPIRED DEBATE**

What does not stand out in one’s mind after a first exhaustive listen through *Tapestry* is a clear storyline. Like the “songs and rhapsodies” of the *Odyssey*, events described in the album— travels on the road, a subway ride to work, a saloon shootout— are related to the auditor in ways that make it difficult to work out a chronological series of occurrences that could correspond to any conceivable character’s experiences. Nor is there any compelling sense that a single person, or consistent lyric “I,” leads us through the album from song to song, even though King sings them all, and so her voice is always there on the surface.

Just as does the author of the *Odyssey*, King self-referentially “speaks,” at times, and is always exerting some kind of authority over the text. But there

is a sense that the story she tells, as a singer, might well shift from one point of view to another. In the *Odyssey*, we are often told who sings, and thus we gather when we should view matters from a shifted perspective. King, however, does not specify whose voice an auditor might try to hear behind her own and, overall, while probing some of these *Odyssey/Tapestry* parallels discussed above might prove illuminating, if they end up as the only common elements one could find to support the intentionalists' theory, then the idea that the album's concept relates to the epic would probably have to be abandoned for the sake of another.

At this point of seeming weakness, some might chime in with further objections to this Homeric reading idea, especially from an historicist point of view. Even when dealing with writers as well-known as Shakespeare and Sidney, literary historians feel free to seize on whenever evidence they can find to call an assumed theme into doubt when it comes to assessing large-scale sonnet (and song) cycles that were composed over an extended time.<sup>49</sup> Historicists worry themselves not only over the temporal issue. It concerns them too that that at the point of origin, the authors in question themselves usually treat each item as complete in and of itself, with its own beginning, middle, and decisive-seeming close or termination. The lyrics of King's songs were indeed composed over a long span of time. She was not even their exclusive author in a number of cases. Specifically, King collaborated with Toni Stern on "It's Too Late" and "Where You Lead" and with Goffin on "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow," and "Smackwater Jack." Goffin and legendary producer Jerry Wexler are credited as co-creators of King's "(You Make Me Feel Like a) Natural Woman."<sup>50</sup> In all cases the contributions of others had to do with the lyrics.

Furthermore, King allowed her producer, Lou Adler, a certain amount of control over the order of the songs after they had been recorded, and in working together their main mutual concern was to create a sense of musical, not narrative, continuity in the sequence.<sup>51</sup> This would seem to make it all the more unlikely that the album could be relatable to any kind of tale, let alone an epic. Yet in a rerelease of the album in 1999 (mentioned above and discussed further below) King added a song that speaks of a "story" she has "told," thus encouraging a sequential and narrative reading of the texts as a whole.<sup>52</sup> And if *nostos*, a homeward destiny, is the *Odyssey's* basic motivating structure for storytelling, as most contend it is, it is striking how many songs in *Tapestry* go over similar ground, as in "So Far Away," "Home Again," and "Way Over Yonder."

"In Homer," as Anna Bonifazi explains, "*nostos* means first and foremost 'return home from Troy.'"<sup>53</sup> But if this sounds simple and direct, homecomings

are rarely fast and easy, at least in the *nostos* tradition. In an earlier, trendsetting poem titled the *Shipwrecked Sailor* the homesick hero is approached by a “zoomorphic monster in the form of gigantic snake” who advises him that “if you are brave and control your heart, you shall embrace your children, you shall kiss your wife, you shall see your home.”<sup>54</sup> Although he was often celebrated for his “brave[ry]” (as the very title of Cream’s “Tales of Brave Ulysses” makes clear), Odysseus, at least in the *Odyssey*, is not one who seems able to “control [his] heart.”<sup>55</sup>

Odysseus “does not shed a single tear in the Iliad,” as Corrine Ondone Pache astutely notes.<sup>56</sup> But he is “repeatedly weeping for his homecoming” in the *Odyssey*. From his first lines we learn of the “many pains he suffered in his heart” and how he “struggle[s] for his own life and the return of his companions.”<sup>57</sup> Just as importantly for this *Tapestry* reading, Penelope, “like her husband,” Pache further notes, “is crying the first time she appears in the *Odyssey*, longing for Odysseus as she listens to the bard singing the *nostos* of the Achaeans who made it back home. Tears link Odysseus and Penelope throughout the narrative until their reunion [when] ... they finally weep together.”<sup>58</sup>

If we accept that both fictional characters experience the heartache of *nostos*, but that they do so while Penelope waits at home and Odysseus is away, a gradual shift from one point of view to another seems to occur over the course of “So Far Away.” In the first chorus the pronouns suggest that someone other than the speaker is “away” (“you’re ... away”), which is reinforced by the following line: “it would be so fine to see *your* face at *my* door” (emphasis added). As we are led to assume that the home and “door” are shared, the passage is technically ambiguous. But on a first listening an auditor would probably find it easier at this juncture to imagine that the person who could look longingly at the door over and over again would be the one more likely to think of this particular feature of a house, and thus that the speaker at this point has more in common with Penelope than with Odysseus.

Following the chorus is a verse that deepens the sense of longing. If anything, it causes us to identify further with whomever we conceive of as the first speaker, although it gives us no further direction about whether that person is home or away. But after this, with a gesture that might well remind the auditor of the Achaean bard Penelope hears singing *nostos* songs in the *Odyssey* mentioned above, King sings self-referentially about “songs ... [of the] highway,” and soon after that, intriguingly, while the chorus continues to remind the listener of a character at home, we find out that the speaker is the one “travelling around” and who hopes not to be “own[ed] by the road.” Thus, by the end, the lyric “I” of the verses is fully Odyssean.

Some might hear in the seeming perspectival shift in "So Far Away" something of a metamorphosis, where a Penelope-like, home-dwelling, figure turns somehow into an Odyssean traveler. For some others it might instead simply signify how deeply the two characters mutually feel their pains of separation. Another group might perceive that something of a hidden dialogue emerges here. Finally, some might decide that there really is no shift in point of view at all, or that it would not matter if there is. For them, "So Far Away" is a Road Song, pure and simple. As they could point to a whole tradition of songs on this topic and contend too that King refers to them, it might be difficult to convince members of this group to continue on at this juncture to search for Homeric themes. An historicist-minded faction within the interpretive community might decide there and then that King had no other purpose for writing any of her songs on *Tapestry* other than to express feelings triggered by various real or imagined events in her own life, such as touring for an extended period. In their view, that there was a type of song already tested by other songwriters to which she could contribute would only increase the likelihood that King would act on an inclination to express such feelings in music.

Not only might some historicists wish to object to a Homeric reading based on putative song origins. Resistance to the idea would almost surely come too from presentists who focus on a work's reception. From their point of view, subsequent uses of "So Far Away" could be even more determinative than historical ones in an interpretive argument. One particularly notable example they could point to is the funeral of Amy Winehouse. It was Winehouse's prior request that "So Far Away" be heard at her memorial; and, when it was performed in her honor, it put a powerful stamp on the work.<sup>59</sup> Because of her fame and the tragedy surrounding her untimely death at the young age of twenty-seven, the poignancy of the separation idea of "So Far Away" resonates far beyond the event itself. For many of Winehouse's fans, at least, it would be hard now to hear King's song in any other than a memorial light.

Opposition to the Homeric reading would surely grow under the combined influence of these historicist and presentist arguments outlined above. But others in the group, even while granting that the deep feelings aroused by individual songs gives these dissenting views indisputable validity, would still wish to press on because of the way "So Far Away" resonates thematically with the comfortable-looking house depicted on the cover's gatefold image. In this light, anyone still wavering might remain in the interpreting group just to see if the intentionalists could show that the *nostos* theme transcends the boundaries of one extraordinarily poignant Road Song.

There is no suggestion of any shift in point of view in King's "Home Again." In Homeric terms it is expressed entirely from an Odyssean character's perspective. But the song so epitomizes *nostos* that it is difficult to find any other means of describing its contents. "Home Again" also emphasizes "comfort" in a way that makes it an interesting partner to "Way Over Yonder," which again exudes *nostos*, but this time in a much more generalized and spiritualized way. Indeed, with references first to a "garden" and then to a "land of honey," in "Way Over Yonder" King stretches out the "return" idea of the *nostos* theme to the point where it reaches truly biblical proportions.

Overall, after a fresh listening, few, I contend, would disagree that the collective theme of "So Far Away," "Home Again," and "Way Over Yonder" is some form of *nostos*. A sense of homecoming pervades them all. And, from the start, in "So Far Away," the word "door" would seem to settle any potential dispute about the particular kind of separation involved. Someone in the story is away from home. But since Road Songs were then a growing commodity, historicists might contend that King composed "Home Again" as part of this trend, and that both were composed with no thought of the *Odyssey* in mind. To explain "Way Over Yonder" they might similarly contend that here King had moving thoughts about the Promised Land that spirituals so famously evoke and thus had found, again, the perfect generic vehicle she needed to express her feelings in song.

Even touting the seeming intentionalist victory—that *nostos* transcends a single song— could backfire if it pushes presentists to point out that not only "So Far Away," but in fact all three *Tapestry* songs on the *nostos* theme mentioned above now serve the meaningful purpose of consoling those who are separated from loved ones by heartrending conditions such as an untimely death.<sup>60</sup> It all puts the story-loving intentionalists into something of a defensive position. Under pressure to draw a deeper connection to the *Odyssey*, they might decide that if they want the discussion to proceed on their terms, they would have to do the following: 1) find something more particular that links King's *Tapestry* to the epic, 2) adequately explain how King's complex characterization scheme works, and, 3) show — especially after hearing the presentists' position on the importance of evaluating a song's reception history— that something larger, deep, and meaningful can be gleaned from the Homeric connection.

### **SPELLBOUND ODYSSEUS AND THE INSIGNIFICANT SUITORS**

In addition to the songs in *Tapestry* mentioned above that speak directly to the general theme of *nostos*, two others allude to the *Odyssey* in ways that

are arguably more specific. One of these is King's "Smackwater Jack," with lyrics composed by Goffin. Although generally admired by fans and music critics alike, this song has often struck listeners as something of an oddity when viewed within the context of *Tapestry* overall, as it veers from the lyric "I," first person, narration of nearly all the rest to tell in third person the story of a mass murder perpetrated by an out-of-control Western gunslinger. Furthermore, whereas many of the songs in *Tapestry* exude immediacy on an emotional level, this one is decidedly detached: as it treats the rampage with good humor, as something of a legend or yarn.

Music critics are surely right to see "Smackwater" as comic relief or the "odd song out" on the album.<sup>61</sup> In Homeric terms, however, all the violence it contains makes it a perfect, if tongue in cheek, match for the famous Slaughter of the Suitors revenge scene of the *Odyssey* (22.1-372), wherein Telemachus and Odysseus viciously and triumphantly destroy all those who had courted Penelope during her husband's long absence. Even though the brutality is treated as justified in the context of the tale itself, commentators throughout the 19th and 20th century have reacted to the *Odyssey's* bloodbath in a way that veers toward outrage at its disproportionate viciousness, making some "critical of the poem's hero" in a way that casts an "anti-Odyssean shadow" over its reception.<sup>62</sup> When King includes a massacre of similar magnitude in her *Tapestry*, but does so lightheartedly, it not only provides an encouraging clue to those attempting to trace the album's Homeric connection, it also helps King establish her own unique and rather striking portrayal of Odysseus, who emerges in King's tale as a decidedly less violent and, indeed, less heroic figure than his Greek model.

Given that she had gone through separation and divorce and also moved what remained of her family from New Jersey to California just a few years before she recorded *Tapestry*, it is difficult not to see her ex-husband Goffin as reflected somehow in King's portrayal of Odysseus. Whereas the fictional Penelope and Odysseus do come together happily at the end of their tale, this obviously was not to be the case with King and Goffin. In her memoir, King suggests that her breakup was by no means easy, but also confirms that it was notably devoid of any lasting type of animosity that might characterize a Slaughter scene where the violence is treated more seriously.<sup>63</sup> Under the circumstances, if she chose Goffin as a lyricist specifically for the piece that made light of the revenge scene of the *Odyssey*, it is probably best seen as a decision that derives from the same disarming and mischievous spirit King displays on her album's cover. That Goffin could have been in the know in such a scenario is strongly suggested, I would argue, by the fact that he had been the one to name their family's pet Telemachus.

As it concerns the act of weaving and even mentions the key, cunning, act of “unraveling,” so important to the *Odyssey* story, “Tapestry,” along with “Smackwater,” I contend, has a specific, detailed, connection to its Homeric source. Also like “Smackwater,” “Tapestry” relates to a particular scene in the *Odyssey*, namely the crucial moment when Odysseus finally meets Penelope upon his return to Ithaca (19.71). Intriguingly, in the original scene of spousal reunification, the story’s empowering goddess, Athena, disguises Odysseus so that he appears before Penelope as a beggar (13.164-71). Penelope eventually sees through this ruse, which was somewhat incongruously designed not only to test her fidelity, but also so that Odysseus could ambush and destroy the suitors. Nonetheless, at the point when they meet Penelope is not sure who the man before her is.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, it is when speaking to her disguised husband that Penelope gives her most detailed account of her ruse for weaving and unweaving of a cloth as a means of fending off suitors during his apparent absence (19.103-31).

In her song “Tapestry” King keeps some of the Homeric details of the reunification scene intact, as a male figure appears before a presumably female weaver in tattered clothes and she claims not to know him. In striking contrast to the *Odyssey*, however, no soon-to-be-triumphant figure hides behind a beggar’s cloak in King’s version. Rather, the character, as the poetic speaker describes him, is lost and destroyed or, more precisely, spellbound, recalling perhaps Odysseus’s adultery scenes with a dangerously spell-casting Circe in the original tale (10.328-52).<sup>65</sup> Seeing him in such a miserable condition the poetic speaker of “Tapestry” feels pity for him, but states that she has no power to help him, even though, as the song establishes, she has some kind of control over him as a storyteller. He now exists, she well conveys, only within the tapestry she devises.

At this point it is important to note that the shroud for Laertes that Penelope weaves and unweaves in the *Odyssey* is never described in the story as a “tapestry,” although there were story-telling cloths mentioned in both Homeric poems. Perhaps in calling the fabric in question a tapestry, King was simply taking further creative liberties in creating her own her version of the *Odyssey*. It is also distinctly possible that, either consciously or subconsciously, she had been influenced by others she knew of who used the word “tapestry” in retelling or discussing the Homeric tale. One of the most prominent sources for the term is the 1955 film *Ulysses* (the English language version of the 1954 Italian film *Ulisses*), which was a blockbuster in America.<sup>66</sup> In this notable cinematic depiction of the *Odyssey* not only is the cloth in question called a tapestry at every mention (ten in total), it is also featured onscreen and shown to portray various scenes from the life of Penelope and her immediate family.<sup>67</sup>

Thus, by weaving a tapestry, the Penelope of the 1954-5 films craftily protects herself as she also tells the story of her own life, in her own way, shaping events as well as describing them.

Feminist readers of the *Odyssey* have often, and rightly, seized on the idea that Penelope, the cunning weaver, and Athena, the goddess of weaving (as well as war, peace, wisdom, and courage, etc.) took creative, bardic, control of their destinies in the epic in the same way as do Odysseus and the Homeric author figure him- or herself (to follow Butler's lead in considering the *Odyssey's* author to be female).<sup>68</sup> One strong indication that King saw the Homeric weaving as a metaphor for her own songwriting can be seen in her decision to name the entire album of songs *Tapestry*. To make the connection even clearer, in the last line of the first verse of the song "Tapestry," the poetic speaker describes the cloth in question as something possible to "feel" (as is music and fabric) but "impossible to hold" (which is true of music but not of cloth).

Thus, the speaker in the song "Tapestry" is someone who fashions her own life story as a creative artist and, in doing so, takes authorial control over the characterization of others as well as the source material, which in this case is a Homeric epic. All of this empowerment explains how King could boldly change the Odysseus character from a conquering hero—who on his adventurous trek back to his wife is bathed over and over again by various women and has no qualms about sleeping with Circe and Calypso— into a lost soul. Perhaps more profoundly, as it has self-referential implications, the same "weaving" device gives King the means to transform Penelope from her status as a paragon of home-bound marital chastity, stolidity, and patience into someone just as hedonistically unmoored by fidelity— and therefore just as volatile, emotion-driven, manipulatable, free, and transcendent when it comes to societal norms, i.e., vital— as the Odyssean figures who star in rock songs by Cream and Steely Dan, and, in real-life, her former spouse.<sup>69</sup>

### UNFAITHFUL PENELOPE?

Despite the longing for home so genuinely expressed in three songs (mentioned above) featured in *Tapestry*, another three that appear on the original 1971 album point nonetheless to the possibility that the home in question is, to use the term for divorce and separation of that time, "broken." There is no explicit mention of betrayal in the opening track, "I Feel the Earth Move." But it speaks of uncontrollable feelings and the excitement new lovers feel at even the most casual of meetings, and does so in a way that is quite difficult to associate with Penelope and Odysseus, especially if we consider that the marriage of these fictional characters was, at the point when the story begins,



more than twenty years old and characterized by Penelope's ability to *control* her feelings of desire during her lover's absence— in order to protect his property. Furthermore, according to many readers over the centuries, Penelope was able control herself even in Odysseus's presence— when she begins to see through Athena's disguise.<sup>70</sup>

Elsewhere in the album, "It's Too Late" evokes an older love. But it does so quite explicitly at the point when the relationship is over, again differing markedly from anything having to do with the *Odyssey*. Finally, given the extended length of their marriage, it is nearly impossible to imagine any context where Penelope or Odysseus would ask one another the question of another song title, "Will You Still Love Me, Tomorrow?" If any figure in the *Odyssey* had cause to be paranoid about the subsequent behavior of a potential sexual partner, it was Odysseus, who on his travels became entangled with a whole array of sorcerers, seductresses, and Sirens.<sup>71</sup>

"Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow?" is another Goffin-composed lyric. King's choice to use it to depict a woman about to have sex with a man who is almost surely not her trusted husband seems again to have playfully ironic undertones. Less playful in tone, however, is "Out in the Cold," which King added at the end of the collection when she reissued *Tapestry* in 1999. In this song, there can be no question that the poetic speaker is a woman who has destroyed a relationship through her infidelity, and now has no chance of a satisfying homecoming or *nostos*, but must instead remain "out in the cold."

King of course had every right to add the song "Out in the Cold" as a "bonus track" when she re-released *Tapestry*. Its musical richness alone arguably well justifies its appearance with the rest of the collection. Story-wise there are benefits to its inclusion as well, at least in the interpretation advanced here. To end matters in this tragic way confirms something that might otherwise seem somewhat unresolved, namely that, unlike the Homeric Penelope, this tale's leading female character is not faithful. It also adds coherence to the entire album by adding a moral at the end, in the manner of a fable. And, I think most can agree that adultery is generally wrong, so the point is a good one to make. Nonetheless, for all its musical, lyrical and ethical value— and even though the producer Adler was involved with the ordering, making it less clearly King's idea— I still think that the original 1971 version of *Tapestry* comes to much more powerful, indeed epic, close, with "(You Make Me Feel Like a) Natural Woman." Not only is the latter song recapitulative in the way it brings back the specific idea of "feeling" projected by the opening song "I Feel the Earth." It also sums up musically as well as lyrically a theme of support and empowerment in the face of adversity that arguably dominates the

album, as discussed further below.

As far as the album's sound is concerned, the word "feel" is repeated so often in *Tapestry* that it seems likely King was well aware of the musical pun.<sup>72</sup> Musically, the term "feel" has to do with the way in which music moves through time and so it falls into the general category of rhythm. But it also relates to the speed of the constant beat we use to measure that time, and thus it has to do too with tempo. Most importantly, however, it describes the way certain emotions are triggered, and how certain emotional spaces are suggested and circumscribed, by an experiential sense of sensual, physical movement that is communicated to us by what we hear on, or just underneath, the sonic surface.

The emotional odyssey the listener to *Tapestry* experiences as a whole is notably rich and varied. The adventure starts, arguably *media res*, with the Dionysian, fast-paced, abandon of "I Feel the Earth Move," which, as suggested above, depicts the story's key, adulterous, moment. The listener then moves through a seeming myriad of emotion-evoking tempi— from the halting pace of "Home Again," the slow sway of "Way Over Yonder," the anxious, slightly pushed Moderato of "It's Too Late," toward and past the markedly up-beat "Beautiful" and "Smackwater"— to end up at the Apollonian calm of "(You Make Me Feel Like a) Natural Woman." Musically, the "feel" of the last song of 1971 is confident and soulful, well reminding the listener of just how deeply influenced the entire set is by African-American musical styles. The feeling one has, then, at the end of the 1971 album, is one of musical arrival, even triumph, after a long and adventurous journey.

If I am right to assert that, after a period of trial and adversity, the 1971 *Tapestry* ends with a sense of accomplishment, it fits the expectations of an epic close— a genre wherein having a satisfying plot resolution became so important over its long history that a god of some kind was often called in, near the close, to make everything right, as a *deus ex machina*.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, King may have chosen not to end her story in the manner of a fable in 1971 because the *Odyssey* was being praised precisely for its lack of moralizing at this time, at least by the literary critic Conny Nelson. Nelson, whose influential views of the epic appeared in 1969, focused not so much on the conclusion of the tale, but rather on the effects the entire experience had on the Homeric character. Unlike the "traditional Christian hero [who] lives in a [moralisticaly-driven] Guilt Culture ..., the Homeric hero," he argues,

thinks and acts in terms of his own individuality. His glory is in his personal worth, action, achievement, survival, and reputation. He lives, essentially, in a Shame Culture, a culture in which the greatest evil is to lose face, honor, reputation— to feel humiliated

and shamed. When a Homeric hero gives himself to something outside his ego, it is to an extension of his ego, to something that is *his*: *his* love for *his* friend, *his* desire to reach *his* home, *his* revenge on those who would take *his* goods ... Odysseus knows that ‘man is the frailest of all creatures on earth,’ and he knows that man must perish at last. But as long as life lasts, he will meet and strive for his own sake to overcome its obstacles and its sometimes hostile, sometimes only neutral reality. Such a story, treated honestly, may be grand, but it will not always be pretty. And Homer treated it honestly. We see Odysseus despair as well as exult, steal as well as give, sacrifice friends as well as strive to save them, cheat as well as deal honestly, brutally kill as well as tenderly love—he sometimes feels regret, but never remorse.<sup>74</sup>

After reading the passage above one quickly senses the kind of realistic and human triumph that many associated with the epic in the late 1960s. But after a more deliberate read, one also gathers, after seeing so many male pronouns—including several that the author italicized— just how easily literary scholars could see it all centered on the hero’s masculinity. In a palpable way, passages like these did more than simply evoke “obstacles” someone needed to “overcome” in a “real” world that was indeed “sometimes hostile, sometimes only neutral.” When it comes to the matter of assessing how women then were deprived of their rights, a passage like this arguably creates the kind of oppressive environment that could make one “feel humiliated and shamed” when facing all the vicissitudes of a “culture in which the greatest evil is to lose face, honor, reputation.”

If any song in *Tapestry* encapsulates how the modern Homeric heroine finds “glory” in her “personal worth, action, achievement, survival, and reputation,” it is King’s “Beautiful,” which puts the idea of self-esteem and self-determination at the heart of a song about achieving honor in an indifferent or “hostile” world. Other songs show a different, more “honest” side to the struggle. One of these, “Where You Lead, I Will Follow,” could be read as expressing what Nelson mentions as “Odysseus [in] despair.” But, if so, something seems amiss, as its upbeat tempo defies any sense of dejection.

A closer look at the song’s source and history may help explain the dichotomy. Lyrically, on its surface, the female speaker of “Where You Lead” appears quite willing to put herself in a position to be subjugated to a man. But looking in a little deeper, we may find again an example of King’s Penelopean disguise and deception. As she later explained, the song’s lyrics, which she wrote in part herself, are based on the Old Testament (Ruth 1:16), and par-

ticularly on a passage where one woman, Naomi, commits herself to share a destiny with another, her mother-in-law, Ruth, while in exile.<sup>75</sup> Thus, it is possible that "Where You Lead" had a different meaning to King, at least, than what its lyrical surface suggests, one that really has to do with the value of female-to-female support and friendship in dealing with life's struggles. Indeed, in an updated version, King and Stern revised the two lines or so of the lyrics that involved a man so that the gender is unspecified. Finally, to make the re-gendering point crystal clear, King performed the song in a duet with her daughter.<sup>76</sup>

If my reading of the hidden (and true) meaning of "Where you Lead" is correct, the song may form a complementary pair with "You've Got a Friend," which depicts a male-to-female platonic relationship, despite the endearments that suggest something more intimate might be involved. As the song was recorded in the same year by the eminent singer-songwriter James Taylor, and Taylor and King performed it together on *Tapestry*, many have wondered if it might express something about their musical and personal bond. Taylor, in fact, confirmed the truth behind these suspicions in an interview in *Rolling Stone*.<sup>77</sup> There, perhaps unknowingly to the consternation of his more secretive friend and collaborator, King, he explained that the lack of friendship he expressed his own "Fire and Rain" was what inspired King to write a song addressing his condition. Although King denied that Taylor's song functioned in that way at first, she later conceded that it had in a certain way "triggered" her own.<sup>78</sup>

Given the possibility, at least, that there may have been some characterization of contemporaries in King's mind as she composed *Tapestry*, it seems fair to conjecture about the following: Could the word, "You," of the final song "(You Make Me Feel Like a) Natural Woman" refer to the Homeric goddess Athena? And, could that same "You," as Judith Ann Peraino contends, also refer to Aretha Franklin, the woman whose voice has been so indelibly linked to the song after she recorded it in 1967 and who was soon thereafter awarded the epithet Queen of Soul well in time for King to conceive of her in that light in 1971 or thereabouts?<sup>79</sup>

Here it is important to recall some of the song's well-known history. Early in 1967, Franklin had broken through with a smash hit "Respect" and after this, Franklin's producer Jerry Wexler, of Atlantic Records, was searching for a new work to follow up on that success. Given that Goffin and King were then leaders in the songwriting business, it is not surprising that Wexler turned to them. As related in *The New Yorker*, Wexler apparently pulled up beside them in a limousine and said, "I'm looking for a really big hit for Aretha. How about writing a song called 'A Natural Woman.'" Then, "after that, King and Goffin went home

to New Jersey. That night, after tucking their kids into bed, they sat down and wrote the music and the lyrics. By the next morning, they had a hit.”<sup>80</sup>

Athena, admittedly, is not a queen. Rather, she is the goddess to whom Odysseus, Telemachus, and Penelope most often pray, and who demonstrates throughout the epic all the wisdom, might, and resourcefulness to which she is always associated. Given the similarities of the spelling of the names Aretha and Athena it is intriguing that King and Goffin named their cat Telemachus just two years before they composed the piece for the soul artist. They may not have yet realized how deeply the song would be associated with Franklin. But the two certainly knew in advance that hers was the voice people would hear when first introduced to their music. Notably, the character in the *Odyssey* who deals with Athena most extensively is the young and, at first, taciturn, Telemachus— on whom the goddess bestows the necessary fortitude to venture out in the world and take action on his family’s behalf (1-2).

Given all this circumstantial evidence it is tempting to advance my “Aretha as Athena” theory as an historical possibility, which further evidence might corroborate or confirm. But what I wish to do instead, finally, is to propose that the story of my reading of the album ends triumphantly along these lines— with a sense of music achievement so powerful it feels divinely-inspired — although I realize it is based on a hunch that may in fact quite easily be disproven. One advantage of this ending I propose is that it puts King’s musical achievement at the foreground of the story. Something like this must have been the aim of her producer, as he made sure that from the very first note of *Tapestry* that King’s pianism as well as her voice would command much of the sonic space and often create the feel of a song.<sup>81</sup> What King writes in her recent autobiography seems also to support, or enhance, my proposed reading, as she discusses there, in heartrending detail, the struggles she has and had with stage fright as a rock performer.<sup>82</sup> No doubt King had many ways of dealing with this psychological issue, but if one them involved, even if only symbolically, a conception of Franklin as a leading, fortitude producing, musical model of some kind, it would help explain why so many songs on *Tapestry* concern aspects of supportiveness. Ultimately, as a recognized musical leader and feminist voice of her generation, it seems fitting that King show respect to Franklin in ways similar to the respectful and worshipful manner in which the Homeric author (whoever he or she was) treated the goddess that supported Penelope, Telemachus, and Odysseus of the epic tale.

To conclude, two subsequent performances of “(You Make Me Feel Like a) Natural Woman” by Franklin deserve some consideration: for even though they may not support a hypothesis about the King’s reasons for ending the

1971 album with this particular song, they do seem clearly to bestow on Franklin an Athena-like aura and stature. In one of them, a 1998 performance on VH1 titled "Divas," Franklin dominated a stage filled with other powerful women artists, including King, who all found themselves forced to make respectful gestures of yielding to her authority, whether willingly, or, as it nearly seemed, under the sheer force of Franklin's musical might.<sup>83</sup> As a display of Franklin's musical fortitude, such a performance would seem very difficult to outdo or top. But eventually — on 6 December 2015, at the 38<sup>th</sup> John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Kennedy Honors program, to celebrate King as one of that year's six listed Honorees' for Lifetime Artistic Achievement— it was.<sup>84</sup>

On this occasion, Franklin performed the same song again to great acclaim, but this time as the only diva onstage. King was there, but this time in the audience. She sat next to the First Lady and then-President of the United States, Michelle and Barak Obama, who hosted the event. As the performance began, both the event's host and its intended honoree reacted strongly and appreciatively, with tears, to the emotionally charged moment. King, as she later recalled, was especially moved that Franklin not only sang, but also played piano. That detail is perhaps telling for this Homeric reading of *Tapestry*, for if anything could be said to be the loom in King's retelling of the *Odyssey*, it is King's piano, as this was the musical tool she used not only to perform the music but also to create her own version of a story-telling cloth. Under the circumstances it seemed only fitting too that Obama and King reacted with an outward showing of feeling, as it only added emotional depth to a prestigious bestowal of what is surely the nation's highest honor for musical achievement, which was cemented by a thoughtful, stirring performance.

Three years later, on 16 August 2018, Aretha Franklin passed away, to the great dismay of millions of music lovers throughout the world. Among the many who contributed to the explosion of mourning and memorial tributes, most had nothing but praise for the artist. Many, in fact, veered toward ancient Greek forms of honorific, epideictic, rhetoric that are classified as panegyric and that, by design, cite the gods as examples in an effort to reach and express the highest levels of exaltation. Barak and Michelle Obama, for example, published a joint statement claiming that Franklin's performances "graced [her audiences] with a glimpse of the divine."<sup>85</sup>

One who did not follow that trend, however, was the then and current (at this time of writing) American president, Donald Trump. Instead of moving into divine-equating praise, he ended several statements with a quip that "she worked for me."<sup>86</sup> It sounded off-hand and improvised. But one wonders if

such a phrase, however grossly Philistine, might have been calculated. Not only does it deprecate its specific subject, it also degrades her art and all those who honored her, and, of course, it does all this damage for the sake of self-promotion. If this Homeric interpretation of *Tapestry* has any effect at all, hopefully it will be in some way to help restore the rightful honors that have been bestowed on King and Franklin. Meanwhile, as we anxiously wait for our own *deus ex machina*, let us pray that the deep shame of that statement will soon be fully laid bare.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> James E. Perone, *The Words and Music of Carole King* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), 33-42, esp. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See Sheila Weller, *Girls Like Us: Carole King, Joni Mitchell, Carly Simon and the Journey of a Generation* (New York: Atria, 2008) and Judy Kutulas, "'That's the Way I've Always Heard It Should Be': Baby Boomers, 1970s Singer-Songwriters, and Romantic Relationships," *Journal of American History* 97 (2010): 682-702.

<sup>3</sup> For an insightful (and delightful) discussion of the way King's songs "connect us to elements inside and outside of ourselves," see Devin McKinney, "Cruising a Road to Nowhere: Mechanics and Mysteries of the Pop Moment," *Popular Music* 24 (2005): 311-321.

<sup>4</sup> Penelopean versions of the epic are discussed throughout Barbara Clayton's, *A Penelopean Poetics: Reviewing the Feminine in Homer's Odyssey* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004), and these retellings are the particular focus of her fourth chapter, "Weaver and Artist: Surveying a Penelope Tradition." See also Sheila Murnaghan and Deborah H. Roberts, "Penelope's Song: The Lyric Odysseys of Linda Pastan and Louise Glück," *Classical and Modern Literature* 22 (2002):1-33 and Richard Heitman, *Taking Her Seriously: Penelope and the Plot of Homer's Odyssey* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> In the Introduction to *Penelopean Poetics*, Clayton sets out the "grounding" that would be necessary, I believe, for a full and proper feminist reading of *Tapestry*. It would need to respond to "the theoretical writings of Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigaray, and Julie Kristeva" in order to "take on and challenge Freudian theories of sexual identity and libidinal economy, as well as Lacanian ideas about the relationship of self to language" (p. x). From an historical perspective, a feminist reading would also need, in my opinion, to grapple with the view that "Carole King presented feminist-inspired portraits without the contentious edges of feminism" (Kutulas, "That's the Way," 692). A proper feminist reading that I envision would also need, finally, to explore the extent to which *Tapestry* brings out certain tensions between second-wave and third-wave feminist theorists that are suggested in the following comment: "Aretha Franklin's singing [a song composed by King] makes [the article's author] think unhappily ... about the ways black women have always done this country's work of embodiment" [Margaret Homans, "'Women of Color' Writers and Feminist Theory," *New Literary History* 25 (1994): 82, 73-94]. The work Homans refers to, King's "(You Make Me Feel Like a) Natural Woman," is discussed further below. Given the undeniably vast influence of the "Intentional Fallacy"- and "Death of the Author"-based, anti-intentionalist, theories in hermeneutic fields today, this study

would need to be much more theoretically grounded (or theoretically savvy) before it could advance any convincing claim to make a biographical or historical contribution. A few critiques of the most confining ideas are included below. But a fuller case, such as the one advanced in volume 44 (2010) of the journal *Style*, "Shakespeare and Intention," would be necessary for me to make before I could claim to provide historians with a new view of the artist on which they could confidently build, at least in the present academic environment.

<sup>6</sup> Karl Kroeber, *Telling and Retelling: The Fate of Storytelling in Modern Times* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 1. See also Christian Moraru, *Rewriting: Postmodern Narrative and Cultural Critique in the Age of Cloning* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> For studies that take a similar, lyric-focused, interpretive approach to concept albums of the early 1970s see Sarah Hill, "Ending It All: Genesis and Revelation," *Popular Music* 32 (2013): 197-221 and Travis D. Stimeling, "'Phases and Stages, Circles and Cycles': Willie Nelson and the Concept Album," *Popular Music* 30 (2011): 389-408. Although the topics are not the same, the atmosphere and setting for the album concept interpreting event described above is well captured in group discussion scenes of *Dazed and Confused*, dir. Richard Linklater (Los Angeles: Gramercy, 1993). The setting also has interesting parallels with the way Stanley Fish describes "interpretive communities" in his influential *Is There a Text in this Class: The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980). Although songs are technically "texts," Fish's arguments are here too literature oriented to be taken over wholesale in this study. For an insightful article on lyrics and authority in pop culture, however, see, Lars Eckstein, "Torpedoing the Authorship of Popular Music: A Reading of Gorillaz' 'Feel Good Inc.,'" *Popular Music* 28 (2009): 239-55, whose insights are implicitly adopted here. At this point in the present argument the reader should probably be reminded that albums were received very differently in the pre-digital and post-digital eras. On the great extent to which the advent of digital media changed interpretive approaches to the concept album see Jean Hogarty, *Popular Music and Retro Culture in the Digital Era* (New York and London: Routledge, 2017) and Chris Atton, "'Living in the past?' Value Discourses in Progressive Rock Fanzines," *Popular Music* 20 (2001): 29-46.

<sup>8</sup> Jeremy L. Smith, *Verse and Voice in Byrd's Song Collections of 1588 and 1589* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016), 92-94, 203-06. See also Dieter Fuchs, "'Poor Penelope. Penelope Rich': Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* as a Prototype for the Rewriting of the Odysseus Myth in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* 48 (2011): 350-356.

<sup>9</sup> Clayton, *Penelopean Poetics*, 4-6.

<sup>10</sup> Cedrick H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 306.

<sup>11</sup> Clayton, *Penelopean Poetics*, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Bentley, *Collected Works*, ed. Alexander Dyce, vol 3, *Theological Writings* (London: Robson, 1838), 304.

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Butler, *The Authoress of the Odyssey* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1897).

<sup>14</sup> Clayton, *Penelopean Poetics*, 3.

<sup>15</sup> Margaret Atwood, *The Penelopiad* (Toronto: Knopf Canada, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> Cream, "Tales of Brave Ulysses," by Eric Clapton and Martin Sharp, *Disraeli Gears*



(1967). *Odyssean* rock songs by Cream, Steely Dan, and Suzanne Vega that are discussed in this article are listed in Donald M. Poduska, "Classical Myth in Music: A Selective List," *Classical World* 92 (1999): 239-241, 195-276. Additionally, "Formentera Lady" by Robert Fripp and Peter Sinfield, *Islands* (1971), mentions Circe by name and similarly dwells on Odysseus's island adventures. The possibility that a Homeric theme that runs through this and other King Crimson albums of this time is something I hope to investigate in a later study.

<sup>17</sup> See Lowell Tarling, *Sharp: 1942-1979: A Biography of Martin Sharp* (Exile Bay: ETT, 2016).

<sup>18</sup> Steely Dan, "Home at Last," by Donald Fagen and Walter Becker, *Aja* (1977). Most agree that the rock era began in the mid-1960s, although the exact year is often contested. Here I have followed the basic chronology set out by Theodore Gracyk in his *Rhythm and Noise: An Aesthetics of Rock* (London: Tauris, 1993).

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, S. Victor Aaron, "Steely Dan Sunday, 'Home at Last (1977)," 25 March 2012, <http://somethingelsereviews.com/2012/03/25/steely-dan-sunday-home-at-last/>.

<sup>20</sup> Suzanne Vega, "Calypso," *Solitude Standing* (1987).

<sup>21</sup> On the sexual hedonism of the rock era see David Allyn, *Make Love, Not War: The Sexual Revolution; An Unfettered History* (New York, 2000) and Kutula, "That's the Way."

<sup>22</sup> For a modern edition of the cycle see Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella, in The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William E. Ringler, Jr. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 165-237. A. C. Hamilton discusses the cyclic coherence of the set in his "Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* as a Sonnet Sequence," *ELH* 36 (1969), 59-87.

<sup>23</sup> See Richard S. Ide, "Exemplary Heroism in Chapman's *Odyssey*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 22 (1982), 121-136.

<sup>24</sup> Giancarlo Fiorenza, "Homer's *Odyssey* and the Image of Penelope in Renaissance Art," in *Homère à la Renaissance: Mythe et transfigurations*, ed. Luisa Capodiecì, Philip Ford (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2011), 223-239.

<sup>25</sup> For an extraordinarily rich appreciation of Penelope's *mêtis* see Emma Cocker, "Weaving Codes/Coding Weaves: Penelopean *Mêtis* and the Weaver-Coder's Kairos," *Textile* 15 (2018): 124-141.

<sup>26</sup> Penelope's so-called Web Trick is explained three times in the *Odyssey*, see Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Emily Wilson (New York: Norton, 2017), (book 2. (lines) 93-110; 19.138-56; and 24.128-46. (Further specific references to the *Odyssey*, indicating book[s] and line[s] according to standard citation practices, will appear within parenthesis in the text above.) The repetition itself has been discussed often. Recently, Barbara Clayton has intriguingly suggested that "we should suspect that a story thus privileged by repetition has something important to tell us about storytelling itself" (*Penelopean Poetics*, 23).

<sup>27</sup> See Jonathan Burgess, "Framing Odysseus: The Death of the Suitors," in *Crime and Punishment in Homeric and Archaic Epic*, eds. Menelaus Christopoulos and Machi Païzi-Apostolopoulou (Ithaca: Centre for Odyssean Studies, 2014), 337-54.

<sup>28</sup> Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 175-180; Fuchs, "Poor Penelope," 351.

<sup>29</sup> Hoyt H. Hudson, "Penelope Devereux as Sidney's Stella," *Huntington Library Bulletin* 7 (1935): 89-129; Katherine Duncan-Jones, "Sidney, Stella, and Lady Rich," in *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Making of a Legend*, ed. J. A. van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith, and Arthur F. Kinney (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 170-192.

<sup>30</sup> Sidney, *Astrophil*, 183. See also the discussions in Nona Fienberg, "The Emergence of Stella in *Astrophil and Stella*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 25 (1985): 10-11, 5-19 and Fuchs, "'Poor Penelope,'" 351-352 (where the entire sonnet is reproduced). Sidney also casts his poetic speaker as "great with child," in the opening sonnet of the sequence (*Astrophil*, 165).

<sup>31</sup> David Kalstone, "Sir Philip Sidney and 'Poore 'Petrarchs' Long Deceased Woes,'" *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 63 (1964): 21-32.

<sup>32</sup> Ellen Moody, "Review of *Proportional Form in the Sonnets of the Sidney Circle: Loving in Truth* by Tom W. N. Parker," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31 (2000): 200, 197-200. See also Alan Hagar, *Dazzling Images: The Masks of Sir Philip Sidney* (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1991).

<sup>33</sup> See the classic study by William K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy," *Sewanee Review* 54 (1946): 468-488. This article's widely influential position is that an author's intentions are "neither available nor desirable" for readers to interpret (468). The premise, however, has recently been deftly challenged by the biblical scholar, John C. Poirier, who argues that the "attack" on intentionalism was actually "a disguised appeal to the humanistic richness of looking at literature in a nonintentionalist way." See Poirier, "Some Detracting Considerations for Reader-Response Theory," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 62 (2000): 250-263. In another critique of the 1946 "available nor desirable" comment championing intentionalism, Duncan Salkeld points out that "everyday practice and common intuition tell us the reverse," see "Shakespeare and the 'I-word.'" *Style* 44 (2010): 328, 328-341.

<sup>34</sup> Smith, *Verse and Voice*, 195-233.

<sup>35</sup> Fuchs, "'Poor Penelope,'" 350-51.

<sup>36</sup> Sean Sheehan, *Joyce's Ulysses: A Reader's Guide* (London: Continuum, 2009), 105.

<sup>37</sup> See Jim McCrary, "Carole King, *Tapestry* & The Art of the Album Cover," in *Stuff Nobody Cares About* 3 March, 2011, <http://stuffnobodycaresabout.com/2011/03/02/carole-king-tapestry-the-art-of-the-album-cover> .

<sup>38</sup> Edith Hall, *The Return of Ulysses: A Cultural History of Homer's Odyssey* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 115.

<sup>39</sup> A loom is so often present in depictions of Penelope that it is usually only when it is missing that commentators take notice. See, for example, Diane Buiton-Oliver and Beth Cohen's comment that, in the case of a Penelope sculpture, "a wool basket [instead of the loom] placed between Penelope's seat alludes to the weaving so strongly associated with her Homeric characterization" in "Between Skylla and Penelope: Female Characters of the *Odyssey* in Archaic and Classical Greek Art," in *The Distaff Side: Representing the Female in Homer's Odyssey*, ed. Beth Cohen (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1995), 46, 29-60. In Greek representations of Penelope and in many works based on them, the loom in question is one designed to make tapestries, as Duane W. Roller and Letitia K. Roller explain in their "Penelope's Thick Hand ('Odyssey' 21.6)," *Classical Journal* 90 (1994): 9-19. After a careful technical reading of the *Odyssey* they aver that "Laertes's funeral shroud ... must have been a complex tapestry ... [and that] Homer was familiar with elaborate and

detailed tapestry weaving” (17-18).

<sup>40</sup> Irène Aghion, *Gods and Heroes of Classical Antiquity* (New York: Random House, 1996), 279.

<sup>41</sup> Duane W. Roller and Letitia K. Roller describe this image as the “best known representation” of Penelope at the loom, “Penelope’s Thick Hand,” 15. In 1965 this image of Telemachus and Penelope was featured in Erich Lessing’s widely popular American edition of *The Voyages of Ulysses: A Photographic Interpretation of Homer’s Classic* (Freiburg: Herder, 1965), plate 9. Random House published an edition of Lessing’s book in 1966.

<sup>42</sup> Helen Brown, “Re-stitching the *Tapestry*,” *Daily Telegraph: London*, 23 April 2009, 23.

<sup>43</sup> See McCrary, “Carole King”; King, “Perhaps one of the most famous tabby cats on the planet, Photograph of Telemachus as a kitten, by Louis Goffin, aged 5, <https://www.facebook.com/CaroleKing/posts/perhaps-one-of-the-most-famous-tabby-cats-on-the-planettelemachus-as-a-kitten-ph/10152505231588815/> . On 26 June 2014, King reposted the photograph and added under it an image of her *Tapestry* album cover, captioned “Telemachus later on in life,” see <https://www.facebook.com/CaroleKing/photos/a.384680323814.164743.112724293814/10152505231303815/>.

<sup>44</sup> Carole King, *A Natural Woman* (New York: Grand Central, 2012), 172. In a footnote on this page, King goes on disarmingly to invent an acceptance speech for Telemachus to perform after he wins a fantasy “Grammy in 1972 for the Biggest Domestic Cat Ever to Appear on an Album Cover.”

<sup>45</sup> For a detailed argument that Penelope Rich was both Sidney’s muse and ideal reader because she knew his techniques, special interests, and oblique references, see Clark Hulse, “Stella’s Wit: Penelope Rich as Reader of Sidney’s Sonnets,” in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986), 272–86.

<sup>46</sup> On the prominence and importance of deception and disguise in the *Odyssey* see Roberto Nickel, “Disguising Helen: The Polymorphous Wife in the *Odyssey*,” in *Disguise, Deception, Trompe-L’oeil: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Leslie Anne Boldt-Irons, Corrado Federici, and Ernesto Virgulti (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 3-19.

<sup>47</sup> The terms “intentionalist,” “historicist,” and “presentist” are discussed in historiographical studies that run across the spectrum of scholarly disciplines. See, for an example in the field of music theory, Thomas Christensen, “Music Theory and Its Histories,” in *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, ed. David Bernstein and Christopher Hatch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 9-39. In jokingly suggesting that presentists are myopic and historicists and intentionalists naïve, Christensen provides a context for why arguments might get heated at this stage of the album-interpreting event described in this article.

<sup>48</sup> Recording artists often leave decisions about an album’s cover design to others, sometimes to their later chagrin. Donald Fagen of Steely Dan, for example, cites an executive’s interference with an album cover design, to which he capitulated, as the “worst advice he ever got from a record executive,” see Austin Scaggs, “Q&A: Donald Fagen,” *Rolling Stone*, 6 April 2006.

<sup>49</sup> See Hamilton, “Sidney’s *Astrophel*.”

<sup>50</sup> Perone, *Words and Music*, 33-39.

<sup>51</sup> Morgan Neville, dir, *Carole King and James Taylor, Troubadours: The Rise of the Singer-Songwriter* (Beverly Hills: Hear Music, 2011).

<sup>52</sup> Carole King, *Tapestry* (New York: Sony Music, 1999). "Out in the Cold" is listed as "previously unreleased" and "recorded during the *Tapestry* sessions." Because the lyrics mention a story she has told and the music has notable sonic similarities to the opening song, "I Feel the Earth Move," it seems conceivable to me that King originally thought to end the album with this song for the sake of lyrical and musical closure, but then thought better of this, perhaps deciding that the concept aspect would then be too obvious. I mean throughout this article to suggest that when King disguised things, such as the word "story," she was in effect wearing a Penelopean "mask" and exerting her own form of *mêtis*. But I readily concede that she might have had numerous other reasons to be what I call "deceptive." She may, for example, have concealed certain information in an effort to avoid critical reviews in the emergent rock press. Well before 1971 writers at the *Rolling Stone* magazine (founded 1967) had apparently decided that ambitious exercises such as the retelling of a classic story were too "pretentious" for rock. We see this trend in Jon Landau and Jann Wenner's reviews of two successive Rolling Stones (band) albums: 1) *Satanic Majesties*—pretentious/bad— reviewed on 8 December 1967; and 2) *Beggars Banquet*—unpretentious/good— reviewed on 10 August 1968. Others tarred with the same critical brush include Stevie Wonder, Marvin Gaye, and Curtis Mayfield, in reviews by Vince Aletti. Elton John and Lou Reed were also so branded. On 2 August 1973, Carole King was accused of pretention by Stephen Holden, in his withering review of her album *Fantasy*. *Fantasy* is a full-fledged, undisguised, concept album, where King speaks the parts of many different characters. The events might suggest that, after the success of *Tapestry*, she felt less of a need to conceal her storytelling activities. Alternatively, she might simply have decided that, because *Fantasy* was a different kind of story, she had no cause then to exert her *mêtis*. Ultimately, I suspect both were determinant factors shaping the way she told stories. For the reviews mentioned above, see *Rolling Stone* online, <https://www.rollingstone.com>.

<sup>53</sup> Anna Bonifazi, "Inquiring into Nostos and Its Cognates," *The American Journal of Philology* 130 (2009): 481, 481-510.

<sup>54</sup> Bonifazi, "Inquiring into Nostos," 484.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Corrine Ondone Pache, "'That's what I'll remember': Louise Glück's *Odyssey* from *Nostos* to *Nostalgia*," *Classical and Modern Literature* 28 (2008): 4, 1-14.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Alexandra Topping, "Amy Winehouse: Private Funeral Held," *The Guardian* 26 July 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2011/jul/26/amy-winehouse-private-funeral>.

<sup>60</sup> See comments in Carole King, "So Far Away," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UofYI3dataU>; "Home Again," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z116Op2g-E>; and "Way Over Yonder," [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2aIP700\\_Gw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2aIP700_Gw). Of the three, "Way Over Yonder," is the most often treated as a memorial song in commentaries, with many stating their wish to have it performed at their own funeral. Intriguingly one commentator viewed "Home Again" as a song expressing the sadness of a soldier and spouse separated from one another, which is the particular

situation Penelope and Odysseus faced.

<sup>61</sup> Perone, *Words and Music*, 38; Steward Mason, "Smackwater Jack, Song Review," *Allmusic*, <https://www.allmusic.com/song/smackwater-jack-mt0031897088>.

<sup>62</sup> Burgess, "Framing Odysseus," 339. See also Hall, *Return of Ulysses*, 175-187.

<sup>63</sup> King, *Natural Woman*, 137-148.

<sup>64</sup> On the extraordinarily long and drawn out process by which Penelope finally comes to recognize Odysseus (which remains a matter of scholarly confusion and debate), see Chris Emlyn-Jones, "The Reunion of Penelope and Odysseus," *Greece & Rome* 31 (1984), 1-18.

<sup>65</sup> It is tempting to see this depiction of Odysseus as spellbound as relating somehow to Goffin's harrowing and tragic experiences with LSD in the last years of his marriage to King, see King, *Natural Woman*, 138-143.

<sup>66</sup> See Joanna Paul, "'Madonna and Whore': The Many Faces of Penelope in *Ulysse* (1954)," in *Ancient Greek Women in Film*, ed. Konstantinos P. Nikoloutsos (Oxford 2013: Oxford University Press), 139-161.

<sup>67</sup> *Ulysses*, dir. Mario Camerini (Hollywood: Paramount Pictures, 1955). This dubbed version, starring Silva Mangano as Penelope (and Circe as well) and Kirk Douglas as Odysseus, was released by Paramount in 1960 and released for television by American Broadcast Company in 1967, the same year Goffin and King composed "(You make me Feel Like a) Natural Woman" for Aretha Franklin to sing, see below. For an incisive analysis of how the tapestry shown in the movie empowers its Penelopean character see Paul, "Madonna and Whore," 146-148.

<sup>68</sup> Clayton, *Penelopean Poetics*, 2-5.

<sup>69</sup> The most notable precedent for an unfaithful Penelope is the Molly Brown character of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, who not only commits adultery but also freely discusses sex in the "Penelope" chapter that concludes the novel. The scandal surrounding the first film version of *Ulysses*, of 1967, makes it all the more likely that Goffin and King were aware of Joyce's subverted characterization of the Homeric character, see Katherine McCormick, "Reproducing Molly Bloom: A Revisionist History of the Reception of 'Penelope,'" in *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on "Penelope" and Cultural Studies*, ed. Richard Pearce (Madison, WI: Wisconsin University Press, 1994), 7-39.

<sup>70</sup> See John B. Vlahos, "Homer's *Odyssey*: Penelope and the Case for Early Recognition," *College Literature* 38 (2011): 1-75.

<sup>71</sup> On the sex and sexuality in the *Odyssey* as well as its cultural impact see Hall, *Return of Ulysses*, 189-202. Hall well captures the contrast many perceived in the sexual behavior of the married couple in noting that "for every chaste Penelope in Victorian art there are half a dozen shady temptresses from Odysseus's wonderings" (194).

<sup>72</sup> Although "feel" is more than simply a synonym for "groove," it is in discussions of the latter term where the issues surrounding the more elusive idea of "feel" are usually discussed, see, for example, Berry Kernfeld, sv. "Groove," *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.J582400>.

<sup>73</sup> See sv "epic," in *Literary Devices: Definition and Examples of Literary Terms*, <https://literarydevices.net/epic>.

<sup>74</sup> Conny Nelson, ed., *Homer's Odyssey: A Critical Handbook* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1969), viii-ix.

<sup>75</sup> See Sigal Samuel and Anne Cohen, "The Secret Jewish History of 'Gilmore Girls,'" *The Schmooze*, 1 October 2014, <https://forward.com/schmooze/206620/the-secret-jewish-history-of-gilmore-girls/> . Intriguingly, Krystie Lee Kandoli reports that when she asked Tori Stern recently about this song that she co-wrote with King, instead of responding with more information, Stern expressed that, "she wanted to 'keep whatever mystery there is surrounding this song Carole and I wrote together alive,'" *Buzzfeed*, 24 April 2016, <https://www.buzzfeed.com/krystieyandoli/where-you-lead-i-will-follow>.

<sup>76</sup> Samuel and Cohen, "Secret Jewish."

<sup>77</sup> Andy Greene, "James Taylor: My Life in 15 Songs," *Rolling Stone*, 13 August 2015, 24, 23-25..

<sup>78</sup> Mark Ribowsky, *Sweet Dreams and Flying Machines: The Life and Music of James Taylor* (Chicago: Chicago Review, 2016), 144.

<sup>79</sup> Periano writes that even though the song was "King's, [her] voice ... emerge[d] ... from the community of past voices —mostly African-American women— who first sang her songs," and that "King, in covering 'Natural Woman,' could very well have been singing to Aretha Franklin: 'You make me feel like a natural woman— you, whose voice paved the way for my voice to be heard.'" See Judith Periano, "Listening to Gender: A Response to Judith Halberstam," *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 11 (2007): 64, 59-64.

<sup>80</sup> David Remnick, "Soul Survivor," *The New Yorker*, 28 March 2016.

<sup>81</sup> See Neville, dir., *Carole King and James Taylor*.

<sup>82</sup> King, *Natural Woman*, 1-6.

<sup>83</sup> VH1 *Divas Live* (New York: Sony Legacy, 1998).

<sup>84</sup> Aretha Franklin, "(You Make Me Feel Like) A Natural Woman," Kennedy Center Honors 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHsnZT7Z2yQ> (accessed 27 April 2019).

<sup>85</sup> Minyvonne Burke and Emily Crane, "'In Her Voice, We Could Feel Our History': The Obamas Offer Heartfelt Tribute to Aretha Franklin as Trump Remembers Her as 'Someone Who Worked for Me,'" *Dailymail.com*, 16 August 2018, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6068671/The-Obamas-offer-heartfelt-tribute-Aretha-Franklin.html> .

<sup>86</sup> Burke and Crane, "'In Her Voice."



JoAn S. Segal

# Letters from Nadia Boulanger to Lydia Loudon in the Collection of the American Music Research Center

## **Introduction and Background**

A collection of 253 letters and postcards written by Nadia Boulanger to Lydia Loudon came into the collections of the American Music Research Center at the University of Colorado as part of the papers of Don Campbell, an internationally known teacher on topics involving music and physical/mental well-being.

## **Don Campbell**

In 1960, thirteen-year-old Campbell moved from Texas to France with his family and became a student of Jean Casadesus at the Ecoles d'Art Américaines at Fontainebleau, where he came in contact with Boulanger. For two years, he “sang in [her] ensembles, attended her general classes and took a course in keyboard harmony.”<sup>1</sup> After his return to the US, he studied music at the University of Northern Texas and the University of Cincinnati College Conservatory of Music. Campbell traveled extensively all over the world, adding ideas from various cultures to his philosophy of music as a force for physical and mental wellness. His studies of the physiology of the brain and the effect of music on both mental processes and mental health drew from the cultures and religious practices of many traditions – Eastern, Western, African, Christian, and Buddhist among them. From these he synthesized a philosophy and practice which he taught in seminars throughout the world.

As a faculty member at Naropa University in Boulder, Campbell was a friend of the University of Colorado College of Music and designated the American



Music Research Center (AMRC) as the beneficiary of his papers. Consisting of some 70 boxes of correspondence, documents, recordings, and books, the collection is being processed into the AMRC archives. In the course of processing, this set of letters came to light.

The letters were gifted to Campbell by Ronald Loudon, son of Marga and James Loudon. The Loudons were an influential Dutch family. Marga had been a student of Boulanger. James' uncle John Loudon (1866 – 1955) served as Dutch Ambassador to the U. S. from 1908 until 1913. In 1906, he married Lydia Edith Eustis, an American who had a brief career as a singer. As Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs during World War I, he was able to maintain a neutral position, keeping the Netherlands out of the conflict. From 1919 to 1940, he was the Dutch ambassador to France.<sup>2</sup> During their time at the Dutch Embassy on the rue de Grenelle in Paris, the Loudons developed a strong friendship with Nadia Boulanger. How the letters came into the possession of Ronald's family is not certain. Of the 253 letters, four are addressed to his mother, Marga, and there are references to her throughout the correspondence. We do not know exactly how or when Boulanger made the acquaintance of the Loudons. It is likely that Marga Loudon was the link between them. From Boulanger's frequent references to the rue de Grenelles, home of the Dutch Embassy, we do know that their close friendship began around the time that John Loudon was appointed Dutch Ambassador to France.

### **Nadia Boulanger**

Most readers of this journal will know the basic facts of the life of (Juliette) Nadia Boulanger (1887 – 1979.) For this article, only highlights that inform the correspondence will be included. Both she and her younger sister Lili were prodigies. After her father's death, twelve-year-old Nadia decided it was her obligation to provide for her mother and sister. By the age of sixteen, she began her teaching career and a life of overwork and overcommitment. Although she was a talented composer, conductor, and performer, Boulanger renounced these talents after the death of her beloved sister, Lili, who succumbed to tuberculosis at the age of twenty-four. For the rest of her long life, Boulanger focused on teaching and administrative duties. She was much sought after as a conductor; her administrative duties at Fontainebleau were onerous; and she was constantly overwhelmed by her responsibilities. She also continued to accept private students in addition to those at the Conservatory. Boulanger's sense of responsibility to her students led her to include them in social activities with practicing musicians. She hosted dinners and other social events regularly. Two other aspects of Boulanger's identity stand out in the letters: her Catholic faith and her French patriotism.

### **Boulanger's American and British experiences**

Boulanger spent several elongated stays in the U.S., beginning with a two-month holiday in 1925. In 1938, she spent three months lecturing at several colleges and universities, broadcasting over NBC, and conducting more than one hundred lecture-recitals, recitals, and concerts.<sup>3</sup> Two letters in the collection date from this tour, and ten others were written during her four months in the U. S. in 1939, when she became the first woman to conduct the N. Y. Philharmonic at Carnegie Hall and gave 102 lectures. Her longest U.S. stay was during World War II. She helped some of her students leave France before planning her own escape.<sup>4</sup> Dramatic letters document her psychological struggles as Boulanger made her way from Paris to the south of France, where she spent two months with the Loudon/Sachs family, before traveling south to Lisbon, where she and Annette Dieudonné, her life-long assistant, boarded a ship bound for the U.S. Nineteen letters written during her stay provide a record of her experiences, her personal contacts, her professional activities, but most important, her inner life during this time of serious personal conflicts and difficult professional relationships. She returned to France in January 1946, leaving behind many friends and expressing her gratitude to those who were supportive of her work during an important five-year period.

Several stays in England were also significant. In 1936, she broadcast a series of lecture-recitals for the BBC and was the first woman to conduct the London Philharmonic Orchestra. She made more BBC lecture-recital broadcasts throughout 1937 and became the first woman to conduct a complete concert of the Royal Philharmonic Society. On the eve of World War II, she conducted a concert at the Cathedral Church of St. Michael in Coventry, a fourteenth-century structure whose original stained-glass windows were removed to prevent damage during blitz bombings.

### **Ecoles d'Art Américaines, Palais de Fontainebleau**

During World War I, under the auspices of General Pershing, who wanted to improve the quality of U.S. military band music, Walter Damrosch, then conductor of the N. Y. Philharmonic, was invited to organize a school in Chaumont, where the troops were headquartered. Together with French teacher and composer Francis Casadesus, Damrosch undertook the project. In 1921, the American Conservatory opened in the Louis XV wing of the Château de Fontainebleau. Boulanger was among the distinguished faculty members from the outset and later served as director. Many outstanding American composers studied at Fontainebleau with Boulanger, among them Elliott Carter, Aaron Copeland, Roy Harris, Philip Glass, Virgil Thomson, and Beveridge

Webster. Although originally targeted toward American students, the school now includes European and Asian students.<sup>5</sup> Since 1923, the conservatory has been part of the *École des Beaux-Arts* at Fontainebleau, which includes studies in painting, sculpture, and a particularly strong focus on architecture.<sup>6</sup>

### Overview

The collection contains only the letters written by Boulanger.<sup>7</sup> They make clear that the relationship between Boulanger and Lydia Loudon was very special. Boulanger consistently uses the polite but affectionate French appellation *tante* (aunt) and the more formal “vous” form of address despite their years of closeness.

The first letter is dated 1 November 1931. The next four letters come from the period immediately following the death of Boulanger’s mother in 1935. Only ten are dated from 1936 until 1938. There are sixteen letters from 1939, when Boulanger spent four months in the U. S., and eighteen more between 1940 and 1942, during the war years in the U. S. However, there are no letters from 1943 – 44, when Boulanger remained in California. In 1945, there are six more letters from America. Almost fifty letters are dated between 1946 and 1954.

The collection resumes in March of 1957, when 138 letters appear, almost daily, until December. One undated letter may be from the spring of 1958. In addition, twenty-eight other letters and cards were undated. It was possible to identify a reasonable chronological place for all but five of these, using their references to events whose dates we do know: birthdays, death anniversaries, religious observances, or secular holidays. In every instance where a letter or card is undated, I include an endnote to describe how the date was ascertained. For instance, I assign the date of March 1935 to the second of the letters in the collection because it was written on Boulanger’s distinctive mourning stationery and refers to the emotional crisis Boulanger was then suffering. Mourning stationery was used to denote grief or respect for those who had died recently, and for almost a year after her mother’s death, Boulanger used stationery with a black border. She also used this stationery to mark a death, the anniversary of a death, or to reflect upon a recent tragedy. There are eleven letters on mourning stationery.

Boulanger was a prolific correspondent. She made time in her daily schedule to send letters, typically early in the morning between Mass and her first student who arrived at 8:00 am. According to one of her biographers, there exists a list – dating from 1910 – of all letters she sent and received. She “systematically commemorated all the important anniversaries of her friends and

acquaintances. Marked on an outsized calendar at each date of the year were the births and deaths (of spouses, of children, of relatives); and each day, after consulting her calendar, Nadia would write in her own hand (at least as long as she could see well enough to do so) either a few lines or an actual letter.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Analysis**

This is not a careful exposition of Boulanger’s work, life, or philosophy. It is a description of a set of very personal letters which incidentally carry information about these topics in a haphazard and very incomplete fashion.

Furthermore, Boulanger’s language is often poetic, and these translations do not do credit to her beautiful use of the French language. Her handwriting varies greatly over the course of the correspondence. Generally, she had a very clear and neat penmanship, but in times of stress or under pressure of time or – in one case, an infected finger – the writing becomes difficult to decipher. Boulanger’s eccentric use of the dash as her primary punctuation mark is also notable. Because she uses it to take the place of commas, semi-colons, and periods, her frequent use of dashes can be confusing. Several themes recur throughout the correspondence: the Loudon friendship, students, musicians, music, emotions, work, and concern for others. They offer special insight into the thoughts and feelings of the woman referred to by her students and colleagues as “Mademoiselle.”

### **Loudon Friendship**

Boulanger’s friendship with Lydia and John Loudon constitutes a major theme. The primary function of all the letters was to express affection, admiration, and appreciation for the Loudons. These examples are typical of the outpouring of love in this correspondence:

I feel a little less frighteningly alone when I think of you, your faith, your confidence, and your courage. How dear and necessary your affection always is for me.<sup>9</sup>

Surely you have sustained me, you have, by your presence, your understanding, your actions, your tenderness, made me more able to put up with a life that seems to me ever more difficult. But...you have done more by your example, by your light, your simple and marvelous consciousness, (you have) helped me understand my true duty, you whom I adore infinitely more than I know how to express, whom I cherish tenderly and whom I wish I could surround with so much affection.<sup>10</sup>

Another aspect of this affection is the recalling of memories from periods in the past, especially during John's ambassadorship in Paris at the Dutch embassy on the rue de Grenelle:

The trip was lit by the memory of those days on the rue de Grenelle – those nights, I should say! And it seems to me that I found there a new courage. I will never forget the night when you waited for me and I felt like a beloved and spoiled child – it was so good, so sweet, to feel little, and on that night, I found for a moment my baby soul.<sup>11</sup>

What melancholy I felt yesterday in the rue de Grenelle. Of course, the Boetzalaers are charming and I enjoyed seeing them, but that house – without you!<sup>12</sup>

As noted above, Boulanger placed great importance on anniversaries of important dates in her life and those of her family and friends. These letters offer many examples of her practice of remembering these in letters to her friends. For instance, Lydia's birthday was November 27:

It always bothers me not to be near you, but today, on your birthday! Soon we will be singing a very beautiful, very luminous Bach cantata – I will make myself imagine that we are singing for you... This elevating of thought, this integrity, this enthusiasm has made of your life an example for us. The music that will soon lift us up is surely music for you, to you, and by you.<sup>13</sup>

January 30th was another important date, perhaps the date when they first met:

For the 30th of January. To Lydia and John. I'll be far away on January 30, but I'd be even more unhappy if I didn't feel bound to you. All I have to say to you I can't, because it is too difficult. But you have helped me to gather my courage after a difficult time, you help me every day to know what is good and simply is. And an example like that is a gift which your presence makes constant. To revere what one loves is such a joy...In advance of the date, but I don't want to miss the boat – I am going so far away.<sup>14</sup>

Let me thank you for all the January 30ths in their finest details and for the example you represent for me; your tenderness which sustains me every day.<sup>15</sup>

The anniversaries of the births and deaths of her mother and sister were even more significant. She usually had a special Mass said for each of them. They

both died in the month of March, and Boulanger frequently set aside the entire month as a time of grief:

Of course, these days are like all days, the same emptiness, the same memories. Still, they hold a particularly serious and moving importance. Perhaps we like to keep these signs, these dates which somehow make the past part of the present. I don't know, but I sense the importance that is attached to them.<sup>16</sup>

Friday – Mass at the Trinity – deeply touching. In remembering Mama and my little Lili, everyone feels the unity of all those who have died – Fr. Carré spoke from the heart, at such a high level – he did well. The grave, so beautiful with white flowers – every year, for 39 years – such faithfulness!<sup>17</sup>

Today is my little Lili's birthday – she would be 64 – she is always 24 – and it was yesterday that she was born, yesterday that she died – and always she is alive in me. . . I remember Papa came to look for me: “You have a little sister” and by the cradle: “I entrust her to you.” I suddenly understood the meaning of “protect, care for, cherish”. It was the entire life of the baby that I took responsibility for in some serious way – the sweetness, the emotion of that day remains there – despite all that time, despite death.<sup>18</sup>

The Loudons were people in whom Boulanger could confide ideas and feelings (often religious and/or patriotic) which she might not be able to share with anyone else. In the middle of her wartime American stay, Boulanger wrote,

Little by little, the books that represent our culture have piled up, pictures of Chartres, Vezelay, Notre Dame, Versailles – these are for me inestimable treasures. And it is sweet for me to realize each day more profoundly that I am Catholic and French.<sup>19</sup>

But she also confided in Lydia and in Marga deeply personal feelings. At the time of her mother's death in 1935, she wrote painful letters to each of them, revealing her grief and depression:

I do my tasks at Fontainebleau, I control myself and don't let them know how deep my feelings are [but] when it comes to any little decision, it's impossible – whatever the question, there is a conflict of objections, desires, hesitations – finally, nervous depression. And then, what complicates my life this summer takes on unbelievable disproportions.<sup>20</sup>

The last 4 days have been terrible – arranging Mama's affairs and

those of the little one [Lili] I got home yesterday in a terrible state”<sup>21</sup>

All these problems end in the question: to be or not to be, the obligation [on which] each of us [has] to take a position. We must be able to go on living alone. . . vacillating between yes and no. <sup>22</sup>

During her wartime stay in the U.S., she again experienced depression and conflict about what her “duty” ought to be:

When I think of you who are so courageous, who accept your fate while forgetting yourselves, I don’t dare write you. Everything I do seems in vain, everything I think, useless, and everything I must do, so depressing; because time passes, it is a kind of shame added to the grief...I know, I have to give up, but to end thus – it is melancholy. I am so tired it seems like the road is coming to an end, but people can be tired for a long time. And then, to think of leaving is a betrayal – one should want to stay...It is too easy to “give up” [in English] – we’ve done that too often!<sup>23</sup>

## Students

Boulanger makes frequent reference to her students as a group, and to individuals who stood out in her mind. Her relationship with her students in general is of great interest. She frequently expressed a sense of overwork, the inability to find time for herself, but she repeatedly and immediately followed that with an expression of her love for teaching and the students.

I have so much work that nowadays I haven’t a moment, and unfortunately, I love this life immersed in music, in contact with young people who want to struggle in their turn, and immersed also in what gives or has given us good spirits.<sup>24</sup>

I have never had such a “weighed-down” summer, nor ever felt that weight so heavily. Not that I haven’t loved the summer with these young people, eager to move ahead, but too many sacrifices have been imposed and have created a kind of solitude, even though I am never alone. I got here, behind in my work. I copy day and night, hoping always for a few days’ rest before going home.<sup>25</sup>

Don’t take this to mean I am tiring of my profession – I love it and I know what I owe to the young people who surround me.<sup>26</sup>

Individuals among her students gave her great pleasure:

But I want you to hear the *Diable Boiteux* by my little Jean Francaix.<sup>27</sup>

Yesterday François was here and he said: “you can’t imagine what an impression you can have on a 17-year-old. One remark can change the direction of his entire life and will never be erased from his mind.” God willing - what a sense of what we are trying to do!<sup>28</sup>

Yesterday, Dominique Merlet, who just won the first prize at the Geneva competition, came to play Niels Viggo Bentzon’s *Partita* for the class. And the young Merlet, not yet 20, understood the spirit of the work so well it was very beautiful. What joy, what a consolation it is when a truly great artist appears. One feels that the flame is still burning – one had given up hope so easily in such cruel and troubled times.<sup>29</sup>

Nice students, interesting. The little Idil Biret, 10 ½ years old, the light and gaiety of the School. What I could tell you about this child, endowed by God with all these gifts.<sup>30</sup>

I give guidance to my little Makonowitzky, a child, a great artist.<sup>31</sup>

It was also her practice to open her home at 36, rue Ballu, her family’s long-time residence, for get-togethers including musician colleagues and students. Many letters mention the constant presence of the students.

Life in Paris ought to be the height of activity, parties, receptions, balls, but the rue Ballu is enough for me. Youth, which never stops circulating around here assures one all the movement one could want.<sup>32</sup>

And she regularly had guests for dinner and parties:

I expect Nadia Margarethe and Fred tonight – how I look forward to this evening’s party.<sup>33</sup>

and

There were so many visitors that I didn’t enjoy them. Everyone from a different country, some coming for the first time!<sup>34</sup>

## Musicians

An active participant in the musical life of Paris, Boulanger mixed with many leading musical figures. The letters include allusions to people who were significant in the international music scene at the time the letters were written and to important musical works, both historical and contemporary. To the



extent possible, the annotations made to the letters identify some of these individuals and works. She recounted her concert experiences regularly in the letters:

What a wonderful concert yesterday! Markevitch directed the Heroes March in memory of Toscanini for the 9<sup>th</sup> [of April]. Under such a master, the musicians, the choirs, the soloists reached a level that allowed the music to express its total worth. The audience reacted with silence, with enthusiasm, and such a concert is proof that one is in the presence of a great man.<sup>35</sup>

I heard with great emotion the concerto in G of Beethoven, played by Schnabel – what a great artist, what a musician, what a pianist. And what a lesson! Such mastery in the service of such an elevated mind.<sup>36</sup>

Fine concert yesterday – Bernac sang with moving grandeur. In these last few years, his life has seen serious, melancholy days, and his art has taken on an unusual depth. His technique, his sensitivity, his intelligence have a new feeling – and the result is very impressive. . . The last melodies of Poulenc – very beautiful – how he understood them and made them understandable.<sup>37</sup>

I took part in a Menuhin concert...What a reward I had! Bach, Mozart, Bach – small orchestra which he directed, no, with which he made music. Such an intimate atmosphere, so simple, so true. Evening of a charm and truth all too rare.<sup>38</sup>

She also performed and directed performances, many as part of the Fontainebleau programs. In this context, she became acquainted with, and often developed deep friendships with important musical figures.

Marvelous rehearsal yesterday with Irma Kolassi –what a great artist – what a noble soul. You would love to meet her and get to know her.<sup>39</sup>

I stopped to see my dear Dinu Lipatti...emaciated face, deathly pale, but with smiling, childish eyes that reveal that internal happiness that allowed him to overcome his terrible trials. What of tomorrow? No one knows, but he played recently at Lucerne. If God permits, next week at Besançon. His doctor and he are optimistic – they know where this strength is coming from.<sup>40</sup>

Poulenc, funny, telling stories – very simple and human. Very busy with his opera, *The Dialogue of the Carmelites*, which will open on

June 24 at the Opéra. Who would have thought he would choose such a serious and tragic subject? The development of a personality and its interior forces escape all understanding.<sup>41</sup>

Robert Casadesus, perhaps not finding that the students had understood sufficiently – sat down at the piano and, after their less successful attempts, gave them examples, illustrations played with that poetry, that simplicity and that respect for line which characterizes Casadesus.<sup>42</sup>

Magnificent concert yesterday – Rubinstein continues to make progress and though he isn't young, he has a lot of vitality.<sup>43</sup>

Varied day yesterday – lunch at the Sachses with Stravinsky astonishingly spirited – the essence of liveliness. One could say that he emerged from a serious crisis the previous year stronger, perhaps for having finally taken care of himself.<sup>44</sup>

## Music

She talks about music she heard on records and on the radio. During the years of this correspondence, these sources of music were very important:

Did you hear the *Marriage of Figaro* last night? A marvelous performance! I hope you did; it was so beautiful. These beings (*composers*) come through our lives, change our lives, generation after generation – what a sign of the presence of God. This gift, which, for one, enriches the masses, amid the mysteries which surround us, is one of the most impenetrable and most beautiful. Yesterday, the Beethoven 3d, all the tragedy, all the serenity, too, and with an equal grandeur. Above all, those who make beauty enlighten the world and awaken in others the sense of beauty; they suffer as we do and probably more, because of their lively sensitivity.<sup>45</sup>

While I am writing you, the records of Haydn's *Creation* are playing, a recording by Markevitch.<sup>46</sup>

These hours of listening to recordings – of course, while working, but with such a source of inspiration.<sup>47</sup>

While I write, I am playing the recording of Manuel de Falla's *Retablo de Maese Pedro* – what poetry, what fantasy, what originality. An authentic artist, convinced, profound and with such fidelity. And what an irresistible performance, alive, warm – I've played the same record three times now – what light!<sup>48</sup>

She offers her opinions about music – a subject almost sacred to her. She talks about specific composers and compositions but also reveals deep feelings about music as a force in human life:

Soon we will be singing a very beautiful, very luminous Bach cantata...When humans can attain such heights, they change the meaning of life for generations, one after the other.<sup>49</sup>

One frequently hears: “yes, Haydn, Papa Haydn” in a condescending way, with an indulgent smile! This giant, but this giant – in harmony with his Lord and with life. And this music, full of invention and a sovereign mastery, which keeps its good humor as well as its depth and grandeur.<sup>50</sup>

I believe in music, in its influence (much greater than one wants to recognize). Its order, its discipline are a base at once practical, precise and exalting. Its task is to express, through control and impersonality, the physical, intellectual, and emotional essence of its beauty. In giving this nourishment to the masses, it is not prostituting either the art or the listeners but is allowing listeners to find in themselves that which may be hidden, unknown, yet real. It may help them to give to their lives a sense that is more noble and durable.<sup>51</sup>

Every day, music seems to me more beautiful, more important and more meaningful. And never has directing seemed more virtuous.<sup>52</sup>

### **Religion and Philosophy**

Writing to her dear friend, she shares her inmost thoughts and feelings. She reveals her strong religious faith, describes how important it is to her, enlarges on basic religious concepts, and speaks with deep emotion about aspects of her belief and its implications. She also reveals sentiments of personal self-criticism and guilt, grief over the death of her mother, her sister, and others, and descriptions of periods of depression and the attempt to overcome it:

Our soul knows, believes, and finds in this certainty the power to persevere on the uncertain road on which we travel, so sure of the goodness of God, but also of our weakness.<sup>53</sup>

But in religion, I have succeeded in making this insurmountable sadness bearable.<sup>54</sup>

At this time when everything incites despair, of life and of men, it seems to me that everything finds its way to God. Petty interests,

little vanities, small cares, “me”, “I”, are all finished with. One must find refuge in forgetting oneself; [then we can see] what is great and what we must take as an example, that which lifts us and remains pure, in the midst of so much horror and anguish.<sup>55</sup>

All our educational principles, our methods, our systems have failed, as it has always been, each time that men forget that they were created, that they must die and relive in eternity. People laugh at you, that you still believe in these absurdities, and in laughing they fall into the abyss which attracts them, while the light was waiting for them...it is so sad to see such strength lost, and youth vanquished by this blindness...the loss of the values without which the shadow falls and all is destroyed in a hopeless obscurity.<sup>56</sup>

One has no right to stop; one must go on without stopping, and to hope, no matter what it costs...One thanks God that the world is so beautiful, one thanks Him for having given one so much.<sup>57</sup>

How happy my heart is as I exit this Mass. Father Carré spoke about self-love, the love of God for the worst among us. He has such peacefulness in his look, in his words, that – no matter how unhappy one may be – one would find joy in one’s heart. How happy that a man can give such comfort.<sup>58</sup>

Boulanger’s faith in God was strong, but so was her faith in human beings. Commemorating great historical figures – sometimes named, often unnamed – she draws from history a strength of conviction and a sense of what is right, of what ought to be done:

St. Louis, Joan of Arc, St. Bernard, St. Vincent de Paul, have left an impression over the course of centuries, but these images are very distant, even legendary for those who forget them or for those who magnify them without breathing their perfume. So, it is for us, as modestly as we can, to revive those who, by themselves, bring light into the world.<sup>59</sup>

But the only lesson we must learn day after day is that which we are given through the silence of very humble hearts, or by the immortal message of very great spirits, the lesson that comes, even in the paroxysm of sorrow, and brings the peace of a quiet conscience. And it is those people with their great spirit – Dante or Michelangelo, Bach or Beethoven, Rembrandt or Shakespeare, Villon, Debussy, Watteau, Fauré, Corneille, Molière – with their vision, their heart, their thought, their love, who show us the way.<sup>60</sup>

## Emotions

Although Boulanger had a reputation as a person who “always remained secret, inscrutable, even with her protégés”<sup>61</sup> and as “inaccessibly aloof,”<sup>62</sup> she was also a very emotional person. She lived through some horrendous and some very beautiful experiences, which she describes with great feeling, expressing her reactions in terms that transcend ordinary conversation:

I have so much hope, but I am so afraid. What one must do at this time is so major, so difficult, that one asks oneself what is possible. . . [E]veryone should want to help and should take stock of one's responsibility. . . If (only) we could understand and rediscover the road that, by leading us to God, would bring us new dignity. . . [W]e don't know what to do; no one knows . . . But everything needs to be done. . . leaving is so very hard, but I can't do anything here. I would have chosen to stay, in a moment, when there is so much to build, but why would I have confidence in that.<sup>63</sup>

I hesitate to bear witness once more to these conflicts, doubts, problems. For the trip, I give thanks to the kindness of people. The disorder of things somehow brought into focus ideas and the importance of the struggle we are undertaking, without paying much attention to the immensity of the tasks in proportion to our personal weakness.

[...]

Oh, dear Aunt Lydia, (if it were possible) to see the courage, the energy, wherever one helps oneself, and by the same token, others; the feeling of human dignity and with it the joy of life, which is the very essence of action, (then) the entire extent of unhappiness would be wiped out. But even if one's heart is torn; one must look to the future.

[...]

To leave everything and redo it all. To see everything disappear and rebuild it all; to see everything die, and in desiring it, to make the rebirth happen. We may suffer punishment, but we can remain standing if we know how to endure the test...but one can't think of that.<sup>64</sup>

After a few months in the U. S., she feels guilt at having left, but also relief from the stress of the onset of war in Europe:

But all you are fighting against! and we here are in comfort, which

weighs on us...I live these days enclosed in my room – it is so pretty, with a wide view, and one can think; hearing only the noise of the wind, of the branches, sometimes even birds...All I see is the sky, the trees, water, and soon, flowers. A silence broken only by the noise of the planes passing frequently. Sometimes a dog.<sup>65</sup>

I am ashamed in my solitude...I cannot hide from you the tears that run from my eyes, tears of tenderness, tears of woe, tears of remorse. I look at you in my heart, where I see you always, and I try to be worthy of your esteem. but you cannot know how difficult it is morally.<sup>66</sup>

### **Work**

In times we now think of as more slow-moving and relaxed, she repeatedly complains of having no time to herself, being constantly overworked, and feeling a great sense of duty and responsibility. In addition to some of the earlier quotes in the Students section, there are these:

I find myself facing an inescapable network of obligations, poorly distributed.<sup>67</sup>

After 8 days of forced rest, here I am in N. Y. and now that I can write, I have no time.<sup>68</sup>

The beginning of the year has been so overburdened. With a somewhat naïve innocence, I think that soon everything will be easier – then the weeks pass, and the obligations and responsibilities pile up. I hardly even see my little maid's baby growing and, when I see his progress, I realize how much time has passed since my last visit – and it's only down the hall!<sup>69</sup>

How the fates conspire against me! Every time I think I can sit down quietly and write to you; things line up to prevent me. Phone calls I have to take, letters that can't wait, and then, when there is a moment of calm, the thought is lost!<sup>70</sup>

### **Concern for others**

Yet the letters reveal a human being very concerned about others, from those who work for her in her home and at the Conservatory, to celebrities of the day. She expresses this concern in terms of particular individuals, but also of humanity in general:

I give guidance to my little Makonowitzky, a child, a great artist, without troubling his happiness.<sup>71</sup>

The wedding is set for the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of August. Since I have had such a deep desire to make this trip [to Salzburg] and hear *Fidelio* over there, with you, I am rebelling against the chance it will not work out. I swear I've had a trial. But now that the decision is made – it will cost me, but I won't tell the Bouwens; they have no idea of my conflict and are happy.<sup>72</sup>

Would you please send me the address of Mme. Peter who might be able to try to do something for the wife of one of my students, practically abandoned by the doctors. Sorry to bother you.<sup>73</sup>

Little Hélène all sad with worry and inquietude, and my little village where anxiety inhabits all the hearts. How can I give them some hope?<sup>74</sup>

The next letter refers to those on the same escape route from France to Lisbon, and thence to America or elsewhere:

These people...You can't imagine their human goodness; their patience, their ingenuity, their courtesy in the over-crowded train where everything is confused, people and luggage, indescribable; their jests, their weariness, their smiles, their desire to help, to make themselves small so as to give you room!...What will happen to them in case of trouble? One dare not think of it. And it would take so little to develop them, to make of them what they really are.<sup>75</sup>

I went to see Marie Blanche de P. Smiling, going to the concert; giving a dinner for Markevitch, knowing that next Saturday her life is in question.<sup>76</sup>

Lots of activity in the house today – Paolo is 3! Got up very early to have time for their gift...I want to get home early to take the gift, with three candles...what will become of them? What will their lives be like? They were raised by honest, religious parents, they see, they hear beautiful things, all the world is kind with them, they seem happy, but what is their future?<sup>77</sup>

### **The United States**

During Boulanger's several extended visits to the U. S., her letters reveal her feelings about the country, her gratitude to those who supported her, and her

frank opinions, which include fierce loyalty to her native country and its culture:

It will not be without some sadness that I leave this country to which I owe such extraordinary opportunities. There is much to be argued – some of the worries are legitimate...but one must justifiably take into account the astonishing “good will” which allows so many efforts. And I count my debt very great.<sup>78</sup>

Everything is so different here. Points of view, opinions, reactions, even information.<sup>79</sup>

We have many friends here who want to understand, but even the air one breathes isn't the same as our air. It's strange, but in spite of the terrible sacrifice, the loyalty remains intact and one doesn't think of anything but the responsibility required by those traditions which one has the honor of holding and the duty to transmit.<sup>80</sup>

I am also sad to go away, to leave, perhaps forever, so many friends who surrounded me here. I would not want to lose one day, however impatient I am to return, but I cannot leave without sadness. How we are conflicted!<sup>81</sup>

I don't forget anything of what was given me over there, where I left so many friends.<sup>82</sup>

## War

Overlapping with these thoughts about America are opinions about war itself.

It is all our faults, our concessions, our weaknesses, our ideologies, to say nothing of our...fierce egotism that have altered all our values, falsified all our duties, hidden our remorse and in their place put our ambitions, our selfishness. The death of Thierry de Martel is our punishment.<sup>83</sup>

## Conclusion

The importance of Nadia Boulanger to American music cannot be overestimated. Her influence on major American composers and performers was extremely great. Beginning with Aaron Copland in the 1920's, she encouraged and supported outstanding American musicians throughout her long life; a summer at Fontainebleau was at one point a *sine qua non* for serious American musicians.

It was a great good fortune for the AMRC to have come into possession of



this correspondence. It gives rare insights into Boulanger as a person, as a friend, as a teacher, and as a profoundly introspective human being. In addition, it gives us a picture of the musical/social life in Paris during the years covered by the letters and of the many American and other musicians whom she taught, mentored, and supported in various ways.

Personally, the opportunity given me as a volunteer to work with this correspondence was incredibly rewarding. I am very grateful for having been given this wonderful assignment.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Campbell, Don G. *Master Teacher Nadia Boulanger* Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1984.

<sup>2</sup> Wikipedia J. Loudon

<sup>3</sup> Wikipedia Nadia Boulanger

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> For more information see <http://www.fontainebleauschools.org>

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Inquiries about Lydia's responses yielded this information: "Some letters from Lydia and John Loudon are kept in the Fonds Boulanger at the Bibliothèque nationale de France: - Lydia Loudon, 16 letters from 1905 to 1957 [references: Nla 82 (81-100)] - John Loudon, 5 letters from 1941 to 1952 [references: Nla 82 (70-78)] And there is also one letter from Nadia Boulanger to Lydia Loudon dated 19 September 1942 [reference: Nya 296(19)]" - Alexandra Laederich, (Centre International de Nadia et Lili Boulanger) There may be letters in other collections, which we have not been able to identify. The CNLB is the official agency concerning the lives and works of the Boulanger sisters.

<sup>8</sup> Spycket, 88

<sup>9</sup> Undated, but following closely the death of Boulanger's mother in March 1935.

<sup>10</sup> Boulanger, letter, 29 December 1938.

<sup>11</sup> Letter is on French Line Normandie stationery, but with 63 Garden St. Cambridge address. It is undated. The previous letter says she would be on the Normandie on 28 June 1939.

<sup>12</sup> Boulanger, letter, 13 April 1957

<sup>13</sup> Boulanger, letter, 27 November 1957.

<sup>14</sup> On stationery of Cunard White Star; most likely while en route to US in January 1939.

<sup>15</sup> Boulanger, letter, 29 December 1952.

<sup>16</sup> Boulanger, letter, 13 March 1957.

<sup>17</sup> Boulanger, letter, 17 March 1957.

<sup>18</sup> Boulanger, letter, 21 August 1957.

<sup>19</sup> Boulanger, letter, 21 May 1942.

<sup>20</sup> Boulanger, letter, 2 August 1935.

<sup>21</sup> Undated, but the letter refers to “next Saturday, October 5”; therefore, probably late September or early October 1935.

<sup>22</sup> Undated, probably July 5, 1936; next letter, dated July 17, refers to previous letter as having been written “12 days ago.”

<sup>23</sup> Boulanger, letter, 16 March 1941.

<sup>24</sup> Boulanger, letter, 7 August 1938.

<sup>25</sup> Boulanger, letter, 12 December 1953.

<sup>26</sup> Boulanger, letter, 23 September 1953.

<sup>27</sup> Undated, but we have the itinerary of her American tour, which she says will be over in a month, promising to be in Paris on June 13; probably May 1939.

<sup>28</sup> Boulanger, letter, 8 August 1957.

<sup>29</sup> Boulanger, letter, 12 December 1957.

<sup>30</sup> Undated; Biret was born Nov. 1941; also references in text to end of summer; early fall, 1952

<sup>31</sup> Boulanger, letter, 2 August 1935.

<sup>32</sup> Boulanger, letter, 14 December 1951.

<sup>33</sup> Boulanger, letter, 8 April 1957.

<sup>34</sup> Boulanger, letter, 11 April 1957.

<sup>35</sup> Boulanger, letter, 8 April 1957.

<sup>36</sup> Boulanger, letter, 11 April 1957.

<sup>37</sup> Boulanger, letter, 24 August 1957.

<sup>38</sup> Boulanger, letter, 15 October 1957.

<sup>39</sup> Boulanger, letter, 13 April 1957.

<sup>40</sup> Boulanger, letter, 10 September 1950.

<sup>41</sup> Boulanger, letter, 30 April 1957.

<sup>42</sup> Boulanger, letter, 20 August 1957.

<sup>43</sup> Boulanger, letter, 23 October 1957.

<sup>44</sup> Boulanger, letter, 29 October 1957.

<sup>45</sup> Boulanger, letter, 7 March 1957.

<sup>46</sup> Boulanger, letter, 4 August 1957.

<sup>47</sup> Boulanger, letter, 5 August 1957.

<sup>48</sup> Boulanger, letter, 10 August 1957.

<sup>49</sup> Boulanger, letter, 27 November 1957.

<sup>50</sup> Boulanger, letter, 4 August 1957.

<sup>51</sup> Boulanger, letter, 21 July 1940.

- <sup>52</sup> Boulanger, letter, 15 November 1945.
- <sup>53</sup> Boulanger, letter, 29 December 1936.
- <sup>54</sup> Boulanger, letter, 25 August 1938.
- <sup>55</sup> Boulanger, letter, 14-16 October 1940.
- <sup>56</sup> Boulanger, letter, 14 August 1941.
- <sup>57</sup> Boulanger, letter, 28 September 1941.
- <sup>58</sup> Boulanger, letter, 24 March 1957.
- <sup>59</sup> Boulanger, letter, 21 May 1942.
- <sup>60</sup> Boulanger, letter, 28 September 1941.
- <sup>61</sup> Spycket, p. 69
- <sup>62</sup> Spycket, p. 48
- <sup>63</sup> Boulanger, letter, 21 July 1940.
- <sup>64</sup> Boulanger, letters, 14-16 October 1940. These 1940 letters were written on the way from Paris to Lisbon as Boulanger was escaping the Nazis and heading to the United States. Some have dates, others in the group do not. There are four such letters.
- <sup>65</sup> Boulanger, letter, 16 March 1941.
- <sup>66</sup> Boulanger, letter, 10 February 1942.
- <sup>67</sup> Boulanger, letter, 25 August 1938.
- <sup>68</sup> Boulanger, letter, Unknown date January 1939.
- <sup>69</sup> Boulanger, letter, 14 December 1951.
- <sup>70</sup> Boulanger, letter, 5 April 1957.
- <sup>71</sup> Boulanger, letter, 2 August 1935.
- <sup>72</sup> Boulanger, undated letter, written before 17 August 1936.
- <sup>73</sup> Boulanger, letter, 25 August 1938.
- <sup>74</sup> Boulanger, letter, 6 September 1939.
- <sup>75</sup> Boulanger, letter, 14-16 October 1940.
- <sup>76</sup> Boulanger, letter, 10 March 1957. This refers to Mme de Polignac, who was very ill. Concern for her comes up in at least a dozen letters.
- <sup>77</sup> Boulanger, letter, 11 March 1957.
- <sup>78</sup> Boulanger, letter, 22 may 1939.
- <sup>79</sup> Boulanger, letter, 9 December 1940.
- <sup>80</sup> Boulanger, letter, 28 September 1941.
- <sup>81</sup> Boulanger, letter, 2 November 1945.
- <sup>82</sup> Boulanger, letter, 24 February 1946.
- <sup>83</sup> Boulanger, letter, 21 July 1940.

Gisele Schierhorst

# The Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra and Society Papers

## Introduction

The Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra (SSO), later known as the Suffolk Symphony, enjoyed nearly twenty years as one of Long Island's premier orchestras. What began as an amateur, community-centered ensemble evolved into a sophisticated non-profit organization and an orchestra of skilled players which accompanied world-renowned soloists and drew attention from the *New York Times*. Its attempts at expansion, however, led to years of turmoil and uncertainty, culminating in a merger with Huntington's Long Island Symphony to form the Long Island Philharmonic (1979-2016).<sup>1</sup> The SSO's operations and fundraising were carried out by a group of community members known as the Suffolk Symphonic Society (SSS). Historians for the SSO and SSS dutifully compiled scrapbooks of news articles, press releases, and reviews, and kept carbon copies of typewritten letters, minutes, and original handwritten notes from their files. In 1979, Dr. Karl D. Hartzell, a former administrator for SUNY Stony Brook and the last President of the Society, donated this archive to the University's Melville Library.<sup>2</sup> These papers offer an inside look at the daily practicalities of running an orchestra. Additionally, they divulge the emotional and private concerns and ambitions of the SSO's devoted musicians, staff, and board members. Using these archival sources, this essay chronicles the rich but perhaps cautionary tale of an orchestra which attained early, yet ultimately unsustainable, success.

While a brief overview of the SSO's history was published in concert programs and materials distributed to donors, no comprehensive history of the SSO exists. This essay provides a chronological narrative of the SSO's history by establishing the SSO's place in Long Island's cultural landscape during the

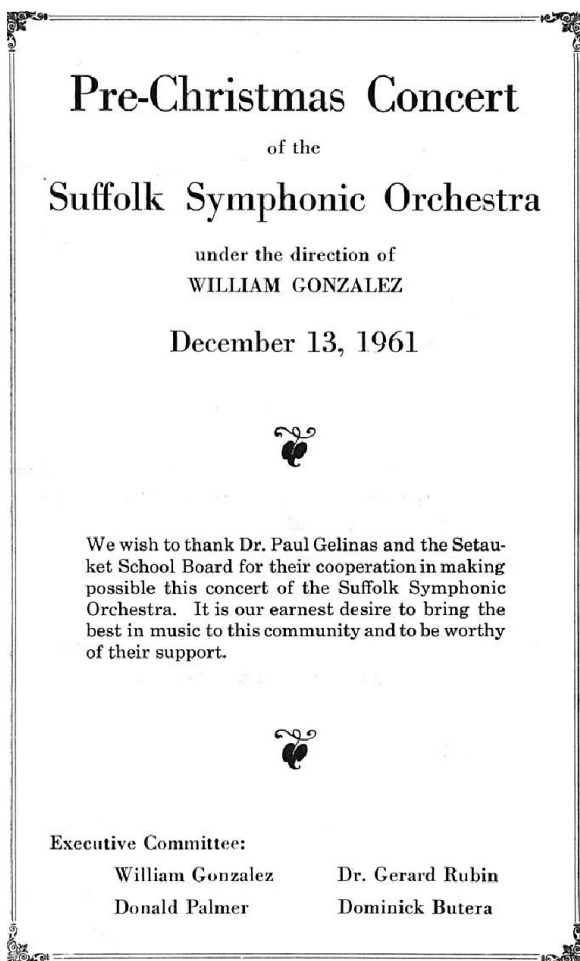
1960s and 1970s; tracing the involvement of SUNY Stony Brook's faculty and staff in the Symphony's success and longevity; and exploring the ways that social customs, visual, and other performing arts helped the SSO thrive and how those same forces eventually contributed to its demise. The history of the SSO illustrates dilemmas comparable to those being faced by other community, urban, and metropolitan orchestras today.<sup>3</sup>

### **Origins and Inaugural Season**

In 1961, Donald Palmer (a music teacher in the Three Village School District), Dr. Gerard Rubin, and Dominick Butera convened regularly to play for their own pleasure.<sup>4</sup> They eventually asked officials in Setauket for help with finding a public space in which to play. The village responded by making the group part of its adult-education program. The musicians rehearsed and performed at the Setauket School, then later at the Nassakeag School. Eventually, the ensemble grew to include thirty amateur players and ten paid professional musicians. They named themselves the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra and incorporated as a nonprofit educational institution in 1961. William Gonzalez assumed leadership of the fledgling ensemble.<sup>5</sup> A graduate of the National Conservatory of Mexico, Gonzalez was formerly a solo cellist with the Mexico Symphony Orchestra. Upon his arrival in the US, he performed in the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra, gave recitals, performed as soloist with Long Island's South Shore Symphony, composed several works, and conducted a number of groups. The community hummed with anticipation about the "distinguished musician at the helm" of the SSO and expressed "confiden[ce]" that the first season of the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra will be a worthwhile addition to the cultural life of this area."<sup>6</sup>

SUNY Stony Brook (which opened on 16 September 1962) also played a role in the history of the SSO.<sup>7</sup> Members of the Stony Brook faculty and administration guided the SSO and fostered community interest in the performing arts. Executive Dean of the State University of New York, Dr. Karl D. Hartzell, served as Chief Administrative Officer and Acting Dean of Arts and Sciences at Stony Brook during the university's first year and remained active around campus until his retirement in 1971.<sup>8</sup> Hartzell was one of several university personnel who supported the SSO. Dr. John S. Toll, President of SUNY Stony Brook from 1965-1978, was another fixture at SSO concerts and SSS fundraisers.<sup>9</sup> Toll and Hartzell shared an interest in the Symphony and in other matters concerning Long Island's cultural community.<sup>10</sup> Three Stony Brook music professors (Marshall Bialosky, John Lessard, and Isaac Nemiroff) planned chamber concerts on campus which would include their own compositions. Bialosky and his family developed an especially rich association with the SSO

in its fledgling years. A University Chorus was formed which was made up of "university people and townspeople," with the hope that there would be "better knowledge and understanding between these two groups."<sup>11</sup> The Collegium Musicum was anxious to find new members among the incoming freshmen, and the University Chorale planned to present a Christmas concert in December 1962. A Recorder Consort planned a concert of Renaissance music. The Fine Arts Department also planned several art exhibitions.<sup>12</sup> The SSO made its official debut with a pre-Christmas concert on 13 December 1961 (see Figures 1 and 2).




**Pre-Christmas Concert**

of the


**Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra**

under the direction of  
**WILLIAM GONZALEZ**

**December 13, 1961**



We wish to thank Dr. Paul Gelinas and the Setauket School Board for their cooperation in making possible this concert of the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra. It is our earnest desire to bring the best in music to this community and to be worthy of their support.



**Executive Committee:**

<b>William Gonzalez</b>	<b>Dr. Gerard Rubin</b>
<b>Donald Palmer</b>	<b>Dominick Butera</b>

**Figure 1.** Premiere concert program, 13 December 1961  
Society Papers, Special Collections, Melville Library, Stony Brook University

## *Program*



FINLANDIA Op. 26..... Sebelius

SYMPHONY No. 40 in G Minor..... Mozart

Allegro Molto

Andante

Minuetto

Allegro Assai

---

TRIO PATHETIQUE..... Glinka

Violincello - William Gonzalez    Clarinet - Gerard Rubin

Piano - Catherine Speh

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A CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL..... Anderson

Conducted by Donald Palmer

FUGUE in G Minor..... Bach arr. Cailliet

ARIA..... Bach arr. Gonzalez

BACCHANALE from Samson et Delilah..... Saint-Saëns

**Figure 2.** Order of Selections, Premiere concert program, 13 December 1961  
Society Papers, Special Collections, Melville Library, Stony Brook University

The new symphony filled a cultural void among the Three Villages, and R. R. Niskanen expressed the community's gratitude in an editorial following the inaugural concert:

You're right, there are reasons for being proud of our town. One, for instance, concerns a number of our neighbors who have seen fit to involve themselves in the discipline that is capable of expressing the ultimate in human feeling—music at its most elo-

quent—a symphony orchestra, the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra, they call themselves.

The other night we local-yokels filled the Setauket School Auditorium to watch (perhaps as sort of a civic duty) Doc Rubin, Mickey Butera, Jack Goldberg, Bill Kuhn, along with a small army of others whom I'm sure we all know, manipulate assorted size violins, horns, drums, etc. I hope they covered their costs.

If they didn't, and consequently face breakup for lack of funds, it'll be **our** loss, for this is something fine. They conveyed the feelings of such old feeling-emoters [sic] as Sibelius, Mozart and Bach in such fashion that for the 2 hours we sat there, we were in another world—a world we should be in more often. A clue to their effective performance was the behavior of the liberal sprinkling of kids in the audience. They sat stock still and listened. The group needs help in the myriad of non-musical tasks involved in presenting a program. Let's give them whatever help they need. We'll be fools if we don't.<sup>13</sup>

### **New Musical Directions: 1962-63**

At the end of the inaugural concert season, the SSS hired Clayton Westermann as musical director and conductor, so Gonzales and Palmer surrendered their duties at the podium. A musical prodigy and a graduate of the Yale School of Music, Westermann boasted an impressive resume that included tutelage under luminaries like Paul Hindemith, Pierre Monteaux, and Herbert von Karajan in addition to guest conductorships at the Vienna Symphony, a professorship at Hunter College, and a Fulbright fellowship.<sup>14</sup> Prior to his work with the SSO, Westermann conducted the Huntington Symphony and was credited for its growth.<sup>15</sup> A *New York Times* profile praised Westermann's musicality: "He led his group with a great deal of feeling [and] under his direction it was a smooth working ensemble, always in time and rhythmically precise."<sup>16</sup> A "slim, graceful man who immediately commands the respect and loyalty of his musicians, [Westermann] is a hard taskmaster but can lighten a difficult situation with an engaging flash of humor."<sup>17</sup> A reporter transcribed Westermann's directives to the orchestra during a rehearsal for its December 1962 concert: "Play it from the top...don't get carried away...Beethoven would roll over if he heard that...once again!"<sup>18</sup> Westermann made his debut at the annual pre-Christmas Concert with a program that included Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in C-Minor, Op. 67 and the Christmas portion of Handel's *Messiah*. In a short time, Westermann positively impacted the SSO. The



orchestra showed “notable progress in their comprehension and performance of the music as well as a smoothness and confidence which demonstrated how much they have developed since the first concert last December, commendable as that was.”<sup>19</sup> Throughout Westermann’s first season, audiences were “charmed and impressed by the outstanding” musicianship of the SSO and a roster of distinguished soloists.<sup>20</sup> An increasing number of ads filled subsequent programs, indicating deep community interest in and financial support for the SSO.

### **Leadership: The Suffolk Symphonic Society**

The Suffolk Symphonic Society (SSS) held its first meeting on 23 January 1962, with Paul Denzin presiding. Later in the year, Metropolitan opera soprano Eleanor Steber accepted the position of Honorary Chairman of the Society.<sup>21</sup> Marshall Bialosky was elected SSS President.<sup>22</sup> In November, New York State Supreme Court Justice D. Ormonde Ritchie signed the certificate of incorporation of the SSS in his chambers in Riverhead.<sup>23</sup> The SSS also sought “to make good music available to Suffolk residents and to free the musicians from administrative and business functions such as publicity, tickets, etc.”<sup>24</sup> The SSS solicited philanthropic donations with a community-wide mail campaign in 1962. “Language is a barrier often difficult to overcome, even when we are speaking the same tongue,” the letter read. “There is however one universal language, music. Through music everyone may be reached, and we would like music to reach everyone.”<sup>25</sup> The campaign was successful. Buoyed with this new revenue stream, the SSO could supplement the ranks of the volunteer orchestra by hiring eight union musicians, who received the going rate of \$31 per performance.<sup>26</sup>

The SSS produced a charter in late 1962.<sup>27</sup> This document established the SSO’s official name and outlined its mission “to preserve, promote and increase the musical pleasure, knowledge and appreciation of the public by organizing and presenting concerts of music drawn largely from the recognized symphonic literature and offered for cultural, educational and strictly non-profit reasons.”<sup>28</sup> Further, the charter granted the SSS power “to establish, maintain, and operate a group of performers constituting a symphony orchestra...to rent or acquire a place or places suitable for such performances...to effect all arrangements...for obtaining works for performance, [and] to solicit, accept, hold, and administer contributions received by gift, deed, will, or otherwise, as well as the proceeds of admission charges and generally do all things necessary and proper to accomplish the cultural and educational purpose herein stated and permitted to non-profit corporations.”<sup>29</sup> Article IV

prohibited the SSS from engagement in “any political activity...or in any transaction prohibited by Section 503 (e) of the *United States Internal Revenue Code* [or from] accumulation of income in any manner which may subject it to denial of tax exemption as provided in Section 504 of the *United States Internal Revenue Code*.”<sup>30</sup> Article V states that “if, at any time, the Suffolk Symphonic Society shall cease to carry out the purposes herein stated, all assets and property held by it, shall, after the payment of its liabilities, be paid over to an organization which itself has similar purposes and has established an appropriate tax-exempt status under Section 501 (c) (3) of the *United States Internal Revenue Code* as now enacted or hereafter amended and they shall be applied exclusively for the education of the public in the art of music by the performance of artistic works of music.”<sup>31</sup>

The SSS by-laws (1962, revised in 1968 and 1971) define the terms of membership and establish entities such as a Governing Board, various officers and committees, duties, and procedures. Membership was open to any person upon application to the Governing Board. Each member paid the sum of five dollars as annual dues to the corporation within thirty days of the annual meeting of the membership. In an effort to pursue more substantial financial support, the statement was amended in 1971 to read, “the membership of the Society shall consist of those persons including corporations who are designated annually as one of the following: Benefactors, Patrons, Sponsors, Associates and Sustainers of the Suffolk Symphonic Society.”<sup>32</sup> Such designations were for those “who have made a financial contribution to the support of the activities of the Society in accordance with a graduated scale established annually by the Governing Board.”<sup>33</sup> A Board of Directors would “exercise all the usual powers of directors of a business corporation [sic] and immediate government and direction of the affairs of the corporation.”<sup>34</sup> The elected officers prescribed in the 1971 by-laws include a President, at least two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer.<sup>35</sup> The President and Music Director were expected to give reports at the annual meeting of the membership. The Music Director, hired by the Board, was also responsible for “matters of orchestra personnel, rehearsals, program making, guest artists and concert dates subject to approval by the Governing Board.”<sup>36</sup> A Business Manager could also be appointed to “formulate and carry out business policies submitted by him and approved by the Board, and, subject to the Board’s approval, enter into all contracts required for the conduct of the business of the corporation.”<sup>37</sup> (See Appendix A). Charter members of the SSS were treated to a recital by pianist Gabriella Herzog at the Stony Brook Yacht Club in October 1962. At a teatime reception after the performance, members could meet Maestro Westermann and obtain information about the orchestra.<sup>38</sup>

Local coverage of the orchestra's activities flourished from its inception. Press clippings from the early 1960s cover activities of both the SSO and the SSS. Rehearsal coverage and musician profiles gained additional publicity for the orchestra as it sought new board members, audiences, musicians, and financial support. The orchestra's 50 members included professional musicians alongside teachers, housewives, scientists from Brookhaven Lab, high school and college students, a barber, a Long Island Railroad engineer, veterinarians, a horticulturist and businessmen. Sylvia Strong, a resident of Strong's Neck, served as concertmistress until May of 1967 when violinist Donald Caldwell assumed the position of concertmaster after Strong voluntarily stepped down in deference to whom she believed was the better player. The SSS considered her actions "a fine gesture" and approved the change.<sup>39</sup> Gerard Rubin and his teenage daughter, Marian, played in the wind section and often invited friends to participate in musicales in their Setauket home. Bialosky's wife, Ruth, played in the violin section.<sup>40</sup>

Concerts were held each December, March and May. As part of the orchestra's early commitment to community outreach and education, two children's concerts at the Setauket School in late May 1963 featured selections that had been performed throughout the previous season.<sup>41</sup> Admission was one dollar per child, and each group of children had to be accompanied by an adult.<sup>42</sup> The concerts were educational in nature. Bialosky provided commentary, and members of the orchestra demonstrated their instruments between selections.<sup>43</sup> Regular subscription tickets for the 1962-63 season were available for \$5 at local businesses.<sup>44</sup> Affordable prices made live classical music available to residents of all income levels and fostered the growth of a loyal audience for the SSO. In 1970-71, season tickets doubled to a minimum of \$14 from the previous year, presumably to offset the costs of guest soloists; however, by 1973-74, prices fell to \$12, with single concert tickets available for as little as \$5. The following season, subscriptions rose to \$15, but by 1978-79, a season ticket subscription cost \$13.50, with a special two-concert ticket available for \$11. The Suffolk Symphonic Association (SSA) was established in the 1970-71 season to solicit donations for the Symphony's operating budget. Gifts ranged from as little as \$5 to more than \$250, and donors received perks or incentives according to the size of their donation including special donor events and the chance to meet the artists.<sup>45</sup>

The 1 December 1962 program cover was a reprint from the 1742 edition of the Messiah, with the oratorio's text and other program notes supplied by Grosvenor W. Cooper of the University of Chicago's Dept. of Music. Over 25 ads from local businesses appeared in the program.<sup>46</sup> The concert was described as "an unusual success playing to a 'standing room only crowd'" at

the Setauket School. By February 1963, community response to the orchestra swelled, and seats for the final concert of the season were sold out.<sup>47</sup> The last concert of the inaugural season on 5 May 1963 consisted of the overture to Rossini's *Barber of Seville*; Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1 in C Major, Op. 15 with soloist Walter Nowick; Fauré's *Pelleas and Melisande* Suite, Op. 80; and Bizet's Suite from *Carmen*.<sup>48</sup> Both Nowick and the soloist for the March 1963 concert, violinist Earl Carlyss, were graduates of the Juilliard School.<sup>49</sup>

At the 1 August 1963 annual meeting of the SSS, members elected new officers, adopted by-laws, and heard a report of the year's activities. So lengthy was the business at hand that a "second half" of the meeting was held on 13



**Figure 3.** Signing of the Certificate of Incorporation, Suffolk Symphonic Society. Left to right: Society Legal counsel Peter Costigan, NY State Supreme Court Justice D. Ormande Ritchie, Prof. Marshall Bialosky  
Society Papers, Special Collections, Melville Library, Stony Brook University

August. Bialosky was reelected President.<sup>50</sup> Vacancies in all four sections of the orchestra were printed in the local papers, and interested musicians were encouraged to contact Westermann or Palmer.<sup>51</sup> A mass mailing to supporters from Bialosky provided the dates and programs for the 1963-64 season. Bialosky reported that Westermann had plans for a larger orchestra this season and had engaged some outstanding professional soloists. Isidore Cohen, former member of the Budapest String Quartet and a member of the Juilliard String Quartet, performed Saint-Saëns' Violin Concerto No. 3 in B minor on 16 May 1964. Cohen was one of the most active violinists in New York at the time. Bialosky gave a pre-concert lecture at the Suffolk Museum the preceding evening.<sup>52</sup> In addition to the Saint-Saëns, the concert included Beethoven's *Egmont Overture*, Op. 84, Debussy's *Petite Suite*, and Grieg's *Peer Gynt Suite*, No. 1, Op. 46.<sup>53</sup>

The orchestra planned another Young People's concert in the new Nassakeag Elementary School. This auditorium would become the new home for the SSO's regular concerts as well. The hall was considered the "most modern and handsome concert and assembly area" in the Three Villages. It boasted a sculpted ceiling, inclined seating, a wide and deep stage, and attractive wooden supporting beams. "Bigger than the oft-used auditorium at the Setauket School," the article stated, "the Nassakeag School auditorium seats half again as many people."<sup>54</sup> Bialosky urged supporters to make contributions as patrons, sponsors or subscribers, promising to list their names in the programs and to reserve the choicest seats in the auditorium. A subscription and contribution card was enclosed in the program for their convenience.<sup>55</sup> At the 27 October 1963 Young People's Concert, Bialosky premiered his *Four Western Scenes* composed especially for the occasion. The four scenes were entitled "Riding a Horse," "Alone on the Prairie," "A Tall Tale," and "Sunset."<sup>56</sup> The composer posed with Westermann as they consulted the score, and the photo was published in a local paper to announce the upcoming concert.<sup>57</sup> When asked why he had composed the work for a local orchestra, Bialosky admitted a preference for having his "music played by people I know are interested in it and who will give it the loving care often lost when the music is played outside of one's own locale."<sup>58</sup> The rest of the program included Smetana's tone poem *The Moldau* and a suite from Tchaikovsky's *The Nutcracker Ballet*, Op. 71. Parents were advised to send their children to school with money ahead of time (tickets were fifty cents each), and their names were recorded by the music teacher for admittance in the event that they lost their tickets.<sup>59</sup>

Profiles of new and continuing symphony members kept the orchestra in the local limelight and advertised upcoming concerts. The focus was often on

wives and mothers with formal musical training and professional experience who were joining the orchestra, whose ranks were currently 40 in number. One such profile read, "Mrs. [Katherine] Curran, married to a former flutist from Juilliard, has been associated with the Houston Symphony before coming to Long Island."<sup>60</sup> Curran's husband, Thomas, owned a local printing firm and served as SSS treasurer and business manager.<sup>61</sup> County Executive H. Lee Dennison declared 8-14 December 1963 "Suffolk Symphonic Week" and commended the Symphony's "singularly high level" of musicianship and yearly children's concert as significant contributions to the cultural enrichment of Suffolk County.<sup>62</sup> At the orchestra's first subscription concert of the season, Dennison presented a citation to the orchestra for its achievements.<sup>63</sup> In early 1964, the SSS announced that it had become a tax-exempt organization and that contributions to it may be deducted from income tax. For \$25 or \$50 donors received season tickets, special seats, and their names listed in the concert programs.<sup>64</sup>

In May 1964, Bialosky accepted the position of Professor of Music and Chairman of the Department of Fine Arts at California State College at Palos Verdes.<sup>65</sup> The "long and hardy" round of applause that concluded the concert was followed by a surprise presentation of an engraved silver bowl to the Bialoskys by the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra and Society for their contribution to the orchestra's growth.<sup>66</sup> At a Board meeting in June, Westermann reported on his attendance at the American Symphony Orchestra League conference in Detroit, which convened representation from 1400 music and arts groups. The minutes convey that the conference addressed problems concerning publicity, subscriptions, and raising money. The dominant problem remained "educating the public to good music. Fund-raising works, flower shows, card parties, fashion shows—anything that will bring in money."<sup>67</sup>

Nearly one thousand community members flocked to an October 1964 children's concert featuring ballet and narration of four scenes from Tchaikovsky's *Swan Lake*, Op. 20. This was more than the Nassakeag School auditorium could hold. When asked to free up seats for children, the adults wandered instead through a student art exhibit in the school hallways. The young audience was reportedly mesmerized by the music, dancing, and costumes, and they showered the ballerinas with bouquets, many of them gathering round to see them up close. A 29 October 1964 review states that the Symphony played with "gusto."<sup>68</sup> A day later, the first negative review describes flawed shifts in tempi and weak playing in the strings, particularly in another piece on the program, Mendelssohn's Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Op. 21, which the critic found especially difficult for the ensemble. Though "the orchestra played reasonably well, [it was] not always in key."<sup>69</sup>

### Early Union Issues

The Society's seeming indifference to union affairs began early in the SSO's development. Beneath the orchestra's boisterous activity and growing popularity in the mid-1960s, palpable tension began brewing between the SSS Board and orchestra members who belonged to the local union. It rose to the surface on three occasions documented by the SSS Board. In the first incident, a union member who played with the SSO filed a complaint with the American Federated Musicians Local 802 that he was not being paid for the current season and had been paid the previous year. Westermann wrote contracts for all union members and had just advised the Board that the union's performance rate would rise to \$45 the following season. At an SSS Board meeting, Westermann confirmed that the musician had been paid according to his contract. But what appeared to be a misunderstanding on the part of the musician was regarded by the SSS Board as an act worthy of punishment. As a result of his complaint, the musician was promptly relieved of his position with the orchestra.<sup>70</sup> The second incident involved several union members in the orchestra who requested that they be paid because of union pressures but said they would return the fee to the SSS to support its efforts. The Brookhaven Symphony was paying them for their work, they argued, and they were keeping that salary. The SSS Board agreed that the union members would be paid. However, rather than acknowledge the generosity of the musicians, the Board refused to list their names in the concert programs as patrons.<sup>71</sup> The use of recording equipment also became an issue. It was reported that a Board member had spent considerable time pacifying the American Federation of Musicians Local 802 with regards to the use of a tape recorder at rehearsals. Under such circumstances, fees would rise from \$31 to \$35. Paying to record rehearsals could have been an investment towards improving musical performance and providing a recorded legacy of the orchestra. However, in response to the union's requirements, the Board unanimously agreed to avoid the use of recording equipment.<sup>72</sup> The quarrelsome banter begun here between the SSS and the SSO's musicians in regard to union issues would reach new heights in the early 1970s, with both sides talking to the press, leading to decisions that would affect the orchestra's future in dramatic ways.

### 1965-1966

Catherine Speh appeared as soloist with the SSO on 6 March 1965, performing Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 23 in A Major (K. 488).<sup>73</sup> Her "ease with difficult passages" and "sense of melodic phrasing and crisp, clear technique, helped to make this work sparkle."<sup>74</sup> A reviewer praised the orchestra as a "constantly improving organization," whose performance of the overture to

Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* displayed its "depth of sound."<sup>75</sup> Cellist Fortunato Arico, whose recent Town Hall recital was favorably received by the *New York Times*, performed Haydn's Cello Concerto in D Major (Hob. VIIIb:2) on 15 May 1965.<sup>76</sup> A critic noted the "disappointing crowd" but praised the Symphony's "precision, clarity, and excellent intonation" in its performance of Mozart's Overture to *The Magic Flute*. "We have a fine orchestra," he admonished the community. "Let's support it."<sup>77</sup>

Due to the "vastly overflowing audience" at the previous year's Young People's Concert, two performances took place on 7 November 1965, at 2 pm and again at 3:30 pm. The program included the Overture to Humperdinck's *Hansel and Gretel*, Smetana's Three Dances from *The Bartered Bride*, and Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf*.<sup>78</sup> Both concerts sold out, and a total of 1200 attended.<sup>79</sup> Even with two performances, some community members could not get tickets. Board members thanked the community and apologized that not all requests for seats could be accommodated.<sup>80</sup> A critic noted intonation problems in the Humperdinck overture, excellent string playing in the "killer" last dance of the Smetana, and good ensemble playing in the Prokofiev.<sup>81</sup> Several children were asked upon exiting the Nassakeag auditorium what they thought of the concert, and they replied, "Fine," "Excellent," and "Great."<sup>82</sup>

The SSO continued to book impressive soloists during the regular season, including violinist Hiroko Yajima. A Fulbright recipient who studied at Juilliard with Ivan Galamian, Yajima performed Mozart's Concerto for Violin No. 3 in G Major (K. 216). Local journalists tried to build on growing public interest by including historical information about composers and the SSO's repertoire in their coverage of the SSO's activities. One writer offered historical background for Yajima's performance, writing that "Mozart, who wrote five violin concertos, is beginning to emerge as a mature musician."<sup>83</sup> Another work on the program, Carl Maria von Weber's Overture to *Der Freischutz*, represented "the beginning of a development in German opera which culminated in music dramas by Richard Wagner."<sup>84</sup> The concluding work, Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5 in E minor, Op. 64, was described as a "masterpiece of orchestration."<sup>85</sup> Another reviewer noted sloppy entrances and intonation problems plaguing the strings and brass during the performance. He believed the tempo for the Weber overture was too slow. Further, "the intonation of the solo French horn [in the Tchaikovsky] was very sharp and the cracking of tones was very noticeable."<sup>86</sup> Yajima, however, "performed flawlessly. Her performance was full of warmth and power. The cadenza in the first movement was perfect. Her phrasing was impeccable. Miss Yajima showed [sic] she is a very sensitive musician. The chamber orchestra provided an excellent background for the soloist."<sup>87</sup> A derogatory abbreviation of "Japanese" in the local paper's



headline blighted an otherwise respectful and complimentary column.<sup>88</sup>

A budget report shows the funds spent for the 1965-66 season totaled \$5,828.68.<sup>89</sup> The Board described the past season as a year of “satisfaction and progress” and looked forward to celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Society during the upcoming season with new board president, Ann Turner. Westermann also accepted his contract for the 1966-67 season.<sup>90</sup> In celebration of the community’s Music Week, a coffee hour and chamber music concert performed by members of the Suffolk Symphony was scheduled for 22 October in the Little Theater of the Humanities Building at SUNY Stony Brook. To accommodate demand, three Children’s concerts were scheduled for 30 October, at 1:00 pm, 3:00 pm and 4:30 pm.<sup>91</sup> They were held in the University gymnasium.<sup>92</sup> In the second concert of the 1966-67 season, the orchestra “played with excellent precision and sensitivity.”<sup>93</sup> In spite of poor intonation at the opening in the lower strings, the orchestra and [a local high school] chorus “truly complemented each other” throughout the Brahms *Requiem*, and the evening concluded with a standing ovation.<sup>94</sup> The concert “contributed to the development of fine musical standards in Suffolk County.”<sup>95</sup>

By 1967, SSS activities in were in full swing. Local artists lent their talents to SSS fundraising efforts. Kitty Hirs, an SSS Board member and Recording Secretary, hosted a benefit at her Stony Book dance studio.<sup>96</sup> Over one hundred students participated in the lecture-dance demonstration and costumed ballet presentation. Tickets were \$1.00 for adults and 50 cents for children.<sup>97</sup> The SSS created a Women’s Guild whose first charge was to sponsor a bridge party and square dance at Setauket’s Old Field Club.<sup>98</sup> Huntington square dance caller, Don Durlacher, and the Top Hands conducted the event. At 11:30 pm, a buffet supper was served by the Club’s *maître d’hôtel*. Door and table prizes were given, and guests were encouraged to dress in keeping with the event’s “Early American” theme.<sup>99</sup> President Turner posed in frontier attire to publicize the event.<sup>100</sup> Large photos published afterwards show Durlacher calling the sets and President Toll among the smiling dancers. Turner estimated the square dance would net a profit of seven hundred dollars.<sup>101</sup>

In anticipation of the 9 December concert, the *Suffolk Sun* declared that “Saturday night is going to be a time to remember in Setauket and Stony Brook. The opening concert of the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra under Huntington’s Clayton Westermann is set for 8:30 pm at the Nassakeag School in Setauket, bringing out attractive, well-dressed music lovers in the vicinity.”<sup>102</sup> Another columnist claimed knowledge of seven pre-concert dinner parties, elaborating on one in particular: “Mrs. Daniel Fuller, one of the hostesses, is so busy at Gallery North in Setauket it’s a wonder she can even think of having a seated

dinner party for 10, but she is. The guests are all sponsors of the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra. It should help the host and hostess that the dinner is being catered—their housekeeper is away—but it still looks like a major undertaking.”<sup>103</sup> Another hostess, Mrs. Pierrepont Twitchell of Old Field, was praised for “doing all the planning and cooking for her nine guests Saturday night.”<sup>104</sup>

The 16 March 1968 concert featured pianist Ursula Oppens, who has since enjoyed a prominent musical career. Oppens graduated *cum laude* from Radcliffe College and earned her Master of Science degree from Juilliard in 1967. A reviewer admired the Symphony’s rendition of Mozart’s Symphony No. 35 in D Major (K. 385), calling the interpretation of the composer’s music “one of the most rigorous tests of musicianship.”<sup>105</sup> The “technically demanding” Overture-Fantasy to Tchaikovsky’s *Romeo and Juliet* demonstrated increased technical prowess and feeling by the ensemble, especially in the cellos and double basses.<sup>106</sup> The concert concluded with Oppens’ performance of Beethoven’s Piano Concerto No. 3 in C minor, Op. 37, and the critic states she displayed a “remarkable amount of pianistic power” with sensitive accompaniment conducted by Westermann.”<sup>107</sup>

SUNY Administrator Dr. Karl Hartzell and his wife Anne hosted a pre-concert dinner party for the 4 May 1968 concert.<sup>108</sup> The program consisted of Beethoven’s Symphony No. 6 in F Major, Op. 68; Dvořák’s Slavonic Dance Op. 46, No. 8; and Telemann’s Suite in A Minor for flute and string orchestra, featuring the SSO’s first flutist Katherine Curran as soloist.<sup>109</sup> Some buzz in the local press occurred due to the appearance of Olga Von Kaltenborn at the post-concert reception in the Nassakeag school cafeteria. “The widow of the well-known commentator who reported World War II from London [Hans Von Kaltenborn],” the article states, “is a charming and articulate person in her own right. She just returned from her winter home in Florida to her summer home in Setauket with a marvelous tan.”<sup>110</sup> Conductor Westermann “looked fit and pleased with the evening despite a recent bout with pneumonia.”<sup>111</sup>

The largest advance sale of tickets in several years was reported in anticipation of the SSO’s seventh season.<sup>112</sup> The 14 December 1968 program opened with Bach’s *Brandenburg* Concerto No. 4 in G Major (BWV 1049) followed by his Cantata No. 51, *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen*, (*Exult in God in All Lands*) with soprano Lois Bové, a fellow faculty member of Westermann’s at Hunter College. Brahms’s *Variations on a Theme by Haydn*, Op. 56 was followed by the world premiere of John Martindale’s *Psalms 98* (*O Sing Unto the Lord a New Song*) for wind quintet and strings.<sup>113</sup> Martindale played clarinet in the SSO and taught instrumental music in the Sachem Central School district.<sup>114</sup> The work was described as exemplary of the “atonal” idiom “yet without

the dissonances sometimes associated with such writing.”<sup>115</sup> The program closed with Berlioz’ *Carnaval Romain* Overture, Op. 9.<sup>116</sup>

The 1 March 1969 program found the orchestra venturing even further into the realm of contemporary music. Press announcements focused far less on orchestra personnel than on publicity, soloists, and commentary about the works performed. The Symphony performed Charles Ives’s *The Unanswered Question* and Igor Stravinsky’s *Firebird Suite*. Pianist Joseph Kalichstein, a Juilliard graduate whose Carnegie Hall debut inspired a *New York Times* critic to call him “a born musician,” performed Beethoven’s Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major, Op. 58 on a Steinway graciously loaned to the SSO by SUNY Stony Brook.<sup>117</sup> The concert began with a symphony by eighteenth-century English composer and organist William Boyce.<sup>118</sup> In his review, music historian Percy Bailey (who also wrote the Symphony’s program notes) identified himself as a “music lover who has followed the birth, growth [and] development of the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra from its inception to the present time.”<sup>119</sup> He exclaimed, “The orchestra has a string section they can be proud of. Of course, they were showing off and what a show it was!”<sup>120</sup> Bailey described *The Unanswered Question* as “interesting [...] but emotionally sterile” and agreed that the enthusiastic applause for Kalichstein was well deserved. The *Firebird* performance was nostalgic “for those of us who had seen the original Diaghilov [sic] ballet.”<sup>121</sup> He concluded, “We can be justly proud of the solid contribution being made by this orchestra to the artistic and cultural foundation of our community.”<sup>122</sup> In a program insert, the SSS thanked listeners for their support and urged them to complete a subscription pledge form and survey for the 1969-70 season. “Your governing board is anxious to have you fill in answers to the following questions,” the form states. “Would you like more classical or more contemporary music? More chamber ensembles? A summer pops concert? A Sunday afternoon concert in mid-winter, rather than an evening concert?”<sup>123</sup> The form reminds listeners to “please patronize our generous advertisers.”<sup>124</sup> Completed forms were collected by “Carnation Girls” during intermission.

On 12 June 1969, the SSS announced a solo competition for instrumentalists in grades 9-12 at 10:00 am on 28 June on the SUNY Stony Brook campus. Invitations were sent to the music departments of sixty-eight schools throughout the townships of Brookhaven, Riverhead, Islip, and Smithtown.<sup>125</sup> Shortly after the competition, the winners were announced in the local press.<sup>126</sup> The judges for the first competition included Westermann and Caldwell. The winners were awarded the privilege of performing as soloists with the Symphony at its Young People’s Concert in October of that year in the SUNY Stony Brook gymnasium.<sup>127</sup>

The Symphony's performance of Respighi's symphonic poem *Fountains of Rome* at the 26 April 1969 concert met with positive reviews, as did Ko Iwasaki's execution of Dvořák's Concerto for Cello and Orchestra in B minor, Op. 104 (B. 191). "You will hear from this 25-year old artist in a very short period of time," wrote one critic. "Mr. Iwasaki demonstrated dexterity beyond belief, excellent interpretation [sic] and heart filling warmth as evidenced by his tone. Believe me," he concluded, "this artist is not afraid to use the bow."<sup>128</sup> The soloist received a standing ovation. A "packed," auditorium was "electrified" by violinist Aaron Rosand's performance of Édouard Lalo's *Symphonie espagnole* in D minor, Op. 21 on 9 December 1969. Rosand had recently been acknowledged as a best-selling LP artist by the *New York Times*. The critic congratulated Westermann on the magnificent job he had done over the last eight years.<sup>129</sup> The Symphony's 1969-70 roster continued with cellist Jeffrey Solow in February and pianist Jung-Ja Kim in April as featured soloists. Both artists had recently received successful reviews from the *New York Times* for performances in New York City.<sup>130</sup>

Long Island residents were more likely to attend a concert if a big-name performer was featured as soloist. Such artists charged big fees, and the organization needed to sell a lot of tickets to make up for the expense. Ticket proceeds, however, were not enough to carry performance groups that lacked the support of foundation or business monies, even with the rent-free use of schools or colleges. In November 1969, leadership of the SSO predicted that the "first concert of the season on 6 December at the Nassakeag School, even with a full house, will not break even. A single concert costs over \$3,000. Our recent Young People's concert held at the State University and attended by over 1200 created a deficit...Generous donations are needed to support these vital aspects of our community life."<sup>131</sup> Funding the Symphony's operations continued to be a regular challenge for the board. The financial peril experienced by the SSS was not at all atypical among the abundance of performance organizations that had proliferated across Nassau and Suffolk counties by 1970. Other orchestras active on the Island at the time included the Great Neck Symphony, the Huntington Symphony conducted by Seymour Lipkin, the Huntington Philharmonia, the East Meadow Community Concert Association, and the Roslyn Music Group. The Orchestra Da Camera, which had established residency in the Mineola public schools in 1969, was known as a "veritable performing arts organization."<sup>132</sup>

Publicity Chairman Elsie Cosby wrote to a local paper to dispel rumors that the orchestra would "go professional" and to announce the Symphony's new venue next season.<sup>133</sup> According to the *Smithtown News*, "What Lincoln Center is to the New York Philharmonic, the new 1600-seat Concert Hall at Haup-

pauge High School has now become to the Suffolk Symphonic Society.”<sup>134</sup> The paper also described the new space’s acoustics, elevated seating and a shell for the orchestra. According to Society directors, moving the series to the new concert hall at Hauppauge would provide 1,000 more symphonic music lovers with the opportunity to attend each concert.<sup>135</sup> *Long Island Press* society columnist Shirley Carlsson admired growth of the arts, writing that “everywhere [on the Island], music, drama and the arts are growing like Topsy to fill the needs of culturally hungry exurbanites and increasingly sophisticated members of the local citizenry.”<sup>136</sup> She said the SSS was planning to expand its activity into other Suffolk towns and to carefully select regional associates to work with them.<sup>137</sup> Local philanthropist and businessman John “Ward” Melville and his wife Dorothy hosted an SSS meeting at Wide Water, their Old Field estate. The evening featured speaker Amyas Ames, Chairman of the Board of New York City’s Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts.<sup>138</sup> According to the *Sunday Daily News*, Hartzell said a goal of the expansion plan was to provide symphonic concerts of “high professional excellence” and to initiate more personal and community involvement, “especially as it affects children of elementary and high school age.”<sup>139</sup> Another goal was to present up to half a dozen Young People’s Concerts a year.<sup>140</sup>

Photos and commentary from the meeting were widely covered in the local press. Ames congratulated the SSS for all it had accomplished in just eight years. In moving to Hauppauge, “you have started the equivalent of a Lincoln Center in Suffolk County. Your whole community is the richer,” Ames said.<sup>141</sup> Stating that “the arts in this country are in real trouble,” Ames called for governmental endowments to support local, county, state and national groups.<sup>142</sup> The Chairman observed that successful communities know how to present live music and to foster the arts. “You are most fortunate,” he told the audience of 100, “to have such able and dedicated people working on this cause.”<sup>143</sup> The expenses of the season amounted to \$39,000, which the SSS hoped to accrue with its concerts, a Symphony Ball, and the annual square dance. Maestro Westermann was especially proud of the Young People’s Concerts.<sup>144</sup> The SSS announced an advance sale of \$15,600 for its 1970-71 concert series, which would begin on 8 December 1970 with none other than Tchaikovsky Competition winner Van Cliburn as soloist.

### 1970-1971

Cliburn’s appearance with the SSO was a milestone for the community ensemble, and the local press capitalized on Cliburn’s celebrity. “The New York Philharmonic has 128 years behind its present state of eminence,” one article

stated. "It has taken just eight years for the Suffolk Symphonic Society to grow from a small amateur community orchestra to its present highly professional excellence."<sup>145</sup> Cliburn was scheduled to perform Rachmaninoff's Concerto for Piano No. 2 in C minor, Op. 18 alongside a program that included William Boyce's Symphony No. 3 in C major and Beethoven's Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92.<sup>146</sup> The date of the concert, 8 December 1970, was called "V-Day" by some of the local papers.<sup>147</sup> In pursuit of musical excellence, Westermann began to weed out players not capable of playing more difficult music.

"The exciting musical world of the big city came to our local suburban scene last Tuesday," one reporter recalled after the concert.<sup>148</sup> During the third movement of the Beethoven Symphony, "Westermann appeared to allow himself a small smile. Well, he should have. The orchestra he had nurtured and developed through difficult years was bounding into maturity this night, preparing to perform with one of the world's greatest musicians. The long ovation it drew was richly deserved."<sup>149</sup> The intermission grew long in anticipation of Cliburn's appearance. Unbeknownst to the audience, the pianist was still on the Long Island Expressway in a car driven by SSS treasurer Curran. While Curran had driven to the city in ample time to "fetch his illustrious passenger," they had stopped by the Russian Tea Room for a container of orange juice.<sup>150</sup> Van Cliburn did not eat before his concerts and routinely drank juice for sustenance. "We left 57th Street at 8:20 pm and made it to the auditorium at 9:20," Curran said. "A couple of times I was afraid we'd miss the concert."<sup>151</sup> With just five minutes to spare, Van Cliburn ambled on stage, tall and gangling in white tie and tails, and at 36, "looking remarkably like the boyish Texan who had set the Russians and the entire world on their ears in 1958 when he won the Tchaikovsky Competition in Moscow."<sup>152</sup>

Cliburn's performance, which took place after intermission, was called "dazzling," by the press.<sup>153</sup> The pianist

played masterfully, without a score before him. His long thin wrists glided in graceful arcs. From time to time his eyes shut and he gazed blindly upwards. And repeatedly his lips pursed, his brow frowned in concentration, as if he were evaluating his own performance. At the conclusion he shook hands warmly with Westermann and the first violinist, Caldwell. After a standing ovation and three curtain calls, he attended a brief reception where he signed autographs for sponsors and benefactors of the orchestra. He was then taken for a midnight dinner. Over the meal he told Westermann and Curran something that, after nine years of struggling,

must have taken their breath away. "You have a beautiful orchestra out here," said Cliburn. "It's just a beautiful instrument."<sup>154</sup>

Another reviewer simply said that "Van Cliburn IS phenomenal."<sup>155</sup> The Boyce and Beethoven Symphonies were performed "splendidly," although the critic found the acoustics of the Hauppauge High School auditorium to be muffled in the rear and central parts of the stage, where the winds and brasses were located. The "addition of more professional members this year," he claimed, "has added to the quality of the tone."<sup>156</sup>

Although the SSS paid \$8,000 for Cliburn's performance, ticket prices, the press noted, were kept modest (\$14-22 for the entire season), a reflection of "the basic philosophy of the Suffolk Symphonic Society, that it was founded on and continues to exist as a self-supporting non-profit corporation to enrich Suffolk residents with good symphonic music."<sup>157</sup> Curran said, "We've always been able to wrestle with our own financial problems and have been able to squeeze into the black," even while offering the expensive Young People's Concerts, which were presented at a loss.<sup>158</sup> While 1,350 subscriptions had already been sold in December 1970, 250 were still available.<sup>159</sup> The theatre community supported the orchestra as well. Port Jefferson's Theatre Three presented two original plays by Old Field playwright Hank Warner on a Friday night at the Carriage House in Stony Brook. The show was followed by a wine and cheese party at the Three Village Inn. One hundred and fifty people attended, including the Tolls and the Hartzells, and proceeds from the event went to the Symphony.<sup>160</sup> The SSS's "happy state of solvency" was "the envy of other orchestra boards."<sup>161</sup> Residents of the area "had little choice of other musical events, so they supported their orchestra and its fund-raising events with great enthusiasm and generosity."<sup>162</sup>

In a December 1970 memo, two board members critiqued aspects of the Cliburn concert and reception:

Need more orange drink! Also move the drink tables away from the auditorium a bit. There was quite a crush of humanity during intermission, partly because of their location. More planning needed on reception guests meeting the artists. Van Cliburn mingled beautifully, a less gregarious artist will be overwhelmed and uncomfortable. The concert was a great success. Hats off to you, Tom [Curran], for your genius. I have never seen more beautifully designed and printed programs anywhere or in any town. They are spectacular! The season tickets are sold out, but we still cannot relax yet. We should jump right in on selling our remaining Association events and other activities and not lose this momentum

we now have going for us. Let's strive for a reputation for sell-outs to all events. Lastly, could we manage to furnish a finer quality cookie? When one has donated \$100 and or \$250, he deserves to be fed more than slice and bake cookies. The punch was magnificent, but I would still like to see the drink be champagne. It is more fitting. Ann, the Guild did a great job!<sup>163</sup>

The Guild also debuted its "Visual Preludes" series. The Guild's Education Committee wanted to enhance the entry into the high school auditorium, increase awareness of other art forms among concert audiences, and to spotlight and encourage Long Island artists. A separate program was distributed to ticketholders as they arrived.<sup>164</sup>

SSS President Anne Hartzell thanked Leighton Phraner for his positive review of a 13 February 1971 concert featuring cellist Leonard Rose. "Since we are not a professional orchestra entirely," she wrote, "major newspapers on Long Island are not interested in sending a critic to our concerts."<sup>165</sup> However, the recent successes of the Symphony were soon to reach beyond the local press. In his March 1971 article for the *New York Times*, music critic Theodore Strongin observed that the "Suffolk Symphony is Growing; Noted Soloists Attest to Its Quality."<sup>166</sup> He continued:

The world at large is cutting budgets, retrenching on commitments and talking poor. But not the Suffolk Symphony. For the current season, the society splurged. During 1969-70, with a budget of \$15,000 it gave three concerts in a hall seating 600 people. For 1970-71 it moved to a 1,600-seat hall in Hauppauge High School, raised its budget to \$45,000 and engaged Van Cliburn, Leonard Rose and Tossy Spivakovsky as soloists for its three concerts. Every seat was sold, and hundreds of people were turned away.<sup>167</sup>

Those interviewed for the article included Curran, who concurred. "When everyone was hanging back and cutting...we decided to go all out."<sup>168</sup> Westermann praised the musicians, whose ranks he increased from 40 to 85 and seventy percent of whom were professional players. "Many of the amateurs are former pros," he noted. "Those doctors at Brookhaven [National Lab], some of them could have been professional musicians."<sup>169</sup> Westermann also commended the SSS Board. "They leave me alone when it comes to the music," he stated. "One of the reasons for our success is this successful relationship."<sup>170</sup> He continued to preside at the auditions for local talent, as indicated in a 1971 announcement.<sup>171</sup>





**Figure 4.** Suffolk Symphony concert, 8 December 1970, Hauppauge High School, Long Island New York. From left to right: Clayton Westermann, conductor; Donald Caldwell, concertmaster; Van Cliburn, pianist. Society Papers, Special Collections, Melville Library, Stony Brook University

By 1971, none of the symphony board members played in the orchestra. Instead, its members took pride in the Symphony and worked tirelessly on its behalf. SSS President Ann Turner remembered the early days of soliciting support. “There was a crisis at every single concert. There was a lot of hard work going from door to door selling tickets and program ads.”<sup>172</sup> For one performance, they forgot to have the piano tuned, and while such mishaps hardly mattered when the SSO was comprised of amateur volunteers, increased professionalization among the performing musicians required greater attention to such details. “A few years ago, it hardly got as far as the second measure of ‘The Bartered Bride,’ [but] this year Van Cliburn was surprised at how good we were, and Leonard Rose said, ‘Superb!’”<sup>173</sup> Upcoming concerts featuring soloists Nathan Milstein, Vladimir Ashkenazy, and Shirley Verrett were expected to sell out. Curran sought support in order to double the number of concerts with a separate subscription series. “We need to offer the community much more,” he said.<sup>174</sup> The Symphony concluded the 1970-1971 season, “the most successful season in its ten year history,” with Spivakovsky performing Brahms’s Concerto for Violin and Orchestra in D Major, Op. 77. Westermann was highly praised for his rendition of Hindemith’s

Symphony: *Mathis der Maler*. His conducting was declared “a thing of love, as he was a student of Hindemith at Yale.”<sup>175</sup>

Interestingly, urban planner Robert Moses (who designed the Cross Bronx Expressway among other major projects in New York City) was named Honorary Chairman of the SSS’s 1971-72 concert series.<sup>176</sup> Moses enthusiastically accepted the chairmanship at an assembly of more than 175 officers and friends of the Symphony at the estate of Mr. and Mrs. Ward Melville in Old Field on 19 September 1971. In his remarks at the event, he stressed that Suffolk County could better accommodate “physical plants, [sic] needed to serve suburban cultural explosions than the cramped, expensive vertical land sites in Manhattan.” He continued with a message surely meant to inspire the SSS:

The L.I. suburbs of Gotham stretch farther and farther east as transportation improves and are more and more on their own. They no longer need to beat their way into town for goods, clothes, food, amusements and big shows, events and displays. They are establishing attractive cultural facilities near home. You have a civilization of your own and no longer need to lift up the tabernacle in the wilderness. You can have right here almost everything the city affords without noise, tension and congestion.

The Suffolk Symphonic Society presents the performing arts in forms not inferior to those at Lincoln Center and in an atmosphere and setting much more conducive to calm enjoyment. Suffolk has no more significant and promising civic enterprise to support than its Symphonic Society.<sup>177</sup>

At a reception following the meeting complete with a musical interlude provided by alternate winners of the recent Young Artists’ Competition, Moses told Society President Anne Hartzell, “The Symphony has hitched its wagon to the stars---keep it hitched...I’ll help pull it.”<sup>178</sup>

In its first decade, the SSO evolved from a group of Three Village musicians into a mature semi-professional orchestra with membership from across the Island. It reached the height of its success with a sold-out 8 December 1970 concert featuring pianist Van Cliburn performing Rachmaninoff’s Concerto No. 2 at Hauppauge High School. Programs with cellist Leonard Rose and violinist Tossy Spivakovsky rounded out the 1970-71 season, and the Suffolk Symphonic Society had even more ambitious plans for the orchestra. The heady successes and further ambitions of the SSS during the SSO’s first ten years were followed by a more sobering and turbulent decade of economic challenges, dissension from the musicians and their union, and turmoil

among board members and professional staff. The orchestra would continue to rise in stature, but its financial state and standing in the community would be questioned.

### 1971-1979

The Symphony's relationship with the New York State Council of the Arts (NYSCA) figures more prominently in its second chapter. NYSCA was established in 1960 as the first American government agency dedicated to general arts patronage, using the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB) as a model. According to Governor Nelson Rockefeller, NYSCA, like the ACGB, sought "to supplement private support to the arts."<sup>179</sup> The organization's power over arts funds throughout the state gave NYSCA disproportionate influence on performing arts activities, including those of the SSO.<sup>180</sup>

In the fall of 1972, the SSS Financial Committee embarked on an ambitious plan to expand the upcoming season with monthly performances to bring the SSO up to the same level as other Long Island orchestras. "Once again," the committee announced, "we set the pace for the culture...on Long Island."<sup>181</sup> Plans for expansion, the committee hoped, would reach an audience of ten thousand, generate additional income, and provide greater economic stability for the SSO. The goal was to achieve "Metropolitan" status, defined by the American Symphony Orchestra League according to annual budgets: community, \$100,000 or under prior to 1967, \$50,000 or under thereafter; urban, \$50,000-\$99,999; metropolitan, \$100,000-\$499,000; and major, \$500,000 and over prior to 1976, \$1,500,000 thereafter.<sup>182</sup> Orchestras with larger budgets could offer longer seasons, attract competitive players, and hire top guest artists. Between 1969 and 1972, the SSO's annual budget grew from \$14,000 to \$55,000, and this growth is reflected in the parallel growth of season ticket holders, which rose from 400 to 1,350.<sup>183</sup> Journalists and musicians alike began to wonder if it was conceivable to build an orchestra of this stature from within a suburban community.<sup>184</sup>

The Society paid a \$6,000 fee for a concert with pianist Andre Watts in December; afterward, Watts praised the orchestra in an interview with Howard Schneider from *Newsday*.<sup>185</sup> The effort to grow audiences with prestigious soloists paid off. One longtime resident of Suffolk County said it was the first time she had heard a symphony. "I had never heard of the fellow in the first half [Béla Bartók] but I heard [sic] of Tchaikovsky. I would like to go again. I have teenagers so I don't have to tell you what we listen to at home."<sup>186</sup> Columnist Shirley Carlsson offered an upbeat reflection to the *Long Island Press*:

Where else could one find 90 miles of constantly changing countryside filled with so many diversified yet satisfying programs for widely divergent tastes? ...For [fund-raising] benefits, it's possible to be supportive wherever they are, and for the culturally hungry, the possibilities are never-ending.

Just for example, we offer the always busy members of the Suffolk Symphonic Society and their current plans. Under the leadership of Anne (Mrs. Karl) Hartzell and the very large group of people who take an active part in the dynamic organization, they have grown in less than a dozen years from a neighborhood symphony to [a] truly county-wide cultural achievement.<sup>187</sup>

Extolling the group as a "Symphony of the People," columnist Lee Dunaief noted that in the ten years since it had collected funds from two hundred charter members, the SSO had never received a single cash contribution over \$300. Dunaief credited the dedicated volunteers of the Women's Guild, who undertook fund-raising projects, obtained donations, mailed thousands of promotional letters, and sponsored social functions. On 11 November 1971 at the Bethpage State Park Clubhouse, NYSCA granted the Suffolk Symphony \$3,500 toward the cost of its Young People's Concert, a favorite program of the SSS and the public since the orchestra's inception, and whose ticket prices were deliberately kept low. Society president Anne Hartzell expressed surprise at the grant, as state funds had been cut that year, requests for aid had risen sharply, and funds were usually granted to symphonies operating in the red, which at this time had never been a problem for the Suffolk Symphony. But even with the Society's budget in the black, plans for a longer season were quickly undermined by finances dependent upon patron subscriptions and as many social events as the Guild could muster.<sup>188</sup> Even the cost of renting the Hauppauge High School auditorium had gone up exponentially from an initial charge of \$400 in 1961 to \$3,000 in 1973.<sup>189</sup> Confidently, the SSO forged ahead with its plan for six concerts during the 1973-74 season including performances by soprano Anna Moffo, pianists Alicia de Larrocha, Rudolf Firkušný and Misha Dichter, violinist Pinchas Zukerman, and cellist Zara Nelsova.<sup>190</sup>

In a 1971 *New York Times* profile, Theodore Strongin noted that none of the board members now played in the orchestra.<sup>191</sup> This was a critical juncture for the Symphony. The organic process of musicians developing their own ensemble was now lost. Increased professionalization of the SSO cleaved the SSO and SSS into separate, non-communicating entities and fostered tensions between the organizations. And like the aforementioned incidents

during the mid-1960s, which occurred during the early rise of the orchestra, the SSS Board's responses to union-related questions and concerns were again repressive and punitive. In early 1974, some musicians in the orchestra fought to unionize the entire symphony so that they would receive union-scale wages for rehearsals, transportation, cartage, and concerts. Once a contract was signed with Local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians, the SSS opted to use the higher wage structure to attract full-time professional musicians from the city.<sup>192</sup> According to SSS Executive Director Maria Vollmer, "the important thing with us is that all our musicians are completely professional, make their living entirely from performing. We decided that as long as we had to pay union scale [\$57 a concert and \$28.50 for rehearsals] we might as well get full professionals."<sup>193</sup> This change in philosophy edged out the teachers who had helped found the orchestra and other dedicated amateur performers throughout the community. The musicians objected, as this was surely not the outcome they had intended.<sup>194</sup> Transitioning from community to professional orchestras was becoming a national issue. In 1976, the ASOL held a session on "growing pains" at its annual conference in Boston. Pat Holm, director of the League's division of community and urban orchestras, advised management not to antagonize the local musicians. "Management is afraid of musicians," Holm said, "and yet so many of their problems would be taken care of if they would give them a voice, if not a vote."<sup>195</sup>

SSS Board President Thomas Curran went to New York to speak with the union about the grievances posed by the Suffolk Symphony's musicians.<sup>196</sup> The discussions failed, however, and the orchestra's Board met that evening. After the meeting, Curran announced his resignation, the concert scheduled for the following Saturday with pianist Mischa Dichter was canceled, and the union was notified by telegram of the board's actions.<sup>197</sup> Board members claimed that a new energy conservation policy at the high school had also required them to find a new practice venue for the SSO, so they proposed holding rehearsals in New York City.<sup>198</sup> A number of SSO members from Nassau and Suffolk protested the New York travel and received union support. Acting SSS President Estelle Mueller declared, "We have...tried to give Suffolk the best there is, and I will not see the Society sunk by a few selfish people."<sup>199</sup>

In early April, the SSS Board announced it would cancel an upcoming concert with Nelsova to avoid a loss of \$15,000 on the season. Mueller explained that "we just felt with all the hassling and harassment by a few musicians...that this was the best thing to do."<sup>200</sup> The Board also decided to cut back to just three concerts for its 1974-75 season which would feature violin virtuoso Jaime Laredo, pianist Grant Johannesen, and soprano Leontyne Price.<sup>201</sup>

The SSO needed professional management and business talent as well as professional musical expertise.<sup>202</sup> Ralph Lorr accepted the position of contractor for the 1974-1975 season.<sup>203</sup> In the 1940s, Lorr played bassoon for Arturo Toscanini and the NBC Symphony. He taught at Indiana University from 1956-1957 and was active as a music editor and publisher. Since 1958, he had been a co-founder, artistic director and business manager of Long Island's Orchestra Da Camera.<sup>204</sup> His wife Flori was a trombonist for Leonard Bernstein and the New York City Symphony. When they moved to Massapequa, they found very little activity for full-time musicians. They worked to get government funding for the Da Camera and set up that orchestra's in-school programs and season concert series. The group took up residence at North Babylon Senior High School for rehearsals and provided several hundred performances at Long Island schools each year. The 34 members of the ensemble, most of them Long Islanders, earned about \$10,000 annually. Herbert Grossman was one of Da Camera's corps of five conductors. Fifteen of its former members went on to play with the New York Philharmonic.<sup>205</sup>

On 8 September 1975, Lorr sent Society President Marge Stroker a copy of an agreement he made with the union on behalf of the SSS. "In plain language," he wrote, "it says we can for all intents and purposes do anything we please as regards the personnel of the orchestra. I'll go over all the fine points when we meet."<sup>206</sup> The continuing dispute between the union and the SSS Board threatened the start of its 1975-76 season. In October, the American Federation of Musicians forbade its members from playing with the Suffolk Symphony during its upcoming concert season unless a labor dispute between the union and the orchestra's board of trustees was resolved. Any union musician who performed with the SSO could face severe disciplinary action by the union.

"Discrimination by the Suffolk Symphonic Board of Directors is inherent in the nature of its hiring practices," wrote former concertmaster Donald Caldwell in an editorial for the *Village Times*.<sup>207</sup> "The Board employs a contractor who hires players for each concert. Furthermore, this contractor has admitted that he is not familiar with the players in Suffolk County. And there are no auditions! Therefore, how can the Suffolk player compete with the New York City player when the sole decision to hire is made by a contractor who deals with and whose loyalties extend to City musicians? I challenge the board to establish impartial auditions to test all members of the orchestra. Then the musicians selected should be assured the full season and in turn, should agree to play the full season. All permanent symphony orchestras follow these procedures." Caldwell sought to clarify additional issues: "First, WE DO NOT INSIST ON AN ALL-SUFFOLK ORCHESTRA," he wrote. "To do so would be as unwise and



**Figure 5.** Suffolk Symphony Orchestra concert, 27 August 1978, Fine Arts Plaza, Stony Brook University. Society Papers, Special Collections, Melville Library, Stony Brook University

self-defeating as the present policy. We do not even insist on an all-Long Island group. What we do insist on is a policy establishing criteria that would provide for equal treatment for local musicians.”<sup>208</sup> The *Village Times* published a letter from the SSS Board in which its members defended their “objective of establishing professional symphonic music in Suffolk County [and expanding its] base of community support. With a much appreciated backing from well over 150 individuals and corporate donors, many advertisers, 250 Symphonic Guild members, and our aggregate total of some 5,000 concert-goers, we are indeed the Suffolk Symphony!”<sup>209</sup> The letter concludes with the Society’s “intention...to offer Suffolk musicians, who meet our qualifications, an opportunity to audition for membership in the orchestra.”<sup>210</sup>

In a letter dated 8 October 1976, violist Mildred Perlow of Hempstead (Nassau County), N.Y. wrote to the Board:

Dear Sirs!

In response to your ad in the L.I. Press I am enclosing my resume.

In the past your orchestra has been pleased with my performance and I'm therefore surprised that I have not already heard from you this season. I also do not understand why my resume needs to verify my qualifications. But perhaps you were not aware that Long Island players have also played the field and experienced playing in the "Big Apple."

Even after having played with some of the greats, I never felt that I was denigrating myself to play with Suffolk Symphony.

Sincerely yours,  
Mildred Perlow<sup>211</sup>

In pencil at the top of Perlow's letter is written "Non-Suffolk." A form letter, signed by Lorr, was sent to letters in this category:

Thank you for your resume. Our notice in Long Island publications requested resumes from qualified musicians residing in Suffolk County. Since you obviously do not come under the Suffolk resident category, we cannot consider your application with the same interest that qualified Suffolk residents will receive.

I am, however, happy to have your resume in our files for future consideration.<sup>212</sup>

To last season's Suffolk Symphony resident musicians who sent in resumes, Lorr replied,

Dear \_\_\_\_\_,

Thank you for your resume. As you know I and the Society are already acquainted with you on a professional level.

The newspaper notices were published with the intent of locating qualified symphonic musicians residing in Suffolk County who are unknown to me.<sup>213</sup>

As negotiations wore on, the first concert of the season, with soprano Marilyn Horne, took place on 6 December 1975.<sup>214</sup> A *Newsday* critic gave the concert superlative reviews.<sup>215</sup> SUNY Stony Brook Professor David Lawton conducted a Suffolk Symphony Young People's Concert on 27 March 1976 and gave a pre-concert lecture to the Guild.<sup>216</sup> The Beaux Arts Trio's performance of Beethoven's Triple Concerto in C with the orchestra, conducted by



John Mauceri in April, was described as “delightful.”<sup>217</sup> A *Village Times* critic called the Suffolk Symphony a “truly outstanding community orchestra” and bemoaned the fact that this last concert of the season would have to sustain concertgoers through a “symphony-less” summer.<sup>218</sup> However, concertgoers leaving the Symphony’s 22 May 1976 Commencement Concert at the University encountered musicians protesting the Board’s hiring practices outside the venue, carrying signs that read, “We Believe in Truth in Labeling” and “Where is the Suffolk in Suffolk Symphony?”<sup>219</sup>

### Changes of Leadership

Under Westermann’s thirteen-year tenure, the SSO grew in size and musical ability, thanks to his prodigious talent, academic credentials and work ethic. Westermann also played an integral administrative role—auditioning and weeding out players, writing contracts, judging competitions and engaging with the press. His sudden resignation in 1975 came as a shock to the Long Island community:

Dear Members of the Board,

At your meeting of May 31st, you voted to initiate a series of guest conductors for the 1976-1977 concert season. You know, of course that my advisement on this matter was not sought, and in effect normal prerogatives and responsibilities of a music director were absorbed by the board.

The intention is clear—that my services as music director are no longer required. It has always been my objective to carry out the will of the board of directors, and as I see it, it is now necessary to tender my resignation.

Respectfully submitted,  
Clayton Westermann<sup>220</sup>

With Westermann’s departure, the orchestra faced the unknown, and his duties were redistributed among new personnel.

In the summer of 1976, the search was on for a new permanent conductor of the Suffolk Symphony. Notes from a Society Executive Committee meeting indicate concern that the decision not be left up to Lorr. <sup>221</sup> Karl Hartzell called Lorr a “dangerous man,” although he conceded that the Board was “grateful to him for the last year. We are naïve compared to Ralph Lohr [sic]” Hartzell writes.<sup>222</sup> His reflections concur with the dissenting musicians’ claim that there is a “conflict of interest” on the part of Lorr, and they convey a fear

that the Orchestra Da Camera might take over the Suffolk Symphony. "Can't give him the responsibility," Hartzell frets in writing. "Can't get rid of Ralph Lohr".<sup>223</sup> This paints a different picture than the local press, which indicated that Lorr had undivided support.<sup>224</sup> Still, a collaborative affiliation between the Da Camera and the Suffolk Symphony continued to emerge.

In February 1977, Lorr wrote to SSS Board President Joseph Herbison:

Dear Joe,

During the past three years I have worked with enthusiasm and pleasure as I witnessed the Suffolk Symphony mature into an ever more beautiful organization. Flori and I both share this joy of seeing a beautiful orchestra develop.

I think now, after three years, the Suffolk Symphonic Society also views with appreciation and pleasure the orchestra personnel we share in common. Flori and I, on behalf of the Orchestra Da Camera, would like this concept of sharing to increase. Ultimately we conceive of the Orchestra Da Camera and the Suffolk Symphonic Society as full collaborating partners in the business of bringing fine music to the people of Long Island, culminating in the not too distant future in a complete merger.<sup>225</sup>

Lorr proposed that the Suffolk Symphonic Society sponsor the Orchestra Da Camera in a series of three all-Mozart concerts conducted by James Conlon. The Orchestra Da Camera would pay all artistic, administrative and promotional costs.<sup>226</sup> In September 1977, Herbison expressed his gratitude to Lorr for his efforts: "Thank you and Bless you! Ralph, I truly believe that the vision we saw several years ago is on the verge of becoming a reality. And much of the credit goes to you and your knowledge, understanding, and above all, patience. We do appreciate you." <sup>227</sup>

By the end of the year it appeared that the transition of the Suffolk Symphony from an amateur community orchestra to a professional one was complete. In October, the Orchestra Da Camera, the oldest of Long Island's professional orchestras, enjoyed a \$400,000 budget, thirteen season concerts, including three in conjunction with the Suffolk Symphony, and continued to perform 300 concerts in schools on the Island. The Da Camera was now the core of the Suffolk Symphony, with its thirty-five pieces supplemented with "pick-up" musicians to bring its full strength up to seventy-five players. The Suffolk Symphony offered two three-concert subscription series in Dix Hills and Hauppauge and seven other touring performances. Its annual budget was \$155,000. It made up the difference between operating costs and subscrip-

tion income with money from agencies such as NYSCA, the Suffolk County legislature, and fundraising. The Society's Executive Committee approved Lorr's annual salary of \$9,000 including the leasing of a car, mileage and phone calls.<sup>228</sup> In a meeting with arts consultant Mark Jones, Lorr estimated that he and Flori carried out the work of about four staff members.<sup>229</sup>

The Suffolk Symphony merger with the Orchestra Da Camera met with approval in the press. "Two very good things have happened to the Suffolk Symphony recently," wrote *Newsday's* Peter Goodman. "The first was the appointment of James Conlon as conductor. The second was the affiliation with the Orchestra Da Camera, a veteran Long Island organization." The November 1977 program included Weber's Oberon Overture, Schumann's Symphony No. 2 in C Major, Op. 61 and Gershwin's Piano Concerto in F [sic]. Goodman called soloist Lorin Hollander's performance "marvelous," and concluded, "The Suffolk Symphony showed us that it is worthy of being judged by rigorous standards."<sup>230</sup>

The Society had at least one talented fundraiser it could have fought harder to retain. In a memo to the SSS Board in early March 1978, Maria Vollmer outlined some of the accomplishments she had carried out in the past three years. She set up a new financial ledger so that the Board could know more accurately what actual cash was at hand. She clarified confusing financial figures on the Symphony's applications to NYSCA in 1975 that ensured and even increased its funding. Vollmer's talents for fundraising "personally brought into the coffers," \$11,200 in 1977. In 1978, she wrote, "I once again have done some fundraising on my own: \$4,700 in program ads; \$3,400 from Northville Industries...\$500 from the Wisser Co.; \$150 from Central Savings Bank for summer concert programs – a total of \$8,750."<sup>231</sup> Vollmer stated, "I have devoted not only working days but long nights and week-ends [sic] to Symphony business...I have permitted the Suffolk Symphony to invade my private life and my pocketbook because I believe in it."<sup>232</sup>

Vollmer played a major role in arranging for the taping and broadcasting of the Symphony's 11 March 1978 performance on Long Island radio station WALK.<sup>233</sup> When Vollmer was hired in 1975 she accepted a salary \$3,000 less than she had originally asked for, and "far less than my equals in arts management."<sup>234</sup> She was disappointed that the raise verbally promised to her by the Board had never materialized. She also expressed frustration with the Board's "unilateral action in restructuring the staffing of the business office," which "relegated me to the position of being the clerk of the office assisted by volunteers."<sup>235</sup> These and other concerns led to her resignation on 16 March 1978.<sup>236</sup> Had a mechanism for promotion been in place, perhaps Vollmer's

clerical responsibilities could have been delegated and her energies channeled exclusively towards fundraising to the benefit of the Society.

The following month, Board member John Ettelson expressed concerns about Vollmer's successor and Lorr's growing power in the Symphony. "I cannot accept the possibility of Mr. Lorr's assumption of all or part of Maria Vollmer's present duties as well as his own which would make him director of the Suffolk Symphony," he wrote.<sup>237</sup> "The Executive Director [that] the Suffolk Symphony needs is a younger man or woman with vision, business management experience, fundraising ability, marketing and P.R. background, and the will to press the Board into action to carry out our expected growth and expansion. Mr. Lorr lacks these qualities...We are in a critical transition time, and we need that new Executive Director now. Not several years from now."<sup>238</sup> According to Ettelson, no one on the Suffolk Symphony Board knew that Lorr's critically-acclaimed but less-than-profitable Mozart series would be repeated until conductor James Conlon announced it from the podium at the conclusion of the final concert on April 9.<sup>239</sup> To avoid further discord, and after consideration of more than thirty candidates for Executive Director, the Board hired Thomas J. Parker, a former member of the administrative staff of the Detroit Symphony.<sup>240</sup>

Lorr's last communication with the Society in the archive is from January 1979. In it, he explains his urgent request that a check be deposited with the Musician's Union to cover the orchestra payroll for the 13 January performance. It "undoubtedly raised a few eyebrows," he wrote. "By quietly assuming financial responsibility for each concert I was acting in an overprotective manner towards the Suffolk Symphony. But in addition, since the Society is constantly involved in a 'hand to mouth,' existence [sic] my behavior was akin to signing a \$10,000 note in advance of each concert and it caused me great personal anxiety."<sup>241</sup> There is little on record which describes the Lorr's professional activities beyond these years. Board member Joseph R. Herbison's 1984 dissertation about the Da Camera states that it had recently celebrated twenty-five seasons of community and public-school concert productions. But the ensemble's future was uncertain, and Herbison expressed concern that the Da Camera organization would eventually "not be able to withstand" any reduced energies or involvement of its founders.<sup>242</sup>

In a 1979 letter to the Symphony Guild, Hartzell explained that the Suffolk Symphony's accrual of debt had persuaded the Board to move forward with a second merger, this time between the Suffolk and Long Island Symphonies. He confirmed that discussions between the two orchestra boards had begun as early as November of 1978.<sup>243</sup> The Suffolk Symphony's deteriorating finan-

cial picture had already caused some Board members to resign, as they were not in a position either to give or to raise amounts sufficient to balance the budget. Adequate support from a private endowment was fast becoming an impossible dream. It was then that singer/songwriter Harry Chapin initiated talks between the boards of the Suffolk Symphony, the Long Island Symphony, and NYSCA.<sup>244</sup>

Chapin, who had moved to Huntington Bay, Long Island in 1972, was an active fundraiser for the Performing Arts Foundation in Huntington Station, where he was Chairman of the Board.<sup>245</sup> With his success in putting the Performing Arts Foundation on solid financial ground, he offered to spend two years raising funds for one orchestra, if the Long Island and Suffolk Symphonies agreed to dissolve. Chapin was convinced that businesses would be less confused as to whom to support and that there would be twice as much money available for a single major orchestra. The goal was to build a first-rate orchestra on par with the Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse Symphonies, if not the New York Philharmonic itself, and to have a selection process to make this result possible. Hartzell emphasized that the support of the Guild was still very much needed, especially in the areas of ticket sales, receptions, subscriptions, advertising and fundraising, and thanked the Guild members for their continued loyalty.<sup>246</sup>

The local press got hold of the developments. "It was originally a local baby," wrote journalist Susan Bridson. "Now the Suffolk Symphony is one of two major orchestras on Long Island—and may be 'dissolved' in order to form a new group with the Long Island Symphony. The new venture, tentatively called, 'The Long Island Philharmonic,' and still very much in the talking stage, could mean Long Island will have one major orchestra rather than two provincial ones."<sup>247</sup> Hartzell confirmed that NYSCA was strongly behind the idea of a single symphony. At the time, the Long Island Symphony reported a projected 1979 budget of \$440,000, and the Suffolk Symphony's was \$155,000. Both groups were awarded \$5,000 by NYSCA to study the possible dissolution of their orchestras in order to form a new group. It was thought that dissolution would solve any labor problems by erasing current commitments and making it possible for the resultant single symphony to have first-rate musicians, management, and conductor. The new orchestra might perform in Hauppauge, but also Huntington, Hempstead, at SUNY Stony Brook and other venues on the East End of Long Island.

At the end of March 1979, Hartzell wrote a letter of thanks to Chapin for paying the \$17,000 of debt owed to Board members. The Society decided to forge ahead with its final concert with pianist Emanuel Ax so that Board

members could “complete our season and go out with our heads high—a matter of group pride.”<sup>248</sup> It was also thought that it would be better to avoid any further negative press and to retain the audience that had been built at Hauppauge for the new symphony.<sup>249</sup> NYSCA made payment of the remainder of debt possible for both orchestras in order to carry out the merger so that a new orchestra could start with a clean financial slate.<sup>250</sup> Parker confirmed that the SSS was donating its mailing list of 5,000 names and 1,000 subscribers along with the Smithtown Arts Council’s mailing list of 23,000 names to the new symphony. “The section of our Charter on ‘dissolution,’” Hartzell wrote to Chapin, indicates that there will be no difficulty about transferring our assets, including any leftover cash, to the new Board.”<sup>251</sup> By the end of the 1978-79 season, the Guild’s various activities—its sales, trips, parties, brunches, recitals and auctions—had earned over \$5,000, half of which was donated to the Society.<sup>252</sup>

The press announced the imminent end of the Symphony. “A musical organization which began its life 18 years ago in the Three Villages will give its last performance and melt into the cultural history of Long Island on May 5,” wrote journalist Dan Sreebny.<sup>253</sup> “The organization is the Suffolk Symphony. This year, both it and the Long Island Symphony will cease to exist, and a new group will arise to serve all of Long Island. While the symphonies broaden their geographic horizons, however, local residents will always remember the Suffolk Symphony as the community orchestra of the Three Villages.”<sup>254</sup> Parker commented, “It’s not a merger. It’s a way to get the best out of both organizations.”<sup>255</sup> Hartzell said that Chapin “had been given to believe [sic] that if we could create one top flight orchestra for all of Long Island, the [State] Council of the Arts would put in a more substantial amount behind it.”<sup>256</sup>

NYSCA gave the Suffolk Symphony \$20,000 for the 1978-79 season, and \$68,000 to the Long Island Symphony. But Long Island Symphony musicians began to criticize its board and NYSCA for their handling of the transition and for the Island Orchestra Society’s cancellation of the LIS’s final subscription series concerts. As for the Suffolk Symphony, “I have mixed feelings,” said Hartzell. “I think the [Suffolk Symphonic Society] Board as a whole would have preferred to continue as an individual orchestra playing in Suffolk. But our goal was to bring first rate musical performances to Suffolk County,” he continued. “And I think you can be assured that the caliber of the [new orchestra’s] concerts will be on as high a level as ours, if not better.”<sup>257</sup> The board for the Long Island Philharmonic included Chapin, pianist Hollander, actor Robert Keeshan (television’s “Captain Kangaroo”), presidents of several Long Island and New York City banks, and executives from Grumman Aerospace and Northville Industries. Auditions were open to everyone, and while

there were certainly Long Island residents in the Philharmonic, the Suffolk Symphony archive does not provide further details.

The Suffolk Symphony's final subscription concert was Saturday, 21 April 1979, with James Conlon conducting. As Symphony President, Dr. Karl Hartzell thanked the audience assembled at Hauppauge High School that evening for its support and said, "we pass the baton to the new orchestra with pride for our achievement of the last 17 years."<sup>258</sup> The all-Beethoven program featured the Symphony No. 3 in E-flat Major, Op. 55, and Emanuel Ax performing the Piano Concerto No. 4 in G Major, Op. 58. Ax graciously returned his fee shortly after the concert in support of the SSO, and Hartzell wrote him a note of thanks. "We were all astonished, delighted and most grateful. It was a gesture we shall never forget."<sup>259</sup>

Caldwell reviewed the concert. Ax, "the brilliant young American pianist," played the concerto with a "fluid technique," and as a soloist was "aware of the interplay of the orchestra," he wrote.<sup>260</sup> The "Eroica" was well played by the Symphony, and Caldwell called the performance "a professional job."<sup>261</sup> The Suffolk Symphony, he paused in the review to emphasize, "is not, as many people know, a local group. It is roughly comparable to the American Symphony Orchestra which played in Stony Brook last weekend. They are both made up of free-lance musicians from New York. Neither are full-time orchestras in which the musicians are hired by the season. Each hires players for individual concerts or series of concerts."<sup>262</sup> The orchestra, he noted, struck up an impromptu musical fanfare at the end of the concert in honor of Conlon. Concert-goers found leaflets on their windshields, which were an appeal by embattled musicians of the Long Island Symphony members as they faced loss of their jobs in what Caldwell called the coming "orchestral shake-up," of Long Island.<sup>263</sup> *Newsday's* Goodman reviewed the concert as well with high praise for Ax's performance. "The 'Eroica' separates the good from the great," and while the "orchestra played all the notes, the performance lacked bite, fire, intensity, and the funeral march of the second movement was surprisingly dull."<sup>264</sup> Nonetheless, it was "not a performance to be ashamed of."<sup>265</sup>

Caldwell also reviewed the "first, and probably last" concert of the Long Island Symphony in the Three Village area. A "sparse," audience heard Stanley Drucker, first clarinetist of the New York Philharmonic and "one of the top clarinetists in the business," perform Weber's Concerto No. 1 in F Minor, Op. 73 in addition to Beethoven's *Coriolan* Overture, Op. 62 and Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 4 in F Minor, Op. 36, all under the direction of assistant conductor Peter Leonard. Drucker's playing was marked by "beauty and control," and a "dazzling and effortless technical display."<sup>266</sup> The *Coriolan* Overture

had a “warm and focused,” sound, but the Tchaikovsky “did not hold together in conception or execution in the first two movements,” and clearly needed more rehearsal time.<sup>267</sup> A separate opinion piece by Caldwell accompanied the review. In it he expressed sadness that a “fine group of local players, many of whom are top-notch professionals able to command work anywhere [the Long Island Symphony], will be put out to pasture.”<sup>268</sup> He criticized the consolidation of these two orchestras as “myopic, elitist and destructive to the total musical climate.”<sup>269</sup> While a “first-rate, full-time resident professional orchestra...may be cause for rejoicing,” Caldwell wondered “where all that money will come from. And what happens to the pool of local talent? Is there no room for any but the top full-time professional orchestral player in an area of three million people?”<sup>270</sup>

In a separate editorial, “private citizen” and fan of the arts Thelma Schairer reflected on the inception of NYSCA and its role in the development of professional, semi-professional and community-based symphony orchestras throughout Long Island. In funding the merger of the SSO and Long Island Symphony, she argued, NYSCA played the role of “Big Brother” and withdrew crucial funding for orchestras in Massapequa, Merrick, Oceanside and Amityville, resulting in curtailed performance schedules of those groups. The 15-year old Island Concert Series, run by Robert Bernstein and which hosted prominent artists, ended at this time as well.<sup>271</sup>

The final Suffolk Symphony event featured the winners of its annual Young Artists Competition at Hauppauge High School on 5 May 1979. Just weeks earlier, the SSS Board decided that it did not have the funds to present the concert. However, despite a gap of between \$3,000 and \$4,000, Hartzell decided that the orchestra should complete the entire season in order to preserve the goodwill that had built up over the years. If the gap could not be closed by last minute-fundraising, Hartzell stated, “Anne and I will be responsible.”<sup>272</sup> At a Stony Brook Rotary meeting on 19 April 1979, Hartzell proudly described the Young Artists’ Concert as the “climax of our county-wide competition for young musicians [in] grades 9-12.” Over the years more than 400 students had participated, with 30 winners from 15 different high schools in the three categories of keyboard, strings and wind instruments.<sup>273</sup>

“How do you say goodbye to a symphony orchestra?” asked critic Lou Roller. “Well, last Saturday night the community had to say farewell to the Suffolk Symphony after 17 years of memorable performances.”<sup>274</sup> In the first half, the competition winners performed single movements from Mozart’s Flute Concerto in G Major, (K. 313), Lalo’s Cello Concerto in D minor, and Tchaikovsky’s Piano Concerto No. 1 in B-flat Minor, Op. 23. After intermission, 200 high



school vocalists joined the orchestra and “sealed the history of the Suffolk Symphony with an unforgettable statement: the Mozart Requiem. It says goodbye in a religious way,” Roller mused, “and implies that the goodbye is not forever. Assuredly, that’s how it will be for all the fine musicians and all their dedicated supporters.”<sup>275</sup> Hartzell addressed the audience, retelling the orchestra’s history and encouraging community support for the new organization. Former Symphony President Joseph R. Herbison surprised Karl and Anne Hartzell with honors for their years of dedication to the orchestra. Former Suffolk Symphony Executive Director Thomas Parker was named Acting Business Manager for the Long Island Philharmonic.<sup>276</sup> Parker later wrote a note of thanks to the Suffolk Symphony Board. “First of all, it has truly been a pleasure working with such a fine group of people...We certainly had our ups and downs but this is second-nature for a non-profit arts organization. We did make it! Not only did we independently have a tremendously successful season, but we concluded a seventeen-year history with our heads “held high,” and with an excellent financial position.”<sup>277</sup>

At an August 1979 Guild meeting, a new set of by-laws was reviewed. The next Guild meeting was scheduled for September. The meeting was adjourned and followed by a “lovely luncheon-by-the-pool,” when Parker and his wife and “special guest,” Mrs. Joan McGowan, a member of the Long Island Philharmonic’s Board of Directors arrived. Mrs. McGowan presented her concept of the LIPS as a parent/umbrella under which the guilds of Huntington, Bay Shore, and Smithtown/Stony Brook would function in a total commitment to audience buildup and ticket sales. She asked the board of the former Suffolk Symphony Guild to consider “joining the family,” but the matter was tabled for future discussion.<sup>278</sup>

The Long Island Philharmonic gave its first concert on 16 November 1979 at the Calderone Concert Hall in Hempstead, with additional inaugural concerts at Hauppauge High School and Huntington High School over the subsequent three nights.<sup>279</sup> Christopher Keene served as conductor. A native of Berkeley, Keene frequently conducted the New York City Opera and was the second youngest conductor to lead the Metropolitan Opera.<sup>280</sup> Reviews of the Philharmonic’s debut were favorable.<sup>281</sup> Six months into the new orchestra’s premiere season, Parker was succeeded by Constantine G. Vasiliadis as Executive Director.<sup>282</sup> Hartzell was invited to join the Board of the Philharmonic but declined after much consideration.<sup>283</sup> The press reported that the initial plan was for the Philharmonic to be a “pickup orchestra of musicians available from the New York City area for short-term stints, at least for the first year or two.”<sup>284</sup> A Philharmonic representative later said the board intended to eventually hire musicians for an entire season.<sup>285</sup> In 1981, when Long Island

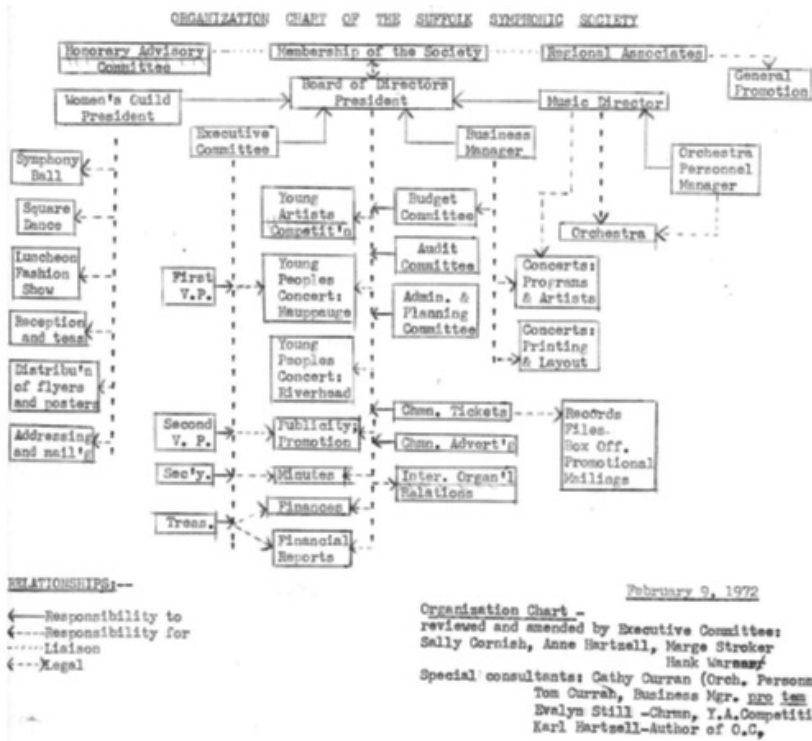
University's C.W. Post campus opened its concert hall in Brookville, it became the Philharmonic's "home" in Nassau County, though the ensemble continued to perform in Hauppauge and Huntington.<sup>286</sup> SUNY Stony Brook's Fine Arts Center, later named the Staller Center, became another Suffolk venue for the Philharmonic, which thrived for nearly forty years. Its recent dissolution points to the Island's vastly changed economic landscape, one where mergers left fewer banking and corporate sponsors for the arts. Governmental grants also dwindled over the years, as did public support.<sup>287</sup>

Upon assuming his new position at Stony Brook in 1962, Hartzell said the following in his welcome address to the University's class of 1966:

You have an opportunity and 24 hours a day, but there the similarity with your neighbor ends. Each of you has a unique set of personal qualities and your own special intellectual endowment. Part of your task as a college student is to discover what you can do best; where your deepest interests lie, and what values you believe are paramount. Self-discovery takes time and effort, but it builds confidence and humility at the same time. It is only the humble who have the courage to risk the discovery of their limitations, by being willing to commit their talents to a task in which they believe. Do not be afraid to risk failure attempting something that you think is worth doing. The sooner you take on something that is bigger than you are, the sooner you will discover your powers and at the same time develop tolerance and sympathy for others.<sup>288</sup>

Certainly, the work of the Society and the Symphony—the dedication, courage and hard work of its staff, musicians and supporters—emulates Hartzell's message. In creating an entity larger than themselves—a local symphony—they uncovered a bounty of talents among their fellow neighbors, and garnered notoriety and recognition beyond its community borders. In consideration of such achievements, the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra and Society have a well-earned place in Long Island history.

Appendix A: Suffolk Symphonic Society Organizational Chart



(Society Papers, Special Collections, Melville Library, Stony Brook University)

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Steve Parks, "Long Island Philharmonic Shuts Down," *Newsday*, 12 February 2016, web site, <http://www.newsday.com/entertainment/music/long-island-philharmonic-shuts-down-1.11448476>. See also Steve Parks, "Philharmonic Closes," *Newsday*, 9 February 2016, and Peter Goodman, "Farewell to a Once-Bright Local Gem," *Newsday*, 12 February 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Evert Volkensz, letter to Karl Hartzell, 3 May 1979, Box 1, Suffolk Symphonic Society Papers, Stony Brook University Libraries, Special Collections (hereafter called Society Papers).

<sup>3</sup> Among the existing literature is the compelling inquiry by M. Melanie Beene, Patricia A. Mitchell, and Fenton Johnson, *Autopsy of An Orchestra: An Analysis of Factors Contributing to the Bankruptcy of the Oakland Symphony Orchestra Association* (San Francisco: M. Beene, 1988), 2012 digital edition made possible by Grantmakers in the Arts, <http://www.giarts.org/sites/default/files/Autopsy-of-an-Orchestra.pdf>, accessed 1 April 2016. This study looks at various factors in the Oakland Symphony's last decade: its recent history, audience, facilities, marketing, fundraising, programming, finance and administration.

<sup>4</sup> Theodore Strongin, "Suffolk Symphony is Growing; Noted Soloists Attest to its Quality," *New York Times*, 21 March 1971. Unknown, "Symphonic Group in First Meet," *Three Village Herald*, 2 February 1962.

<sup>5</sup> Unknown, "Suffolk Symphonic Society Marking Fifth Anniversary," *Long Island Advance*, 18 November 1966.

<sup>6</sup> Unknown, "Conductor of Symphonic Orchestra Has Rich, Varied Musical Background," *Three Village Herald*, 27 October 1961.

<sup>7</sup> Author Unknown, "Stony Brook Opens," *Statesman: Student Publication of State University of New York at Stony Brook*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (2 October 1962), 1.

<sup>8</sup> Unknown, "Hartzell Appointed Executive Officer," *Statesman: Student Publication of State University of New York at Stony Brook*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (2 October 1962), 1; Maggie FitzRoy, "At 98, He Keeps in the Swing At Golf Course," *Florida Times Union*, 20 March 2004, web site, [http://jacksonville.com/tu-online/stories/032004/nes\\_15124281.shtml#\\_VZ\\_TXPIViko](http://jacksonville.com/tu-online/stories/032004/nes_15124281.shtml#_VZ_TXPIViko).

<sup>9</sup> Unknown, "Dr. John S. Toll, President of Stony Brook University, and Shirley Verrett," *Three Village Herald*, 29 March 1972, and Stony Brook University, Office of the President, web site, <http://www.stonybrook.edu/pres/past.html>. In 1965 John S. Toll, a Princeton-trained physicist and former professor and chairman of the Department of Physics and Astronomy at the University of Maryland, became the second President of Stony Brook University. By the time he left, the school of 1,800 students had been built to one of 17,000 students, and in addition to arts and sciences and engineering, he added schools of public affairs, medicine, dentistry, nursing, allied health professions, basic health sciences, and social work. Toll recruited elite researchers and scholars, including Nobel prize recipient CN Yang, to develop competitive academic departments. For his contributions to the University, Toll was listed among "100 Who Shaped the Century" by *Newsday*.

<sup>10</sup> John S. Toll, letter to Nathaniel Giffen, CEO, Suffolk County Federal Savings, 19 November 1977, Box 1, Society Papers. In November 1977, Toll alerted the Hartzells that he was invited to a meeting with Kitty Carlisle Hart, Chairman of the New York State Council of the Arts, to discuss ways to expand the operations of the Long Island Symphony in Suffolk County, "without discussing aid for the Suffolk Sym-

phony at the same time." After consulting with Karl Hartzell by phone, Toll conveyed his hopes in writing to NYSCA that a more "cooperative arrangement," would be worked out between the two orchestras. But "Personally," Toll confided in Hartzell, "I wish the two [orchestras] would merge and give us one clearly outstanding symphony that would match the best in the country!" See John S. Toll, letter to Dr. and Mrs. Karl Hartzell, 15 November 1977, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>11</sup> Unknown, "Fine Arts News," *Statesman: Student Publication of State University of N.Y. at Stony Brook*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (2 October 1962), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. The following year, the University Library was designated an official depository for U.S. Government publications. Librarian Ruben Weltsch received congratulatory letters from Carper W. Buckley, Superintendent of Documents, and Congressman Otis Pike. In 1963 the University Library's collections included more than 60,000 catalogued volumes, 1,000 long-playing phonograph records and a microfilm collection of over 2,500 reels. The library subscribed to 1,500 periodicals and was expanding its book collection at the rate of 1,500 additions per month. The rate was due to increase in September 1963 when the library moved into its new building. See "SU Library," *Statesman: Student Publication of State University of New York at Stony Brook*, Vol. VI, No. 8 (5 March 1963), 3.

<sup>13</sup> R.K. Niskanen, "Of This and That: The Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra," *Port Jefferson Record*, 21 December 1961.

<sup>14</sup> Theodore Strongin, "Suffolk Symphony is Growing; Noted Soloists Attest to its Quality." *New York Times*, 21 March 1971.

<sup>15</sup> "Our Community Orchestra." *Three Village Herald*, 17 August 1962. Westermann was also a recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, and formerly a conductor of the Chorus of Huntington and Huntington Festival Orchestra. See "Setauket Symphony Orchestra to Give Concert Dec. 5," *The Long Island Advance*, 19 November 1964.

<sup>16</sup> Unknown, "C. Westermann to Lead Symphony," *Three Village Herald*, 6 October 1962, and Harold C. Schonberg, "Music: Chamber Group: Westermann Makes Debut Here Leading New York Sinfonia in Fine Program," *New York Times*, 24 March 1956, 15.

<sup>17</sup> Unknown, "Westermann to Lead," 1962. In 1956 the *Musical Courier* reported on Westermann's performance at New York City's Town Hall: "Mr. Westermann's leadership is little less than phenomenal. Under him, the orchestra is a perfectly balanced instrument, thinking as if with a single mind." See also "Clayton Westermann," *Smithtown News*, 15 February 1973.

<sup>18</sup> Unknown, "Symphony Getting Tough Practice to be at Peak for Dec. 1 Concert," *Three Village Herald*, 23 November 1962.

<sup>19</sup> Unknown, "Sunday Concert is Well Received," *Three Village Herald*, 8 March 1963.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Unknown, "Eleanor Steber to Aid Symphony," *Three Village Herald*, 24 August 1962. Steber was a resident of Belle Terre, Long Island.

<sup>22</sup> Unknown, "Marshall Bialosky to Head Symphony Society," *Three Village Herald*, 31 August 1962.

<sup>23</sup> Unknown, "Incorporates," *Three Village Herald*, 9 November 1962.

<sup>24</sup> Unknown, "Symphonic Group in First Meet," *Three Village Herald*, 2 February 1962.

<sup>25</sup> Donald Palmer, letter to "Mr. Andrews," 15 January 1962, and Paul Denzin, letter to "Friend of Music," 29 January 1962, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers. The letter continues by announcing an upcoming 1 April 1962 concert, and selling sponsorship tickets to the event at the cost of \$5.00 per couple.

<sup>26</sup> Helen Barabino, SSS Board Minutes, 8 November 1962, Scrapbook, Box 9a, Society Papers.

<sup>27</sup> Charter, Box 5, 1, Society Papers.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> By-Laws, Revised 1971, 1, Box 5, Society Papers.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Unknown, "Launch Symphony Week with Recital by Gabriella Herzog at SBYC, Oct. 21," *Three Village Herald*, 12 October 1962. Mrs. Herzog, a recent arrival in Stony Brook was married to Hans Herzog, a native Long Islander and a building contractor at SUNY Stony Brook. Born in England, she trained in violin and viola as well and played in the Suffolk Symphony. Her family obligations curtailed her concert touring, but she continued to tutor privately in her home.

<sup>39</sup> Kitty Hirs, SSS Board Minutes, 7 April 1967, Scrapbook, Box 9a, Society Papers; Unknown, "Symphony Getting Tough Practice," 1962.

<sup>40</sup> Unknown, "Symphony Getting Tough Practice," 1962.

<sup>41</sup> Concert Program, "The Suffolk Symphonic Society Presents the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra, in a Children's Concert," 26 May 1963, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers. Conductor Leonard Bernstein had been presenting Young People's concerts since 1958 and these may have been an inspiration for the Suffolk Symphony. See Leonard Bernstein, *Young People's Concerts* (Lanham, MD: Amadeus, 2006).

<sup>42</sup> Unknown, "Suffolk Symphony Sets Third Concert," *Three Village Herald*, 19 April 1963.

<sup>43</sup> Unknown, "Two Concerts for Children May 26," *Three Village Herald*, 17 May 1963.

<sup>44</sup> Brochure, "The Suffolk Symphonic Society Announces the 1962-63 Season of the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra," Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.

<sup>45</sup> "Ticket Order Forms," Box 17, Society Papers.

- <sup>46</sup> Concert program, "The Suffolk Symphonic Society Presents the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra, Assisted by the Community Chorus of Huntington," 1 December 1962, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.
- <sup>47</sup> Unknown, "Symphony Sets Second Concert," *Three Village Herald*, 15 February 1963.
- <sup>48</sup> Concert program, "The Suffolk Symphonic Society Presents the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra," 5 May 1963, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.
- <sup>49</sup> Unknown, "Violinist to be Symphony Soloist," *Three Village Herald*, 22 February 1963, and Concert Program, "The Suffolk Symphonic Society Presents the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra," 5 May 1963, 9, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.
- <sup>50</sup> Unknown, "Bialosky to Head Symphonic Society," *Three Village Herald*, 9 August 1963.
- <sup>51</sup> Unknown, "Symphony in Call for All Musicians," *Three Village Herald*, 6 September 1963.
- <sup>52</sup> Unknown, "Violinist to Be Featured Soloist," *Three Village Herald*, 8 May 1964.
- <sup>53</sup> Concert Program, "The Suffolk Symphonic Society Presents the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra," 16 May 1964, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.
- <sup>54</sup> Unknown, "Opinion: An Additional Auditorium," *Three Village Herald*, 11 October 1963.
- <sup>55</sup> Marshall Bialosky, letter to "Friend of Music," 17 September 1963, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.
- <sup>56</sup> Unknown, "Symphony to Give Concert for Children," *Three Village Herald*, 4 October 1963. Bialosky's work was later published as *Five Western Scenes*. See Library of Congress, Catalog of Copyright Entries, Third Series, Volume 19, Part 5, Number 1, Music, January-June 1965, 890.
- <sup>57</sup> Unknown, "Prepare for the First Performance," *Three Village Herald*, 25 October 1963.
- <sup>58</sup> Unknown, "Special Orchestration by Bialosky to be Played by Suffolk Symphony," *Three Village Herald*, 28 November 1963. Bialosky created a chorale prelude and fantasia based on Bach's tune, "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm' Ich her," BWV 769. See Concert Program, "The Suffolk Symphonic Society Presents the Suffolk Symphony Orchestra," 14 December 1963, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.
- <sup>59</sup> Suffolk Symphonic Society, letter, "Dear Parent," 1963, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.
- <sup>60</sup> Unknown, "Two Flutists Join Local Symphony." *Three Village Herald*, 18 October 1963.
- <sup>61</sup> Theodore Strongin, "Suffolk Symphony is Growing; Noted Soloists Attest to its Quality," *New York Times*, 21 March 1971; "Symphony's Final '68 Concert May 4," *Three Village Herald*, 26 April 1968; and Cheryl Bentsen, "Grass Roots Success," *Newsday*, 4 December 1970.
- <sup>62</sup> Unknown, "Exec Proclaims Symphony Week," *Three Village Herald*, 13 December 1963.
- <sup>63</sup> Unknown, "Symphony Elects 1964-65 Officers," *Three Village Herald*, 7 August 1964.

- <sup>64</sup> Unknown, "Suffolk Symphony Seeks Donators," *Three Village Herald*, 31 January 1964.
- <sup>65</sup> Unknown, "Named to Head Fine Arts Dept.," *Three Village Herald*, 8 May 1964.
- <sup>66</sup> Unknown, "Symphony Closes Successful Season," *Three Village Herald*, 22 May 1964.
- <sup>67</sup> Ann Turner, Board Meeting Minutes, 29 June 1964, Scrapbook, Box 9a, Society Papers.
- <sup>68</sup> Unknown, "Concert & Ballet Enchant Children," *The Port Jefferson Record*, 29 October 1964.
- <sup>69</sup> Unknown, "A Review: Children's Concert a Great Success," *Three Village Herald*, 30 October 1964.
- <sup>70</sup> Ann Turner, SSS Board Minutes, 3 February 1966, Scrapbook, Box 9a, Society Papers.
- <sup>71</sup> Ann Turner, SSS Board Minutes, 3 March 1966, Scrapbook, Box 9a, Society Papers.
- <sup>72</sup> Kitty Hirs, SSS Board Minutes, 1 December 1966, Scrapbook, Box 9a, Society Papers.
- <sup>73</sup> Unknown, "Suffolk Symphony Set for Concert," *Port Jefferson Record*, 25 February 1965.
- <sup>74</sup> Robert W. Johnson, "A Review: Symphonic Concert is Well Received," *Three Village Herald*, 12 March 1965.
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>76</sup> Unknown, "Suff. Symphony Orch. Concert Saturday Night," *The Long Island Advance*, 13 May 1965, and Theodore Strongin, "Fortunate [sic] Arico Plays at Town Hall in 2d Cello Recital," *New York Times*, 25 November 1964.
- <sup>77</sup> Gary Zimmerman, "A Review: Symphony Gives Top Performance," *Three Village Herald*, 21 May 1965.
- <sup>78</sup> Unknown, "Suffolk Symphony Opens Season Nov. 7 With Children's Concert," *Port Jefferson Record*, 28 October 1965.
- <sup>79</sup> Unknown, "Young People's Concert a Sellout," [*Three Village Herald*], 4 November 1965.
- <sup>80</sup> Board of Directors, Suffolk Symphonic Society, "Thank You and We Are Sorry," *Port Jefferson Record*, 11 November 1965.
- <sup>81</sup> Gary Zimmerman, "1,200 Hear Symphony in Children's Program," *Port Jefferson Record*, 11 November 1965.
- <sup>82</sup> Zimmerman, "1,200 Hear Symphony," 1965.
- <sup>83</sup> Unknown, "Suffolk Symphony Will Hold Concert," *Port Jefferson Record*, 10 March 1966, and "Violin Soloist Set for Concert," *Three Village Herald*, 11 March 1966, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.
- <sup>84</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>85</sup> Unknown, "Suffolk Symphony Will Hold Concert," *Port Jefferson Record*, 10 March 1966.



<sup>86</sup> Gary Zimmerman, "A Review: 450 Hear Fine Symphony Concert." *Three Village Herald*, 25 March 1966.

<sup>87</sup> Zimmerman, "Review," 1966.

<sup>88</sup> Unknown, "Jap Violinist Concert Soloist," *Three Village Herald*, 18 March 1966, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.

<sup>89</sup> Budget Summary for 1965-66 season, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.

<sup>90</sup> Unknown, "Symphony Group Picks Officers," *Three Village Herald*, 1966.

<sup>91</sup> Unknown, "Suff. Symphony Society Plans New Season," 1966.

<sup>92</sup> Unknown, "Suffolk Symphonic Society Marking Fifth Anniversary," *L.I. Advance*, 18 November 1966.

<sup>93</sup> David S. Myers, "A Review: Symphony Concert Termed a Success," *Three Village Herald*, 10 March 1967.

<sup>94</sup> Myers, "Review," 1967.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Hirs had performed the *pas de deux* of the ill-fated Swan Queen with the Symphony a few years earlier. Her teachers included Ivan Yazvinsky, the last regisseur of Diaghilev's Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and instructors from the Bolshoi Theater.

<sup>97</sup> Unknown, "For Symphonic's Benefit: Ballet Students to Give Recital," *Three Village Herald*, 5 May 1967.

<sup>98</sup> Unknown, "Name Chairman of New-Formed Symphony Guild," *Long Island Advance*, 8 February 1968. In September 1975 the name "Women's Guild of the Suffolk Symphonic Society," was changed to "Suffolk Symphonic Guild," the latter having always been the name of the Guild's bank account. The action reflected the Guild's desire to recognize the "wonderful support, cooperation and actual participation on the part of the men," related to the group. With men encouraged to participate as fully as possible in the service and "fun," activities of the Guild, the hope was to have "mixed," audiences at the evening concert previews, and the added "vitality," anticipated by having male membership. The change led to a new option for individual \$5 membership or a joint \$7.50 membership. "We do hope the menfolk will be pleased with this opportunity," wrote Guild President Sue Glatzer. "It certainly offers a grand potential for the Guild as a whole." See Sue Glatzer, *Suffolk Guild NewsNotes*, September 1975, Box 19, Society Papers.

<sup>99</sup> Unknown, "Symphony to Be Heard March 16," *Three Village Herald*, 8 March 1968.

<sup>100</sup> Unknown, "Square Dance to Aid Guild," *Port Jefferson Record*, 29 February 1968.

<sup>101</sup> Shirley Carlsson, "Symphony Group Swings in Squares," *Suffolk Sun*, Monday, 11 March 1968.

<sup>102</sup> Unknown, "Music a la Carte," and "More Parties," *Suffolk Sun*, 8 December 1967.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. The press conservatively identified women by their husbands' full names, portrayed them as obliged to the role of hostess, and depicted a community enamored with the appearance of affluence and tradition.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Jack McMahon, "A Concert Review: Symphony Displays Its Competence," *Three Village Herald*, 22 March 1968.

<sup>106</sup> McMahon, "A Concert Review, 1968.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Pat Hallinan, "Your Neighbors in Old Field," *Three Village Herald*, 19 April 1968.

<sup>109</sup> Unknown, "Symphony's Final '68 Concert May 4," *Three Village Herald*, 26 April 1968.

<sup>110</sup> Unknown, "Symphony in Suffolk," *Suffolk Sun*, 7 May 1968.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> "In 7th Season: Suffolk Symphony Plays Saturday," *Port Jefferson Herald*, 12 December 1968.

<sup>113</sup> "Symphony to Give Concert Dec. 14," *Three Village Herald*, 29 November 1968. See also "Miss Lois Bové, Soprano," 11 December 1968.

<sup>114</sup> Gary Zimmerman, "A Review: Saturday Evening at the Concert," *Three Village Herald*, 20 December 1968.

<sup>115</sup> Unknown, "Symphony Schedules Concert Dec. 14," *Suffolk Sun*, 7 December 1968.

<sup>116</sup> Unknown, "Symphony to Give Concert Dec. 14," *Three Village Herald*, 29 November 1968. See also Unknown, "Miss Lois Bové, Soprano," 11 December 1968.

<sup>117</sup> Concert Program, "The Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra, Seventh Season, Clayton Westermann, conductor," 1 March 1969, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.

<sup>118</sup> Unknown, "Symphony Slates Concert March 1," *Three Village Herald*, 14 February 1969.

<sup>119</sup> Percy L. Bailey Jr., "A Review: Symphony Proves It Has Matured," *Three Village Herald*, 14 March 1969.

<sup>120</sup> Baily, "Review," 14 March 1969.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> Insert, "About Next Season," found in Concert Program, "The Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra, Seventh Season, Clayton Westermann, conductor," 1 March 1969, Scrapbook, Box 45, Society Papers.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> "The Suffolk Symphonic Society Has Scheduled a Competition..." *Yankee Trad-er*, Bulletin Board, 12 June 1969. See also Ann Turner, letter to "Music Teacher," 16 May 1969 and accompanying "Competition Information," form, Box 31, Society Papers. Turner's letter states, "Mr. Clayton Westermann of Huntington, Conductor of the Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra, encourages talented young musicians and believes that performing with the orchestra would be a beneficial experience. This is one of the aims of the contest, which is the first the orchestra has made available to student participants."

<sup>126</sup> "Local Briefs," 1969.

<sup>127</sup> Turner, letter to "Music Student," 16 May 1969, and Gary Zimmerman, "Young People's Concert Electrifies," *Three Village Herald*, 24 October 1969.

<sup>128</sup> Gary Zimmerman, "A Review: Saturday Evening at the Concert," *Three Village Herald*, 2 May 1969.

<sup>129</sup> Gary Zimmerman, "Saturday Evening at the Concert," *Three Village Herald*, 12 December 1969.

<sup>130</sup> See Concert Programs, Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra, 28 February 1970 and 25 April 1970, Society Papers. See also two reviews by Theodore Strongin, "Jeffrey Solow, 20, Excels on Cello," *New York Times* 3 March 1970, and "Jung-Ja Kim, Pianist, Displays Facility," *New York Times*, 9 December 1969.

<sup>131</sup> Letter from Mrs. Oakes Ames, *Three Village Herald*, 28 November 1969.

<sup>132</sup> Bob Micklin, "Music in the LI Air," *Newsday*, 8 October 1970.

<sup>133</sup> Elsie Cosbey, "Letters," *Three Village Herald*, 29 May 1970. Cosbey writes, "Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra is now and will remain a Community Orchestra with basically the same personnel as in the past. However, it will be augmented by additional professional musicians to permit Mr. Westermann greater scope in programming."

<sup>134</sup> Unknown, "Van Cliburn-Rose-Spivakovsky: Hauppauge to be Suffolk's Lincoln Center," *Smithtown News*, 30 July 1970.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> Shirley Carlsson, "Island Jottings," *Long Island Press*, 9 August 1970. Topsy is the character of a young black slave girl in the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Topsy has no parents and, when asked to explain this, she answers, "I 'spect I grow'd [I expect I grew]." People often mention Topsy when they are talking about something that seems to have grown quickly without being noticed.

<sup>137</sup> Carlsson, "Island Jottings," 1970.

<sup>138</sup> Charlotte Ames, "Discussions and Concerts by Pro Arte," *Long Island Press*, 20 September 1970. John Ward Melville (January 5, 1887 - June 5, 1977) was an American philanthropist and businessman active in the Three Villages in western Suffolk County, Long Island, New York. He donated 400 acres of land and money to establish the State University of New York at Stony Brook in 1957, which has developed as a major public research institution.

<sup>139</sup> Unknown, "Plan Widening of Symphonic Programming," *Sunday News*, 13 September 1970.

<sup>140</sup> Charlotte Ames, "Expansion for Suffolk Symphony," *Long Island Press*, 13 September 1970.

<sup>141</sup> Unknown, "Lincoln Center in Suffolk is Goal of Symphonic Society," *Port Jefferson Record*, 24 September 1970.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> Shirley Carlsson, "Island Jottings: Suffolk Symphonic Tea Strikes Responsive Note," *Long Island Press*, 27 September 1970.

<sup>145</sup> Getting Away From Business: Van Cliburn to Open Fall Series of Suffolk Symphony in New Hall," *LI Commercial Review*, November 1970.

<sup>146</sup> "Van Cliburn Launches the Suffolk Symphony Season," *Long Island Commercial Review*, 3 December 1970.

<sup>147</sup> "Van Cliburn to Perform in the Area Tuesday," *Long Island News*, 2 December 1970.

<sup>148</sup> Unknown, "Suffolk Symphonic Society Season Has Smash Opening," *Long Island News*, 16 December 1970.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> "Van Cliburn Plays with Symphony," *Port Jefferson Record*, 10 December 1970.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> "Van Cliburn is Great Success," *Three Village Herald*, 11 December 1970.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.* Also see Howard Schneider, "The Suffolk Symphony: A Fever to Make Music," *Newsday*, 24 December 1972, Part II, 3-5.

<sup>158</sup> Cheryl Bentsen, "Grass Roots Success," *Newsday*, 4 December 1970.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> Unknown, "The Last Act," *Suffolk Life*, Three Village Edition, 30 April 1973.

<sup>161</sup> Marjorie Starr, "Van Cliburn among Symphony Soloists," *Long Island Press*, 21 June 1970.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> "Dott & D," Letter to the Suffolk Symphonic Association, 11 December 1970, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>164</sup> Sue Studier, Suffolk Symphonic Guild *NewsNotes*, February 1975, Box 19, Society Papers.

<sup>165</sup> Anne Hartzell, letter to Leighton Phraner, 14 May 1971, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>166</sup> Theodore Strongin, "Suffolk Symphony is Growing; Noted Soloists Attest to its Quality." *New York Times*, 21 March 1971.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> Unknown, "Auditions to be Held," *Port Jefferson Record*, 16 September 1971.

<sup>172</sup> Strongin, "Suffolk Symphony is Growing," 1971.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> Unknown, "Symphony Concludes Series," *Long Island News*, April 1971.

- <sup>176</sup> Unknown, "Robert Moses Honorary Chmn. Of Suffolk Symphony, 71-72," *Smithtown Messenger*, 23 September 1971.
- <sup>177</sup> Unknown, "Robert Moses Honorary Chmn.," 1971.
- <sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>179</sup> See Anthony Leonard Barresi, "The History and Programs of the New York State Council on the Arts," (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973), 56-57.
- <sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.
- <sup>181</sup> Financial Planning Committee, Minutes, 15 September 1972, Society Papers.
- <sup>182</sup> See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1979 (199th edition), Washington, D.C., 1979, 246. Financial Planning Committee, Minutes, 15 September 1972, Society Papers. Today an orchestra's "group size," is determined by many factors, including operating and artistic expenses, and the length of time an orchestra has successfully maintained a previous budgetary threshold. See "Meeting Group Size Information," 2016-2017, American Symphony Orchestra League, New York, NY (graciously supplied by Daniel Els of ASOL).
- <sup>183</sup> Howard Schneider, "The Suffolk Symphony: A Fever to Make Music," *Newsday*, 24 December 1972, Part II, 3-5.
- <sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.
- <sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.
- <sup>187</sup> Shirley Carlsson, "Island Jottings," *Long Island Press*, 11 February 1972.
- <sup>188</sup> Lee Dunaief, "'Symphony of the People,' Has Professional Acclaim," *Three Village Herald*, 24 November 1971, 1.
- <sup>189</sup> David C. Berliner, "Discord Cancels Suffolk Symphony Date." *New York Times*, 17 February 1974, 113.
- <sup>190</sup> Brochure, "Suffolk Symphonic Orchestra, 1973-74 [season]," Box 17, Society Papers.
- <sup>191</sup> Theodore Strongin, "Suffolk Symphony is Growing; Noted Soloists Attest to its Quality." *New York Times*, 21 March 1971.
- <sup>192</sup> Susan Soper, "Orchestral Discord," *Newsday*, 27 June 1976, Pt. II, 1.
- <sup>193</sup> See Barbara Delatiner, "The Battle for a Musical Identity," *New York Times*, Long Island Section, 30 October 1977, 23. Maintaining the "community character," was proving difficult for other local orchestras as well. "You just can't always find a housewife from Great Neck who plays the timpani," said Leon Gildin, president of the Great Neck Symphony, the oldest of Long Island's community orchestras.
- <sup>194</sup> "Culture Takes Root in a Former Wasteland." *Newsday*, 20 August 1978, pt. II, 3A.
- <sup>195</sup> Susan Soper, "Orchestral Discord," *Newsday*, 27 June 1976, Pt. II, 1.
- <sup>196</sup> Documentation throughout the archive supports the following chronology of Society Presidents: Marshall Bialosky, 1962-64; Jane Stehn, 1964-66; Ann Turner, 1966-1970; Anne Hartzell, 1970-72; Thomas Curran, 1972-1974; Estelle Mueller, 1974-1975; Marge Stroker, 1975-1976; Joseph Herbison, 1976-1978; and Karl Hartzell, 1978-1979.

<sup>197</sup> David C. Berliner, "Discord Cancels Suffolk Symphony Date." *New York Times*, 17 February 1974, 113. See also Berliner, "Suffolk Symphony Settlement Expected," *New York Times*, 3 March 1974, 85 and Berliner, "Future Murky as Strife-Torn Suffolk Symphony Cancels Season's Last Concert," *New York Times*, 14 April 1974, 81.

<sup>198</sup> Howard Schneider, "For Suffolk Symphony, a Temporary Tempo," *Newsday*, Part II, "Entertainment," 22 March 1974.

<sup>199</sup> Suffolk Concert Off in Musicians Dispute," [*New York Daily News*, Feb. 1974]. In talking to the press, Mueller seemed genuinely baffled by the needs expressed by the Symphony's musicians. "Some members said the [extra pay for travelling to the city] didn't matter but rehearsals in the city and/or the switch to afternoon practices made it too inconvenient for them to continue in the orchestra," she said. "But these musicians aren't the ones complaining now. It just seems to be a very small group that is and we're not exactly sure why they are complaining. We thought we were giving them something better and the majority of orchestra members seemed to think so too." See "Symphony Sounds a Sour Note," *Smithtown News*, 21 February 1974.

<sup>200</sup> David C. Berliner, "Future Murky as Strife-Torn Suffolk Symphony Cancels Season's Last Concert," *New York Times*, 14 April 1974.

<sup>201</sup> "Symphony in Blue: Schedule Is Cut in Half," *New York Daily News*, 18 August 1974.

<sup>202</sup> Susan Soper, "Orchestral Discord," *Newsday*, 27 June 1976.

<sup>203</sup> Estelle Mueller, Letter to Ralph Lorr, 17 October 1974, Box 4, Society Papers.

<sup>204</sup> Ralph Lorr, "Professional Background," Box 4, Society Papers.

<sup>205</sup> Al Cohn, "The Undertones of Orchestral Life," *Newsday Long Island Magazine*, 3 December 1974. For more information about the Orchestra Da Camera and the Lorr's, see Joseph Robert Herbison, *The Orchestra Da Camera of Long Island: an Historical Documentary of a Catalyst for Arts in Education, 1957-1982* (New York), DMA dissertation, University of Arizona, 1984, digital version, <http://hdl.handle.net/10150/187695>. Accessed 8 April 2016.

<sup>206</sup> Ralph Lorr, Letter to Mrs. Kenneth P. Stroker, President, Suffolk Symphonic Society, 8 September 1975, Society Papers. The document attached to the letter states:

"The agreement between the Suffolk Symphonic Society, represented by Ralph Lorr, Business Manager, and Local 802, AFM, represented by Max Arons, President, and Vincent Rossitto and Buddy Kane, Executive Board Member[s], held on 4 September 1975 at Local 802, incorporates the following provisions:

The Society will offer all scheduled engagements, plus their accompanying rehearsal periods, with precise time set forth for each service, to each and every Local 802 member of the Suffolk Symphonic Society's roster of musicians who played all of its concerts during the 1974-75 season. An exact record of such concert attendance is available in the form of contracts and personnel listing deposited with Local 802 after each performance and these shall be used to settle any dispute that may arise.

The offer to the above mentioned players will be valid only if they accept the full schedule of rehearsals and concerts for the 1975-76 season, and will be withdrawn if the full schedule of performances and rehearsals cannot be accepted by the player.

The Suffolk Symphonic Society agrees to exclusively engage AFM members and to pay at least a minimum of Local 802's engagement concert scale, plus mileage,

transportation (unless provided), and cartage. They shall also remit work dues and pay employer contributions to Local 802's Welfare and Pension Fund.

In addition, a copy of the letter sent to all Suffolk Symphonic Society orchestra players stating the aforementioned offer of its 1975-76 schedule of activities to each musician shall be sent to Lou Critelli, Secretary of Local 802. Respectfully, Ralph Lorr, Business Manager."

<sup>207</sup> Caldwell, a former SSO concertmaster, had played with the orchestra for seven years but was not re-engaged for the 1975-76 season. See Charles De Mangin, "Crescendo Growing In Symphony Discord," *Long Island Press*, 25 May 1976, 3.

<sup>208</sup> Donald Caldwell, "I Fear for the Life of the Orchestra," *Village Times*, 1 July 1976.

<sup>209</sup> "All Musicians May Audition for Symphony," *Village Times*, 1 July 1976.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> Mildred Perlow, letter to SSS Board, 8 October 1976, Box 4, Society Papers.

<sup>212</sup> Ralph Lorr, Letter #3, "Thank you for your resume," (1976), Box 4, Society Papers.

<sup>213</sup> Ralph Lorr, "Letter to Last Season's Players Who Sent in Resumes," 1 November 1976, Box 4, Society Papers.

<sup>214</sup> See Stephen Williams, "A Clash of Viewpoints, A Ruffle of Tempers," *Newsday*, 16 October 1975 and Concert Program, Suffolk Symphony Orchestra, 6 December 1975, Society Papers.

<sup>215</sup> Micklin noticed quite a few empty seats in the auditorium for the 6 December 1975 concert. "Too bad for those who decided not to attend, for the Suffolk was in fine shape for its first concert [of the season]," he wrote. "I am told," he continued, that there has been a certain amount of turnover among musicians since last year, and that Ralph Lorr, who with his wife, Flori, runs the Orchestra Da Camera organization, has been handling personnel matters for the Suffolk. Whatever the reason," he surmised, the orchestra played extremely well after only three rehearsals with [conductor James] Conlon. The strings were vibrant and true, and winds noticeably effective. In fact, the whole orchestra had a distinctly polished and confident sound." Bob Micklin, "Horne and Plenty," *Newsday*, 8 December 1975.

<sup>216</sup> Sue Glatzer, Suffolk Symphonic Guild *NewsNotes*, April 1976, Box 19, Society Papers.

<sup>217</sup> Karleen Erhardt, "Encore Ends Symphony Season," *Three Village Herald*, 28 April 1976.

<sup>218</sup> Louis Roller, "Suffolk Symphony: Season Ends on a High Note," *Village Times*, 29 April 1976.

<sup>219</sup> Susan Soper, "Orchestral Discord," *Newsday*, 27 June 1976. See also Mrs. Kenneth Stroker, letter to John Burness, Executive Secretary, Stony Brook Foundation, 17 May 1976, Box 3, Society Papers.

<sup>220</sup> Clayton Westermann, letter to Suffolk Symphonic Society, May 1975, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>221</sup> Executive Committee notes, 6 July 1976, Box 3, Society Papers.

<sup>222</sup> [Dr. Karl Hartzell], handwritten notes, [1976], Box 3, Society Papers.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>224</sup> To the press, Lorr and the SSS Board said they saw no conflict of interest in Lorr's management of the Suffolk Symphony and the Da Camera, and that their only interest was in hiring the best available players. See Susan Soper, "Orchestral Discord," *Newsday*, 27 June 1976, Pt. II, 21.

<sup>225</sup> Ralph Lorr, letter to Joseph Herbison, 25 February 1977, Box 3, Society Papers.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>227</sup> Joseph Herbison, letter to Ralph Lorr, 13 September 1977, Box 4, Society Papers.

<sup>228</sup> Maria Vollmer, Letter to Ralph Lorr, 27 October 1977, Box 4, Society Papers.

<sup>229</sup> Mark Jones, memorandum to "File," 11 August 1977, Box 3, Society Papers.

<sup>230</sup> Peter Goodman, "A Serendipitous Affiliation," *Newsday*, 14 November 1977, 30A.

<sup>231</sup> Maria Vollmer, letter to Mr. Joseph R. Herbison and SSS Board of Directors, 16 March 1978, Box 2, Society Papers.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>233</sup> Maria Vollmer, letter to Mr. Jack Ellsworth, radio station WALK, 9 May 1978, Box 2, Society Papers.

<sup>234</sup> Maria Vollmer, memorandum to SSS Board of Directors, 1 March 1978, Box 2, Society Papers.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>236</sup> Maria Vollmer, letter to Mr. Joseph R. Herbison and SSS Board of Directors, 16 March 1978, Box 2, Society Papers. See also Ralph Lorr, letter to Maria Vollmer, 18 November 1977, Box 2; Lorr's letters to Vollmer, 3 and 23 November 1977, and Lorr's letter to Karl Hartzell with a cc to Vollmer, 21 October 1977, Box 31, Society Papers. Communication between Vollmer and Lorr, once courteous, had deteriorated significantly by the fall of 1977 into contentious correspondence and complaints to the Board. Lorr criticized Vollmer for deferment of his salary, late printing of programs, typographical errors and unreasonable procedures. "Just in case you have forgotten: I personally and single handedly took hold of the Suffolk Symphony at a point when it was at its lowest depth [...]" Lorr wrote, "I have provided the Board with an orchestra they can view with the utmost pride [...]" The title of Executive Director is hollow unless it is earned and filled by someone of experience and knowledge." Vollmer addressed Lorr's grievances, writing, "In the future I expect to get accurate program notes [...] and to be given enough time to prepare the program for review by you and/or Mr. Conlon." See Maria Vollmer to Ralph Lorr, 31 October 1977, Box 31, Society Papers. As for payments to Lorr, Vollmer was clearly struggling with shortfalls in the Society's budget. "By now you're well aware from our cash flow report that we'll barely make expenses for our first concert," she wrote Lorr in October 1977. "I respectfully ask if you can wait for the payments we owe you until after the 12 November concert when hopefully, the board will generate more funds." Lorr's \$9,000 fee was to be paid in \$1,000 installments from October 1977 to June 1978. See Maria Vollmer To Ralph Lorr, 12 October 1977, Box 31, Society Papers.

<sup>237</sup> John Ettelson, memorandum [to Karl Hartzell], 17 April 1978, Box 48, Society Papers.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*



<sup>239</sup> Ibid. See also Peter Goodman, "All-Mozart Program," *Newsday*, 10 April 1978, Part II, 32A. In spite of good reviews, Vollmer related to Karl Hartzell that Lorr was "terribly distressed by the lack of response to the Mozart series," and felt that the Suffolk Symphony Board and Guild did not do enough to "sell the series." Lorr was equally distressed to learn that the Board was not aware that he had placed a minimum of 300 seats to be sold before he could produce the Mozart series—less than this would "create a loss too heavy for his organization [i.e. Da Camera] to carry." Lorr responds, "Yes, I have misgivings about the Mozart Series. Not that it is poorly conceived or ill-advised, but perhaps the Suffolk Symphonic Society is not ready to undertake an extension of their [sic] efforts." Lorr also objects to the deferred payment of his salary which is already "five months late." While "...all other employees have and are continuing to be paid regularly since July, the start of the fiscal year," Lorr wrote, "...for some special reason I have been selected to wait six months for that which is due me now." See Maria Vollmer, Executive Director, Suffolk Symphonic Society, letter to Dr. Karl Hartzell, Acting President, 18 October 1977 and Ralph Lorr, letter to Mr. [sic] Karl D. Hartzell, 21 October 1977, Box 3, Society Papers.

<sup>240</sup> Dr. Karl Hartzell, letter to Mrs. Maurice Barbash, 19 July 1978, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>241</sup> Ralph Lorr, letter to "Board of Director [sic]," 16 January 1979, Box 4, Society Papers. See also Amedeo "Basil," Basile, AFM Local 802, letter to Ralph Lorr, 12 January 1979, and Ralph Lorr, letter to Amedeo "Basil," Basile, AFM Local 802, 10 October 1978, Box 4, Society Papers.

<sup>242</sup> See Joseph Robert Herbison, *The Orchestra Da Camera of Long Island: an Historical Documentary of a Catalyst for Arts in Education, 1957-1982* (New York), DMA dissertation, University of Arizona, 1984, digital version, <http://hdl.handle.net/10150/187695>, Accessed 3 March 2016.

<sup>243</sup> Esther Pivnick, President of the Long Island Symphony's Island Orchestra Society, first approached Suffolk Symphonic Society President Anne Hartzell with the idea of a merger in the early 1970s. However, at the time the Suffolk Symphony Board "had taken the position that it very much wanted to go its own way [...]" See Dr. Karl Hartzell, letter to members of Suffolk Symphony Guild, 1 February 1979, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>244</sup> Suffolk Symphonic Guild *News Notes*, April 1977, Box 19, Society Papers, and Lou Roller, "Young Artists Prove Genius at Offerings," *Village Times*, 5 May 1977. Chapin performed a benefit concert for the Suffolk Symphony at Hauppauge High School on 21 May 1977. As an artist, Chapin had earned two gold albums, an Oscar nomination, two Grammy nominations and a 1976 award in recognition of his public service activities. His benefit concerts had raised close to a million dollars for various charities.

<sup>245</sup> Leo Seligsohn, "Controversial Chapin Makes Money For PAF," *Newsday*, 5 March 1977. Chapin was among the youngest named as "people of influence," in the region. See Al Cohn, "The 50 Who Run Long Island," *Newsday LI Magazine*, 8 January 1978, 4-10. Chapin also performed benefits for the Long Island Symphony and the Smithtown Arts Council. One of his major projects was World Hunger Year (WHY), designed to focus attention on starvation around the world. Chapin was a good friend and admirer of folk-singer Pete Seeger, who had appeared with him at PAF benefits in the past. Chapin said he was trying to emulate Seeger's own involvement in matters of social relevance. By 1977, Chapin had arguably become Long Island's most community-involved celebrity, and he was aware of his critics who accused him of self-promotion. "There's a kind of tonality on the Island," he said, that says if

you get behind something, you've got to have a personal stake in it." Chapin's goals for PAF were for it to survive, to get sufficient attention from the public for its theater and arts-in-education program, and to build a constituency that would support the theatre, comprised of industry, banks and Long Island millionaires. "There's a tremendous amount of money on Long Island," Chapin said, "that's never been seen." In his pitches for financial support, Chapin said, "Rather than being Harry Chapin, Johnny One Note for PAF, what I try to explain is that this is a fight for the quality of the region. You're not selling PAF," Chapin continued, "but the kind of thing that makes living in this area worthwhile." As for skeptics, Chapin said, "I don't have to do this kind of thing. I get plenty of publicity in my personal life. But I'm making more money than I ever dreamed possible. If I just holed up here in Huntington Bay and didn't get involved I'd be drying up. I've seen so many people in my business who haven't kept their creative juices going. I'm constantly getting my hands wet, my touch stimulated."

<sup>246</sup> Dr. Karl Hartzell, letter to members of Suffolk Symphony Guild, 1 February 1979, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>247</sup> Susan Bridson, "Three Villages—Cradle for LI Philharmonic," *Three Village Times*, 1 February 1979.

<sup>248</sup> Dr. Karl Hartzell, letter to Harry Chapin, 31 March 1979, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Dr. Karl Hartzell, letter to Ms. Gail Marquardt, Director, Committee on Cultural Affairs, Suffolk County Legislature, 9 April 1979, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>251</sup> Dr. Karl Hartzell, letter to Harry Chapin, 31 March 1979, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>252</sup> Suffolk Symphonic Guild Analysis of Cash Receipts and Disbursements, 31 May 1979, Box 18, Society Papers.

<sup>253</sup> Dan Sreebny, "Suffolk Symphony to Give Last Performance," *Three Village Herald*, 2 May 1979.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> Peter Goodman, "A Finale by the Suffolk Symphony," *Newsday*, 23 April 1979.

<sup>259</sup> Karl D. Hartzell, letter to Emmanuel Ax, 23 April 1979, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>260</sup> Donald Caldwell, "Suffolk Symphony Dissolves in Applause," *Village Times*, 26 April 1979.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> Peter Goodman, "A Finale by the Suffolk Symphony," *Newsday*, 23 April 1979.

<sup>265</sup> Goodman, "A Finale," 1979.

<sup>266</sup> Donald Caldwell, "Long Island Symphony Plays to a Close," *Village Times*, 5 April 1979, 11.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> Donald Caldwell, "Opinion: A Loss of Music," *Village Times*, 26 April 1979.

<sup>269</sup> Caldwell, "A Loss of Music," 1979.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Thelma Schaier, "'Big Brother Takes Over LI Music,'" *Newsday*, 15 April 1979.

<sup>272</sup> Karl D. Hartzell, Suffolk Symphony Guild *News Notes*, April 1979, Box 19, Society Papers. The Society kept several copies of an article about effective fundraising tools by ASOL executive director Ralph Black in its files. See Ralph Black, "Black Notes: The Secret of Fund Raising," *ASOL Symphony News*, December 1977.

<sup>273</sup> Karl Hartzell, Stony Brook Rotary speech, 19 April 1979, Box 1, Society Papers.

<sup>274</sup> Lou Roller, "Symphony Says Goodbye with Mozart Requiem," *Village Times*, 9 May 1979.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>277</sup> Thomas Parker, letter to Suffolk Symphony Orchestra Board, 25 May 1979, Box 3, Society Papers.

<sup>278</sup> Claire L. Kincaid, Suffolk Symphony Guild Board Meeting Minutes, 15 August 1979, Box 19, Society Papers.

<sup>279</sup> Concert Program, "Long Island Philharmonic Premiere Season," Inaugural Concerts, 16-18 November 1967, Box 48, Society Papers.

<sup>280</sup> "Christopher Keene Gets LI Baton," *Newsday*, 7 August 1979. See also "New L.I. Philharmonic signs Christopher Keene," *New York Times*, 7 August 1979. Keene later served as New York City Opera's Music Director in 1982 and General Director in 1989. See James Oestreich, "Christopher Keene Is Dead: Head of City Opera was 48," *New York Times*, 9 October 1995.

<sup>281</sup> The Long Island Philharmonic made its debut at the venues of its predecessors, with a program of Rossini's *Semiramide* Overture, Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 2 in C Minor, Op. 18 featuring pianist Jorge Bolet, and Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*. "There is no question," Goodman wrote, "that the orchestra that played in three Long Island locations this weekend is the best ensemble to be identified with the Island for quite a while." The Hempstead performance drew 1,800 listeners, and the Hauppauge and Huntington performances were sold out. The Philharmonic began with 2,000 subscribers. "If the orchestra continues in the direction set this past weekend," wrote Goodman, "... it may indeed become a world-class orchestra." See Peter Goodman, "The LI Philharmonic Debuts," *Newsday*, 19 November 1979. Klein was less impressed, although he did observe that the orchestra was "made up of excellent professionals, as was obvious in the solo playing of winds, brass, strings and percussion. It is an integrated orchestra," he continued, "men, women, blacks." To the LI Philharmonic's President Merolla's assertion that it was "already a world class orchestra," Klein responded, "Hyperbole is the stuff of public relations [...] Unfortunately I did not hear a World Class Orchestra [sic]. I had [i.e. heard] a nice concert. No more, no less. Not a great improvement of the old Symphony under Conlon, although it was bigger." See Howard Klein, "It's Here, the New Philharmonic. Is It a World Class Orchestra?" *Village Times*, 21 November 1979, "Leisure Times," section, 11.

<sup>282</sup> See Concert Programs, "Long Island Philharmonic Premiere Season," Inaugural Concerts, 16-18 November 1967, and Subscription Concert IV, 23-25 May 1980, Box 48, Society Papers.

<sup>283</sup> The President of the Philharmonic's Board, C.R. Merolla, wrote to Hartzell, "I also suggested to Jim Dunn [Philharmonic Board Treasurer] the possibility of you serving on our Board. I think your contribution to the Philharmonic has been enormous. Further, you should be recognized as a member of our Board, since you are one of the founders." Hartzell replied, "On January 17 I celebrated (?) [sic] my 75th birthday, and I am forced to recognize that I no longer have an indefinite amount of time at my disposal. Consequently, I reluctantly called Jim yesterday morning and said "No." I hope you understand. I am not personally in a position to give \$5000, nor to feel I want to take the time to raise it and attend the Board meetings." See C.R. Merolla, President, Long Island Philharmonic Board, letter to Dr. Karl Hartzell, 29 January 1981. and Dr. Karl Hartzell, letter to C.R. Merolla, 3 February 15, 1981, Box 48, Society Papers.

<sup>284</sup> Concerted Push Yields Island Philharmonic," *New York Daily News*, 7 August 1979.

<sup>285</sup> "New Managers of LI Symphony Announce Plans," *Newsday*, 22 August 1979. Claims were made that the name "Long Island Philharmonic," was already in use by an organization that had last performed in 1974. Parker said for this reason the new group was named "the Island Philharmonic Society," for legal purposes and the "Long Island Philharmonic," for marketing purposes. After the board of the Island Orchestra Society dissolved to make way for the Long Island Philharmonic, some members of the Long Island Symphony decided to continue with an 11-concert summer program and a winter subscription series. But several people involved with the former Long Island Symphony predicted that its continuation would not be sustainable through the next season. See Peter Goodman, "The Fight for One Orchestra," *Newsday*, 18 June 1979.

<sup>286</sup> Barbara Delatiner, "Philharmonic's Approach Pays Off," *New York Times*, "Lively Arts," 2 October 1983.

<sup>287</sup> Barbara Delatiner, "More than Music in Philharmonic Search," *New York Times*, 17 September 2000. The LI Philharmonic shut down in February 2016 after a failure to reach an agreement to renegotiate terms of a loan that would allow the Philharmonic to continue paying its freelance musicians and skeleton staff. See Steve Parks, "Long Island Philharmonic Shuts Down," *Newsday*, 12 February 2016, web site, <http://www.newsday.com/entertainment/music/long-island-philharmonic-shuts-down-1.11448476>, accessed 1 April 2016. See also Steve Parks, "Philharmonic Closes," *Newsday*, 9 February 2016, A7, and Peter Goodman, "Farewell to a Once-Bright Local Gem," *Newsday*, 12 February 2016, A35.

<sup>288</sup> Unknown, "Hartzell Appointed Executive Officer," *Statesman: Student Publication of State University of N.Y. at Stony Brook*, Vol. VI, No. 1, 2 October 1962.



## Contributors to This Issue

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**JoAn Segal** retired from her career as librarian and library administrator after 60 years. She has been a volunteer at the AMRC for more than 20 years and now serves on its Advisory Board. In that time, she greatly enjoyed dealing with many collections in a variety of formats. She was particularly excited to have the opportunity to work with the personal correspondence of a great musician and teacher, Nadia Boulanger, and to be able to contrast her public persona – that of a severe, restrained teacher, with the warm, caring writer of letters to a friend.

**Gisele Schierhorst** is Head of the Music Library at Stony Brook University, where she has worked since 1992. From 1987 to 1992, she was a music cataloger at the New York Public Library's Mid-Manhattan branch. She holds a Master's degree in Library Science from Simmons College and a Master of Arts degree in Music History from Stony Brook. Raised on Long Island, her music teachers included former Suffolk Symphony members Norma Shapinsky, Donald Caldwell and Donald Palmer. Her article, "The Life and Career of Edward Boatner and Inventory of the Boatner Papers at the Schomburg Center," appears in the *AMRCJ*'s 1998-99 issue. She has also written for *Music Reference Services Quarterly*.