

# UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

DATE: May 16, 2003

I, Nina Perlove ,  
hereby submit this as part of the requirements for the  
degree of:

Doctor of Musical Arts

in:

Flute Performance

It is entitled:

Ethereal Fluidity:

The Late Flute Works of Aaron Copland

Approved by:

Dr. bruce d. mcclung

Dr. Robert Zierolf

Dr. Bradley Garner

ETHEREAL FLUIDITY:  
THE LATE FLUTE WORKS OF  
AARON COPLAND

A thesis submitted to the  
Division of Research and Advanced Studies  
of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF MUSICAL ARTS (DMA)

in the Division of Performance Studies  
of the College-Conservatory of Music

2003

by

Nina Perlove

B.M., University of Michigan, 1995  
M.M., University of Cincinnati, 1999

Committee Chair: bruce d. mcclung, Ph.D.

## ABSTRACT

Aaron Copland's final compositions include two chamber works for flute, the Duo for Flute and Piano (1971) and *Threnodies I and II* (1971 and 1973), all written as memorial tributes. This study will examine the Duo and *Threnodies* as examples of the composer's late style with special attention given to Copland's tendency to adopt and reinterpret material from outside sources and his desire to be liberated from his own popular style of the 1940s. The Duo, written in memory of flutist William Kincaid, is a representative example of Copland's 1940s popular style. The piece incorporates jazz, boogie-woogie, ragtime, hymnody, Hebraic chant, medieval music, Russian primitivism, war-like passages, pastoral depictions, folk elements, and Indian exoticisms. The piece also contains a direct borrowing from Copland's film scores *The North Star* (1943) and *Something Wild* (1961). Several expressive elements in this Vietnam-era piece relate to war and peace, shedding light on Copland's views of the artist's role in a war-torn society. *Threnody I* was composed as a tribute to Igor Stravinsky. Unlike the Duo, the piece outwardly appears independent from Copland's 1940s idiom in its canonic, neoclassical treatment. However, the work quotes a Spanish song from Kurt Schindler's *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal*. This finding suggests that even while employing modernist techniques in the *Threnody I*, Copland was still incorporating 1940s ideas with specific folk connections. In 1973 Copland composed *Threnody II*, a memorial tribute in honor of Beatrice Cunningham, a personal friend. The distinctly modernist work employs tone rows in the forms of motives and harmonic dyads. The tone row is nevertheless

combined with Copland's signature wide intervals and relaxed pastoral style. By drawing upon score analysis; published texts by Copland, his contemporaries, and outside scholars; related literary and cultural sources; and Copland's unpublished letters, manuscripts, and related documents in the Copland Collection at the Library of Congress, this thesis provides insight into the end of the composer's career by highlighting his interest in borrowed sources even as he sought to create music that was new.

## COPYRIGHT NOTICES AND PERMISSIONS

Copyright © 2003 by Nina Perlove. All rights reserved.

Copland's unpublished correspondence and writings. Reprinted by permission of the Aaron Copland Fund for Music, Inc., copyright owner.

Musical examples from the Duo for Flute and Piano, unpublished sketches, by Aaron Copland. Reprinted by permission of the Aaron Copland Fund for Music, Inc., copyright owner, and Boosey and Hawkes, Inc., publisher.

Musical examples from the Duo for Flute and Piano by Aaron Copland © 1971, Boosey and Hawkes. Reprinted by permission of the Aaron Copland Fund for Music, Inc., copyright owner, and Boosey and Hawkes, Inc., publisher.

Example from *Tuolumne for Orchestra with Trumpet Obligato* by Quinto Maganini © 1936, Affiliated Music Corporation. Used by permission of Editions Musicus, Inc.

Example from "The Indians," from *Seven Songs* by Charles Ives. Copyright © 1932 (Renewed) by Associated Music Publishers, Inc. (BMI), International Copyright Secured. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission.

Example from *Zweite (indianische) Suite, op. 48* by Edward MacDowell, arranged by Otto Taubman. © 1910, Breitkopf & Härtel. Used by permission of Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden.

Example from *Billy the Kid; Ballet Suite* by Aaron Copland © 1941, Boosey and Hawkes. Reprinted by permission of the Aaron Copland Fund for Music, Inc., copyright owner, and Boosey and Hawkes, Inc., publisher.

Examples from *Threnodies I and II* by Aaron Copland © 1972, Boosey and Hawkes. Reprinted by permission of the Aaron Copland Fund for Music, Inc., copyright owner, and Boosey and Hawkes, Inc., publisher.

Example from Quartet for piano and strings by Aaron Copland © 1952, Boosey and Hawkes. Reprinted by permission of the Aaron Copland Fund for Music, Inc., copyright owner, and Boosey and Hawkes, Inc., publisher.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, Professor bruce d. mcclung, for his guidance and support in the preparation of this thesis, and Daniel E. Mathers for generously sharing his expertise and scholarly insight. I would also like to thank my parents, Warren and Shelley Perlove, who encouraged me and gave me the gift of intellectual curiosity, and my husband, Charlie Croog, for his confidence in my ideas and me.

## INTRODUCTION

There is that music which belongs in the flute and only in the flute. A certain objective lyricism, a kind of ethereal fluidity we connect with the flute.

—Aaron Copland, Charles Eliot Norton lecture at Harvard University (1951–1952)

Aaron Copland (1900–1990) is widely regarded as the Dean of American twentieth-century composers. He was honored with a Pulitzer Prize (1944), the New York Critics' Circle Award (1945), an Oscar for his score to *The Heiress* (1950), the Gold Medal of the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1956), a Presidential Medal of Freedom (1964), and numerous honorary doctorates including ones from Princeton University (1956), Oberlin College (1958), and Harvard University (1961). His career spans a wide range of musical styles including works in modernist, folk, popular, and serial idioms. After 1962 Copland composed less and dedicated more time to conducting. By 1973 he stopped composing new works altogether. Copland's final compositions include *Emblems* for band (1964); *Inscape* (1967), *Connotations* (1962), and "Estrillo" (from *Latin American Sketches*, 1971) for orchestra; *Night Thoughts* for piano (1972); three small fanfares for orchestra (*Ceremonial Fanfare*, *Inaugural Fanfare* and *Happy Anniversary*, 1969); and *Proclamation* for piano (completed 1982).

During his late period of diminishing productivity, Copland also composed three chamber works for flute. The Duo for Flute and Piano (1971) was the composer's last extended composition and the *Threnodies I and II* (1971 and 1973) are short works for flute/alto flute and string trio that were composed independently

and later paired as a set for publication. The impetus for creating his late flute works came in the form of memorial tributes, the Duo for flutist and teacher William Kincaid, *Threnody I* for Igor Stravinsky, and *Threnody II* for friend Beatrice Cunningham. Together, these works are emblematic of Copland, the aging composer. This study will examine the Duo and *Threnodies* as examples of the composer's late style with special attention given to Copland's tendency to adopt and reinterpret material from outside sources and his desire to be liberated from his own popular style of the 1940s. By closely examining the history, compositional techniques, and influences of his Duo and the *Threnodies I and II*, this thesis will add to the existing literature as a resource for performers and scholars.

Despite the rich insights these works provide into the creative mind of one of America's most beloved composers, to date, no comprehensive studies of these late flute pieces have been attempted. Attention has been given to the stylistic analysis and compositional process of Copland's larger scale works of the sixties including theses on *Emblems* and *Inscape* (by John Patrick Lynch, Robert Marbury Carnochan, and David Joseph Conte)<sup>1</sup> and Peter Evans's article on *Connotations* in *Perspectives of New Music*.<sup>2</sup> *Copland: Since 1943*, co-authored with Vivian Perlis, does touch upon each of his late works including the flute pieces, but the analysis and context provided are limited by the nature of the book, which aims to present all of Copland's

---

<sup>1</sup>John Patrick Lynch, "*Emblems*: Signifiers of Stylistic Coherence in the Formulation of an American Sound in this and other Selected Works of Aaron Copland" (DMA thesis, University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music, 1996). Robert Marbury Carnochan, "Aaron Copland's *Emblems*" (DMA thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1999). David Joseph Conte, "A Study of Aaron Copland's Sketches for *Inscape*" (DMA thesis, Cornell University, 1983).

<sup>2</sup>Peter Evans, "Copland on the Serial Road: An Analysis of *Connotations*," *Perspectives of New Music* 3 (1964): 141–49.



oeuvre rather than focus on a specific body of works.<sup>3</sup> In his comprehensive biography of the composer, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, Howard Pollack carefully introduces the reader to each of Copland's late works with well-researched commentary and comparison.<sup>4</sup> However, the scope of Pollack's study limits his discussions of the Duo to two pages of text and the analysis of the *Threnodies* to a page, and the format of Pollack's survey allows for no musical examples. The lack of comprehensive research on Copland's late flute works may be because scholars minimized the importance of pieces written for the small-scale medium of flute chamber music and instead focused their studies on the works for band and orchestra. Because this study is dedicated entirely to the late flute works, the pieces are given in-depth attention through consultations of writings by and about Copland; published scores by Copland and other composers; articles, books, dissertations, and interviews with musicologists, historians, and theorists; analysis of the pieces themselves, and letters, reviews, unpublished scores, and documents from the Copland Collection in the Library of Congress. The result is an intertextual study that seeks to understand these pieces in terms of the time and place in which they were created.

To fully understand the context of Copland's late flute works, the thesis begins with a discussion of Copland's personal and compositional background and training in Paris. Brief reviews of Copland's early chamber works for flute (the unpublished *Piece for Flute and Piano* and *As it Fell Upon a Day*) are included for

---

<sup>3</sup>Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: Since 1943* (New York: St. Martins/Marek, 1984), 255, 368, 375–77, 381.

<sup>4</sup>Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999), 511–13.

comparison. I explore the composer's writings about the flute as an instrument of lyricism and ethereal fluidity, his views on interpretation, and his desire to create an American school of composition.

Because the Duo is Copland's most substantial work for flute and the last extended piece he composed, the majority of this thesis will be devoted to the historical, cultural, theoretical, and interpretive analysis of this piece. The research will incorporate my previous work on the Duo including the published articles "Inherited Sound Images: Native American Exoticism in Aaron Copland's *Duo for Flute and Piano*" and "Performing Copland's *Duo*."<sup>5</sup> In addition, this thesis adds substantial new findings by exploring the work's relationship to Copland's film scores *The North Star* (1943) and *Something Wild* (1961), connections brought to my attention by Daniel E. Mathers. By linking borrowed passages in the Duo to the dramatic action in these films, I hope to provide a greater understanding of the expressive content of the Duo. This study will also explore the history, background, motivating forces, and impact of the Duo's commission and compositional process including examination of unpublished sketches from the 1940s which were used as the basis for the piece; American idioms referenced including jazz, boogie woogie, ragtime, hymnody, Hebraic and Gregorian chant, Russian primitivism, pastoral depictions, and folk elements; reflections of war and their meaning in context of the Vietnam conflict; and the presence of Indianist exoticisms and how the use of such

---

<sup>5</sup>Nina Perlove, "Inherited Sound Images: Native American Exoticism in Aaron Copland's Duo for Flute and Piano," *American Music* 18 (2000): 50–77 and "Performing Copland's Duo," *Flute Talk Magazine* 18 (December 1998): 12–16.

material mirrors and contradicts Copland's views on Native Americans as a musical source for American composers.

After completing the Duo, Copland expressed disappointment that the work was so heavily influenced by his 1940s style and set out to compose works in a more modern idiom. *Threnody I* was composed as a tribute to Igor Stravinsky. Unlike the Duo, the piece outwardly appears independent from Copland's 1940s style in its canonic, neoclassical treatment. However, the work directly quotes a Spanish folk song, indicating that even while employing modernist techniques in the *Threnody I*, Copland was still incorporating 1940s idioms with specific folk connections. The way in which Copland integrated the folk with the new is examined, with special attention given to how his compositional methods in this piece reflect Copland's views of its dedicatee. In 1973 Copland composed *Threnody II*, a memorial tribute in honor of Beatrice Cunningham. The distinctly modernist work employs tone rows in the forms of motives and harmonic dyads. Serialism is nevertheless combined with Copland's signature wide intervals, relaxed pastoral style, and flexible handling of the row, methods which are both modern and typical of Copland, revealing his interest in borrowed idioms even as he strove to create music that was new.

The late flute works of Copland stand, in essence, as the composer's compositional farewell by reflecting many of his earlier trends. Yet it is a farewell that does not come willingly or knowingly, as Copland did not apparently intend for these works to be among his final compositions and seems to have wanted them to be works of forward progress rather than resigned reflection. He saw them not as monumental culminations to a career, but as meaningful memorial tributes to friends

and colleagues, and in Copland's careful hands, each of the works reflects the person for whom they were dedicated. The late flute works present Copland as a composer struggling with the opposing forces of historical style, current events, and modern trends. The result is a repertoire for flute that is rich in its postmodern mixing of styles.

## CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	3
LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES.....	4
Chapter	
1. PRELIMINARY STUDIES.....	6
American Composer	
Copland's Paris Training and Early Flute Works	
Transformations: An American School	
An Invitation to Interpretation	
On Composing and Orchestrating for the Flute	
2. AMERICAN EPIC: THE DUO FOR FLUTE AND PIANO (1971).....	17
The Commission	
Early Reception	
Main Characters	
From a North Star	
Something Wild in the City	
Tension on the Landscape	
War Heroes	
The Indian as Modern	
3. THE SEARCH FOR A NEW VOICE: THE <i>THRENODIES</i> <i>I AND II</i> (1971 AND 1973).....	82

The Subjectively Inclined Composer

A Complex Pair

Looking Back, Looking Ahead

4.	COLLAGE AND COMPOSITIONAL ASSIMILATION.....	106
----	---	-----

Appendix

1.	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	110
----	-------------------	-----

## FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Duo, Movement II, and Corresponding Sketches.....	19
2. Flutists who have performed Duo, Copland’s handwritten list, undated	28
3. Corresponding Cues and Visuals in <i>Something Wild</i> and the Duo.....	52
4. Row Use in <i>Threnody II</i> Measures 31–33.....	102
5. Row Use in <i>Threnody II</i> Measures 27–31.....	103

## MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example	Page
1. Aaron Copland, “Version for fl, cl, bn: WW Trio,” unpublished draft.....	21–22
2. Aaron Copland, “Allegro con spirito,” unpublished sketch.....	23
3. Aaron Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 1, mm. 1–24 (flute part only)	31
4. Quinto Maganini, <i>Tuolumne</i> , final solo for trumpet in C.....	35
5. Charles Ives, “The Indians,” vocal line.....	36
6. Aaron Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mm. 66–70 (flute part only).....	38
7. Bah-bum-bum-bum pattern.....	38
8. Aaron Copland, “Waiting” from <i>The North Star</i> , unpublished.....	48–49
9. Aaron Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 1, mm. 93–102.....	50
10. Aaron Copland, <i>Something Wild</i> , cue 13B The Lake, unpublished.....	52–55
11. Aaron Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 1, final 5 measures.....	56
12. Aaron Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 2, mm. 1–10.....	58
13. Aaron Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 2, mm. 51–59.....	59
14. Ennio Morricone, <i>The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly</i> , opening theme.....	60
15. Aaron Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 2, mm. 52–54 reduced.....	60
16. Aaron Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 3, mm. 1–6.....	65
17. Edward MacDowell, Indian Suite, mvt. 3 “In War Time,” mm. 1–16, piano reduction.....	66
18. Aaron Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 3, mm. 15–19, flute part only	68
19. Scott Joplin, Maple Leaf Rag, beginning of B Strain.....	68
20. Aaron Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 3, mm. 69–88.....	69
21. Aaron Copland, Billy the Kid, “Gun Battle”.....	70



22. Aaron Copland, <i>Threnody Igor Stravinsky: in memoriam</i> , from <i>Tempo Magazine</i> , mm. 1–9.....	87
23. Aaron Copland, <i>Threnody I</i> , Boosey and Hawkes edition.....	88–89
24. Kurt Schindler, Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal, <i>Adagio ligadísimo</i> #414.....	92
25. Aaron Copland, <i>Threnody II</i> , mm. 1–9.....	96
26. Aaron Copland, <i>Threnody II</i> , mm. 18–38.....	99–100
27. Aaron Copland, Quartet for piano and strings, mvt. 3, mm. 1–8.....	102
28. Aaron Copland, <i>Threnody II</i> , mm. 95–100.....	103

## CHAPTER ONE: PRELIMINARY STUDIES

### AMERICAN COMPOSER

On the occasion of Aaron Copland's (1900–1990) eightieth birthday, the United States Congress read a message of tribute into the *Congressional Record*:

Aaron Copland, this country's greatest living composer, is the classic American success story; a man from modest beginnings who has reached the top of his profession solely by his own efforts . . . Aaron Copland, always at the frontier of American music, has become its most distinguished elder statesman. He has won every honor in the book, including thirty-three honorary doctorates, the Pulitzer Prize, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and the Kennedy Center Honor. We salute this fine American for his music and for his tireless efforts on behalf of all of American music.<sup>1</sup>

Copland's status as Dean of American composers was the result of his both his unwavering support of native-born composers and his ability to reflect the American experience in sound. Scholars, critics, and audiences have often commented on the American quality in Copland's output. Scuyler Chapin credits the composer with "creating an authentic sound for America,"<sup>2</sup> and Wilfrid Mellers went so far as to claim "the American . . . experience is musically incarnated in [Copland's] life's work."<sup>3</sup> Copland's output spanned a wide range of musical styles including works in modernist, folk, popular, and serial idioms. In his comprehensive survey of Copland's music, Howard Pollack identifies the specific elements behind Copland's musical Americana:

---

<sup>1</sup>*Congressional Record*, as quoted in Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: Since 1943* (New York: St. Martins/Marek, 1984), 408.

<sup>2</sup>Schuyler Chapin, "A Gift to be Simple," *Symphony Magazine* 42 (March–April, 1991): 25.

<sup>3</sup>Wilfrid Mellers, "Homage to Aaron Copland," *Tempo* 95 (Winter 1970–71): 4.

In discussing what made Copland's music "recognizably American," critics typically mentioned the allusions to and quotations of American popular and folk musics, the jazzy polyrhythms and irregular meters, the vigor and angularity of some melodies, the lean and bare textures and the favored extremes of closely knit harmonies and widely spaced sonorities, and the distinctly brittle piano writing and brassy and percussive orchestrations.<sup>4</sup>

An interest in American subjects may have derived from the composer's own background as the first-generation son of Jewish immigrants. Copland's mother, Sarah Mittenenthal, was born in Russia and spent her childhood in Illinois and Texas, an ironic setting for a woman whose surname translated in English means, "between valley and fields."<sup>5</sup> In the American West of the late nineteenth century, "cowboys and Indians were a natural part of [Sarah's] life," and in her father's dry goods stores, "verbal exchanges must have been a unique mix of Yiddish, English, and Indian."<sup>6</sup> Sarah's experience in the West may have inspired her son's interest in American sonorities, as she was known to play piano and sing popular songs.<sup>7</sup> She eventually moved with her family to New York City. Copland's father, Harris Morris Kaplan, left Russia for England where his family name was transliterated into the more anglo-sounding *Copland*. After earning enough money for passage to the United States, Harris arrived in New York City in 1877. Eight years later he married Sarah Mittenenthal. On 14 November 1900 Aaron Copland was born—an American in both citizenship and name.

Copland began composing in his teen years and was a student of Rubin Goldmark. Following studies in France with Nadia Boulanger, Copland developed

---

<sup>4</sup>Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999), 529.

<sup>5</sup>Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: 1900 through 1942* (New York: St. Martins/Marek, 1984), 1.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 3–4.

into a mature professional. His prolific output included works for symphonies and wind ensembles, ballets, one opera, chamber pieces, vocal music, and solo piano works. In the final years of his career, Copland composed less and dedicated more time to conducting. By 1973 he stopped composing new works altogether. Copland's final compositions include two chamber works for flute, the *Duo for Flute and Piano* (1971) and *Threnodies I and II* (1971 and 1973). As examples of the composer's late style, these flute pieces reveal Copland's tendency to adopt and reinterpret material from outside sources as well as his conflicting desires to borrow and be liberated from his Americana style of the 1940s.

#### COPLAND'S PARIS TRAINING AND EARLY FLUTE WORKS

Copland's remarkable insight into the American character was not solely the result of his Brooklyn upbringing. An in-depth understanding of his national environment did not develop until he left the U.S. to study in France with Nadia Boulanger. Copland explained, "One can sometimes see America more clearly from across the ocean than when living right inside it."<sup>8</sup>

It was during this period of self-discovery that Copland composed his earliest known works for flute. His *Piece for Flute and Piano* (1921–1924) was originally a homework assignment for Boulanger's instrumental class<sup>9</sup> and survives as an unpublished manuscript in the Library of Congress Copland Collection. Largely unknown, the piece was mentioned briefly in Howard Pollack's biography. Pollack concluded that the "very French-sounding piece for flute and piano shares material with

---

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 82.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 86. The exact date of the work is unknown, although it falls into the period of his studies with Boulanger.

the *Passacaglia*.”<sup>10</sup> *As It Fell Upon a Day* for flute, clarinet, and voice (1923) was also the result of an assignment from Boulanger. This time the instructions were to write a piece for flute and clarinet as a summer project. Copland composed the piece during an extended summer of travel to Vienna and Salzburg, where he attended the First Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music and heard works by Stravinsky, Ravel, Whithorne, Milhaud, Poulenc, Honegger, Hindemith, Krenek, and Haba. Copland added a voice part to the flute and clarinet assignment, set to a text of Richard Barnefield, a seventeenth-century English poet. Copland’s *As It Fell* premiered in Paris at the Salle Pleyel in 1924.<sup>11</sup> It was first published several years later in *New Music Quarterly*.<sup>12</sup> Flutist and composer Otto Luening, who performed the work in New York in 1935, called it “one of Copland’s best pieces.”<sup>13</sup> *As It Fell* begins with imitative counterpoint to meet the requirements of Boulanger’s assignment and explored modal harmonies, which Copland claimed were purely unintentional. Neil Butterworth found that the combination of flute, clarinet, and voice “produces a texture of ascetic severity.”<sup>14</sup> A review from *Commedia* reported:

[*As It Fell Upon a Day*] shows a sensitive flexible nature and a technique which is already highly finished. With so few instruments a composer cannot bluff; he must play fair. Therefore every effort is doubly meritorious.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup>Pollack, 78.

<sup>11</sup>Copland and Perlis, *1900–1942*, 88–91.

<sup>12</sup>Aaron Copland, “As it Fell Upon a Day,” *New Music* 2/4 (1929): 1–14.

<sup>13</sup>Otto Leuning, *The Odyssey of an American Composer* (New York: Charles Scribner’s, 1980), 387, quoted in Pollack, 79.

<sup>14</sup>Neil Butterworth, *The Music of Aaron Copland* (New York: Universe Books, 1986), 22–23.

<sup>15</sup>*Commedia*, as quoted in *ibid*.

A similar ascetic instrumentation and affinity for economy of means would appear nearly fifty years later in Copland's *Threnodies I and II* (1971 and 1973).

## TRANSFORMATIONS: AN AMERICAN SCHOOL

When Copland returned to the United States from France in 1924, he was eager to promote an American school of composition that would rival the European musical tradition that dominated Western art music. Friend and colleague Arthur Berger recalled Copland's views on his search for a new American sound palette:

[Copland] found that his American elders provided no suitable example . . . It was necessary to build from the ground up, and Copland deliberately went about forging an indigenous idiom.<sup>16</sup>

In pursuit of this idiom, Copland came to believe that cultural and regional musical material is often transmitted subconsciously to members of that society:

To a certain degree, sound images are imposed upon us from without. We are born to certain inherited sounds and tend to take them for granted. Other peoples, however, have an absorbing interest in quite different kinds of auditory materials.<sup>17</sup>

In attempting to define and recreate inherent American musical idioms, Copland often borrowed from folk sources. But while he was strongly influenced by jazz and folk songs, he did not simply arrange the material. Instead, he transformed it into music entirely his own. Copland explained, "The use of [folk] materials ought never to be a mechanical process . . . They can be successfully handled only by a composer who is able to identify himself with, and re-express in his own terms, the underlying emotional connotation of the material."<sup>18</sup> Arthur Berger related how Copland

---

<sup>16</sup>Arthur Berger, "Aaron Copland 1900–1990," *Perspectives of New Music* 30 (1992): 296–97.

<sup>17</sup>Aaron Copland, *Music and Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 26.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 103–04.

employed this technique to add new expressive layers to the folk music from which he borrowed, “One of [Copland’s] special devices in transforming a folksong is to make it broad or tender when it has been slight or frivolous originally, and in this way he brings out essences of which we were previously unaware.”<sup>19</sup>

Transforming folk material was a technique Copland often practiced consciously, as in his adaptation of the Shaker tune “Simple Gifts” for *Appalachian Spring* (1944). Yet, he also incorporated folk elements subconsciously. In speaking of his Third Symphony (1946), Copland claimed, “any reference to either folk material or jazz . . . was purely unconscious.”<sup>20</sup> He acknowledged that his compositions often contain expressive layers, which although not knowingly developed, are nevertheless legitimate:

It is one of the curiosities of the critical creative mind that although it is very much alive to the component parts of the finished work, it cannot know everything that the work may mean to others . . . . The late Paul Rosenfeld once wrote that he saw the steel frames of skyscrapers in my Piano Variations. I like to think that the characterization was apt, but I must confess that the notion of skyscrapers was not at all in my mind when I was composing the variations.<sup>21</sup>

Copland even admitted reading reviews of his works to enrich his own understanding of them, “I admit to a certain curiosity about the slightest cue as to the meaning of a piece of mine—a meaning, that is, other than the one I know to have put there.”<sup>22</sup>

## AN INVITATION TO INTERPRETATION

---

<sup>19</sup>Arthur Berger, *Aaron Copland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), 60.

<sup>20</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 68.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 46.

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

Copland further recognized and encouraged multiple interpretations of his musical compositions. In reference to the lasting greatness of Beethoven, Copland said, “Music which always says the same thing to you will necessarily soon become dull music, but music whose meaning is slightly different with each hearing has a greater chance of remaining alive.”<sup>23</sup> Copland specifically hoped that his own works would remain alive in this way.<sup>24</sup>

Copland extended the invitation to interpret his works to audiences, critics, and performers. He wrote extensively on the role of musicians and their responsibility to give life to a composition, albeit a life consistent with the general intentions of the composer:

For a composition is, after all, an organism. It is a living, not a static thing. That is why it is capable of being seen in a different light and from different angles by various interpreters or even by the same interpreter at different times . . . .Every piece has an essential quality which the interpretation must not betray. It takes its quality from the nature of the music itself, which is derived from the personality of the composer himself and the period in which it was written. In other words, every composition has its own style which the interpreter must be faithful to. But every interpreter has his own personality, too . . .no finished interpreter can possibly play a piece of music or even a phrase . . .without adding something of his or her own personality.<sup>25</sup>

Copland described his fascination with numerous and unexpected interpretations of a piece of music in terms of myths:

Musical myths—even more than folk myths—are subject to highly personalized interpretation, and there is no known method of guaranteeing that my

---

11. <sup>23</sup>Aaron Copland, *What to Listen for in Music* (New York: Mentor Books/Penguin Putnam, 1999),

<sup>24</sup>Copland wrote, “I should like to think that any one of my works is capable of being read in several ways.” (Copland, *Music and Imagination*, 49).

<sup>25</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 215–16.



interpretation will be a truer one than yours. I can only recommend reliance on one's own instinctive comprehension of the unverbilized symbolism of musical sounds.<sup>26</sup>

Copland clearly welcomed performer and audience interpretation and sought to create works suitable for multi-layered approaches to analysis and listening. His late works for flute are no exception.

#### ON COMPOSING AND ORCHESTRATING FOR THE FLUTE

After his student days in Paris, Copland composed no chamber pieces for flute until he was commissioned to do so in 1969. However he did use the flute as an important instrumental color in his many orchestral scores and ballets. Copland described the important process of orchestration and how certain instruments inherently represent or refer to time, "In Western music, certain sound media (instrumentation) are identified with certain periods."<sup>27</sup> Copland also described how individual themes within a piece may be specifically suited to a particular instrument:

Very often the composer finds himself with a theme that can be equally well played on the violin, flute, clarinet, trumpet, or half a dozen other instruments. What, then, makes him decide to choose one rather than another? Only one thing: he chooses the instrument with the tone color that best expresses the meaning behind his idea. In other words, his choice is determined by the expressive value of any specific instrument. That is true in the case not only of single instruments but also of combinations of instruments . . . .

At times, of course, a composer conceives a theme and its tonal investiture simultaneously. There are outstanding examples of that in music. One that is often quoted is the flute solo at the beginning of "[Prélude à] *L'après midi d'un faun* ([Prelude to the] *Afternoon of a Faun*). That same theme, played by any other instrument than the flute, would induce a very different emotional feeling. It is impossible to imagine Debussy's conceiving the theme first and then later

---

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 13.

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

deciding to orchestrate it for a flute. The two must have been conceived simultaneously.<sup>28</sup>

Copland indeed believed that the composer's choice of instrumental colors was a key element to inflecting the music with proper expressive content, and he emphasized the importance of the composer's ability to recognize the unique properties of each instrument family.<sup>29</sup>

Copland spoke specifically of his views of the flute's unique personal characteristics:

The tone color of the flute is fairly well known. It possesses a soft, cool, fluid or feathery timbre. Because of its very defined personality, it is one of the most attractive instruments on the orchestra. It is extremely agile; it can play faster and more notes to the second than any other member of the woodwinds.<sup>30</sup>

Copland further differentiated between the expressive elements of the high and low registers of the flute and noted his attraction to the instrument's lower register, which he found to be "darkly expressive, in a most individual way."<sup>31</sup> Copland also commented on the unique qualities of the piccolo:

Even if all the instruments of the orchestra are playing their loudest, you can generally hear the piccolo above all of them. In *fortissimo*, it possesses a thin but shrill and brilliant sonority and can outpipe anyone within listening distance. Composers are careful how they use it. Often it merely doubles, an octave higher, what the flute is doing. But recent composers have shown that, played quietly in its more moderate register, it has a thin singing voice of no little charm.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 64–65.

<sup>29</sup>He explained, "It is important nowadays for a composer to have a feeling for the essential nature of each instrument—how it may be used to exploit its most personal characteristics." (Ibid., 67).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

One example of Copland's application of the piccolo's charming moderate register occurs in his music for the ballet *Billy the Kid* in Scene 1, "Street in a Frontier Town."

Copland also wrote of his views of the flute in more poetic terms, revealing the expressive intent he may have had in orchestrating themes with flute. He claimed, "There is that music which belongs in the flute and only in the flute. A certain objective lyricism, a kind of ethereal fluidity we connect with the flute."<sup>33</sup> Copland curiously juxtaposes ethereal fluidity with objectivity. This may reflect the intangibility of Copland's ethereal aesthetic, a nostalgic or unattainable yearning for heavenly lyricism. This is consistent with Copland's view that the flute exhibits distant warmth. Compared to the oboe, Copland described the flute as "impersonal."<sup>34</sup>

In addition to its ethereal fluidity and objective lyricism, Copland also associated the flute with outdoor music, presumably because the flute is a portable instrument.<sup>35</sup> This adds an implied suggestion of mobility, a quality important to the development of the American character, as the country was essentially founded and expanded by people of motion. The outdoor association of the flute may also be related to the instrument's history as a part of ancient and nomadic cultures.

Despite Copland's attraction to the expressive qualities of the flute, he used the instrument strictly in orchestral settings throughout the majority of his prolific career. It

---

<sup>33</sup>Copland, *Music and Imagination*, 29.

<sup>34</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 73.

<sup>35</sup>Copland described his choice of using flutes for the outdoor scenes in *Of Mice and Men* in Copland and Perlis, *1900–1942*, 298.

was not until 1969 that Copland began to compose his first and only solo piece for flute and piano.

## CHAPTER TWO: AMERICAN EPIC: THE DUO FOR FLUTE AND PIANO (1971)

### THE COMMISSION

On 16 August 1967, flutist John Solum wrote to Copland regarding the commission of a new work for flute and piano:

As you probably know the great flutist and teacher William Kincaid died in Philadelphia on March 27, 1967.

Some of the flutists who were particularly close to Mr. Kincaid . . . [Elaine Shaffer, John Krell, Kenton Terry and myself] have agreed that we would like to establish a “living” memorial to perpetuate the name of William Kincaid, and it is for that reason that I am writing to you.

On behalf of the hundreds of flutists who studied under Mr. Kincaid, we would like to commission you to write a major work for flute and piano . . . We have in mind a work like a sonata (although it need not be a sonata *per se*), of about 12 to 20 minutes duration. Every Kincaid pupil in the world will be invited to participate as contributors to the commissioning fund.<sup>1</sup>

William Kincaid (1895–1967) is recognized as the father of the American school of flute playing, so Copland, widely known as the father of the American school of composition, was an appropriate composer to fulfill a commission in Kincaid’s honor. Like Copland, Kincaid began his professional studies under the French influence; in New York City, Kincaid studied with French flutist Georges Barrère (who performed the New York premiere of Copland’s *As it Fell Upon a Day* in a 1933 New York concert of the Pan American Association of Composer’s, Inc.). In 1921 Kincaid became solo flutist of the Philadelphia Orchestra, a post he held until retiring in 1960. He was also a member of the Philadelphia Woodwind Quintet and a faculty member at the Curtis Institute of Music, where he influenced generations of American flutists.

---

<sup>1</sup>Richard Wyton, “The Copland-Solum Correspondence, 1967–1975: *The Duo for Flute and Piano* Commission,” *The Flutist Quarterly* 17 (Winter 1992): 33–43.

His students became some of the most distinguished performers and teachers in the nation.

Copland accepted the commission and wrote to Solum:

I was interested to receive your letter of August 16<sup>th</sup> telling me of the plan for a commission in honor of William Kincaid, whose playing I greatly admired. It is very flattering to be offered a commission to write a sizable work for flute and piano in his honor.<sup>2</sup>

Copland began working on the piece in 1969. He received \$2,500 for the completed composition.

Copland finished the slow second movement in August 1970, and Solum reported to Copland, “We are all extremely pleased with what you have released so far—Elaine [Shaffer] thinks that you really were thinking of Kincaid when you wrote it.”<sup>3</sup> Although the work seems to reflect Kincaid’s lyricism, much of the material for the movement was actually taken directly from material dating from the 1940s and from undated sketches on manuscript paper from Golden West Press, Hollywood, Calif. Copland admitted that ideas for the Duo’s three movements date from this period and also related the opening flute solo to his 1946 Third Symphony<sup>4</sup> and 1943 Violin Sonata.<sup>5</sup>

The beginning of the second movement, which Copland completed first, is drawn from a sketch dated 26 September 1944 on which Copland scribbled in

---

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 36.

<sup>4</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 376.

<sup>5</sup>Copland, *Copland Performs and Conducts Copland*, liner notes. Pollack also compares the Duo to the 1943 Sonata for Violin and Piano (Pollack, 511).

parentheses, “Sonatina for fl. mov’t 2?”<sup>6</sup> The Duo’s melody, from the flute’s entrance until measure 25, is nearly identical to the sketch, which has only very spare and unfinished indications for the piano. Undated sketches on another sheet of manuscript paper show material corresponding to the Duo’s measures 26–42. Other sketches dated 3 December and 19 December 1945 present material that later became the Duo’s passage from measure 51–62 (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Duo, Movement II, and Corresponding Sketches

Duo mm.	1–2	3–25	26–42	43–50	51–62	63–end
Sketches	None	26 Sept. 1944	Undated	None	3 and 19 Dec. 1945	Recap. Material

This examination of the 1940s manuscripts reveals that very few of the movement’s themes were actually conceived after Copland received the commission in 1967. This, however, does not completely negate the possibility that the expressive element of the movement reflects its dedicatee, William Kincaid, as the selection and assembly of earlier sketches are essential to the creative compositional process. Copland probably chose this material for his Duo because they spoke to him artistically.

The first movement was completed by 9 December 1970. It, too, draws from earlier material. As Daniel E. Mather’s discovered, the Duo’s first theme, a monophonic flute solo, is a borrowing from Copland’s 1943 film score, *The North Star*, a movie set in

---

<sup>6</sup>Aaron Copland, *Duo for Flute and Piano*, Sketches, Copland Collection, Box 110, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

rural Russia during World War II<sup>7</sup> (Lillian Hellman, story; Samuel Goodwyn, producer; Lewis Milestone, director). Originally scored for solo clarinet, the theme (which later appears in the Duo) was titled “Waiting.”<sup>8</sup> Premiering in New York City at the Victoria and Palace Theaters on 4 November 1943, the film featured a score by Copland and lyrics by Ira Gershwin. Copland published two songs from the score: “The Song of the Guerillas” for baritone, male chorus, and piano or organ, and “The Younger Generation” for treble voices SSA or mixed chorus and piano.<sup>9</sup>

Although the theme appeared only briefly in the film, it seems to have intrigued Copland, who experimented with its development in several sketches (some dated 23 December 1945 and others on undated manuscripts that appear to be from the same period). Many of the sketches even contain the corresponding expressive markings Copland used in the 1971 Duo, such as “Flowing” and “Always flowing with delicacy.”

---

<sup>7</sup>Many thanks to Daniel E. Mathers for sharing this discovery with me.

<sup>8</sup>Aaron Copland, *The North Star: Conductor’s Score*, Copland Collection, Box 24, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The relationship between the Duo and *The North Star* will be discussed in greater detail in the section “From a North Star.”

<sup>9</sup>*The North Star*, Directed by Louis Milestone, original story and screen play by Lillian Hellman; produced by Samuel Goldwyn, music by Aaron Copland, 1943 (Piscataway, N.J.: Alpha Video, 1997). The unpublished portions of the score can be viewed in the Library of Congress Copland Collection. The score can be heard on a 1997 Alpha Video release of the film.



Example 1: Copland, "Version for fl, cl, bn: WW Trio," unpublished draft

Prod. Version for fl, cl, bn Title WW Trio Composer Copland Arranger AT

Fl. *Paving! (1:34)*

Cl. *4*

Bn. *4*

*3* *4* *3* *AT*

*3* *AT*

No. 110

Property of Republic Productions, Inc.

## Example 1 continued

Prod. \_\_\_\_\_ Title \_\_\_\_\_ Arranger \_\_\_\_\_

Handwritten musical score for Example 1 continued, showing three systems of music. The first system shows the beginning of the piece. The second system has a circled section with the handwritten note "Always flowing, with delicacy" and "Piano". The third system shows the end of the piece. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time.

No. 110

Property of Republic Productions, Inc.

On one manuscript page Copland wrote “Sonatina?” and in other manuscript pages he experimented with setting the theme for a woodwind trio of flute, clarinet, and bassoon (Example 1). Copland even wrote out a trio version that corresponds to the Duo’s first movement measures 1–72. Eventually he abandoned the trio in favor of the setting for flute and piano, as is indicated by the heading of the 23 December 1945 manuscript page on which Copland wrote, then crossed out:

Fl & Piano or WW Quartet  
~~WW Trio fl. cl. bn~~<sup>10</sup>

If Copland did attempt to compose a sonatina for flute and piano, it was not realized until the Kincaid commission.<sup>11</sup>

The Duo's third movement, completed in March 1971, also uses material dating from the '40s, but only the first theme derives directly from this period. On manuscript pages dated 8 May 1945 and on other undated sketches, Copland fully explored the flute's initial melody. On one page, he wrote it as a flute part above a pedaled piano, much like the Duo but without the keyboard's articulated attacks (Example 2). His initial indication for the theme was *Allegro con spirito*. For the Duo, Copland changed it to an English subtitle with more Americana associations: "Lively, with bounce." In some of the sketches, Copland indicates only rhythmic markings to accompany the main theme, suggesting that the composer conceived of the piece in strongly rhythmic terms. Although some of the manuscripts are clearly marked for flute and piano, others indicate a woodwind quartet or trio instrumentation, including bassoon, oboe, and clarinet.

---

<sup>10</sup>Aaron Copland, *Duo*, Sketches, Copland Collection, Box 110, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>11</sup>Elements similar to the Duo's scalar passages appeared not only in the incomplete manuscripts from the '40s but also in published works such as Copland's 1960 *Nonet for Strings* and 1961 film score, *Something Wild*. Another, even earlier appearance of such figures is heard in Copland's 1936 *Sunday Afternoon Music*, which predates these sketches from the '40s (Thanks to Howard Pollack and Daniel E. Mathers for bringing to my attention this relationship between the Duo and the Nonet).

Example 2: Copland, “Allegro con spirito,” unpublished sketch



During the compositional process of the Kincaid commission, Solum and Shaffer made suggestions and pointed out discrepancies between the score and flute part, which were variously accepted and rejected by the composer, such as notating the second movement in 6/8 meter (an idea Copland rejected) and removing a *non legato* indication in the first movement (a suggestion Copland accepted).<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>Wyton, 40–42.

Because the Duo is written in Copland's Americana style (also known as his "popular" style) and directly derives from self-borrowed material, it represents a culmination of Copland's stylistic trends. More importantly, it serves as a significant example of the composer's ability to adopt and reinterpret pre-existing musical material.

## EARLY RECEPTION

On Sunday, 3 October 1971, Elaine Shaffer and Hephzibah Menuhin premiered the *Duo for Flute and Piano* at the Settlement School in Philadelphia. The work was performed twice at this William M. Kincaid Memorial Concert, before and after intermission, so the audience could benefit from a second hearing. The program also featured a Sonata by Kuhlau and a 1786 Beethoven Trio for Flute, Bassoon, and Piano.<sup>13</sup> William Smith made a presentation titled "William M. Kincaid: The Man and the Artist." Shaffer performed on Kincaid's platinum flute, which had been willed to her. This is a legendary instrument: Powell flute #365 was made in 1939 for the New York World's Fair, was subsequently purchased by Kincaid, and is considered by some to be "the most famous and valuable flute in the world."<sup>14</sup>

William Nazzaro, a critic for *The Evening Bulletin*, called the Kincaid memorial concert "perfection." He wrote:

Copland has composed little of real consequence the past ten years or so, possibly because he has been dabbling too much in 12-tone music, but his Duo is a throwback to those lovely ballet scores of the '30s and '40s that have made him so popular.

---

<sup>13</sup>The original concert program does not specify which Kuhlau Sonata and Beethoven Trio were performed. Available in the Copland Collection, Box 399/11, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>14</sup>Powell Flutes brochure, [http://www.powellflutes.com/media/contact/vqp\\_brochures.pdf](http://www.powellflutes.com/media/contact/vqp_brochures.pdf), accessed 23 July 2002.

The first two movements seemed to arise out of the same elements as his *Appalachian Spring* or *Billy the Kid*. The finale was a vigorous workout for both Miss Shaffer and her excellent partner, Hephzibah Menuhin, familiar here from her appearances with her brother, Yehudi.

Copland gives the flute all sorts of pyrotechnics, and Miss Shaffer accepted the challenge with aplomb. The audience, which must have included just about every flutist in the area, responded with enthusiasm.<sup>15</sup>

A week later, Shaffer and Menuhin gave the Duo's New York premiere in a concert at Hunter College. Of the Duo, *New York Times* critic Peter G. Davis wrote, "Beneath the surface charm lies the composer's customary sophisticated sense of narrative development, rhythmic ingenuity and keen ear for instrumental color," although he found that "Miss Schaffer [*sic*] played respectably if not with the consistently high distinction she has shown in the past."<sup>16</sup> *Musical America* critic A. Der described the same concert:

Copland has returned in his Duo to the familiar idiom of such works as *Rodeo* and *Appalachian Spring*, with auspicious results. But now there seems to be a mellower tone to his music, a smoothing-out of the corners, greater eloquence with increased economy of means. These qualities are realized especially well in the leisurely contoured, pastoral first movement.

The performers lavished loving care on [the Duo] as well as on the rest of the program. Miss Shaffer has a smallish tone, but it is clear and penetrating, delicately illuminating the musical outlines. Miss Menuhin provided aristocratic, warmly disciplined keyboard partnership.<sup>17</sup>

The Duo's Boston premiere was given at the Gardner Museum in January 1972 with Doriot Anthony Dwyer, flute, and Edwin Hymovitz, piano. The *Boston Globe's* Michael Steinberg also compared the Duo to *Appalachian Spring* and called it "a

---

<sup>15</sup>William J. Navarro, "Settlement School Hosts Copland Premiere," *The Evening Bulletin* (4 October 1971). Available in the Copland Collection, Box 399/11, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>16</sup>Peter G. Davis, "Hephzibah Menuhin and Miss Schaffer Play Copland's Duo," *The New York Times*, 12 October 1971. Available in the Copland Collection, Box 399/11, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>17</sup>Andrew De Rhen, "Elaine Shaffer, Hephzibah Menuhin," *High Fidelity/Musical America* 22 (January 1972): 24.

tightly composed piece. The sonorities are spare, even hard-edged at times, with no tricks.”<sup>18</sup>

Since these early performances, the Duo has become a standard in the flute repertoire.<sup>19</sup> Copland wrote that he was “pleased at the amount of interest stirred up in the work by its premiere performance . . . . I never realized there were so many flute players in the world.”<sup>20</sup> Copland kept handwritten lists of the Duo’s performers, performances, and copies of the piece promised and sent (Figure 2). Clearly the *Duo for Flute and Piano* was making itself heard in flute recitals around the world. In addition, Copland and Shaffer recorded the piece for the 1974 CBS title “Copland Performs and Conducts Copland.”<sup>21</sup> Its popularity spread beyond flutists; Copland began to arrange the work for violin and piano in 1977. It was premiered in its new form on 5 April 1978 by Robert Mann and André-Michel Schub.

---

<sup>18</sup>Michael Steinberg, “Aaron Copland’s Double Surprise,” *The Boston Globe*, 25 January 1972. Available in the Copland Collection, Box 399/11, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>19</sup>Some flutists who have recorded the Duo include Claudia Anderson, Keith Bryan, Kathleen Chastain, Angela Koregelos, Laurel Ann Maurer, Laila Padorr, Jean-Pierre Rampal, Paula Robison, Elaine Shaffer, Fenwick Smith, Robert Stallman, Alexa Still, Jennifer Stinton, Carol Wincenc, and Laurel Zucker.

<sup>20</sup>Wyton, 39.

<sup>21</sup>“Copland Performs and Conducts Copland,” CBS Records, 1974.

Figure 2: Flutists who have performed Duo, Copland's handwritten list, undated.<sup>22</sup>

1. Elaine Shaffer and Hephzibuh Menuhin (world premiere) Oct. 3, '71, N.Y.
2. Harvey Sollberger and Chas. Wuoriven, Jan. 18, '72, N.Y.
3. Jean Pierre Rampal and Robert Veyron-Lacroix, Feb. 25, '72, Wash. D.C.
4. Doriot Dwyer and Edwin Hymovitz, Jan. 24, '71, Boston Gardner Museum
5. Steve Lubin and Neal Zaslow, Nov. '71, Cornell Univ.
6. John Solum and ?, June '72? London
7. ? and Ralph Garrison, March 20. '72, Los Angeles
8. Constance Boykan and David Abramovitz, ? '72, Brandeis Univ.
9. Rodney Hill and Dady Mehta, Oct. '72 E. Lansing, Michigan
10. Angelo Persichilli and Maries Benois, May 14, '72, Rome, Italy
11. Patricia Smamm and Richard William, Feb. 12 '72, Kansas City

## MAIN CHARACTERS

Copland described the *Duo for Flute and Piano* as:

[A] lyrical piece, in a somewhat pastoral style. Almost by definition, it would have to be a lyrical piece, for what can you do with a flute in an extended form that wouldn't emphasize its songful nature? Of course, you could write fancy effects for awhile, but, to my mind, lyricism seems built into the flute.<sup>23</sup>

The Duo establishes a mood of introspection with its initial solo in simple, motionless rhythms. Copland agreed with the view that "rhythm is connected in our imagination with physical motion, the idea of melody is associated with mental emotion."<sup>24</sup> The ethereal fluidity of the Duo's introduction also has a distinctly pastoral quality

---

<sup>22</sup>Aaron Copland, "Flutists who have performed Duo," *Misc. Undated*, Copland Collection, Box 399/14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Copland's note that the world premiere took place in New York is incorrect. The world premiere occurred on 3 October 1971 at the Settlement School in Pennsylvania. The accuracy of this list has not been verified, but it reveals Copland's interest in tracking the performances of his new flute piece in its first year.

<sup>23</sup>Aaron Copland, Interview with Phillip Ramey, *ibid.*, liner notes.

<sup>24</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 39.



(Example 3); Copland viewed the flute as an “outdoor” instrument, compared to the relatively immobile piano.<sup>25</sup> The compositional techniques employed in the flute’s solo theme further create an outdoor ambiance. Many critics have suggested that Copland’s signature use of wide intervals and motionless rhythms suggests the American landscape. In speaking of Copland’s 1941 Piano Sonata, Mellers wrote, “the suggestion of timelessness in [Copland’s] work is . . . not unconnected with America’s physical, geographical vastness. The stillness and solitude of the prairie lurk behind all his urban sophistication.”<sup>26</sup> In the context of Mellers’s commentary, the relaxed, open fifths of the Duo evoke open-spaced prairies. The immediate repetition of the F-Bb motive also gives the impression of an echo over a vast canyon. There is no counterpoint or accompaniment to interrupt the reverberation of the flute’s wide intervals, which evaporate in time and space.

The Duo’s musical exposition creates a uniquely American setting by alluding to cowboys, Indians, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. First, the Duo’s use of prairie sound images has subtle, but significant links to mythology regarding Native Americans.<sup>27</sup> Common stereotypes of the Indian as a noble savage were often inextricably linked with idealizations of primitive American topography.<sup>28</sup> Romantic

---

<sup>25</sup>Copland and Perlis, *1900–1942*, 298; and Arthur Berger, *Aaron Copland*, 87–89.

<sup>26</sup>Wilfrid Mellers, as quoted by Arthur Berger in “Aaron Copland 1900–1990,” 297.

<sup>27</sup> The connection of the Duo to Native American Exoticism has been discussed in Nina Perlove, “Inherited Sound Images: Native American Exoticism in Aaron Copland’s Duo for Flute and Piano,” *American Music* 18 (2000): 50–77.

<sup>28</sup>The common connection between Native Americans and landscape imagery of the American West is discussed in Michael Vincent Pisani, “Exotic Sounds in the Native Land: Portrayals of North American Indians in Western Music” (Ph.D. dissertation, Eastman School of Music, 1996), 9, 35, 521; and Micheal V. Pisani, “The Indian Music Debate and ‘American’ Music in the Progressive Era,” *College Music Symposium* 37 (1997): 88–93.

writers created the pastoral view of the Indian by identifying “the Indian with the grandeur of nature.”<sup>29</sup> Such was the case in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855), a common subject for late nineteenth-century American stage productions, often performed with original scores.<sup>30</sup>

Scholars such as Michael V. Pisani and Tara Colleen Browner have undertaken large-scale studies of musical Indianisms, identifying several compositional techniques commonly associated with Indianist musical exoticism. In labeling such techniques, it must be emphasized that it is not the presence of each trait alone, but the surrounding context and combined impact of the musical, textual, and/or dramatic material, which gives a work exotic association. Some of the compositional techniques that have become hallmarks of Indianist musical stereotype largely because of their presence in Indian programmatic settings are as follows:

- open fifths;
- melodies in pentatonic or modal organization, often with lowered sevenths or gapped scales;
- a melodic range primarily limited to one octave, except after two or three phrases, at which point it ascends a third, or even a fifth, above the outer limit;
- overall descending phrase contour;
- predominate use of consonant intervals, often in descending motion;
- meter changes; and

---

<sup>29</sup>Gilbert Chase, “The ‘Indianist’ Movement in American Music,” *Farwell, Orem, and Cadman*, New World Records, NW-213, liner notes.

<sup>30</sup>Pisani’s in-depth discussion of nineteenth-century *Hiawatha* settings is a major focus of his dissertation. Some composers who explored *Hiawatha* themes include Rubin Goldmark (Copland’s early teacher), Robert Stoepel, Ellsworth Phelps, Louis Coerne, Carl Busch, and Arthur Foote. See also Michael Pisani, “Longfellow, Robert Stoepel, and an Early Musical Setting of *Hiawatha* (1859),” *American Music* 16 (1998): 45–85.

—falling incipits that often immediately return to the starting pitch.

Example 3: Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 1, mm. 1–24 (flute part only)

Flowing (♩. 84) extension extension extension  
*p* freely, recitative style  
extension extension extension  
8 *poco*  
14 *rit.* . . . *much slower* (♩. 56) *più p* *mp* (don't hurry)  
19 *resume Tempo I* ends an octave below beginning

Copland certainly would have heard Indianist musical clichés in vernacular, as well as concert, music. The scope of mainstream Indianist exoticism on the collective American consciousness is too great to fully examine here: radio broadcasts, stage shows, television programs, and dozens of Western films all contributed to the perpetuation and creation of a recognizable, mainstream Indianist idiom. Copland, who enjoyed theater and film, would have certainly been exposed to Indianist musical clichés through these sources.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, through Hollywood alone, Indianist stereotypes reached the masses, influencing America's musical, as well as cultural, landscape. Copland was the first to recognize such cultural influences in his works,

<sup>31</sup>Pollack, 13.

especially when it came to his views of the West. When interviewer Alan Field asked him “How did a big city boy from Brooklyn, New York, emerge as America’s most representative composer of Western rural music?” Copland replied, “It was just a feat of imagination. You grow up through the movies, newspapers and books with a pretty good sense of what the West is like.”<sup>32</sup>

Many Indianist traits have parallels to Copland’s Americana style and will be examined through this study of the Duo’s solo material. The possible influence of Indianist exoticisms in Copland’s style has not been previously examined, perhaps because it contradicts the composer’s self-avowed antagonism toward Indianist musical subjects. Copland believed Native Americans had had no significant impact upon American art music and even criticized the turn-of-the-century Indianist composers:

Despite the efforts of Arthur Farwell and his group of composer friends, and despite the *Indian Suite* of Edward MacDowell, nothing really fructifying resulted [from Native American borrowing]. It is understandable that the first Americans would have a sentimental attraction for our composers . . . [b]ut our composers were obviously incapable of identifying themselves sufficiently with such primitive source material as to make these convincing when heard out of context.<sup>33</sup>

In his own works, Copland sought to distance himself from Native American themes: while working with Martha Graham on *Appalachian Spring*, Copland apparently insisted there be no Indians in the ballet.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup>Alan Field, “Interview, Aaron Copland: Every American Knows the West,” *Newsweek* (8 March 1976): 56. Available in the Copland Collection, Box 225/22, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>33</sup>Copland, *Music and Imagination*, 91.

<sup>34</sup>Marta Robertson, “Scores of Evidence: Martha Graham’s Musical Collaborations.” Unpublished paper read at the Sonneck Society Conference in Madison, Wisconsin, April 1995, quoted in Michael Vincent Pisani, “Exotic Sounds in the Native Land,” 523. Robertson found that Graham originally intended to have an Indian girl appear in the ballet, but took the character out at Copland’s insistence (telephone discussion with Marta Robertson, 1999).

In analyzing the Indianist relationship to Copland's style, it is important to remember that he was not reproducing any authentic Native American music. As Jonathan Bellman explains, "Exoticism is not about the earnest study of foreign cultures; it is about drama, effect, and evocation."<sup>35</sup> Copland's style may evoke the "Other"-worldliness of Native Americans, but it does not quote from authentic Native American music, Indianist composers, or specific media sources in a mechanical process. Instead, Copland may have been influenced by stylistic traits that were widely accepted as being linked with Indianist musical stereotype. Just as Copland reinterpreted folk material, he similarly transformed and reexpressed the underlying emotional connotation of exotic idioms.

Despite Copland's attempts to avoid Native-American topics and musical material, Indianist musical exoticism may have indeed influenced works such as the Third Symphony, *El salón México*, *Rodeo*, *Billy the Kid*, and the *Duo for Flute and Piano*. Copland clearly did associate the Indian with outdoor scenery after a 1932 trip to Mexico with composer Carlos Chávez. During his trip he visited Xochimilco, which he described as "an Indian village in exactly the same state it was before Columbus discovered America."<sup>36</sup> After returning to America, Copland wrote:

Mexico was a rich time. Outwardly nothing happened and inwardly all was calm, yet I'm left with the impression of having had an enriching experience. It comes, no doubt, from the nature of the country and the people. Europe now seems conventional to me by comparison. Mexico offers something fresh and pure and

---

<sup>35</sup>Jonathan Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), xiii.

<sup>36</sup>Aaron Copland, Mexico City, to his parents, New York, 10 September 1932. Copland Collection, online archive, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed 20 April 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov>. Copland also encountered Indians in 1934 while staying in Lavinia, Lake Bemidji, Minnesota, as mentioned in his letter to Israel Citkowitz, 18 July 1934. (Copland Collection, online archive, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed 20 April 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov>).

wholesome—a quality which is deeply unconventionalized. The source of it is the Indian blood which is so prevalent. I sensed the influence of the Indian background everywhere—even in the *landscape* [emphasis mine]. And I must be something of an Indian myself or how else could I explain the sympathetic chord it awakens in me.<sup>37</sup>

Given the inherent interconnectedness between landscape imagery and Native Americans, Copland's evocation of outdoor scenery in the Duo not only suggests the undeveloped American wilderness, but also an idealized view of the men and women who first inhabited that terrain. Pastoral imagery alone does not fully assert the presence of the Native American in the Duo, however, but is merely an introduction to a theme that is reinforced compositionally.

Copland specifically was exposed to Indianist stylistic traits through the works of several cultivated composers he knew and admired. One American composer who drew upon Indianist sound material is Quinto Maganini. In a 1926 lecture, Copland identified Maganini as a promising talent in the next generation of composers.<sup>38</sup> One work that Copland cited was Maganini's orchestral piece *Tuolumne: A California Rhapsody*, which he described as having "a suggestion of Indian themes."<sup>39</sup> In *Tuolumne*, "an Indian word meaning 'Land of Many Waters,'"<sup>40</sup> a title which again perpetuates the association of Indian culture with landscape imagery, Maganini employs Indianist sound clichés. The trumpet solo which opens and closes the work, and which Maganini called "an Indian lament,"<sup>41</sup> uses as an incipit a descending interval that immediately returns to the starting pitch, melodies constructed around descending consonant intervals and phrase structure (ending an octave below the

---

<sup>37</sup>Aaron Copland, to Mary Lescaze, 13 January 1933. Copland Collection, online archive, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed 20 April 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov>.

<sup>38</sup>Aaron Copland, *Copland on Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963), 151.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*

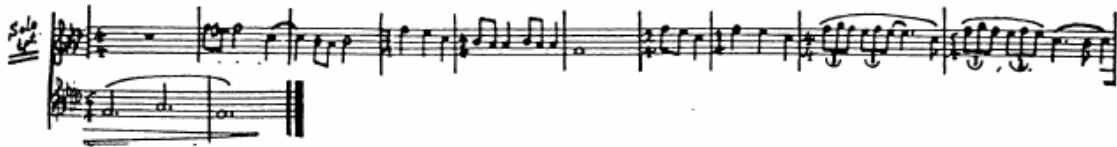
<sup>40</sup>Quinto Maganini, *Tuolumne: A California Rhapsody for Orchestra with Trumpet Obbligato*, Op. 2 (New York: Affiliated Music Corporation, 1936), introductory notes.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*

starting pitch), frequent meter changes, a monophonic texture, lowered sevenths that subvert leading-tone motion, pentatonic pitch structure, and a one-octave range that briefly extends beyond the upper parameter (Example 4).

Charles Ives also adopted similar sound idioms in the melodic line of his song “The Indians” (Example 5). Copland praised this song, and several others, by Ives as “a unique and memorable contribution to the art of song writing in America.”<sup>42</sup> In this song, Ives used a falling initial interval that immediately returns to the starting pitch, descending consonant intervals, mixed meters, grace notes, and descending phrase structures (with the exception of the final phrase which ends with an ascending minor third).<sup>43</sup>

Example 4: Maganini, *Tuolumne*, final solo for trumpet in C



Example 5: Ives, *The Indians*, vocal line

---

<sup>42</sup>Aaron Copland, “One Hundred and Fourteen Songs,” *Modern Music* 11 (January–February, 1934): 63.

<sup>43</sup>Other Indianist musical techniques and the association of the Indian with nostalgic landscape are discussed in Denise Von Glahn, “Charles Ives, Cowboys, and Indians: Aspects of the “Other Side of Pioneering,” *American Music* 19 (2001): 291–314.



In addition, Carlos Chávez, a proponent of the 1920s “Aztec Renaissance,” may have influenced Copland with his own studies of Native-American music. In a 1928 lecture *La Música Azteca*, Chávez described compositional techniques of pre-Conquest Mexico:

The Aztecs showed a predilection for those intervals which we call the minor third and the perfect fifth; their use of other intervals was rare . . . This type of interval preference . . . found appropriate expression in modal melodies which entirely lacked the semitone.<sup>44</sup>

Copland’s Duo employs compositional elements similar to the various musical Indianist stereotypes discussed above. Like Maganini’s trumpet lament, Copland’s monophonic flute lament both introduces and closes the work (Example 3). Set in mixed meters, the melody begins with a falling, open fifth that immediately returns to the starting pitch and is dominated by third motion. At first, the tonal

<sup>44</sup>Carlos Chávez quoted in Robert M. Stevenson, *Music in Mexico, A Historical Survey* (New York: Crowell, 1952), 6.



organization appears neoclassical in its simplicity; the first six measures imply a I-IV-V-I progression. But as the solo continues, Indianist exotic elements become evident. Although a B-flat major tonality at first seems to be at work, B-flats appear primarily on weak beats, de-emphasizing tonic. Copland also specifically avoided semitones that further obscure tonic (one structurally insignificant semitone appears in measure 13, but the A does not resolve upward, instead continuing in a downward motion toward F). In fact, most of the phrases pull toward F mixolydian. The interpretation of this passage as F-centered is supported by examination of Copland's 23 December 1943 sketch, in which he writes the theme with only one flat in the key signature and adds E-flats as accidentals. The use of stacked fourths (measure eight), further underscores the modal quality of the material. In these ways, Copland obscures the B-flat tonality with modal inflections.

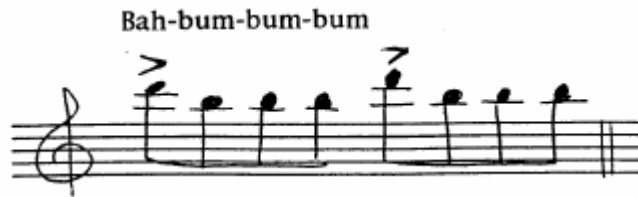
Furthermore, the solo reflects the Indianist characteristic of falling octaves with extensions; in the Duo, Copland emphasizes upward extensions within the framework of an overall descending octave phrase (f2 in measure 1 down to f1 in measure 24). The first part of the solo strives upward toward measure 16, progressively extending beyond f2. But the extended pitches are unstable and resolve downward within the octave framework. At measure 16 the extension to g2 is a temporary, unstable resting point, as there is no clear cadential motion. The descending middle section (mm. 16–19) is heard as new, contrasting in texture (with the addition of the piano) and melodic content, and therefore is not limited to the octave range. The monophonic closing material (mm. 20–24) continues the open-ended phrase of measure 16 and rests largely in the octave between f1 and f2, also with tension-building upward extensions. The solo comes to a solid conclusion at measure 24 with a falling fifth. In typical Indianist fashion, the solo ends an octave below the starting pitch.

An additional Indianist musical cliché occurs later, in the flute's repeated, accented notes in measure 66 (Example 6). Although this passage is brief, it is significant because it signals a point of contrast. Similar motives were widely associated with Indianist stereotype, even entering the repertory of children's games; many a young "cowboy and Indian" have been heard to chant this motive, usually with a descending consonant interval between the first two notes (Example 7). Browner labeled such motives "BAH-bum-bum-bum" patterns in her study of Indianist "appropriations" in Western art music.<sup>45</sup>

Example 6: Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mm. 66–70 (flute part only)



Example 7: Bah-bum-bum-bum pattern



Copland's passage however, alternates and displaces the rhythmic accents. Instead of a strict BAH-bum-bum-bum, Copland transformed the phrase to BAH-BAH-bum-bum, employing a descending third between the second and third notes. Yet, the expressive essence of the gesture remains. The rhythmic displacement is also consistent with Copland's interest in varying metric accent. Copland explained:

<sup>45</sup>Tara Colleen Browner, "Transposing Cultures: The Appropriation of Native North American Musics, 1890–1990" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1995), 113–14.

There is the possibility of accenting not only the first beat but also the second or third, thus: ONE-two-three; or one-TWO-three; or one-two-THREE . . . The fascination and emotional impact of simple rhythms such as these, repeated over and over again, as they sometimes are, with electrifying effect, is quite beyond analysis. All we can do is humbly acknowledge their powerful and often hypnotic effect upon us and not feel quite so superior to the savage tribesmen who first discovered them.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to the brief suggestion of a Bah-bum-bum pattern, pastoral clichés of descending grace-note figures also appear throughout the movement, as can be heard in the opening solo in measures 16–19 (Example 3).<sup>47</sup> Copland would have heard similar figures used as Indianist exoticisms in works such as the above-mentioned *Tuolumne*, MacDowell’s *Indian Suite*, Carlos Chávez’s *Symphonia India*, and Western film scores like *Stagecoach*.<sup>48</sup> In addition, Copland may also have become familiar with their exotic associations through the work of Elliott Carter, who used similar descending snap figures in his ballet score *Pocahontas*.<sup>49</sup> In 1939 Copland called the orchestral version of this ballet “[Carter’s] first important orchestral work.”<sup>50</sup> Once again, it must be stressed that Copland’s Duo does not quote figures from these sources, but rather borrows and transforms general stylistic traits that were an integral part of collective Indianist sound images.

---

<sup>46</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 29–30.

<sup>47</sup>A few examples of similar descending “grace note” figures can be found in mm. 45, 62–63, and 86–92.

<sup>48</sup>*Stagecoach* won a 1939 Best Music Scoring Academy Award, defeating Aaron Copland’s *Of Mice and Men*.

<sup>49</sup>Browner discusses this figure in Carter’s work: “The ‘Scottish snap,’ now often married to the interval of either a whole-step or a minor third moving downward in pitch, had solidified its position as *the* rhythmic-melodic combination signifying Native Americans. In [*Pocahontas*], the last eight bars of the score from the orchestral suite (the original ballet score no longer exists), the ‘snap,’ with both interval variations, can be seen” (Browner, 128).

<sup>50</sup>Copland and Perlis, *1900–1942*, 283.

In addition to reflecting Indianist pastoral exoticisms, the Duo's opening theme is also similar to the hymn-like beginning of Copland's Third Symphony.<sup>51</sup> Of the symphony's opening themes, Arthur Berger wrote:

Among the many things this symphony seems to evoke, its general character of a glorified hymn—of prayer, of praise, of sorrow, of patriotic sentiment—is what I find most striking. Having dealt with New England and Quaker hymnody, and having sung, more generally, the eulogies of his country and its founders, [Copland] . . . opens his symphony with a predominately slow first movement . . . in that declamatory style that preserves a certain essence of the hymn at the same time that it is so thoroughly Copland.<sup>52</sup>

The same could also be said of the Duo's opening flute solo, which similarly uses a monophonic, declamatory style evocative of New England hymnody. The Duo's bare-bones melody is unadorned by counterpoint, ornamentation, or passing tones, and its speech-like nature is emphasized by Copland's "freely, recitative" indication. In this sense, the Duo's theme evokes the Protestant hymns.

Copland's declamatory style has also been associated with Hebraic prayer, to which Copland had much exposure as a boy when his father was President of their Brooklyn synagogue. In his discussion of the 1930 Piano Variations, Mellers wrote that the skeletal phrases "derived in part from the . . . declamation of the Jewish cantor."<sup>53</sup> Fellow composer and friend Virgil Thomson explained his view that Copland was somewhat of a "prophet calling out to Israel. [His] music has little counterpoint—it's one man speaking with a lone voice."<sup>54</sup> In 1936 Paul Rosenfeld described Copland's musical material as "fine Hebraic, harsh and solemn, like the sentences of brooding rabbis," and John Kirpatrick acknowledged the subliminal

---

<sup>51</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 376.

<sup>52</sup>Berger, *Aaron Copland*, 74–75.

<sup>53</sup>Mellers, 2.

<sup>54</sup>Virgil Thomson quoted in Copland and Perlis, *1900–1942*, 197.

influence of Copland's religious background when he suggested that the 1941 Piano Sonata communicated "a strong contact with the Old Testament, which evidently operates quite without the composer's knowledge."<sup>55</sup>

Copland's style is not an exact copy or imitation of authentic Hebraic chant. Rather, it is an adaptation of a general style. Lazare Saminsky, an expert in Jewish music, criticized Copland because he felt the composer's Jewish-derived style was rooted in assimilationist aspirations. He even categorized Copland as a man of "mixed aesthetics," a trait Saminsky did not view favorably.<sup>56</sup> On another side of the discussion, Daniel Gregory Mason went so far as to claim that the influence of Hebraic style in Copland's music precluded him from writing music which was, in his strictly Anglo-Saxon standard, truly American.<sup>57</sup>

Indeed, the lone, declamatory voice of the Duo's opening flute solo is written in a style that evokes not only Indianist song style and New England hymns but also monophonic Jewish prayer. Copland's tendency to combine Jewish and Protestant styles was identified by Berger:

A new type of declamation also has entered, deriving from the various forms of American hymnody that [Copland] has added to his musical vocabulary. It is for musicologists to determine precisely where each colloquial or religious source is suggested in Copland's output. For us here it is enough to recognize

---

<sup>55</sup>Paul Rosenfeld, *Discoveries of a Music Critic* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936), 334; John Kirpatrick, "Aaron Copland's Piano Sonata," *Modern Music* 19 (1942): 246–47; quoted in Pollack, 521.

<sup>56</sup>Copland's Jewish musical identity is discussed in Pollack, 518–24 and includes a discussion of Saminsky's reactions. See Lazare Saminsky, *Living Music of the Americas* (New York: Howell, Soskin and Crown Publishers, 1949), 123–27 from the chapter "Men of Mixed Aesthetics." Saminsky's overtly anti-semitic (despite being Jewish himself) and homophobic tone in this chapter makes the reader suspicious of his severe criticisms.

<sup>57</sup>Daniel Gregory Mason, "Is American Music Growing Up?" *Arts and Decoration* (November, 1920) quoted in Pollack, 519. Mason's lengthy diatribe criticizes "Jewish tastes and standards" in instrumental music as an "alien art." This is troubling and causes the reader to suspect that Mason's criticisms of composers such as Copland and Bloch had more to do with personal objections to their religious backgrounds than with their musical material; see also Daniel Gregory Mason, *Tune in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931), 160–62 in the chapter "...And A Moral."

that a composer who is predisposed to declamatory style, whether of the synagogue or jazz, may quite understandably be drawn to it when it reveals itself in a New England hymn. And let us not forget that New England and Hebrew psalmody have this in common: both are sacred forms.<sup>58</sup>

Another sacred genre may also be suggested in the Duo's increasingly complex opening solo. The modal, monophonic, and declamatory use of open fifths and fourths also evokes ancient compositional practices—specifically those of Gregorian chant. Copland often associated monody with ancient music:

Monophonic music is, of course, the simplest of all. It is a music of a single, unaccompanied melodic line . . . The finest development of monophony in our own music is Gregorian chant.<sup>59</sup>

Although this does not mean that Copland was specifically attempting to mirror Gregorian style in his Duo, it does suggest the essential association and readaptation of an ancient compositional practice.

#### FROM A NORTH STAR

In addition to Indianist exoticisms, hymnody, Hebraic prayer, and Gregorian chant, the lean theme of the Duo's solo has a quality that could be interpreted as reflective of Russian folk song; Saminsky described the opening of Copland's Third Symphony (which served as a model for the Duo) as a "pleasing modal theme of a faintly Russian contour."<sup>60</sup> The Duo does in fact have a subtle link to Russian folk music via the theme's origins in the 1943 film score for *The North Star*, as discussed above.

---

<sup>58</sup>Berger, *Aaron Copland*, 54.

<sup>59</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 81. See also *Copland on Music*, 65 for references to monody and Gregorian chant.

<sup>60</sup>Saminsky, *Living Music*, 127.

*The North Star* was essentially an anti-war, pro-communist film glorifying the peaceful and egalitarian lifestyle of villagers on a communal farm who are attacked by the Nazis. G. E. Blackford, a critic for the *New York Journal*, wrote:

*The North Star* is propaganda, but, we regret to say, it is not even good propaganda. In the picture, the Germans come to a peaceful village, terrorize the people, torture women to make them reveal the hiding places of the able-bodied men who have fled to the hills to become guerilla fighters.

The Russian village is portrayed as a place of the proverbial milk and honey.<sup>61</sup>

Not surprisingly, the communist paper *The Daily Worker* gave the film a rave review, calling it a “brilliantly shining beacon in a stormy world,” and praising the “deftly linked music, photography and action.”<sup>62</sup> The film was not a popular success, but it did receive a 1943 Academy Award nomination for “Scoring of a Dramatic or Comedy Picture.”<sup>63</sup>

Copland claimed in a 1943 letter to Koussevitsky that he accepted the film project both for monetary and artistic reasons, as the film’s thematic content appealed to him. Copland wrote to the Russian conductor, “I suddenly received this job to do the score for a picture about Russia during the war. Both the subject matter and the salary were good, and so I accepted.”<sup>64</sup> Copland later defended the financial benefits of film composing by asserting that composers who write for film must be artistically dedicated to the project. In the unpublished paper “Composing for *Something Wild*,” Copland explained:

---

<sup>61</sup>G. E. Blackford, “North Star Opens in Two Film Houses,” *New York Journal-American* (5 November 1943). Available in the Copland Collection, Box 407/12, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>62</sup>Frank Antico, “The North Star: A Review,” *The Daily Worker* (5 November 1943). Available in the Copland Collection, Box 407/12, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>63</sup>A copy of the nomination certificate is available in the Copland Collection, Box 407/14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>64</sup>Aaron Copland to Serge Koussevitsky, 6 February 1943. Copland Collection, online archive, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed 20 April 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov>.

Everyone is aware by now that composing for films is the most lucrative form of composition available to a composer. Because of that the acceptance of a film assignment automatically puts the composer under suspicion of merely taking on a well-paid job. But actually there is considerable craftsman satisfaction in writing for films on any level. It is the satisfaction that comes from knowing in advance that one's work may add something essential to the kind of group effort that a film represents. To work on the most serious level implies a motion picture on an equivalent plane of seriousness. That's what makes the choosing of a film so important. For it is obvious that unless one is dealing with a film that really says something the composer will find it impossible to induce music from himself that fully engages his emotions. But more than that the composer would want to be convinced that by its nature the film was wide open for musical treatment and that his score would serve the picture in an important way.<sup>65</sup>

From these comments, Copland revealed his personal and artistic investment in writing for films and his view that the musical treatment must have meaning to serve the film.

In writing for the screen, Copland maintained his economic tendencies. He wrote, "It is wise to make use of music's power sparingly, saving it for absolutely essential points."<sup>66</sup> Copland further identified several ways that "music serves the screen." They include emphasizing the "underlying psychological refinements—the unspoken thoughts of a character or the unseen implications of a situation. Serving as a kind of neutral background filler. Building a sense of continuity [and] underpinning the theatrical build-up of a scene, and rounding it off with a sense of finality."<sup>67</sup>

In this context, much can be learned about the expressive content of the Duo's borrowed passage by examining its presence in *The North Star*, especially as film music

---

<sup>65</sup>Aaron Copland, "Composing for Something Wild," unpublished manuscript, December 1961. Copland Collection, online archive, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed 29 April 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov>.

<sup>66</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 204.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, 205–06.



can be used to create a “convincing atmosphere of time and place.”<sup>68</sup> In *The North Star*, music is indeed used to create a sense of regional atmosphere, especially because the actors did not use Russian accents. Only the German villains were permitted to use accents in the film. As one critic noted:

[T]he speech is frankly American, without accent. The initial shock wears off while a Russian atmosphere is partly created by means of music, a true international language.<sup>69</sup>

Copland created a Russian atmosphere through the inclusion of communist-era choral pieces and folk-like melodies, which although primarily generic in origin, could easily be interpreted as Russian in character. Some of the film’s themes were specifically drawn from Russian folk sources. On a sketch page of *The North Star* theme “Going to School,” Copland wrote, “Based on ‘50 Russian Folk-tunes’—Zimmerman—no composer.” On the conductor’s score for this theme he again wrote, “Based on No. 2—in 50 Russian *Volkslieder* pub. by Zimmerman.”<sup>70</sup> Copland collected copies of Russian folk songs as research for *The North Star* and several original folk sources remain in Copland’s collection.<sup>71</sup> In an unpublished and untitled manuscript, Copland described his approach to creating *The North Star*’s Russian atmosphere:

*The North Star* provided unusual scope for a musical score. It is comparatively rare, for instance, for one and the same composer to supply songs, chorus dances, in addition to the background music. In the picture there was opportunity for music to accompany war scenes, love scenes, comedy scenes and

---

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Archer Winston, “Movie Talk: The North Star is Opened at RKO Palace and the Victoria,” source unknown. Available in the Copland Collection, Box 407/12, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>70</sup>Aaron Copland, *The North Star*, Sketches, Available in the Copland Collection, Box 23, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>71</sup>Copland Collection, Box 25, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

so forth, leaving me with an increased sense of the many moods it is possible to reflect in musical terms.

*The North Star*, if it provided opportunities, also presented a number of problems—principally one of style. Since the picture takes place in Russia, there was from the beginning the problem as to how “Russian” the music ought to be. It was something of the same problem Schostakovitch would have if he had been asked to supply a score for a movie set in the United States. Those who see the film will be able to judge the solution arrived. Several sequences take as their starting point actual Russian folk material, but only in three instances was direct use made of Soviet material: The most effective of these in my opinion is the song of the Fatherland, analogous to our own My Country ’Tis of Thee, which is sung by the children at the end of the school term. Needless to say, I did not compose the *Internationale*, but the orchestral setting is my own. In general, guided by the fact that American actors were performing without attempting Russian accents, I determined on using a style that would merely suggest, without overemphasizing, the Russian element.<sup>72</sup>

*The North Star*’s “Waiting” theme, which was later used by Copland for the beginning of the Duo, occurs early in the film during a calm scene in which the children of the Russian village are quietly waiting through the night in anticipation of their morning trip to Kiev (Example 8). The atmosphere is one of innocence and family togetherness. As the film progresses, the children depart on their hike to Kiev, only to be brutally attacked by Nazi warplanes. In this context, the “Waiting” theme literally represents calm before the storm of war and the last moments of childhood innocence.<sup>73</sup>

Copland specifically created the “Waiting” theme to fit the mood of the story, as he composed his movie scores after viewing the films and used cue sheets to fit the music to the scenes.<sup>74</sup> There is no dialogue or voice over in this scene, so the music has special importance and prominence, outlining the psychological implications of the visuals. The

---

<sup>72</sup>Aaron Copland, unpublished and undated manuscript, Copland Collection, Box 407/14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. In Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 16, Copland echoes this statement but claims that he used four instances of specific Russian folk borrowings in the film.

<sup>73</sup>The coming of age story in *The North Star* is not unlike the basic subject matter of Copland’s opera, *The Tender Land*, which similarly features a student at graduation.

<sup>74</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 203, 206–07.

initial conductor's indication is "freely," just as it later appears in the Duo. Subsequent indications mark the points: On Grisha, On Clock, Grisha blows match, Cut to Moon, Claudia elbow, C.U. to Marina, Marina: No I told you, Morning Sun, and Marina opening door.

The association of this folk-like style in a communist propaganda film is interesting in light of debates in the late '40s and early '50s regarding the perceived communist style of Copland's popular style works. Following World War II, composers who wrote in publicly accessible styles were often criticized for promoting an aesthetic consistent with the communist Prague Manifesto of 1948, which mandated that composers write for mass audience appeal and avoid esoteric techniques such as serialism. The style of *Appalachian Spring*, which during the war was heard as patriotic, was associated with communism in post-war America. Composers in the U.S. debated the relative merits of serialism and popular works. In a 1949 radio interview, Arnold Schoenberg compared Copland to Stalin, a remark that drew much controversy. Schoenberg later sent a partial apology to Copland, regretting that he had drawn Copland into a political discussion.<sup>75</sup> Copland was feeling intense pressure from anti-communist forces in the U.S. Perhaps as a musical response to these pressures, Copland began work on his 1950 Piano Quartet, which experimented with serialism. As Jennifer Delapp has speculated, the new method may have been an attempt to break free from the shadow of communism that hung over his popular style works in post-war America.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup>Jennifer L. Delapp, "Copland in the Fifties: Music and Ideology in the McCarthy Era" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1997), 100–04.

<sup>76</sup>This subject is a major theme in Delapp's dissertation.

Example 8: Copland, "Waiting" from The North Star, unpublished

Conductor Waiting #41

The North Star Music by

Freely On Grisha On Clock Grisha's eyes match

Clar. Solo mp 1 2 3 4 5

21/3 Cut To Moon Claudia's elbow

31/3 Cut to Marina 11 12 13 14 15

24.

Printed in U.S.A.

Published by Eastern Music Co.

Example 8 continued

-2-

Marina:  
No I sold you

1:00

53%

16 17 18 19 20

1/19/12 Morning Sun

21 22 23 24

Marina opening door

1/29

25 26 27 28 29

QTCN 718C 643 SM

Printed in U.S.A.

Warner Bros. Studio

-3-

Marina: Good bye

Barry: Good Bye

out at 1/57 1/2

30 31 32 33

## SOMETHING WILD IN THE CITY

As the Duo progresses, the deceptively simple style of the introduction is transformed. Copland interjected new techniques, which are not only ripe with associative reference, but again recall Copland's earlier work in film. With scalar passages, Copland shifts from a pastoral to an urban style, evoking the bustle of city life. In measures 93–102, the use of lowered sevenths gives the runs a bluesy flavor (Example 9).

Example 9: Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 1, mm. 93–102



As discussed above, this passage was also a self-borrowing from Copland's film score *Something Wild* (1961), a disturbing tale of a young woman's misadventures in New York City (Example 10). The urban focus of the film is emphasized by the film's original title, *Something Wild in the City*.<sup>77</sup> The borrowed passage occurs during the scene "Montage–Day," a distinctly optimistic scene:

The sun is just appearing over the tops of the buildings around the park. The birds hidden in the branches of the trees chirp and call wildly. Mary Ann stands up and looks behind her at the pond, smooth and misty, just

---

<sup>77</sup>*Something Wild (in the City)*, Script, Available in the Copland Collection, Box 116A, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

touched by the blue of the sky. Her body feels stiff and yet refreshed. She notices a drinking fountain, walks down to it, drinks some of its cool water and washes her face and hands. She stretches somewhat with a half yawn and half smile, then turns and directly stares at the sun. Her eyes quiver—her eyelids tremble and tears appear and run down her cheeks, then finally she turns away . . . Mary Ann is standing dazed, for a moment, near the fountain, from the whirling imprint of the light in her eyes. Some park attendants are walking down the path. Their glances bring her back to the present . . . She begins to walk aimlessly out of the park . . . Mary Ann is walking down Ninth Avenue to the markets down on south of Fortieth Street. The streets are bustling with the activity of the morning. She has opened her coat and her walk seems to have acquired a purpose and direction. She stops before some baskets of sea food [*sic*] and smiles. In a closeup we see the glistening beauty of piles of shrimps, crabs, and squid—then a large pile of fresh cabbages, ripe, red tomatoes and luscious baskets of green peppers. Mary Ann pauses a moment—then walks down a side street and at the corner buys a hot dog from a street vendor. She pulls a pay envelope from her pocket and hands the man a dollar bill—then walks on, munching on the hot dog—without waiting for the change . . . Mary Ann passes a high wire fence that runs around a school playground. Inside some of the young boys are playing basketball. The outlines of their bodies show clearly under their skimpy clothes, the air is filled with their shouts. Some nuns in great black hoods hover here and there. The ball tumbles over the fence in front of Mary Ann. The children begin to shout and scream for their ball. Mary Ann picks it up and with one thrust throws it back over the fence. The boys shout “Thanks.” Mary Ann smiles and walks on, her coat open. She walks in a new way that makes her look beautiful—as we have never seen before.<sup>78</sup>

Cues in the conductor’s score correspond to the onscreen visuals. The material later used in the Duo begins at the marking, “Starts Walking.” The corresponding music and visual cues are outlined in Figure 3. The borrowing from *Something Wild* emphasizes the optimistic, urban nature of this passage when it appears in the Duo, contrasting to the flute work’s plaintive, pastoral associations.

---

<sup>78</sup>Ibid. Ellipses are original and do not indicate cuts to the quote.

Figure 3: Corresponding Cues and Visuals in *Something Wild* and the Duo.<sup>79</sup>

Duo mm.	75–83	84–89	89, 93–95	96–97	99–100
<i>Something Wild</i> visual cues	Starts Walking	M-Ann Washing Face	Good Morning	Walks along playground	The ball please

Example 10: Copland, *Something Wild*, cue 13B The Lake, unpublished

Handwritten musical score for "The Lake" from "Something Wild". The score is written on three systems of grand staves. The first system (measures 116-119) is marked "Cue 13B The Lake" and "much slower (♩=60)". The second system (measures 120-123) is marked "Starts walking". The third system (measures 124-126) is marked "Considerably faster (♩=72)". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "p" (piano) and "mf" (mezzo-forte). There are also handwritten annotations like "She stretches" and "warmer tone".

<sup>79</sup>The corresponding passages are not exact duplicates but use similar melodic lines and rhythms similar enough to be considered borrowing. In many cases the Duo uses transposed versions of the *Something Wild* material. The passage corresponding to the Duo mm. 84–89 contains material used only in the Duo's piano parts. The flute part in this passage was not taken from *Something Wild*.



Example 10 continued

Cue 13A

Handwritten musical score for Cue 13A, measures 127-137. The score is written on three systems of staves. The first system (measures 127-130) features a vocal line with "singing" written above it and piano accompaniment with dynamics *f* and *mf*. The second system (measures 131-133) includes a tempo change to  $5/38\frac{1}{2}$  and a stage direction "Mt. Ann Washing face" in a box. The third system (measures 134-137) shows complex rhythmic patterns with various time signatures (2/4, 3/4, 2/4, 3/4, 2/4) and a "stage" direction. The score is marked with measure numbers 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, and 137 in boxes. A "JANUARY" stamp is visible at the bottom left.

Example 10 continued

Cue 13A

"Good morning"

5/49 (♩=66) 5/56½

2 4 mp

138 139 140 141

5 8 lightly 4 8 5

142 143 144 145

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Good morning". The score is written on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The tempo is marked as ♩=66. The time signature is 5/49, which changes to 5/56½ later in the piece. The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, and 145 written below the staff. There are various musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as "mp" (mezzo-piano) and "mf" (mezzo-forte). There are also some handwritten annotations, including "2 4" and "5 8" in some measures, and "lightly" written above a measure. The score is written in ink on a piece of paper that appears to be a page from a manuscript.

Example 10 continued

Cue 13A

Walks along  
playground

6/05 3/4 6/07 3/4

mp

5 4 8 8

146 147 148

"The ball  
please" In 2

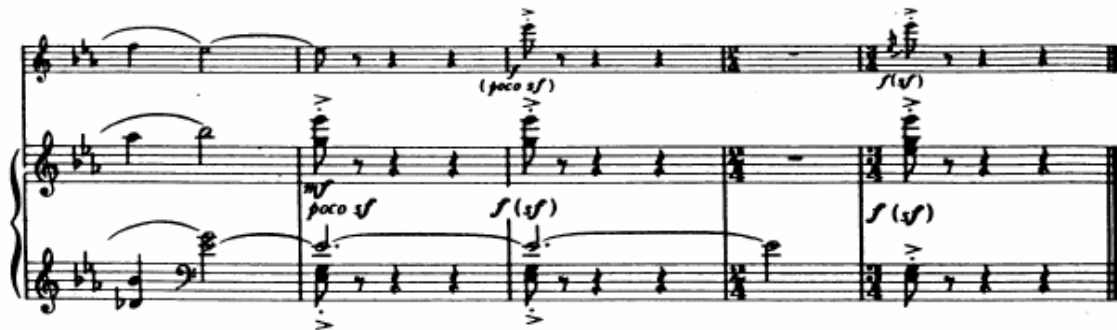
mf (legato)

mp

149 150 151

Following the jazzy, *Something Wild* middle section, the Duo returns to the pastoral style of the beginning. Despite its formal conservatism following a basic ternary form, the movement concludes oddly with two isolated chords (Example 11). The figures are not unlike the concluding attacks in Copland's *Short Symphony*, which ends with similar articulated chords. They can also be seen in the sketch pages from the '40s that served as models for the Duo.

Example 11: Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 1, final 5 measures



#### TENSION ON THE LANDSCAPE

The Duo's *Poetic, somewhat mournful* second movement is in American popular song form (AABA), which Pollack describes as having "intense lyricism."<sup>80</sup> It opens with repeated, non-contrapuntal piano chords. In marking the passage "bell-like," the piano takes on the characteristics of a church bell.<sup>81</sup> Although a bell is suggested, it is certainly not a literal depiction. In this, as with all the interpretations presented in this

---

<sup>80</sup>Pollack, 512.

<sup>81</sup>The opening chords have been described as emphasizing the funeral tolling of a bell (Butterworth, 175).

study, it is important not to suggest the sounds as direct imitations, but rather as sounds that express the underlying essence of a sonic event. Copland warned listeners not to search his music for literal depictions:

[Simple-minded souls] always want music to have a meaning, and the more concrete it is, the better they like it. The more the music reminds them of a train, a storm, a funeral, or any other familiar conception the more expressive it appears to be to them. This popular idea of music's meaning—simulated and abetted by the usual run of musical commentator—should be discouraged wherever and whenever it is met.<sup>82</sup>

Because the chords are uninterrupted and motionless, they do evoke Copland's signature open-spaced pastoral setting and seem to linger over both time and distance. In this way, the pianist takes on the essence of a stationary voice—the church steeple—while the listeners, including the flutist, are placed at a distance hearing the symbolic bells from afar.

Although the beginning of the movement is lyrical and relaxed, an underlying tension is nevertheless expressed in the piano's clashing E and E-flat (Example 12). The flute part too has distinctly modern elements. Copland specifically associated the flute part with the whole-tone passage in the opening of his 1950 Piano Quartet.<sup>83</sup> Despite its declamatory and folk-like quality, the initial theme in the Piano Quartet is built upon a serial tone row and unfolds into a fugal subject. Copland's own identification of the Duo with this 1950 serial composition provides a uniquely modernist perspective on this otherwise Americana work. Indeed, the battle between tonality and serialism seems to be suggested in the Duo.

---

<sup>82</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 9–10.

<sup>83</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 376.

Example 12: Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 2, mm. 1–10

Poetic, somewhat mournful (♩ = circa 96)

*p freely expressive*

*p* (r.h. to the fore, bell-like)

*simile*

*Ped. on each l.h. chord*

**1**

*mp*

As the movement progresses the tension grows until a dramatic climax is reached at measures 51–59 (Example 13). Copland introduces Old West and Indianist sound clichés here. The wavering five- and six-note groups in the piano and flute parts produce whooping sounds similar to Indianist tongue-wagging.<sup>84</sup> Pisani discusses the prevalence of such whoop figures in works as early as George Frederick Bristow’s *Arcadian Symphony* (1873).<sup>85</sup> The effect, common in child’s play, was further disseminated as an “old-West” cliché by Hollywood—for example, the classic 1969 Sergio Leone film, *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*. This Western features Mexican

<sup>84</sup>Pisani discusses “tongue-wagging” trills in Western music as a Native American “exoticism” (Michael Pisani, “‘I’m an Indian, Too’: Creating Native American Indian Identities in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Music,” in Bellman, 228–29).

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

and American outlaws in Civil War and cowboy settings. Ennio Morricone's music resonates with Indianist sound clichés to suggest the exotic world of the American West. The main theme, which is largely pentatonic—D F G A C—employs whistled whoops in fourths followed by quarter notes in a third-second-fourth interval pattern (Example 14).

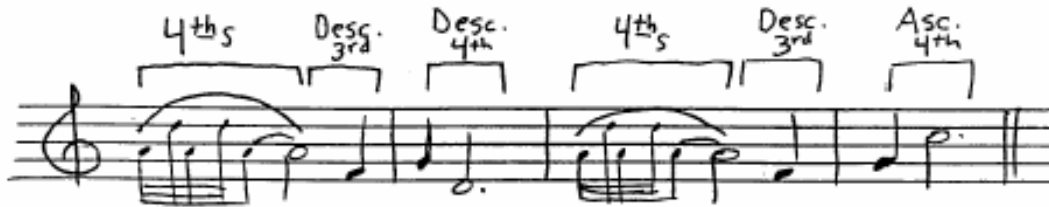
Example 13, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 2, mm. 51–59

The musical score for Example 13, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 2, mm. 51–59, is presented in three systems. The first system (mm. 51–53) features a flute part with a melodic line and a piano accompaniment with chords and moving lines. The second system (mm. 54–56) shows the flute playing a more active melody while the piano provides harmonic support. The third system (mm. 57–59) concludes the passage with a final melodic statement in the flute and sustained chords in the piano. Key markings include *(ff) intensivo e marc.* in measures 51 and 53, and *gradually diminish intensity and dynamic* in measures 54 and 55. Measure numbers 51, 54, and 57 are circled at the beginning of their respective systems.

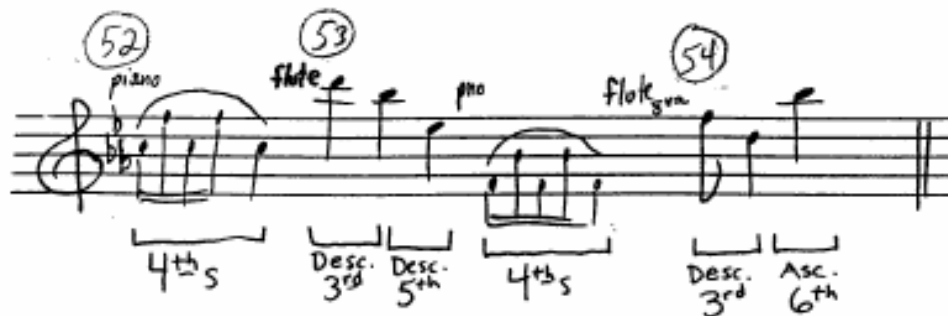
Although Copland's passage certainly does not quote from Morricone, it shares general stylistic elements (Examples 14 and 15): the Duo, too, employs whooping statements, often in ascending fourths and fifths. Following the flute

whoops (measure 52 of Example 13 and reduced in Example 15), the melodic contour uses consonant intervals—a falling third and falling fifth. The next piano whoop, again in fourths, is followed in the flute part with a falling third and rising sixth, echoing the general contour of Morricone’s falling then rising phrase, and employing Indianist consonant intervals.

Example 14: Morricone, *The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly*, opening theme



Example 15: Copland, *Duo for Flute and Piano*, mvt. 2, mm. 52–54 reduced



Such whooping figures were not signatures of Copland’s style, but they had appeared in the 1951 Film Suite from *The Red Pony* and the 1955 Piano Fantasy.<sup>86</sup> These gestures were also present in the Duo’s ’40s sketches, although they were originally conceived as only double grace notes (two sixteenth-notes preceding the main note). In the earlier manuscript pages, the figure is shown once as a written-out tremolo and once with a trill marking. Copland seems to have increased the use of

<sup>86</sup>Thanks to Daniel E. Mathers for bringing to my attention this figure in the Piano Fantasy.



tremolo when he transferred the figure from his sketchbooks to the Duo. In this context, perhaps the film *The Good, The Bad and The Ugly* subconsciously reminded Copland of similar figures he had explored in earlier compositions. It is more likely that the relationship between the Duo and this Western are coincidences born of the same Old West whooping stereotype. Although it is uncertain exactly what source may have inspired these whooping figures, Copland was undoubtedly familiar with their emotional impact and association with children's games:

Every American boy is fascinated with cowboys and Indians, and I was no exception . . . . For me it was not necessary to have an experience in order to compose about it. I preferred to imagine being on a horse without actually getting on one! In any case, I never gave much thought to including or excluding *any* kind of influence from my work. It was always a musical stimulus that got me started.<sup>87</sup>

In addition to Old West associations, these gestures also recall early blues piano style, specifically the tremolos of boogie woogie. According to Max Harrison, boogie woogie tremolos can likely trace their origin to blues guitar style.<sup>88</sup> In Aaron Blumenfeld's study *The Art of Blues and Barrelhouse Piano Improvisation*, an entire chapter is devoted to the analysis of piano tremolos:

Tremolos occur frequently throughout the blues. Inconspicuous, yet very colorful, they comprise one of the more useful of ornamentations. Tremolos can be employed as part of a "theme" or as a "filler" between melodic statements.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup>Copland and Perlis, *1900–1942*, 160–62.

<sup>88</sup>Max Harrison, "Boogie Woogie," *Jazz*, edited by Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), 117.

<sup>89</sup>Aaron Blumenfeld, *The Art of Blues and Barrelhouse Piano Improvisation*, (unpublished manuscript, ©1979, Aaron Blumenfeld).

Although Copland is reputed to have claimed that blues piano “lacks any shred of melodic invention,”<sup>90</sup> he may have nevertheless been influenced by these colorful gestures.

Copland’s use of whooping trills may also have derived from musical sources beyond those associated with Old West, Indianist, and boogie woogie settings. It is well known that his style was influenced by the music of Igor Stravinsky, who used similar techniques in many of his early works. In Stravinsky’s pieces, whoops and grace notes became associated with primitivism because of their surrounding settings. As Paul Griffiths notes, the primitive nature of *The Rite of Spring* (*Pictures of Pagan Russia*) “has obvious connections with the ‘Scythian’ movement among Russian artists, who looked to the country’s pre-Christian traditions for clues to its future.”<sup>91</sup> Richard Taruskin shows how at the turn of the century, “The fancied spiritual wholeness of primeval man was something after which many in Russia were hankering in the decades following emancipation and (belated) industrialization.”<sup>92</sup> This movement influenced Nikolai Roerich, who collaborated with Stravinsky on *The Rite of Spring*. A contemporary of Roerich described him as

[u]tterly absorbed in dreams of prehistoric and religious life—of the days when the vast, limitless plains of Russia and the shores of her lakes and rivers were peopled with the forefathers of the present inhabitants. Roerich’s mystic, spiritual experiences made him strangely susceptible to the charm of this ancient world. He felt in it something primordial and . . . intimately linked with nature.<sup>93</sup>

The Scythian movement has striking similarities with the American noble savage stereotype that associated the American Indian with pastoral settings. Furthermore, it is

---

<sup>90</sup>Aaron Copland quoted in Harrison, 110.

<sup>91</sup>Paul Griffiths, *Stravinsky* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 29.

<sup>92</sup>Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Tradition: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra, volume I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 850.

<sup>93</sup>Benois quoted in Taruskin, 851.

well known that Stravinsky's compositional style influenced Copland; in the '30s Copland was even called a "Brooklyn Stravinsky."<sup>94</sup> In noting this relationship, writer and composer Lazare Saminsky (critical of Copland's "mixed aesthetic"), related *Billy the Kid* to Stravinsky's early ballets and also likened *Appalachian Spring* to the wet nurses' dance from *Petrushka*, sarcastically claiming that Copland's "Appalachian peasants sound more like Appalachian cossacks."<sup>95</sup>

As discussed above, exotic musical elements are dependant upon context for meaning. In the Duo, Copland's Stravinsky-like whoops are placed within a distinctly American musical landscape. Lawrence Starr analyzes Copland's tendency to integrate material in this way:

What Copland does to his traditional American material is in some important respects analogous to what Stravinsky did with traditional Russian folk and Western art music materials: he subjects his musical subject matter to operations not previously associated with it in order to create unusual and intense effects of musical perspective; the result is a commentary of one musical period, type, and idiom upon another.<sup>96</sup>

By superimposing aspects of Stravinsky's ballet idiom with American sound material, Copland indeed invites commentary by musically and thematically linking ancient Russian and American civilizations, as he did in his score for *The North Star*, discussed above.<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup>Berger, *Aaron Copland*, 42.

<sup>95</sup>Saminsky, *Living Music*, 126–27.

<sup>96</sup>Lawrence Starr, "Copland's Style," *Perspectives of New Music* 19 (1980–1981): 81.

<sup>97</sup>The Village Scene in *The North Star* illustrates the argument that Copland combined Russian and American musical elements. The scene adopts elements of Russian folk music but is also in an American idiom comparable to *Rodeo* or *Billy the Kid*. The dancing in this scene is strongly imitative of Russian folk dance.

This dual use of Russian and American root elements is especially nuanced given Aaron (Kaplan) Copland's ethnic identity. It was the composer's belief that artistic creation is a process of self-discovery:

The reason for the compulsion to renewed creativity, it seems to me, is that each added work brings with it an element of self-discovery. I must create in order to know myself, and since self-knowledge is a never-ending search, each new work is only a part-answer to the question "Who am I?"<sup>98</sup>

Perhaps the juxtaposition of styles in the Duo reflects the composer's search for his roots as both a native-born American and son of Russian immigrants.

## WAR HEROES

The Duo's modified-rondo third movement has a distinctly heroic quality. The work is introduced by repeated *molto sforzando* tonic chords, separated by two-and-a-half beats of rest (Example 16).<sup>99</sup> These double attacks are rhythmically evocative of the powerful tonic chords that introduce Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony. Because Beethoven's Eroica is recognized as representing his Heroic Period, these famous chords have become associated with a musical heroic gesture. Copland was surely aware of this association, as he described Beethoven's style in similar terms:

Beethoven's finest works are the enactment of a triumph—a triumph of affirmation in the face of the human condition. Beethoven is one of the great yea-sayers among creative artists . . . His music summons forth our better nature; in purely musical terms Beethoven seems to be exhorting us to Be Noble, Be Strong, Be Great in Heart, yes, and Be Compassionate.<sup>100</sup>

Typical of Copland's tendency to reinvent material, in the Duo he transformed the Eroica gesture; instead of major chords, Copland omitted the third, resulting in

---

<sup>98</sup>Copland, *Music and Imagination*, 41.

<sup>99</sup>These chords, in rhythm and *sforzando* character, are related to the closing piano gestures of the first movement.

<sup>100</sup>Copland, *Copland on Music*, 40–41.

spacious open fifths—a common Indianist and pastoral cliché.<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, the composer’s hero is not Napoleon from Beethoven’s Europe, but a cowboy from Copland’s America. The flute’s theme suggests a hoedown, employing dotted rhythms similar in style to the dance sections in *Rodeo* and *Billy the Kid*.<sup>102</sup> The theme also suggests the rhythms and contour of a military, cavalry bugle call.

Example 16: Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 3, mm. 1–6



<sup>101</sup>Pisani discusses the use of open (drone) fifths as representative of peasant cultures, even influencing works like Beethoven’s “Pastoral” Symphony (Pisani, “Longfellow, Stoepl,” 68).

<sup>102</sup>Butterworth describes the third movement as “a modified rondo in the style of a lively dance. It also has its roots in the popular ballets” (Butterworth, 176).

Example 17: MacDowell, *Indian Suite*, mvt. 3 “In War Time,”  
mm. 1–16, piano reduction



The passage is also similar to the flute solo that begins “In War Time,” the third movement of Edward MacDowell’s *Indian Suite* (Example 17).<sup>103</sup> Copland’s passage mirrors MacDowell’s basic rhythm and use of thirds, although Copland’s flute is in a higher octave. In addition, Copland’s melody follows a similar rising and falling contour as MacDowell’s melody. Although Copland’s solo is presented in D major as opposed to MacDowell’s D minor, they both avoid leading tones (C-sharps in the Duo’s passage never lead to D). Furthermore, both solos use eighth-eighth-quarter rhythms as phrase cadences. This rhythm is typical of Indianist stereotype (the figure also appears as an Indianist cliché in reverse form: quarter-eighth-eighth,<sup>104</sup> as in the children’s song “One lit-tle, two lit-tle, three lit-tle Indians”).

<sup>103</sup>This particular solo in MacDowell does not actually derive from Native American song (Theodore Baker’s transcription that inspired MacDowell was based upon a nineteenth-century hymn tune from Thomas Commuck, not an “authentic” Indian song). For more information on MacDowell’s *Indian Suite*, see Francis Brancalone, “Edward MacDowell and Indian Motives,” *American Music* 7 (1989): 360, 365; Tara Browner, “‘Breathing the Indian Spirit’: Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the ‘Indianist’ Movement in American Music,” *American Music* 15 (1997): 265–84; and Richard Crawford, “Edward MacDowell: Musical Nationalism and an American Tone Poet,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996): 528–60.

<sup>104</sup>Pisani, “I’m an Indian Too,” 229.

Copland's phrase is shorter than MacDowell's, but both end with flourishes—  
Copland's rises whereas MacDowell's falls. Overall, Copland's transformation of  
material creates an expression which is more optimistic, affirmative, and celebratory  
than MacDowell's "savage" presentation.

The Duo's third movement's contrasting second theme has no earlier sketch  
origins and appears to be a 1970s creation. Copland presents a fluid and elegant  
figure which has a fiddle-like character, especially in its grouping of three slurred  
notes (Example 18).<sup>105</sup> In addition, this passage may contain a stylistic link to  
ragtime, which combines groups of three and two in a similar melodic sway, as can  
be seen by comparing this theme to Scott Joplin's *Maple Leaf Rag* (Example 19). In  
the ragtime context, Copland's "don't hurry" marking may reflect Joplin's comments  
on the performance practice of rag: "Play slowly until you catch the swing, and never  
play ragtime fast at any time."<sup>106</sup> The similarity of Copland's gesture to ragtime  
seems curious given Copland's own remarks that "ragtime is much inferior to jazz  
and musically uninteresting; it consists of old formulas familiar in the classics which  
were rediscovered one day and overworked."<sup>107</sup> Indeed, there seems to be a pattern  
of Copland criticizing musical styles, only to be influenced by them in subtle ways!

---

<sup>105</sup>Carl Fleischhauser and Alan Jabbour describe how similar note groupings were typical of  
Appalachian and Southern Piedmont bowing technique (*The Hammons Family: A Study of a West Virginia  
Family's Traditions* (Washington, D.C.: Archive of Folk Song, Library of Congress, 1973), L65-B, no. 1).

<sup>106</sup>Scott Joplin, from *The School of Ragtime—Six Exercises for a Piano* quoted in Charles Hamm,  
*Music in the New World* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1983), 395.

<sup>107</sup>Aaron Copland, "Jazz Structure and Influence," *Modern Music* 4 (January-February 1927): 10.

Example 18: Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 3, mm. 15–19, flute part only



Example 19: Joplin, Maple Leaf Rag, beginning of B Strain



Later in the third movement, Copland employs pointed, jagged rhythms in a percussive style (Example 20). These short, accented eighths resemble, but are not direct quotes from, the “Gun Battle” movement of *Billy the Kid* (Example 21). Like the ballet score, the Duo’s texture thins so each attack can be heard individually. In both works, the piano parts alternate thirds that are written in low registers, giving them dry, percussive qualities (also note *Billy*’s harp part, which similarly moves in thirds). The Duo’s repeated notes create the effect of single-pitched percussion, emphasizing harmonic stasis. Another link between the works is a similar use of eighth-quarter-quarter rhythmic attacks. Given the similarities in style between the Duo and *Billy the Kid*, the pointed attacks in the Duo take on a bullet-like character. The interruption of “gunfire” in a work otherwise dominated by cowboy and Indianist sound elements may reflect the nature of that relationship. It is no coincidence that one critic described these



passages of the Duo in an early performance as “more violent” than Copland’s ’30s and ’40s Americana.<sup>108</sup>

Example 20: Copland, Duo for Flute and Piano, mvt. 3, mm. 69–88

The image displays a musical score for the third movement of Copland's Duo for Flute and Piano, measures 69 through 88. The score is written for two staves: the upper staff for the Flute and the lower staff for the Piano. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into three systems. The first system, measures 69-74, begins with a circled measure number 69 and includes the instruction *f (marc. sempre)* above the flute staff. The second system, measures 75-80, begins with a circled measure number 75 and includes a circled measure number 80 at the end of the system. The third system, measures 81-88, begins with a circled measure number 81 and includes a circled measure number 88 at the end of the system. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

<sup>108</sup>Michael Steinberg, “Aaron Copland’s Double Surprise,” *The Boston Globe*, 25 January, 1972. Available in the Copland Collection, Box 399/11.

Example 21: Copland, Billy the Kid, “Gun Battle”

The inclusion of gun sounds is also significant in light of the borrowing from *The North Star*. Even more prominent than Copland’s music is the film’s overpowering use of sound effects to imitate machine guns firing multiple rounds of single-pitched ammunition. The sonic presence of gunfire is so central to the film that the story itself becomes a battle of the rural farmer versus the ruthless technology of war. At the film’s end, the Russian guerillas defeat the German enemy not with guns, but with sticks, fire, and determination.

In the Duo’s conclusion, percussive attacks merge with a fiddle-dance style similar to the conclusion of his 1943 Violin Sonata. The flute’s high-register and ascending grace notes build tension, and the double-articulated pitches pop explosively. Indeed, the work’s grand *sforzando* finale is as brilliant and celebratory

as July Fourth fireworks.<sup>109</sup> In unsigned program notes for a 1972 concert, the movement is described as starting in D and concluding in E-flat. This structural half-step serves as an exultant expression of uncontrollable optimism—a sentiment consistent with Copland’s style.

An understanding of the pastoral, Native American, and *The North Star* antecedents in the Duo may help explain why Copland returned to his ’40s style for a flute commission in 1967. In the ’30s and ’40s, Copland’s popular style compositions often reflected wartime sentiments:

In 1944, with World War II at its grimmest and the world in turmoil, people yearned for the kind of pastoral landscape and innocent love that Martha Graham’s most lyrical ballet offered. *Appalachian Spring* affirmed traditional American values that were being dramatically challenged by Nazism. Audiences knew immediately what the country was fighting for when they saw *Appalachian Spring*.<sup>110</sup>

The period of the Duo, 1969–1971, was again “War Time” for the U.S. During the Vietnam War, however, the public was divided about America’s involvement. Returning soldiers were not greeted with a hero’s welcome, and traditional American values were challenged rather than embraced. Given a reading of the Duo as a reflection of wartime attitudes, the work becomes a prime example of Copland’s ability to present contemporary life in a musical setting—a goal he believed was essential to artistic creation. Four years after the Duo’s premiere, Copland asserted:

[The artist’s] importance to society, in the deepest sense, is that the work he does gives substance and meaning to life as we live it . . . Obviously, we depend on the great works of the past for many of our most profound artistic

---

<sup>109</sup>Within Copland’s many diaries were extensive lists. One of Copland’s lists, “Places I have been on the Fourth of July,” is particularly insightful in relation to this passage in the Duo and to Copland’s general American optimism. In 1931 Copland wrote in his diary while in Berlin, “For the first time in nine years I find myself in the same city on July 4<sup>th</sup>. Here is where I was the other July fourths.” The list includes July 4<sup>th</sup> whereabouts from 1931–1936. Thanks to Daniel E. Mathers for first making me aware of this list, which can be found in the Copland Collection, Box 243/1 [1927–1959], Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>110</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 51.

experiences, but not even the greatest symphony of Beethoven or the greatest cantata of Bach can say what *we* can say about our own time and our own life . . . .It's not a question of simply depending on the great works of the past—they are wonderful and cherishable, but that's not enough. We as a nation must be able to put down in terms of art what it feels like to be alive now, in our *own* time, in our own country.<sup>111</sup>

Copland's Duo, which suggests conflict and warfare, may be interpreted as a reflection of contemporary American events. Although much of the work's material is specifically borrowed from earlier pieces, the choice and assembly of these sources are integral to the creative process. In the context of the Vietnam War, it seems no coincidence that Copland was drawn to a wartime theme. The connection between *The North Star* and the Vietnam War is powerful given the fact that the former was a film about guerilla warfare, just as the Vietnam campaign was waged with guerilla tactics. Perhaps the news reports on Vietnam reminded Copland of his 1943 project, which had resulted in the publication of "Song of the Guerillas."

At the same time Copland was scoring *The North Star* he was also working on the Sonata for Violin and Piano, which served as another model for the Duo. This piece, too, has specific wartime connections:

I had just completed [the Sonata for Violin and Piano] when I heard that a friend had died while on active duty in the South Pacific. The Sonata for Violin and Piano is dedicated to Lt. Larry H. Dunham (1910–1943).<sup>112</sup>

Copland openly expressed his pacifist perspective on war, voicing a. After a 1921 visit to the Rheims battlefields, Copland expressed his reactions to the horrors of war in a letter to his parents:

I could write you a book about everything I saw, but it would be too disgusting . . . .We were shown trenches, forts, barbed-wire entanglements, absolutely

---

<sup>111</sup>Aaron Copland, from a 1975 commencement address quoted in H. Wiley Hitchcock, "Aaron Copland and American Music," *Perspectives of New Music* 19 (1980–1981): 33.

<sup>112</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 23. The dedication was placed after the composition was finished: therefore, the Violin Sonata was not written as a war memorial. However, in looking back on the 1943 Sonata in 1969, Copland may have retrospectively associated it with wartime sentiments and the death of his friend.

destroyed towns, and German cemeteries with black crosses. To think that men can be such beasts. One thing is sure—I am absolutely inoculated against war fever, for all time to come, and not if everybody stood on their heads, would I fight in any army for any cause. I’d go to prison first. If everyone did the same there would be no war, and I’ll be the first to start.<sup>113</sup>

This letter is strikingly similar to the quote that concludes *The North Star*, “This will be the last war,” which was also spoken by a young man first viewing the realities of war. Sadly, World War II was not the last war for America.

In 1971 Copland was too old to personally worry about being called to fight, but he may have felt that his political voice was most powerful when activated through music. During World War II he had written to Benjamin Britten warning him not to return to the England because he felt that Britten’s strongest contribution to the war effort was as a composer:

The question is: do you have to go back? I mean—does the Conscription go into immediate effect. Because if not—I think you absolutely owe it to England to stay here. Whatever anyone may think now, I’m sure the future will justify your looking upon your own case as a special one. After all anyone can shoot a gun—but how many can write music like you ?. . . Remember what I say as to how you can best serve *la patrie*!<sup>114</sup>

In 1942 Copland offered the services of American composers to use their art in the war effort. At the annual meeting of the League of Composer’s Board and the National Committee of Composers, Copland spoke about the war:

We have offered Washington the services of the composer to write background music for war films, to arrange music for army bands, to write songs or production numbers for entertainment of troops—yet to date very little has come of it. The composers want to help in the war effort. Music has an important

---

<sup>113</sup>Aaron Copland, Paris, to the Copland family, New York, 19 September 1921. The Copland Collection, online archive, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed 20 April 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov>.

<sup>114</sup>Aaron Copland, Woodstock, New York to Benjamin Britten, 6 September 1939. The Copland Collection, online archive, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed 20 April 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov>.

contribution to make in the final orientation between ourselves and the people of other countries.<sup>115</sup>

A year later Copland echoed this view in a letter to Arthur Berger and specifically considered his score for *The North Star* a contribution in the fight against fascism:

The most impressive thing I've heard about in regard to producing music for the war is being engineered by Oscar Hammerstein [II] in New York in connection with a Music War Council . . . . In general, damn little has been done to make use of the talent of serious composers in the War effort—or that is my impression anyway. Marc [Blitzstein] has what amounts to an Army Fellowship for the writing of a musical masterpiece celebrating the Air Force. Anyway I have that on the “best authority.” I suppose writing film music for pictures about the heroic Russian resistance is a kind of related “fellowship.”<sup>116</sup>

Just as Copland urged composers to use their artistic voices to serve the cause of World War II, so Copland in 1971 may have used music to comfort the nation in a time of war.

Copland did not openly share his political views about the Vietnam War. In a rare political statement, Copland expressed a general support of Democratic Party candidates in the 1970s and disapproval of President Richard Nixon. When a representative from Nixon's office wrote to Copland in 1973 requesting to play his music at the inaugural concert, Copland remembers being

in a quandary, since I did not admire Mr. Nixon, but I had no desire to take a stand against him by refusing to have my music played. My decision was to allow the performances but not to attend . . . . (For Jimmy Carter's inauguration in 1977, I not only attended but conducted).<sup>117</sup>

Perhaps the only public mention Copland made of the Vietnam War appeared in a 1972 *Heterofonia* interview. Ernesto Valencia reported:

Asked if the social condition crisis provoked by the Vietnam War has had any influence on music, as on Literature and the Plastic Arts, [Copland] said that Music had nothing to do with material experiences and that the number of

---

<sup>115</sup>Aaron Copland quoted in Claire R. Reis, *Composers, Conductors and Critics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 167.

<sup>116</sup>Aaron Copland, Los Angeles, to Arthur Berger, 3 August 1943. Copland Collection, Box 407/14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>117</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 381.

politically minted musicians was very limited. Musicians react to emotional feelings.<sup>118</sup>

This interview directly contradicts Copland's earlier attitudes toward music during World War II and his general belief that music should reflect a composer's time and place. His extreme distancing from the Vietnam War in this interview may be an overzealous attempt to present himself a composer who is not politically oriented.

Copland's hesitation to take a stand on the Vietnam War may be because his political leanings had previously attracted unwanted attention. His name had been included in the FBI report *Red Channels: The Reports of Communist Influence in Radio and Television*, and a 1953 performance of *Lincoln Portrait* scheduled for the Eisenhower inaugural concert was canceled because of Copland's suspected communist leanings. In April 1953 the United States Department of State blacklisted the works of Bernstein, Copland, Gershwin, Harris, Sessions, Thompson, and Thomson, and their works could not be sent to official American libraries abroad. Furthermore, in May 1953 the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, chaired by Senator McCarthy, summoned Copland to appear before them. Following these highly stressful hearings in which Copland claimed that he had not been a member of the communist party, the FBI investigated Copland for perjury and fraud against the government. The prosecutors could not find sufficient evidence against him and never brought charges, but in 1954 Copland had difficulty obtaining a U.S. passport.<sup>119</sup> In light of these events, the composer may have shied away from political statements for fear of again being labeled a communist sympathizer. His *Duo* may have been a subtle, even covert, way of voicing his reactions to the war without inviting public and political scrutiny.

---

<sup>118</sup>Ernesto Valencia, "Aaron Copland, El Hombre, El Musico, La Leyenda," *Heterofonia* 4 (1972): 47. Thanks to Daniel E. Mathers for bringing this interview to my attention.

<sup>119</sup>See Delapp, 123–34, 148–50, 165–67; and Pollack, 451–60.

Even as a piece with a wartime program, the Duo is consistent with Copland's tendency to write optimistic works reflecting the positive qualities of life. As H. Wiley Hitchcock noted, Copland's music is all "affirmative, yea-saying, positive, optimistic. It says that life, American life, has precious and cherishable values."<sup>120</sup> Such optimistic and celebratory expressions were out of fashion for war-related works during the Vietnam era. Most works of this period were protest pieces decrying the horrors and tragedy of warfare, as Ben Arnold has described:

To deal with the Vietnam conflict in music, composers intensified the horror in the musical portrayal of war. Composers used electronic machine-gun fire, sounds of bombs exploding, indeterminate sections with singers shouting and screaming, and other realistic sounds . . . numerous popular and art composers satirized their own troops . . . they wrote laments for the enemy or considered the enemy's suffering equal with that of their own country . . . Victory compositions like those that applauded the end of World War II are almost nonexistent in the United States and other Western countries after 1973; a phenomenal number of peace compositions have taken their place.<sup>121</sup>

If the Duo has a pacifist subtext, it certainly does not follow the model described above. Rather, the Indianisms and affirmative nature of the concluding movement give the work an overall sense of optimism tinged with nostalgia.<sup>122</sup> The longing for lost innocence in the first two movements is highlighted by the use of Indianist musical stereotypes.

Literary critic Michael Castro explains the character traits of the mythical noble savage:

[H]umans in the "natural" state . . . were basically good, and that what corrupted such goodness was the influence of civilization itself . . . [T]he noble savage was naturally dignified, poetic, serene, generous, essentially egalitarian, economically stable, and living in harmony with nature. In contrast, the civilized person appeared insecure, materialistic, selfish, warlike, oppressed and depressed by brutalizing class differences, and essentially out of touch with or opposed to nature.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup>Hitchcock, 32.

<sup>121</sup>Ben Arnold, *War and Music: A Research and Information Guide* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), 321–23.

<sup>122</sup>Optimism is not synonymous with victory.

<sup>123</sup>Michael Castro, *Interpreting the Indian: Twentieth-Century Poets and the Native American*



This view could apply not only to the stereotyped suggestion of the noble American Indian in Copland's Duo, but also to the idealized characters in the quaint, communal farming village of *The North Star*. Copland's adaptation in the Duo of noble savage musical exoticisms and *The North Star* "Waiting" theme may express nostalgia not only for the golden age of pre-civilization, but also a longing for the era in which Copland wrote Americana works like *Appalachian Spring*, *Billy the Kid*, and *The North Star*—a time when the goal of war was clear and the enemies easily identified.

Although Copland disliked programmaticism and warned listeners not to seek literal programmatic detail in his concert works, he was a prolific composer of ballets and film scores, and as critic Peter Davis noted, the Duo's three movements are written in a narrative style.<sup>124</sup> Given the work's multiple references to war and peace and the composer's firm belief that his art should reflect the time and place in which he lived, the Duo likely reflects the emotional, if not political, implications of a country torn by war.

### THE INDIAN AS MODERN

Stylistic optimism was a character Copland specifically identified with American music and which he acknowledged derived from the philosophies of MacDowell:

In a lecture delivered sometime before 1907, the American composer Edward MacDowell said: "What we must arrive at is the youthful optimistic vitality and the undaunted tenacity of spirit that characterizes the American man. That is what I hope to see echoed in American music." I think MacDowell's hope has been fulfilled—partly at least—for if there is a school of American composers, optimism is certainly its keynote.<sup>125</sup>

---

(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), xvi quoted in Pisani, "I'm an Indian Too," 221.

<sup>124</sup>Peter G. Davis, "Hephzibah Menuhin and Miss Schaffer Play Copland's Duo," *The New York Times*, 12 October, 1971. Available in the Copland Collection, Box 399/11, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>125</sup>Copland, *Music and Imagination*, 95.

Copland may have differed from MacDowell by trying to distance himself from the German-European musical past, but he certainly shares MacDowell's artistic optimism.

Although Copland may not have otherwise recognized or acknowledged the contributions of MacDowell or the Indianist school, his own work may have nevertheless been influenced by the very clichés these composers created and perpetuated.

Furthermore, his deliberate avoidance of Native Americans in *Appalachian Spring* seems a contradiction of his sympathetic and self-identifying response toward the Natives of Mexico. It is likely that Copland's distancing from the Indianists had more to do with his disapproval of their German Romantic context than with an overall disinterest in Native American material and subjects. After all, Copland believed that the formation of a unique American composition school required liberation from the Germanic tradition, including the previous generation of American composers who had embraced German Romantic ideals. Unlike the nineteenth-century American composers trained in Leipzig, Munich, and Dresden, Copland and his contemporaries studied in Paris between the World Wars, when anti-German sentiments were intense. Although German and French trained Arthur Farwell similarly called for a national music that was "sufficiently un-German,"<sup>126</sup> Copland may still have considered him a representative member of the old guard from which he wished to separate himself. As Michael V. Pisani has suggested, Copland "turned away from both the 'realism' of Indianist themes as an American source and the Germanic training that had formed a foundation for the work of most of the previous generation. The 1890s cachet of Indianism had now become tainted with genteelism and quite simply, bad taste."<sup>127</sup>

But when Charles Ives (often dubbed "the Great Modernist"), Quinto Maganini, and Elliott Carter (both members of Nadia's "Boulangerie") used Indian topics for their

---

<sup>126</sup>Arthur Farwell quoted in Hamm, 417.

<sup>127</sup>Pisani, "I'm an Indian Too," 256.

pieces, Copland praised the works, perhaps because he approved of the context used by his contemporary colleagues.<sup>128</sup> But because Native-American references had become so closely associated with the German trained, nineteenth-century American composers, Copland may have tried to personally distance himself from all Indianisms for fear of being grouped with his genteel predecessors. Copland expressed a similar anti-German distancing toward Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern:

I was interested and fascinated by them. I did not go along with the expressive character of their music. It still sounded very nineteenth century and highly romantic. That was just the thing we were trying to get away from.<sup>129</sup>

In this context, Copland's desire to keep Native American characters out of ballets such as *Appalachian Spring* may have been a result of his wish to guarantee that his work would not be confused with the previous generation's *Hiawatha* settings.

This attitude may explain Copland's attraction to Mexican Indians; since this specific region's Native subjects had not been a primary focus of European-trained Indianist composers, they may have carried less associative weight. To Copland, Native Mexican subjects were specifically linked with Carlos Chávez, who first introduced Copland to Mexico and who explored Native Mexican subjects and musical ideas as the basis for his Mestizo movement (works include the Aztec ballet *Los Cuatro Soles* [1926], *Sinfonia India* [1935], and *Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl for Traditional Indian Instruments* [1940]). It is well known that Copland's friendship with Chávez inspired works like *El salón México*, and Copland took pride in the fact that critics called his piece "as Mexican

---

<sup>128</sup>Copland specifically credits Ives with having a "richness and floridity of invention that has no exact counterpart in Europe." (Copland, *Music and Imagination*, 92).

<sup>129</sup>80th-birthday interview with Alan Blyth, BBC Radio 3, 14 November 1980 quoted in Butterworth, 161.

as the music of Revueltas.”<sup>130</sup> Copland was so fond of Chávez’s Native-influenced works that he used a theme from *Sinfonia India* as an example of a good melody in his book

*What to Listen for in Music*:

I cannot resist quoting from memory a little-known Mexican-Indian folk tune, used by Carlos Chávez in his *Sinfonia [sic] India*. It uses repeated notes and unconventional intervals, with entirely refreshing effect.”<sup>131</sup>

It seems then that Mestizo musical style may have influenced Copland much more than has previously been examined, especially because he viewed it as specifically distinct from the European tradition that influenced the American “Indianists.” Chávez may have used Native Mexican subjects in his pieces, but he was to Copland first and foremost a “modernist”:<sup>132</sup>

The principal imprint of the Indian personality—its deepest reflection in the music of our hemisphere—is to be found in the present-day school of Mexican composers, and especially Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas. With them it is not so much a question of themes as it is of character . . . Chávez’ music is, above all, profoundly *non-European* [emphasis mine]. To me it possesses an Indian quality that is at the same time curiously contemporary in spirit. Sometimes it strikes me as the most truly contemporary music I know, not in the superficial sense, but in the sense that it comes closest to expressing the *fundamental reality of modern man after he has been stripped of the accumulations of centuries of aesthetic experiences* [emphasis mine].<sup>133</sup>

To Copland, the centuries of accumulated aesthetic experience was precisely the European tradition he so wanted to avoid.

---

<sup>130</sup>Copland and Perlis, *1900–1942*, 247.

<sup>131</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 45.

<sup>132</sup>Leonora Saavedra discusses Chávez’s style as both modernist and Mexican, especially as these traits separated his style from European Romanticism (Leonora Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez and the USA: The Construction of a Strategic Otherness.” Unpublished paper read at the University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music Mexican Music Festival, November 1999).

<sup>133</sup>Copland, *Music and Imagination*, 91–92.

Whether Copland realized it or not, by the first half of the twentieth century, Indianist musical clichés had become a permanent part of the American sound tradition, repeatedly reinforced by art composers, film score arrangers, and even children at play. It may even be said that Native American musical exoticisms had become, like noble savage mythology of the era, an inextricable part of America's musical landscape, as Pisani has claimed:

The suggestion of wide open spaces . . . and the earthy simplicity and directness of some concert music of the 1930s and 1940s came to be irrevocably associated with Americanism: a pastoral simplicity based on the pentatonicism of folk tunes and the spaciousness of parallel chords and open fifths. The influence of the Indianist school lingered, though the source of that influence was suppressed.<sup>134</sup>

Unlike the works of previous American composers, Copland's Duo for Flute and Piano places Native American sound images within a non-Germanic context, making the piece an expression of Copland's own time in his own country.

---

<sup>134</sup>Pisani, "I'm an Indian Too," 256.

**CHAPTER THREE:  
THE SEARCH FOR A NEW VOICE:  
THE THRENODIES I and II (1971 and 1973)**

THE SUBJECTIVELY INCLINED COMPOSER

After finishing the *Duo for Flute and Piano*, Copland appears to have been somewhat disappointed that the work derived so heavily from his earlier style. In a December 1971 letter to friend and composer Carlos Chávez, Copland wrote:

I have finished a fourteen-minute “Duo” for flute and piano which was premiered in October, but the musical ideas date from the ’40’s, and so, naturally, the piece is not at all “avant-garde” in sound. *Eh bien, tant pis!* But it would be nice to get some “1970” ideas to work on.<sup>1</sup>

During this time Copland was composing very little and devoting more time to conducting. He did complete the orchestral movement “Estribillo” (1971) for his *Latin American Sketches*, based on a melodic fragment he heard in Venezuela.”<sup>2</sup> The piece, which has strong folk connections, premiered on 7 June 1972. The movement ends with two struck chords not unlike the end of the Duo’s first movement.

Copland’s next opportunity to explore ’70s ideas presented itself when *Tempo* magazine asked several established composers to contribute “brief commemorative canons or epitaphs”<sup>3</sup> in honor of Igor Stravinsky, who had died in 1971, utilizing instruments the Russian master employed in his 1959 works *Epitaphium* (for flute, clarinet, and harp) and *Double Canon* (for string quartet). Copland chose to score the piece for flute and string trio. He described the medium of string chamber groups,

---

<sup>1</sup>Aaron Copland, New York, to Carlos Chávez, Mexico, 25 December 1971. The Copland Collection, online archive, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed 20 April 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov>. *Eh bien, tant pis* translation: “Well, that’s just too bad.”

<sup>2</sup>Pollack, 508.

<sup>3</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 380.

specifically the string quartet, as the best instrumentation for the “subjectively inclined” composer.<sup>4</sup>

[The string quartet’s] very timbre creates a sense of intimacy and personal feeling which finds its best frame in a room where contact with the sonority of the instruments is a close one. The limits of the medium must never be lost sight of; composers are often guilty of trying to make the string quartet sound like a small orchestra. Within its own frame it is an admirably polyphonic medium, by which I mean that it exists in terms of the separate voices of the four instruments. In listening to the string quartet, you must be prepared to listen contrapuntally.<sup>5</sup>

Copland added the lyricism of the flute to the personal intimacy of the string grouping.

The assignment of a Stravinsky tribute certainly had historical and artistic weight for Copland, who first met Stravinsky *chez* Nadia Boulanger at her Wednesday teas in the early ’20s. Copland was a great admirer of the Russian composer but found his personality sharply individual and cryptic. Copland often struggled to understand the man behind the music:

After reading Kazin’s book I’ve come to the conclusion that Stravinsky is the Henry James of composers. Same “exile” psychology, same exquisite perfection, same hold on certain temperaments, same lack of immediacy of contact with the world around him.<sup>6</sup>

In a 1949 unpublished essay, “The Personality of Stravinsky,” Copland again attempted to describe the mysterious nature of the Russian composer:

For almost thirty years I have wondered about the exact nature of the personality of Stravinsky. Everyone agrees that Stravinsky possesses one of the most individual natures of our time. But to get at the essence of it is another matter.

Certain great composers are literally drenched in their own personal atmosphere. One thinks immediately of Chopin, or the later Beethoven, or the

---

<sup>4</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 78.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Aaron Copland, Los Angeles, to Arthur Berger, 10 April 1943. Copland Collection, Box 407/14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

mature Wagner. On the other hand, if you don't listen closely there are times when you might mistake Mozart for Haydn, or Bach for Handel, or even Ravel for Debussy. I cannot ever remember being fooled by the music of Stravinsky. It invariably sounds like music that only he could have written.

Why? I'm sure I don't know—but I keep wondering about it. Musicians will tell you that you must take the music apart, see how it is made, then put it together again, and you will have the answer. I've tried it, but it doesn't really work. Knowing Stravinsky the man helps a little, but not enough. At home he is a charming host, a man with clearly defined ideas and a sharp tongue—but the music seems to exist on a supra-personal plane, in an aural world of its own.

It is his work of the last few years that holds the mystery tightest. One thinks of the *Ode*, the *Mass*, the ballet *Orpheus* . . . These works, in some curious way, seem strangely removed from everyday "events"—and yet they remain profoundly human. Sobriety is the keynote—it hardly seems possible to create a music of less sensuous appeal. Nevertheless there are moments of an enriched texture—all the more rare and precious because they seem measured out so carefully. In these works thought and instinct are inextricably wedded, as they should be.

These few remarks hardly touch the surface of the problem. Perhaps it is just because the secret cannot be extracted that the fascination of Stravinsky's personality continues to hold us.<sup>7</sup>

Given Copland's fascination with "the problem" of understanding Stravinsky's personality, the project of a memorial tribute in his honor takes on added dimension. It is especially curious that Copland, who believed that the role of the composer was to reflect the time and place in which he lives, described Stravinsky's work as admirably removed from contemporary events in a timeless realm of universality.

*Threnody Igor Stravinsky: In Memoriam* (later titled *Threnody I* when published as a set with the 1973 *Threnody*) was premiered in England on 6 April 1972. Neil Butterworth describes *Threnody I* as a miniature "in the form of a

---

<sup>7</sup>Aaron Copland, "The Personality of Stravinsky: For Merle Armitage's Book on Stravinsky," unpublished paper, 28 March 1949, Copland Collection, online archive, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed 20 April 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov>.



canonical passacaglia on the strings, while the flute laments in a free flow of melody” and a “simple exercise of counterpoint” composed in an economy of means style.<sup>8</sup> The published version of *Threnody I* was slightly revised from its initial appearance in *Tempo*, adding a complete statement of the ground bass theme before the flute entrance (Examples 22 and 23); a neoclassical addition in the style of Dido’s Lament from Henry Purcell’s *Dido and Aeneas* or J. S. Bach’s Passacaglia, BWV 582.

Unlike the Duo, the piece outwardly appears independent from Copland’s ’40s idiom in its canonic, neoclassical treatment appropriate for a Stravinsky tribute. In its scale and texture, the work is not unlike Copland’s 1923 experiment for flute chamber music, *As It Fell Upon a Day*, which is similarly economical, contrapuntal, and modal. *Instrumentalist* magazine described *Threnody I* as being “in a quasi Aeolian mode, with the flute moving in and out of this tonal structure creating a polytonality.”<sup>9</sup>

The melodic material of the flute uses limited pitch material that unfolds from two notes to pentatonicism to chromatic passages. In measures 9–10 (Example 23) the flute initially uses only two “freely sung” notes, E2 and F2, which oscillate in a musical sighing gesture.<sup>10</sup> Eventually this two-note phrase unfolds to suggest C major: in measure 11 Copland adds C, D, and G, thus unfolding a pentachordal pitch collection—C D E F G—and closing this phrase with a fifth motion (G2 to C2). The presence of C major is also emphasized in measure 12 with the strings downbeat of a

---

<sup>8</sup>Butterworth, 176.

<sup>9</sup>Alvin Mistak, “Ensembles–Mixed–Grade V: Threnodies I and II,” *Instrumentalist* 33 (November 1978): 108.

<sup>10</sup>Measure numbers refer to the published Boosey and Hawkes edition.

C-major triad. In the flute, measures 12–14 become increasingly more chromatic, first by adding the B-natural, and eventually adding F# G# A A#. By measures 9–14 the total pitch material used in the flute part is C D E F— F# G G# A A# B. The phrase that began as a limited major scale collection ends up as a distinctly chromatic line.

The second section (m. 15) again uses a similar progression but this time leads to a musical climax. The sighing gesture now appears with a falling interval then leads to a pentachordal collection, this time E F G A B, suggesting phrygian. The introduction of D and C (mm. 16 and 17) recalls the previous C-major collection. However, the strings reveal that the implied key is not C major but A minor (m. 17). By measure 18, the melodic line again explores chromaticism leading to a *fortissimo* G# (m. 20) and F# (m. 23). Chromaticism has led the listener to a tension-filled climax which is intensified by the appearance of stretto (mm. 22–24)..

The concluding phrases of the piece lead away from C major to A minor while still employing chromatic colorations. After the fermata on G# (m. 25), the piece eases into a *denouement* that again uses limited pitch material (G A B D E, mm. 25–26). The penultimate measure adds a C to the collection as if reverting back to the work's initial exploration of C major, although this time the presence of A and E fifths in the strings more strongly directs the ear toward A minor. Although the work seems to have worked its way back to this comfortable A minor, Copland concludes the piece by again suggesting the chromatic; by unexpectedly taking the flute to a C#, Copland interjects a distinctly Baroque Piccardy Third.

Example 22: Copland, *Threnody Igor Stravinsky: in memoriam*,  
from *Tempo Magazine*, mm. 1–9

*Threnody Igor Stravinsky: in memoriam* Aaron Copland

Lento, espressivo (♩ = 48)

Flute *mp (freely sung)*

Violin *sustento* *mp* *sustento*

Viola *sustento* *mp* *sustento*

Cello *mp* *sustento*

*f* *broaden* *resurte* *dim.* *mp*

1

Example 23: Copland, *Threnody I*, Boosey and Hawkes edition

Lento, espressivo (♩ = 44) 5

Flute

Violin

Viola

Violoncello

*mp sostenuto*

*mp (freely sung)* *sul G*

*mp sostenuto*

*cresc.* *f* *dim.*

broaden 15 resume tempo

Example 23 continued

The musical score consists of three systems, each with a single melodic line on a treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment on grand staves (treble and bass clefs).

- System 1:** The melodic line begins with a *mp* (mezzo-piano) dynamic and a *cresc. poco a poco* (crescendo poco a poco) instruction. It features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, some beamed together. The system concludes with a *f* (forte) dynamic and the instruction *(hold back)*.
- System 2:** This system starts at measure 20. The melodic line begins with a *ff* (fortissimo) dynamic, followed by a *meno f* (meno forte) instruction, and then returns to *ff* before a *dim.* (diminuendo) instruction. The piano accompaniment consists of simple harmonic support.
- System 3:** This system starts at measure 25. The melodic line begins with a *mp* dynamic, followed by a *broaden* instruction, then *mf* (mezzo-forte), *dim.* (diminuendo), *mf*, *dim.*, *molto rit.* (molto ritardando), *(mp)* (mezzo-piano), and finally *p* (piano). The piano accompaniment features long, sustained chords and moving lines.

Such an economical use of pitch material is perhaps one of the defining traits of Copland's overall style, as Lawrence Starr discusses in his 1980 *Perspectives of New Music* article, "Copland's Style." Starr employs Copland's 1930 Piano

Variations as an example, explaining how the composer treated melodic material that was

built from an extremely restricted pitch content, which extends itself through repetition and the gradual accretion or interpolation of new elements . . . . This tightly controlled, organic pitch structure contrasts with the extensive variety and freedom embraced by Copland in the realms of register and rhythm.<sup>11</sup>

The canonic string parts in *Threnody I* are firmly rooted in economical diatonic motions. The A-minor orientation of the piece is emphasized by the string entrances which begin on E, A, and C, respectively. The entrances repeat exactly until the fourth entrance (mm. 22, 23, and 24) at which time they drop a step. This final statement is incomplete and comes to rest on the open fifth drones. Although the piece may sound simple, Pollack describes how the task of composing a three-part canon “sets the kind of challenge posed by late Bach or, for that matter, late Stravinsky, which seems to have been something of the point of the piece to begin with.”<sup>12</sup>

The source of the peculiar passacaglia theme is a cryptic borrowing that Copland revealed only in veiled references. Copland did admit that *Threnody I* employed a theme dating from sketchbooks of February 1942, a theme initially intended “for a passacaglia,”<sup>13</sup> but the source of this theme was not made public aside from an intriguing, but previously unexplored, footnote in Copland’s autobiography *Copland: Since 1943*, coauthored by Vivian Perlis. Following Copland’s description of the theme in a 1942 sketchbook, Perlis added:

---

<sup>11</sup>Starr, 73.

<sup>12</sup>Pollack, 513.

<sup>13</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 381.

Copland noted on the manuscript, “A Spanish tune from Schindler.” He was probably referring to Kurt Schindler, *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal* (New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1941).<sup>14</sup>

In 1942 Copland was studying Kurt Schindler’s text of transcribed Spanish and Portuguese folk tunes to fulfill a commission to compose a work in memory of the author, who died in 1935.<sup>15</sup> The commission resulted in Copland’s choral work *Las Agachadas: The Shake-down song* (1942) based on Schindler’s transcription of melody number 202. The published version of *Las Agachadas* prominently attributes the theme to Schindler’s collection.

What has not been previously explored is how Schindler’s text may relate to the 1971 *Threnody*. Copland marked on the 1942 sketch, “Based on a Spanish theme in Kurt Schindler’s book (Feb. ’42) #414 (Chaconne) (Chaconne or Passacaglia).” Comparison of *Threnody I* to folk song #414 in Schindler’s 1941 text reveals that the ground bass passacaglia theme in *Threnody I* quotes a Spanish song from the region of León transcribed by Schindler and titled *Canciones del Domino de Ramos, adagio ligadísimo* (Example 24).<sup>16</sup> It appears that Copland used his own 1942 manuscript sketch of the theme and began to work out his ideas for *Threnody I* directly on the page in the ’70s. The reverse side of the manuscript presents the working out of the three voices under the heading, “Canon: [in memory of Igor Stravinsky] for flute and string trio (vl, vla, vlc).” On what appears to be a later pencil version of the *Threnody I*, Copland again wrote “Based on a Spanish theme (#414) copied out in Feb. 1942

---

<sup>14</sup>Ibid, footnote 9 in the chapter “Breaking New Ground,” 450.

<sup>15</sup>Schindler’s book was published posthumously.

<sup>16</sup>Kurt Schindler, *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal* (New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1941), song number 414 (unpaginated).

from Kurt Schindler's book "Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal" (Hispanic Institute in the U.S.) 1941."

Example 24: Schindler, Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal,  
*Adagio ligadísimo* #414



In adopting Schindler's theme for *Threnody I*, Copland preserved the phrase, including the original key. Although the theme itself is unchanged, Copland did not reproduce the theme in a mechanical process, but transformed it by altering the context. First, by changing the rhythmic notation, the theme is (presumably) stretched and slowed, thereby creating a new mood for the folk song. In addition, the placement of the theme in strings rather than the human voice also changes the expressive quality of the original. Most importantly, the canonical, neoclassical setting and un-folk-like flute line mask the Spanish origins of the original song and give it new life as a modernist melody.

The origin of this folk borrowing explains the peculiar modulation down a step in measures 22–24. It also explains the incomplete thematic statement in the final passacaglia phrase, as the original folk-tune modulation appears as a two-measure coda and not as a complete restatement.



The use of this borrowed tune explains Copland's choice of a passacaglia for his canonic Stravinsky tribute. When Copland first came upon the tune in 1942, he immediately identified the theme's application to the passacaglia form, perhaps because it could be easily molded into triple meter. Copland described his views on the history and character of the passacaglia:

The origin of the passacaglia is not too well known. It is said to have been a slow dance, in three-quarter time, of Spanish origin. At any rate, the present-day passacaglia, and those of the past, are always slow and dignified in character, retaining the original three-quarter time signature, although not invariably so. But all connection with the dance has been lost."<sup>17</sup>

Certainly Copland's association with the passacaglia as a Spanish form would have made *Canciones del Domino de Ramos* an appropriate folk source for the genre. Its dignified character is perhaps an appropriate mood for a Stravinsky tribute.

### A COMPLEX PAIR

Copland again sought to explore modern techniques when he was commissioned to write a solo piano piece for the 1973 Van Cliburn Competition. *Night Thoughts* (*Homage to Ives*) was composed in 1972 and is distinctly modern. Pollack describes Copland's late approach to piano writing:

Whereas in the past Copland had offset his longstanding predilection for bell-like sounds with dry, lean passages, here dense clusters and murky dissonances, heavily pedaled, dominate to the point that everything chimes . . . These ringing harmonies generate a good deal of tonal ambiguity . . . With its forlorn melodies

---

<sup>17</sup>Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, 122. Copland's association with the passacaglia as a genre of Spanish origin may be related to the origins of the *passacaille*, which Claude V. Palisca describes as having "originated in Spain (*pasacalle* comes from *pasar*, to walk, and *calle*, street). It appears to have been not a dance but walk-on music for actors, singers, and dancers," (Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music* 3d. Edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991), 193).

set against the funereal sonorities, the piece creates a mood of deep melancholy . . . At the same time, at the very end, a lingering major triad, heard “very distant, but clear” suggests some repose.<sup>18</sup>

In 1973 Copland composed another memorial tribute for flute, this time in honor of Beatrice Cunningham, “sister of Lawrence Morton and supporter of the Ojai Festival.”<sup>19</sup> Morton was a longtime friend of Copland who founded the Monday Evening concert series and served as director of the Ojai Festival in California in 1954–1959. Program notes list Morton’s sister, Beatrice, as a close friend of Copland. Her charming letters to Copland indeed reflect on their personal relationship and present her as a lively woman who signed her letters “Sis.” In a February 1959 letter she shared with Copland her love of European adventure:

Dear, sweet, darling, adorable Aaron.  
And you’re beautiful, too. I love the picture. You look so gentle. Are you?  
My closet wall—well you can’t imagine the [illegible] it is receiving. Only Mozart is missing. And I’ll get him yet!

We’re planning a trip for next summer—the end of it. Do you remember Morgan Baker from Ojai? He’s the major domo and is making all the arrangements for a trip to the Greek Islands in a reconverted British sub-chaser. We hope to have 14 aboard not including crew. Leave Bari Sept. 26<sup>th</sup> (we’ll fly to Italy first), 3 weeks of floating among the Adriatic and Aegean, possibly a week’s motor trip thru Greece, boat to Venice and then, by hired car, via the most circuitous route imaginable, to Rome . . . Doesn’t it sound heavenly? I’m so excited about it that I don’t even mind the un-Byronic name of our boat—of all things, “The Blue Horizon.” And I’m taking Italian lessons.

We hope you are well; we hope you are happy; we hope you are being creative. Ojai without you next May will be strange. You gave us two such lovely festivals.

Affectionate greetings from us both.

Sis

P.S. Reading this over I find I didn’t even say a proper Thank you!<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>Pollack, 514.

<sup>19</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 381.

<sup>20</sup>Beatrice Cunningham, Los Angeles, to Aaron Copland, 3 February 1959. Available in the Copland Collection, Box 273, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Cunningham's open-minded musical tastes are revealed in a letter from 1965 in which she wrote to Copland:

I hadn't been aware that you had promised to send us records. They arrived, and we're delighted. The one is an old friend and how we happened *not* to have it on our shelves I don't know. "Connotations" comes as a complete surprise. And now, after several hearings, a great sense of discovery. In this unfamiliar Copland framework we hear sounds and rhythms that are really our old friend with a new hair-do. And we're finding it *very* becoming.<sup>21</sup>

*Threnody II in memoriam Beatrice Cunningham* premiered at Ojai on 2 June 1973 with Sheridan Stokes, alto flute; Yoko Matsuda, violin; James Dunham, viola; and Jeffrey Solow; 'cello. The printed program included an announcement that friends and relatives had made donations to the festival in Cunningham's memory.

With the exception of the piano work *Proclamation* (1973/1982), *Threnody II* was Copland's last completed composition. The new *Threnody* followed the model of *Threnody I* in its scoring, but substituted alto flute for the flute in C. Like *Threnody I*, the 1973 *Threnody* has been described as "somber."<sup>22</sup> Unlike Copland's other late flute works, however, *Threnody II* was not based on preexisting sketches. The use of alto flute may reflect the composer's curiosity about the lower register of the flute and adds a warm, expressive quality to the contrapuntally conceived string trio.

---

<sup>21</sup>Beatrice Cunningham, Los Angeles, to Aaron Copland, 21 September 1965. Available in *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup>Mistak, 108.

Example 25: Copland, *Threnody II*, mm. 1–9

Alto Flute in G

Violin

Viola

Violoncello

Slowly (♩ = 76)

5

*f legato* *mf* *mp*

The work begins in popular style with homorhythmic, descending wide intervals strikingly reminiscent of Copland’s opening gestures in the Third Symphony or *Duo for Flute and Piano* (Example 25). One reviewer described it (and *Threnody I*) as simple, with “that Copland sense of spaced rhythm, open intervals.”<sup>23</sup> As in the *Duo*, the starting pitches descend then return to the starting pitch (in the ’cello, viola, and violin parts). The alto flute moves in contrary motion by rising a step, only to return to its starting pitch as well. The phrase concludes in the strings with a minor third in measure nine. The effect

<sup>23</sup>Thomas Putnam, “Evening for New Music Whips Imaginative Shapes,” *Buffalo Courier-Express*, 29 October 1973. Available in the Copland Collection, Box 422/5, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

is the same motionless, hymn-like quality of the Duo's musical landscape. The pitches float as if unconnected to structural harmony or counterpoint. The changing meters and use of rests gives the passage a distinctly declamatory quality, again typical of Copland's popular style. The whole-step dissonances of the opening B-A-C# chord are heard as strangely open, perhaps because of the registral use of the alto flute and cello, which are ethereal in their upper ranges. The alto flute in the upper register has a hollow and distant quality, adding to the elusive expanse of the gesture.

The piece quickly deviates from the '40s idiom, however, and Copland described the work in modernist terms:

It is made up of a succession of rich homorhythmic chords, with intermittent solos, brief canonic passages, and various transpositions of a quickly ascending figure. *Threnody II* is somewhat more complex than *Threnody I*. Since both are short, I recommend they be paired.<sup>24</sup>

Copland's desire to pair the Threnodies may be related to Nadia Boulanger's suggestion in the 1920s to create a set of works from the similarly brief and modernist flute chamber piece *As it Fell Upon a Day*. In a letter to his mentor in 1925, Copland described his thoughts on the future of *As it Fell Upon a Day*: "I think I shall add two more songs to Elizabethan words and make a group as you suggested long ago."<sup>25</sup> Copland had begun a second song he intended to pair with *As it Fell* titled *Encouragement to a Lover*, based on a seventeenth-century poem by John Suckling, but the work was never completed.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 381.

<sup>25</sup>Aaron Copland, New York, to Nadia Boulanger, 3 April 1925. Available in the Copland Collection, online archive, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed 20 April 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov>.

<sup>26</sup>Pollack, 79.

Perhaps Copland's idea for pairing short chamber works for flute derives from Boulanger's suggestion.

Copland's description of *Threnody II* as complex may be related to the compositional techniques he employed in the piece, which are described by Neil Butterworth:

[*Threnody II*] is based on a tone-row, first heard after the introduction on an unaccompanied viola. This is balanced by the retrograde version on unaccompanied also [*sic*] flute. The central section builds up an emotional tension using melodic lines derived from the tone-row. As often with Copland, the coda is an adapted repetition of the opening bars.<sup>27</sup>

Although the work remains dominated by Copland's signature wide intervals, the chromatic use of a tone row forms a loose basis for the piece. Played by the viola (Example 26, mm. 19–23), it appears as D G G# C# A# E F# A B C F Eb and as R5 in the alto flute in (mm. 24–26). Howard Pollack recognized Copland's combination of consonant harmonies with serial techniques, comparing the piece to *Threnody I*:

Freer in form, *Threnody I* [*recte Threnody II*] has its own distinct profile, alternating or juxtaposing rather diatonic harmonies with chromatic melodies derived from a twelve-tone row. This particular kind of blend of tonal harmony and twelve-tone melody signaled a somewhat new slant on Copland's part, suggesting one direction he might have pursued had he continued composing.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup>Butterworth, 177.

<sup>28</sup>Pollack, 513.

Example 26: Copland, *Threnody II*, mm. 18–38

20 poco rit. a tempo (♩ = 84)

p

V

PO

mf espress.

poco rit. . . a tempo V rit. . .

mf

rit.

mf

R5

rit. a tempo

mp espress.

poco

a tempo

a tempo

a tempo

mp

18

mp legato

P5

P5

30

p gently

V

18

18

18

P5

P5

P5

P5

P5

P5

mp legato

p

Example 26 continued

The musical score consists of four staves. The top staff features a melodic line with a bracket labeled 'P2' and a box containing the number '35'. Below this, a bracket labeled 'RI6' spans several measures. The second staff has a 'V' marking and a 'mp' dynamic. The third staff also has a 'V' marking and a 'mp' dynamic. The bottom staff includes a 'pizz.' (pizzicato) marking, a 'p' dynamic, and a 'genily (sost.)' (gentily sostenuto) instruction. A bracket labeled 'I2' spans across the second and third staves. At the bottom, a bracket labeled 'P5' is present. The score is written in a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature.

The use of serial techniques was not new for Copland. He experimented with serial techniques of motivic development as early as his 1929 *Symphonic Ode*, 1930 *Piano Variations*, 1950 *Piano Quartet*, and 1955 *Piano Fantasy*. The use of a tone row in *Threnody II* may have been Copland's attempt to break free from '40s ideas to make the *Threnody II* truly modern. He had used serialism as a means of liberating himself from stylistic entrapments even in his 1950 *Piano Quartet*, which had been composed during the festive year of Copland's fiftieth birthday (a time when Copland may have been attempting to distance himself from communism):<sup>29</sup>

I was interested in trying [serial composition] again with the hope that it would freshen and enrich my technique. The *Quartet for Piano and Strings* seemed like an ideal opportunity: I felt able to explore a more abstract and esoteric idiom with chamber music than I could with other types of music.

Composing with all twelve notes of the chromatic scale can give one a feeling of freedom in the formulation of melodic and harmonic ideas. In addition to the fact that there are more notes to work with, taking a different perspective produces material you might not come up with if you were not thinking twelve-tone wise. It's like looking at a picture from a different point

<sup>29</sup>See discussion in Chapter 2's section "From a North Star."



of view. It was not the contrapuntal possibilities that interested me in serialism, but the opportunity it gave to hear chords in a different way.<sup>30</sup>

The chamber setting of the *Threnody II* again provided Copland with an opportunity to explore the esoteric techniques of serialism as a means of refreshing his compositional voice.

As in the Piano Quartet, the use of serialism in *Threnody II* is loosely based and does not always follow the row forms. Flexibility is the primary technique. This is consistent with Copland's preference for the free serial techniques of Boulez over the strict, Germanic serialism of the Second Viennese School.<sup>31</sup>

The character of *Threnody II* is not unlike the expansive, homorhythmic chords that begin the third movement of the Piano Quartet (Example 27), a work in which "Copland searches for a resolution between serialism and tonality."<sup>32</sup> The Quartet's metric changes in the context of simple, declamatory rhythms, and the general leanness of the string trio texture is certainly similar to the 1973 *Threnody*.

Lawrence Starr described this passage in the Quartet in terms that equally apply to *Threnody II*:

Outstandingly original is the opening of the Quartet's third movement which, due to its extremely slow presentation of pitch material and relatively consonant sound, could easily be taken for an excerpt from one of Copland's diatonically based scores. Certainly it could never be taken for anybody but Copland; his characteristic construction informs every line in the texture as well as the composite effect.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 151.

<sup>31</sup>Delapp, 185–86.

<sup>32</sup>Delapp, 182.

<sup>33</sup>Starr, 85.

Example 27: Copland, Quartet for piano and strings, mvt. 3, mm. 1–8



In *Threnody II*, Copland often uses segments of the row for motivic and harmonic purposes. In measure 31, Copland presents incomplete sections of P5 (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Row Use in Measures 31–33

P5 → G C C# F# D# A B D E F Bb Ab

in measure 31: Db C F# D#

Motive in measures 32–33: B D

Strings in measure 31: F Bb Ab

Other similar row fragments can be found throughout the piece: P2 (m. 34), RI6 (m. 36), I2/RI2 and P5 (mm. 37–38). Copland also explores harmonic dyads drawn from the row, as in measures 27–30 between the violin and viola (Figure 5 and Example 26). Copland suggests an underlying consonance by using several dyads that outline perfect fifths and minor thirds. Furthermore, within his use of chromatic tone rows, Copland maintains the contradictory sense of pitch economy. He often achieves this by exchanging pitches between voices, thereby creating a sense of leanness (Example 25 mm. 1–9).

Figure 5: Row Use in Measures 27–31

I8→ Bb F E B D G# F# Eb C# C G A ←RI8  
P5→ G C C# F# Eb A Cb D E F Bb Ab ←R5

Measure 27: Bb and F  
Measure 28: Eb and F#, D and B  
Measure 29: F# and Eb, E and D  
Measure 30: C and G, A and Eb, D and Cb  
Measure 31: Bb and F

Example 28: Copland, *Threnody II*, mm. 95–100

The piece concludes as it began with homorhythmic chords in measure 85.

The phrase *diminuendo*s gradually, leading to a reduced *semplice* texture. Measure 97 presents stacked fifths C–G–D, before bringing the piece to its final resting point on the mournful minor third E–G. A dying away effect is created as the *diminuendo* chords are stripped bare of life-giving vibrato. This distant conclusion recalls the similarly melancholic end of the 1972 *Night Thoughts* for piano.

## LOOKING BACK, LOOKING AHEAD

In the *Threnodies I and II*, Copland combined traditional techniques with modern elements. In both pieces, Copland looked both backward and forward while using constructed elements as his creative springboard, a folk song for *Threnody I* and a tone row for *Threnody II*. Yet, he explored them in ways that are not only typical of his own style, but in their combination, reflect a new voice for the composer. In *Threnody I* the adoption of *Canciones del Domino de Ramos* is placed within a neoclassical style that appears to deviate from the composer's folk-like aesthetic. Furthermore, the presence of *Canciones del Domino de Ramos* in this modernist work reveals that Copland was still incorporating '40s ideas with specific folk connections even for works he consciously conceived in a modernist idiom.

The use of a folk tune for *Threnody I* is probably not a coincidental borrowing, and, in fact, is especially appropriate in a tribute to Stravinsky. Copland often associated Stravinsky with the modernist adaptation of Russian folk melodies:

For me there was no doubt that Stravinsky was the most exciting musical creator on the scene. He was the hero of my student days . . . I was particularly struck by the strong Russian element in his music. He borrowed freely from folk materials, and I have no doubt that this strongly influenced me to try to find a way to a distinctively American music . . . Stravinsky proved it was possible for a twentieth-century composer to create his own tradition.<sup>34</sup>

But why did Copland borrow a Spanish and not a Russian folk song in his Stravinsky tribute? It may be that Copland did not want the folk borrowing to become the highlight of his composition and instead focused the listener's attention on the modern aspects of the piece. Quoting a Russian folk source would have been

---

<sup>34</sup>Copland and Perlis, *1900–1942*, 72–73.

too obvious and clichéd in the context of a Stravinsky memorial and may have even appeared as a competitive challenge to the deceased composer, rather than a tribute of respect. It may also be that Copland was drawn more to the compositional properties of the theme he discovered in his 1942 sketchbooks than to its specific folk origins. Whatever the reason, Copland clearly did not attempt to make his folk borrowing public and the identification of a specific folk borrowing adds a new layer of understanding to this otherwise modernist flute piece.

In *Threnody II*, Copland also adapts modernist techniques. He did not employ serialism in a mechanical process following strict applications of a matrix, however, but adopts the pitches to fit his compositional voice. Instead of complete statements, Copland presents the row in motivic and harmonic fragments that at times overlap. Rather than emphasizing atonality in his adoption of serialism, Copland uses the row to explore consonant intervals such as perfect fifths and minor thirds. Other sections of the work stray from the row altogether. The result is a piece that recalls the consonant style of his Duo for Flute and Piano and the serial exploration of his Piano Quartet, while remaining technically experimental and progressive.

## CHAPTER FOUR: COLLAGE AND COMPOSITIONAL ASSIMILATION

After the *Threnodies I and II*, Copland's compositional career, which had been gradually declining since the '60s, came to a virtual standstill. Copland attributed the lack of output to his advance in age: "The creative impulse, the need, was no longer strong with me."<sup>1</sup> Only *Proclamation* (begun 1973, premiered in 1983), a "short, moody piece reminiscent of the *Four Piano Blues*,"<sup>2</sup> followed. His conducting career continued to flourish for some time, however, and included a 1973 tour to Budapest, Istanbul, Ankara, Prague, and Madrid. Copland gave his final appearance on the podium with the New Haven Symphony in 1982, at age eighty-two.

In the decade after *Threnody II*, Copland began to suffer increasingly from memory loss and dementia. After 1987 Copland depended on a staff of in-house nurses and spent his days "reading and rereading the same newspaper or simply staring at the television set."<sup>3</sup> He died on 2 December 1990. According to his wishes, Copland's remains were cremated and buried on the grounds of Tanglewood.

The *Duo for Flute and Piano* and *Threnodies I and II* reveal Copland's desire late in his career to explore new compositional ideas despite being heavily influenced by his signature style of the '40s. The pieces present combinations of Copland's many idioms: folk, jazz, modernist, declamatory, and serial, while reflecting modern

---

<sup>1</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 387.

<sup>2</sup>Pollack, 515.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 546.

trends, period events, and the figures memorialized. For Kincaid, Copland provided nostalgic lyricism; for Stravinsky, folk-inspired neo-classicism; and for Cunningham, an adventurous willingness to explore modern techniques. Yet within these personal tributes, Copland included borrowings from earlier works, creating a retrospective collage of the composer's oeuvre.

What unites these three flute chamber pieces is Copland's consistent use of an economy of means compositional style. In this way the works remain true to Copland's Americana style. Although the textures are lean and economical, Copland's phrases weave numerous American-derived musical threads into unified compositional tapestries. What truly makes these pieces successful expressions of the American style is not only the specific idioms Copland employed, but more importantly, the way he developed his ideas. Rather than solely organizing his musical concepts linearly, he often fused them into single themes: in the Duo, a simple flute solo at once recalls the space and stillness of a prairie, a seductive Indianist sigh, a heartfelt hymn, a Jewish prayer, a Gregorian chant, and a Russian folk setting. Another theme simultaneously suggests Indianist tongue-wagging, boogie woogie, and Russian primitivism. In the *Threnodies*, a simple theme combines the music of a neoclassical passacaglia and a Spanish folksong, another line explores the stillness of the prairie, a mournful declamatory statement, and a twelve-tone row.

Copland believed that "the world at large knows itself through its artists, discovers the very nature of its Being through the creations of its artists." Indeed, Copland does just this through his late flute works; by compositionally synthesizing

varied sound idioms and making them one, Copland has reflected the very nature of the American character: assimilation. Although critics of Copland's style such as Daniel Gregory Mason may have considered Copland's mixed aesthetic and amalgamation of musical material contradictory to a strictly Anglo-based American ideal, such adoption and reinterpretation of varied parts is precisely what makes America unique. After all, there is perhaps no single defining concept more descriptive of the American experience than that of diverse elements coming together to form an entirely new entity, one which nevertheless retains essences of its composite parts. It is a process that throughout U.S. history has been achieved peacefully, as well as through opposition and warfare.

Assimilation was an issue with which Copland had personal experience. In many ways, Copland was representative of the American "Other," a trait which is thought to have influenced his compositional style. Mellers, for example, linked Copland's affinity for jazz elements with the fact that "both Negro and Jew are dispossessed people who have become, in a cosmopolitan urban society, representative of man's uprootedness."<sup>4</sup> This identification with displaced peoples may also explain the composer's interest in musical material associated with early American settlers, indigenous Americans, and various immigrant groups. In addition, Copland himself acknowledged that his signature "bittersweet lyricism" in works like the Clarinet Concerto may have been influenced by his feelings of loneliness and social alienation over his homosexuality.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the intense lyricism of the Duo's

---

<sup>4</sup> Wilfrid Mellers, *Music in a New Found Land* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 85 quoted in *ibid.*, 518.

<sup>5</sup>Pollack, 525.



second movement also derived from these emotions, especially as he claimed that the movement “has a certain mood I connect with myself—a rather sad and wistful one.”<sup>6</sup>

Throughout his career, which alternated periods of triumph with spells of controversy, Copland maintained elements of his “Otherness” while assimilating into an American symbol and source of national pride. His late flute works not only reflect Copland’s personal struggles and triumphs—but the experiences which are central to the national character of all Americans, who are, like Copland, children of assimilation.

---

<sup>6</sup>Copland and Perlis, *Since 1943*, 376.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

- Arnold, Ben. *War and Music: A Research and Information Guide*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993.
- Baker, Theodore. *On the Music of the North American Indians*. Translated by Ann Buckley. Buren, The Netherlands: Frotz Knuf, 1976.
- Bellman, Jonathan. *The Exotic in Western Music*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.
- Berger, Arthur. *Aaron Copland*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Burt, George. *The Art of Film Music*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994.
- Burton, Frederick R. *American Primitive Music*. New York: Moffat, Yard, and Company, 1909.
- Butterworth, Neil. *The Music of Aaron Copland*. New York: Universe Books, 1986.
- Castro, Michael. *Interpreting the Indian: Twentieth-Century Poets and the Native American*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.
- Cook, Harold E. *Shaker Music: A Manifestation of American Folk Culture*. Cranberry, N.J.: Associated University Press, Inc., 1973.
- Copland, Aaron. *Copland on Music*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Music and Imagination*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The New Music: 1900–1960*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *What to Listen for in Music*. New York: Mentor Books/Penguin Putnam, 1999.
- Copland, Aaron, and Vivian Perlis. *Copland: 1900 through 1942*. New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Copland: Since 1943*. New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984.
- Densmore, Frances. *The American Indians and Their Music*. New York: The Woman's Press, 1926; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Cheyenne and Arapaho Music*. Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1936.
- Dobrin, Arnold. *Aaron Copland: His Life and Times*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967.
- Gilman, Benjamin Ives. *Hopi Songs*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908.
- Griffiths, Paul. *Stravinsky*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1929.
- Hamm, Charles. *Music in the New World*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1983.
- Harrison, Max. "Boogie Woogie." In *Jazz: New Perspectives on the History of Jazz by Twelve of the World's Foremost Jazz Critics and Scholars*, ed. Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy, 105–35. New York: Da Capo Press, 1947.
- Hilger, Michael. *The American Indian in Film*. London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1986.
- Kurath, Gertrude. *Iroquois Music and Dance: Ceremonial Arts of Two Seneca Longhouses*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Michigan Indian Festivals*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1966.
- Levin, Gail and Judith Tick. *Aaron Copland's America: A Cultural Perspective*. New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 2000.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. *Tune in America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931.
- McAllester, David P. *Enemy Way Music*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge Museum, 1954.
- Mellers, Wilfrid. *Music in a New Found Land*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Nettl, Bruno. *Blackfoot Musical Thought: Comparative Perspectives*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989.
- Palisca, Claude V. *Baroque Music* 3d. Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991.
- Pisani, Michael Vincent. "'I'm an Indian, Too': Creating Native North American Indian Identities in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Music." In *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. Jonathan Bellman, 218–57. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.
- Pollack, Howard. *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999.

- Pollack, Howard. "Copland at the Fair." In *1939: Music and the World's Fair*, ed. Claudia Swan, 10–20. New York: Eos Music, Inc., 1998.
- Powers, William K. *War Dance*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990.
- Reis, Claire R. *Composers, Conductors and Critics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955.
- Rosenfeld, Paul. *Discoveries of a Music Critic*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936.
- Schindler, Kurt. *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal*. New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1941.
- Saminsky, Lazare. *Living Music of the Americas*. New York: Howell, Soskin and Crown Publishers, 1949.
- Smith, Julia. *Aaron Copland: His Work and Contribution to American Music*. New York: Dutton, 1955.
- Stevenson, Robert M. *Music in Mexico, A Historical Survey*. New York: Crowell, 1952.
- Taruskin, Richard. *Stravinsky and the Russian Tradition: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra, volume I*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

### Periodicals

- Berger, Arthur. "Aaron Copland: 1900–1990." *Perspectives of New Music* 30 (1992): 296–98.
- Brancaleone, Francis. "Edward MacDowell and Indian Motives." *American Music* 7 (1998): 359–81.
- Browner, Tara Colleen. "'Breathing the Indian Spirit': Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the 'Indianist' Movement in American Music." *American Music* 15 (1997): 265–84.
- Chapin, Schuyler. "A Gift to Be Simple." *Symphony Magazine* 42 (March–April 1991): 25.
- Clinton, Kerry. "Images for Copland's Duo." *Flute Talk* 18, no. 6 (February 1999): 13–14.
- Copland, Aaron. "A Note on Young Composers." *Music Vanguard* 1 (March–April 1935): 14–16.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "One Hundred and Fourteen Songs." *Modern Music* 11 (1934): 59–64.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jazz Structure and Influence." *Modern Music* 4 (1927): 10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Threnody: Igor Stravinsky: in memoriam." *Tempo* 98 Supplement Canons and Epitaphs Set 2 (1972): 3–5.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Workers Sing!" *New Masses* 11 (5 June 1934): 28–29.
- Crawford, Richard. "Edward MacDowell: Musical Nationalism and an American Tone Poet." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996): 528–60.
- De Rhen, Andrew. "Elaine Shaffer, Hephzibah Menuhin." *High Fidelity/Musical America* 22 (January 1972): 24.
- Field, Alan. "Interview: Aaron Copland 'Every American Knows the West.'" *Newsweek* (8 March 1976). Available at the Copland Collection, box 225/22, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Heyworth, Peter. "Lawrence Morton (1904–1987)." *Tempo* 164 (March 1988): 29–31.
- Hitchcock, H. Wiley. "Aaron Copland and American Music." *Perspectives of New Music* 19 (1980–81): 31–33.
- Kirpatrick, John. "Aaron Copland's Piano Sonata." *Modern Music* 19 (1942): 246–47.
- Levin, Gail M. "Visualizing Modernity and Tradition in Copland's America." *Institute for Studies in American Music Newsletter* 30 (Fall 2000): 6–7.
- Mellers, Wilfrid. "Homage to Aaron Copland." *Tempo* 95 (Winter 1970–71): 2–4.
- Metzer, David. "Spurned Love: Eroticism and Abstraction in the Early Works of Aaron Copland." *Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997): 417–43.
- Mistak, Alan. "Ensembles-Mixed-Grade V: Threnodies I and II." *The Instrumentalist* 33 (November 1978): 108.
- "Modern Wind." *The Musical Times* 113 (October 1972). Available at the Copland Collection, box 399/11, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Montparker, Carol. "The Paintings and Drawings That Inspired Aaron Copland." *Clavier* 40, no. 1 (January 2001): 65.
- Perlove, Nina. "Inherited Sound Images. Native American Exoticism in Aaron Copland's *Duo for Flute and Piano*." *American Music* 18 (2000): 50–77.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Performing Copland's Duo." *Flute Talk Magazine* 18, no. 4 (December 1998): 12–16.
- Pisani, Michael Vincent. "The Indian Music Debate and 'American' Music in the Progressive Era." *College Music Symposium* 37 (1997): 73–93.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Longfellow, Robert Stoepel, and an Early Musical Setting of Hiawatha (1859)." *American Music* 16 (1998): 45–85.
- Starr, Lawrence. "Copland's Style." *Perspectives of New Music* 19 (1980–81): 68–89.
- Terwilliger, William. "An Undiscovered Repertoire: Copland's Complete Works for Violin and Piano." *American String Teacher* 50, no. 2 (May 2000): 78–83.
- Valencia, Ernesto M. "Aaron Copland, El Hombre, El Musico, La Leyenda." *Heterofonia* 4 (1972): 9–11, 47–48.
- Von Glahn, Denise. "Charles Ives, Cowboys, and Indians: Aspects of the Other Side of Pioneering." *American Music* 19 (Fall 2001): 291–314.
- Wyton, Richard. "The Copland-Solum Correspondence, 1967–1975 *The Duo for Flute and Piano* Commission." *Flutist Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (Winter 1992): 33–43.

### Published Scores

- Carter, Elliott. *Pocahontas Orchestral Suite from the Ballet*. New York: Associated Music Publishers, [1969].
- Coleridge-Taylor, Samuel. *Hiawatha's Departure*. London: Novello and Company, 1898.
- Copland, Aaron. *As it Fell Upon a Day*. New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1956.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Billy the Kid; Ballet Suite*: London and New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1941.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Duo for Flute and Piano*. New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Four Piano Blues*. New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1949.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Las agachadas: The shake-down song*. New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1942.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Latin American Sketches*. London and New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Passacaglia for solo piano*. Boca Raton, Fla.: Masters Music, 1998. Originally published Paris: M. Senart, 1922.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Piano Fantasy*. New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Quartet for piano and strings*. London and New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Red Pony: Film Suite for Orchestra*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sunday Afternoon Music*. New York: Carl Fischer, 1936.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Third Symphony*. London and New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Threnodies I and II*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1972.
- Ives, Charles. *Seven Songs for Voice and Piano*. New York: Associated Music Publishers, Inc., 1957.
- MacDowell, Edward. *Zweite (indianische) Suite, op. 48*. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1897.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zweite (indianische) Suite, op. 48, für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen*. Arranged by Otto Taubmann. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910.
- Maganini, Quinto. *Tuolumne: A California Rhapsody for Orchestra with Trumpet Obligato*. New York: Affiliated Music Corporation, 1936.
- Stravinsky, Igor. *The Rite of Spring: Pictures of Pagan Russia*. London and New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Double Canon*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Epitaphium*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1959.

### **Recordings, Liner Notes, and Films**

- Chase, Gilbert. Liner notes, "The 'Indianist' Movement in American Music." *Farwell, Orem, and Cadman*. New York: New World Records, 1977.
- Copland, Aaron. Liner notes, "Copland Performs and Conducts Copland." CBS Records, 1974.
- Fleischhauser, Carl and Alan Jabbour. Liner Notes, *The Hammons Family: A Study of a West Virginia Family's Traditions*. Archive of Folk Song, L65-B. no. 1, 1973, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Garabedian, George. *Stagecoach Original Motion Picture Soundtrack*. Anaheim, Calif.: Mark56 Records, 1977.

*The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*. Directed by Sergio Leone. PEA Produzioni, 1966. On Videocassette, MGM/UA, 1966.

Griffiths, Paul. Liner notes, *Stravinsky: The Rite of Spring, Symphony of Wind Instruments*, Charles Dutoit, Orchestre Symphonique de Montréal. DACS, 1985.

Locke, Kevin. *The Flash of the Mirror*. Makoché, 1994.

*A Man Called Horse*. Directed by Eliot Silverstein. National General, 1970. On Videocassette, CBS/Fox Company, 1985.

*The North Star*. Directed by Louis Milestone. Original story and screen play by Lillian Hellman; produced by Samuel Goodwyn, Music by Aaron Copland, 1943. On Videocassette, Piscataway, N.J.: Alpha Video, 1997.

Piccardi, Carlo. Liner notes, "On the Trail of the Indian Composer." *Indian Music*. Translated by Timothy Alan Shaw. Lugano, Italy: Nuova Era, 1989.

Saunders, Nicholas. Liner Notes, *Paula Robison Plays American Masterworks*. Ocean, N.J.: Musicmasters, 1989.

*Stagecoach*. Produced by Walter Wanger. Directed by John Ford. United Artists, 1939.

### **Dissertations and Theses**

Browner, Tara Colleen. "Transposing Cultures: The Appropriation of Native North American Musics, 1890–1990." Ph.D. diss. University of Michigan, 1995.

Creighton, Steven David. "A Study of Tonality in Selected Works of Aaron Copland." Ph.D. diss. University of British Columbia, 1994.

Delapp, Jennifer L. "Copland in the Fifties: Music and Ideology in the McCarthy Era." Ph.D. diss. University of Michigan, 1997.

Fuller, Palmer. "Copland and Stravinsky: A Study (Based on the Comparison of the Opening Sections of *Appalachian Spring* and *Appolon Musgate*) of the Traditional and Innovative Techniques Used by the Two Composers in Their Search for a Tonally-Based Musical Language in the Twentieth Century." D.M.A. thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1982.

Mathers, Daniel E. "Closure in the Sextet and Short Symphony by Aaron Copland: A Study Using Facsimiles and Printed Editions." M.M. Thesis, Florida State University, 1989.



- Murchison, Gayle M. "Nationalism in William Grant Still and Aaron Copland Between the Wars: Style and Ideology." Ph.D. diss. Yale University, 1998.
- Pisani, Michael Vincent. "Exotic Sounds in the Native Land: Portrayals of North American Indians in Western Music." Ph.D. diss. Eastman School of Music, 1996.

### Unpublished Sources

- Blemenfeld, Aaron. "The Art of Blues and Barrelhouse Piano Improvisation." Aaron Blumenfeld, 1979.
- Copland, Aaron. "Composing for Something Wild." December 1961. Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 29 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Datebook 1973. Copland Collection, box 239/7, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Diary 1931. Copland Collection, box 243 Binder 1, 1927–1959, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Duo for Flute and Piano*. Sketches. Copland Collection, box 110, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Duo for Flute and Piano*. Copland Collection, subject files, boxes 399/11 and 399/14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The North Star*. Copland Collection, subject files, box 407/12 and 407/14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The North Star*. Conductor's Scores. Library of Congress Copland Collection, Box 24, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The North Star*. Sketches. Copland Collection, box 23, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Personality of Stravinsky." Undated. Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 29 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Piece for Flute and Piano*. Score. Undated [1921–1924]. Copland Collection, box 117E/folder 10, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Something Wild*. Conductor's Score. Copland Collection, box 116A, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Something Wild (in the City)*. Script. Copland Collection, boxes 116A and 119, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Threnody I*. Sketches. Copland Collection, box 43, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Threnody I and II*. Subject Files. Copland Collection, boxes 422 and 442, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Perlove, Nina. "A Musical Melting Pot: Compositional Assimilation in Aaron Copland's *Duo for Flute and Piano*." Unpublished paper submitted as the culminating project for the University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music Theory Seminar, Winter, 2000, taught by Daniel E. Mathers.

Saavedra, Leonora. "Carlos Chavez and the USA: The Construction of a Strategic Otherness." Unpublished Paper Read at the University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music Mexican Music Festival, November 1999.

### Letters

Copland, Aaron, Los Angeles, to Arthur Berger, 10 April 1943, Copland Collection, box 407/14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

\_\_\_\_\_, Los Angeles, to Arthur Berger, 3 August 1943, Copland Collection, box 407/14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

\_\_\_\_\_, Woodstock, to Benjamin Britten, 6 September 1939, Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 29 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

\_\_\_\_\_, to Carlos Chávez, 25 December 1971, Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 20 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

\_\_\_\_\_, Lavinia, Lake Bemidji, Minn., to Israel Citkowitz, 18 July 1934, Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 20 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

\_\_\_\_\_, New York, to Nadia Boulanger, 3 April 1925, Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 20 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

\_\_\_\_\_, Mexico City, to Copland Family, New York, 10 September 1932, Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 20 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

- \_\_\_\_\_, Paris, to Copland Family, New York, 19 September 1943, Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 29 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1 University Place, to Serge Koussevitsky, 3 February 1936, Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 20 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Serge Koussevitsky, 6 February 1943, Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 29 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Mary Lescaze, 13 January 1933, Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 29 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Harold Spivacke, Stockbridge, Mass., 21 August 1942, Copland Collection, Online Archive, <http://memory.loc.gov>, accessed 29 April 2002, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Cunningham, Beatrice, Los Angeles, to Aaron Copland, 3 February 1959, Copland Collection, box 273, folder Robert W. Cunningham, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Los Angeles, to Aaron Copland, 17 January 1961, Copland Collection, box 273, folder Robert W. Cunningham, Library of Congress Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Los Angeles, to Aaron Copland, 21 September 1965, Copland Collection, box 273, folder Robert W. Cunningham, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Cunningham, Robert W., Ojai, to Aaron Copland, 28 December 1977, Copland Collection, box 273, folder Robert W. Cunningham, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

### Newspapers

- Antico, Frank. "The North Star: A Review." *The Daily Worker* (5 November 1943). Available at the Copland Collection, box 407/12, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Blackford, G.E. "North Star Opens in Two Film Houses." *New York Journal-American* (5 November 1943). Available at the Copland Collection, box 407/12, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Davis, Peter G. "Hephzibah Menuhin and Miss Schaffer Play Copland's Duo." *The New York Times* (12 October 1971). Available at the Copland Collection, box 399/11, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

- Licta, Ken. "Evenings for New Music Commemorating the Future." *The Spectrum* (31 October 1973). Available at the Copland Collection, box 422/5, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Nazzaro, William J. "Settlement House Hosts Copland Premiere." *The Evening Bulletin* (4 October 1971). Available at the Copland Collection, box 399/11, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Putnam, Thomas. "Evening for New Music Whips Imaginative Shapes." *Buffalo Courier Express* (29 October 1973). Available at the Copland Collection, box 422/5, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Steinberg, Michael. "Aaron Copland's Double Surprise." *The Boston Globe* (25 January 1972). Available at the Copland Collection, box 399/11, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Winston, Archer. "Movie Talk: The North Star is Opened at RKO Palace and the Victoria." Source and date unknown. Available at the Copland Collection, box 407/12, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.