A SELECT SURVEY OF CHORAL ARRANGEMENTS BASED ON THE SONGS OF STEPHEN FOSTER TRACING DEVELOPMENTS IN MUSIC AND TEXTUAL CHANGES THROUGH THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

Perry K. Ward
University of Kentucky, pward2@uky.edu
Digital Object Identifier: https://doi.org/10.13023/ETD.2017.513

Click here to let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation
https://uknowledge.uky.edu/music_etds/103

This Doctoral Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Music at UKnowledge. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations--Music by an authorized administrator of UKnowledge. For more information, please contact UKnowledge@lsv.uky.edu.
STUDENT AGREEMENT:

I represent that my thesis or dissertation and abstract are my original work. Proper attribution has been given to all outside sources. I understand that I am solely responsible for obtaining any needed copyright permissions. I have obtained needed written permission statement(s) from the owner(s) of each third-party copyrighted matter to be included in my work, allowing electronic distribution (if such use is not permitted by the fair use doctrine) which will be submitted to UKnowledge as Additional File.

I hereby grant to The University of Kentucky and its agents the irrevocable, non-exclusive, and royalty-free license to archive and make accessible my work in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known. I agree that the document mentioned above may be made available immediately for worldwide access unless an embargo applies.

I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of my work. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of my work. I understand that I am free to register the copyright to my work.

REVIEW, APPROVAL AND ACCEPTANCE

The document mentioned above has been reviewed and accepted by the student’s advisor, on behalf of the advisory committee, and by the Director of Graduate Studies (DGS), on behalf of the program; we verify that this is the final, approved version of the student’s thesis including all changes required by the advisory committee. The undersigned agree to abide by the statements above.

Perry K. Ward, Student

Dr. Jefferson Johnson, Major Professor

Dr. Michael Baker, Director of Graduate Studies
A SELECT SURVEY OF CHORAL ARRANGEMENTS BASED ON THE SONGS OF
STEPHEN FOSTER TRACING DEVELOPMENTS IN MUSIC AND TEXTUAL CHANGES
THROUGH THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

DMA PROJECT

This DMA project is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts in the College of Fine Arts at the University of Kentucky

By

Perry K. Ward

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Jefferson Johnson, Professor of Music

Lexington, Kentucky

2017

Copyright © Perry K. Ward 2017
Stephen Foster is acknowledged as America’s first composer of popular music. His legacy can be seen in the number of songs that are embedded in our cultural heritage—“Oh! Susanna,” “Beautiful Dreamer,” and “My Old Kentucky Home,” are but a very few of his most popular works. Stephen Foster’s songs have been incorporated into every facet of American culture including both popular and classical musical culture, television, and film. However, his legacy is complicated as it is tainted by connections to blackface minstrelsy in some works. This document seeks to trace the threads of racial sensitivity and cultural appropriation in works arranged for choral ensembles based on Foster’s songs. The arrangements chosen for this document provide a glimpse into three distinct periods of American history—pre-Civil Rights, the Civil Rights Era, and post-Civil Rights. Using a process of comparative analysis of the music and text of the originals to that of the arrangements, this document traces expected and unexpected changes in music and text associated with each period. Perhaps through the continued study of one of America’s first purveyors of popular culture, we can begin to understand our national legacy of racism more clearly and find a path towards reconciliation.

KEYWORDS: Stephen Foster, Racism, Blackface Minstrelsy, American popular culture, choral arrangements
A SELECT SURVEY OF CHORAL ARRANGEMENTS BASED ON THE SONGS OF STEPHEN FOSTER TRACING DEVELOPMENTS IN MUSIC AND TEXTUAL CHANGES THROUGH THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

By

Perry K. Ward

Dr. Jefferson Johnson
Director of Dissertation

Dr. Michael Baker
Director of Graduate Studies

December 8, 2017
This project is dedicated to my parents, Herbert and Chloe Ann Ward, whose unwavering love and support have nurtured and sustained me all my life. Dad, I know how proud you would have been to see this day.

It is also dedicated to my wife, Tracy Doty. Her selfless love and devotion have helped to make this all possible. With gratitude for all the sacrifices you have made.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following document, while an individual work, benefited from the guidance and direction of several people. First, my Doctoral Committee Chair, Dr. Jefferson Johnson, exemplifies the type of music educator I aspire to be. He is a model of musical excellence and scholarship, and an outstanding mentor. Dr. Ron Pen provided insightful comments and instruction throughout the research and preparation of this document. Dr. Pen consistently pushed me to dig deeper into my research and go further in drawing conclusions. Next, I wish to thank the full Doctoral Committee: Dr. Noemi Lugo, Dr. Alexandre Martin, and Dr. Walter Foreman (Outside Examiner) for their thoughtful and constructive input in this process. Each of you provided insights that guided and challenged my thinking and my research, which led to a substantially improved finished product.

In addition to those listed above, I also received important assistance from Dr. Deane Root, Chair of the Department of Music at the University of Pittsburgh, and the Fletcher J. Hodges, Jr. Curator of the Center for American Music, and Paula Hickner, Head of the Little Fine Arts Library, and Music Librarian/Academic Liaison, who helped provide an interesting answer to a curious enigma that turned up during the research of this project. I would also like to thank my colleagues in the Music Division of the Department of Performing Arts at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. Your support and encouragement has been invaluable, particularly during the most challenging times of this project. All of you have helped make this a dynamic work with many possibilities for future research.

Dear Friends and Gentle Hearts...
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .......................................................................................................... iii

List of Tables .................................................................................................................. vi

List of Figures ............................................................................................................... vii

DMA Project Part I

I. Introduction and Background ............................................................................................... 1

II. Evolving Attitudes on Foster’s Life and Music ................................................................. 11
    A. The Biographical Materials on the Life and Works of Stephen Foster ............. 12
    B. The Biographical Materials Covering the Death of Stephen Foster ............... 23

III. Developments in Choral Arrangements. .................................................................... 29
    C. Choral Medleys. .............................................................................................. 29
       1. Riegger ................................................................................................ 29
       2. Wienhorst ............................................................................................ 36
       3. Martin .................................................................................................. 41
    D. Octavos of Single Songs .................................................................................. 44
       1. Spicker. ................................................................................................. 44
       2. Ehret ..................................................................................................... 47
       3. Roberton ............................................................................................... 48
       4. Kean ..................................................................................................... 52
       5. Porter .................................................................................................... 54
       6. Morton. .................................................................................................. 57
       7. Ehret ..................................................................................................... 61
       8. Ehret. ..................................................................................................... 63
       9. Parker/Shaw. ......................................................................................... 65
      10. Van Camp. .............................................................................................. 68
      11. Berg ..................................................................................................... 70
      12. LaBarr. .................................................................................................. 72
      13. Düsing ................................................................................................... 76
      14. Hayes. ................................................................................................. 78
      15. Parker. ................................................................................................... 83
      16. Johnson. ................................................................................................. 85

IV. Drawing Conclusions
    E. Scholarly Literature ......................................................................................... 91
       1. The Foster Family Narrative. ............................................................... 91
       2. Towards More Accurate Research. ....................................................... 92
       3. Scholarship Inspired by Deane Root .................................................... 93
    F. Choral Literature. ............................................................................................. 95
Appendices

Appendix A - Composer Biographies .................................................................103
Appendix B - Select Discography .................................................................110

DMA Project Part 2 – Program Notes for DMA Recitals

1. UK Chorale Fall Concert – November 9, 2006. ...........................................120
2. UK Men’s Chorus Spring Concert – April 5, 2007. ....................................122
3. UK Chorale Spring Concert – April 12, 2007. ...........................................124
4. UK Opera Theater La Traviata – Fall 2006.................................................127
5. UK Opera Theater Carmen – Spring 2007...............................................128

Bibliography .................................................................................................132

Vitae ..............................................................................................................135
List of Tables

Table 1.1 Chronological List of Single Song Arrangements Surveyed............................. 9
Table 1.2 Chronological List of Medley Arrangements Surveyed.................................10
Table 1.3 Chronological List of Published Foster Biographies Surveyed..........................10
List of Figures

Figure 3.1 – Comparison of Riegger’s arrangements for SSA and TTBB. .......................... 31
Figure 3.2 – Comparing minor rhythmic variations between the versions ........................ 31
Figure 3.3 – More rhythmic modifications between Riegger’s versions ......................... 32
Figure 3.4 – Chromatic chord progressions in “Beautiful Dreamer” .............................. 33
Figure 3.5 – Chromatic progressions in “Nelly Was a Lady” ......................................... 34
Figure 3.6 – Harmonic variants in mm157 and mm160 between the two versions ......... 34
Figure 3.7 – MM 160-161. ............................................................................................... 35
Figure 3.8 – The harmonic progressions in the coda of both versions ......................... 35
Figure 3.9 – Vocal ostinato under the melody in “Oh! Suzanna” ................................. 38
Figure 3.10 – Melody, Ostinato, and Countermelody in “Oh! Suzanna” ....................... 38
Figure 3.11 – Text examples from the original Foster songs compare to the Riegger and  
Wienhorst arrangements ............................................................................. 40
Figure 3.12 – Rhythmic and harmonic variants in Martin’s arrangement .................... 42
Figure 3.13 – Accompaniment textures and harmonies .............................................. 44
Figure 3.14 – Foster’s original voice layouts ................................................................. 45
Figure 3.15 – Comparison of the opening lines of the original to the Spicker ............. 46
Figure 3.16 – Comparison of mm9-10 between the original and the Spicker ............. 47
Figure 3.17 – Rearrangement of vocal lines from the original to Ehret’s arrangement ... 48
Figure 3.18 – Ehret’s augmentation in the coda ............................................................ 48
Figure 3.19 – Comparison of the opening lines of the original “Uncle Ned” to  
Roberton’s arrangement............................................................................. 50
Figure 3.20 – Comparison of the chorus of the original to the Roberton arrangement ... 50
Figure 3.21 – Text comparison of the original “Uncle Ned” to Roberton’s arrangement 52
Figure 3.22 – Transfer of melody from Tenor II to Bass II ........................................... 53
Figure 3.23 – Chromatic part writing and vocal textures ............................................. 53
Figure 3.24 – Chromatic part writing and vocal textures ............................................. 53
Figure 3.25 – Barbershop-esque coda ........................................................................ 54
Figure 3.26 – Stretto finale to Porter’s arrangement .................................................... 55
Figure 3.27 – Comparison of texts between the original “Camptown Races” and  
Porter’s arrangement............................................................................. 56
Figure 3.28 – Porter’s use of the text “zippidee doo-dah” ........................................... 56
Figure 3.29 – Comparison of the opening phrases and chorus of the original  
“Camptown Races” and Morton’s arrangement ........................................... 58
Figure 3.30 – Use of text painting at “a big mud hole” ................................................. 58
Figure 3.31 – “William Tell Overture” variant in the piano interlude ......................... 59
Figure 3.32 – Theme from Von Suppé’s “Light Cavalry Overture” .............................. 59
Figure 3.33 – A US military pre-reveille tattoo ......................................................... 59
Figure 3.34 – Text variant in the chorus of the Morton arrangement ......................... 60
Figure 3.35 – Example of cross-voicing in the tenor parts ........................................ 62
Figure 3.36 – Ehret’s harmonization of the chorus ...................................................... 63
Figure 3.37 – Final chorus begins in Bass II ................................................................. 63
Figure 3.38 – Opening phrase of Ehret’s arrangement of “Old Dog Tray” .................. 64
Figure 3.39 – Four-part harmonization at the chorus .................................................. 65
Figure 3.40 – Modulation to accommodate moving the melody to Bass I. ................. 65
Figure 3.41 – Comparing the altered voice leading of the Parker/Shaw arrangement..... 67
Figure 3.42 – Second verse of the arrangement featuring paired voicings............... 68
Figure 3.43 – Final verse of the arrangement with the melody in Tenor II. .......... 68
Figure 3.44 – Setting up the punchline of “If You’ve Only Got a Moustache”........ 70
Figure 3.45 – Optional three-part harmony and rhythmic variants in Berg’s arrangement of “Oh Susanna”
Figure 3.46 – Melodic augmentation in the final bars of the arrangement............ 72
Figure 3.47 – Piano introduction to the Berg arrangement................................. 72
Figure 3.48 – Comparison of the original first verse text with Berg’s arrangement.. 72
Figure 3.49 – Beginning of the first verse of LaBarr’s arrangement..................... 74
Figure 3.50 – Opening of the first chorus of LaBarr’s arrangement....................... 74
Figure 3.51 – Vocal obbligato in interlude between verses.................................. 75
Figure 3.52 – Vocal obbligato in octaves with added syllables in lower voices...... 75
Figure 3.53 – Modulation before final verse .......................................................... 75
Figure 3.54 – Final measures of the arrangement.................................................. 76
Figure 3.55 – Two-part harmony expanding to three-part in the Düsing arrangement. 77
Figure 3.56 – Final refrain shifting from two to three-part harmony...................... 78
Figure 3.57 – Melodic and harmonic variants between the original opening line and the Hayes arrangement of “My Old Kentucky Home”......................... 79
Figure 3.58 – Comparing voice leading between the original and the Hayes arrangement................................................................. 79
Figure 3.59 – Alternating vocal lines and divisi in the Hayes arrangement............. 80
Figure 3.60 – Deceptive cadence leading to repeat of chorus ............................. 80
Figure 3.61 – Transition to a cappella texture at final chorus.............................. 80
Figure 3.62 – Piano adding depth and color to Hayes’s vocal arrangement............ 82
Figure 3.63 – Repetitive build up to the final sequence........................................ 83
Figure 3.64 – The first full four-part voice division in the Parker arrangement ....... 84
Figure 3.65 – Beginning of the third verse with optional baritone solo. ............... 85
Figure 3.66 – Augmentation in the final phrase ..................................................... 85
Figure 3.67 – Opening measures of Johnson’s arrangement of “Hard Times”...... 88
Figure 3.68 – Soprano and tenor provide contour to solo melody mm 24-26........... 88
Figure 3.69 – Seven part divisi with solo mm 31 .................................................. 89
Figure 3.70 – Beginning of ostinato pattern in d minor........................................ 89
Figure 3.71 – After final transition to e minor, eleven part divisi plus soli............. 89
Figure 3.72 – At the climax of the work, nine part divisi plus soli......................... 90
Figure 3.73 – Final bars resolving to a haunting e minor cadence ....................... 90
I. Introduction and Background

Stephen Collins Foster (1826-1864) is recognized as one of the first composers of American popular music. While Foster is known for composing such songs as “Oh! Susanna,” “My Old Kentucky Home,” “Hard Times Come Again No More,” “Beautiful Dreamer,” and “Camptown Races,” much of Foster’s life and work has become shrouded with a sort of mythological imagery due to the romanticized and nostalgic biographies by authors such as Harold Vincent Milligan, Raymond Walters, and Fletcher Hodges, Jr., all of which used sanitized material from Foster’s own family – brother, Morrison, and Morrison’s daughter, Evelyn Foster Morneweck. Some of these myths were still perpetuated in later volumes on the composer.

However, more recent scholarship by Deane L. Root, Chair of the Music Department at the University of Pittsburgh, and the Fletcher J. Hodges, Jr. Curator of the Center for American Music, and Ken Emerson (author of Doo-Dah!) have stripped much of the false veneer off Foster’s reputation to reveal more of the truth that lies beneath. In addition, JoAnne O’Connell has written a comprehensive re-evaluation of Foster’s life and music, The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster, a revealing portrait of the Forgotten Man behind “Sewanee River,” “Beautiful Dreamer,” and “My Old Kentucky Home,”


2 JoAnne O’Connell. The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster. (Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield, 2016) xxv-xxxii
published by Rowan and Littlefield in 2016, that further lifts the veil of obfuscation surrounding the composer’s life.³ 

The purpose of this document is to examine both the textual and musical evolution of choral adaptations of the songs of Stephen Foster. This thesis will examine several twentieth and twenty-first century choral arrangements of some of Foster’s most famous songs. Using comparative analysis, this paper will address any textual changes from the original publications covering three specific periods – those written before 1960 or the pre-Civil Rights Era, those written between 1960-1980 or Civil Rights Era, and those written since 1980 or the post-Civil Rights Era, specifically addressing the use or alteration of dialect associated with black-face minstrelsy. Using a similar method of comparative analysis, this paper will also examine the musical adaptations with regard to how true they remain to the original in terms of key signature, melody, and rhythm, and whether the arrangements retain Foster’s original harmonizations or explore those more adventurously. Finally, this analysis will compare the instrumental accompaniments of the original works to those of the arrangements to ascertain whether they adhere more closely to the original, emerge as a more independent musical partner to the voices, or are eliminated entirely in favor of an unaccompanied approach. For the purposes of this document, the volumes used as original sources for comparing musical and textual relationship are The Music of Stephen C. Foster: A Critical Edition prepared by Steven Saunders and Deane L. Root, Volumes I and II. ⁴Additionally, some variants of text

³ Ibid.

originals will be confirmed through Ken Emerson’s *Stephen Foster & Company: Lyrics of America’s First Great Popular Songs*. The expectation of this analysis is that texts will become more culturally sensitive over time and the choral arrangements will become more musically sophisticated.

As there is no known published research on the choral adaptations of Stephen Foster’s music for the purpose of comparison and analysis, this document will instead compare major published biographical works and demonstrate a growing level of historical accuracy. Stephen Foster is an enigmatic subject for a variety of reasons. There are no biographies by contemporaries who knew or worked with him. His brother, Morrison, cultivated a sanitized narrative of his life as a preface to a complete edition of Stephen’s musical works in 1896, and burned or redacted family correspondence that did not align with this narrative. Morrison’s daughter, Evelyn, then used these edited papers donated to the Foster Hall Collection at the University of Pittsburgh to construct her *Chronicles of Stephen Foster’s Family* in 1944. This collection had previously been used as the basis for John Tasker Howard’s authoritative biography, *Stephen Foster, America’s Troubadour*, published in 1934. In his lecture to the American Music Research Center in 1990, subsequently published in 1991 and revised in 2005, Deane Root outlines how these works contributed to a mythologized Stephen.

---


7 Ibid.
Specifically, Root’s research has begun to deconstruct the following myths. The first is that of Foster as a “Beautiful Dreamer.” Foster did have an idealized view of life based on happier times in the past and a longing for a return of peace and prosperity. Foster’s family lost their ancestral home, White Hill near Lawrenceville, Pennsylvania, when Foster was only three. Though too young to ever remember it, he heard the family stories of what had once been, a life he never knew and would never find. His marriage was largely a failure, perhaps due to his alcoholism and psychological instability, or perhaps the pressures placed upon himself to succeed as a composer. There is also some evidence to suggest personality incompatibility with his wife, Jane.

The second myth is that of the “Mimic,” that the only way Foster composed so many popular songs was that he was an accomplished musical mimic and could copy tunes by ear. The truth is that Foster worked hard at his compositions, and the “Ethiopian” melodies of his minstrel heritage are not based on any African themes. Foster’s copybook details a much more business-like approach to drafting his compositions and dealings with publishers.

A third myth is that of Foster as an “Untutored Genius” with little to no musical training. In Morrison’s biographical sketch, for example, he claims “[Stephen] would sit at home in the evening at the piano and improvise by the hour beautiful strains which he did not preserve, but let them float away like flowers on the water.” The truth is that

---


9 JoAnne O’Connell. The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster. 117-128


11 Morrison Foster. My Brother Stephen. Indianapolis, IN: (Private Printing, 1932) 32
Foster studied flute and composition with Henry Kleber, a German immigrant, in Pittsburgh. And even Morrison claims he diligently studied Mozart, Weber, and Beethoven. Further, Foster’s *The Social Orchestra* of 1854, was his attempt to demonstrate his compositional refinement to his New York audience. He was far from an untutored genius.

Yet another cultivated myth is that of Foster as a Southerner, that one must be from the South or have spent a good deal of time in the South in order to portray the genteel South and a sympathetic view of slave culture through his songs. The truth is that Stephen Collins Foster was born in Lawrenceville, PA (now a part of Pittsburgh) on July 4, 1826. He lived most of his life in Pittsburgh or Cincinnati, before spending his final three years in New York City. There is no conclusive evidence he ever visited Rowan Hall in Bardstown, KY. Indeed, there is only one documented trip Foster made south of the Mason-Dixon line, a belated honeymoon cruise with his wife, Jane McDowell to New Orleans in 1852.

______________________________

12 Ibid.

13 JoAnne O’Connell. *The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster*. 188


Foster was one of the first successful composers of popular, as opposed to, Classical, music, earning between $15,000-$19,000\textsuperscript{16} during his life time.\textsuperscript{17} He wrote of his own life and times – nostalgia, comedy, slavery, minstrelsy, romance, grief – adapting his compositional output to contemporary tastes.\textsuperscript{18} Judging by sales, he was one of the most popular composers of his day, and has maintained that popularity and relevance over time. He was the first white composer to express the humanity and dignity of the African experience in America.\textsuperscript{19} And yet, while his songs have remained a part of American popular music culture, the man himself was largely overlooked until recent scholarship. Further, the stigma of racism is still attached to his minstrel compositions in our post-Civil Rights Era society.\textsuperscript{20} Stephen Foster’s legacy is a complicated one.

Stephen Foster’s musical and cultural heritage tapped into a vein of Americana that spoke to every facet of his time. The nostalgia of time and place were central themes not only in Foster's life, but also in American life of the time. Foster’s family had suffered financial calamity and both Stephen and his father had difficulty holding down steady jobs. Stephen never seemed to live in one place for long, moving frequently in


\textsuperscript{18} Ken Emerson. Doo-Dah!: Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture, 9-16

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{20} JoAnne O’Connell. The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster. 9

\textsuperscript{21} John Tasker Howard. Stephen Foster, America’s Troubadour. (New York: T Y Crowell Co., 1940)
adulthood between Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and New York City. He also endured an unsuccessful marriage, with his final years spent separated from his wife and only child.\textsuperscript{21}

Concurrently, the United States was changing. The Industrial Revolution brought about a tremendous migration of young people to urban areas for work. The issue of slavery would soon devolve into a Civil War. The old agrarian way of life would never return. Foster’ music provided the voice of longing for times gone by.\textsuperscript{22} He trod a fine line in his participation with black-face minstrel culture. While he had enjoyed the energy and humor of minstrel shows as a young boy, he became sensitive to how these works depicted African culture in America.\textsuperscript{23} As time went by, he sought to humanize this African experience and was quite successful in some ways. However, it was always a source of discomfort to Foster that his most popular and lucrative songs were his minstrel compositions.\textsuperscript{24} Humorous minstrel songs, love, grief, and nostalgia were themes of personal importance to Stephen Foster, and his art was his ability to channel them into something universal, not only for America, but for all the world.

Stephen Foster wrote nearly two hundred songs over the course of his career. There is not a single, universally accepted method of categorizing Foster’s output,\textsuperscript{25} this document will examine the following songs within the categories listed: **Minstrel Songs** – “Camptown Races,” “Oh! Susanna,” “The Glendy Burke,” “Nelly Was a Lady,” “Ring

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} Ken Emerson. *Doo-Dah!: Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture*, 99-109
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
“de Banjo,” “Some Folks Do,” “Old Folks at Home,” “Uncle Ned,” and “My Old Kentucky Home.”


Songs of Grief or Nostalgia: “Old Dog Tray,” “Ellen Bayne,” “Under the Willow,” and “Hard Times Come Again No More.” These songs were chosen for their accessibility, either in the choral library at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga or currently in print and available online. This is not a comprehensive study of all known choral arrangements of Foster’s songs, but rather a survey of arrangements of some of his most popular songs with particular attention given to twenty-first century treatments of his work.

Besides offering a comparative analysis of text, harmony, rhythm, arrangement, and instrumental accompaniment, it will also be noted if this arrangement is available in different voice combinations – e.g. SSA, SATB, or TTBB. This document intends to demonstrate an evolution of sophistication with regard to all musical and textual elements. Table 1 identifies the songs that will be studied in chronological order of the publication of the arrangement. Additionally, this table identifies the arranger of the composition, the title of the song and its original date of publication. There are sixteen arrangements of individual songs surveyed in this document. Table 2 identifies the three medleys surveyed, categorized in the same fashion as Table 1. Table 3 identifies the scholarly biographies of Foster that are reviewed in the next chapter in chronological order.

---

26 For the purpose of this document Minstrel Songs of Stephen Foster will be categorized as only those composed using “African” dialect, those specifically labeled “Ethiopian Melodies” or published specifically for a minstrel group, such as the Christy Minstrels, or those that spoke directly of the African experience of plantation life.
order. Also included is an entry for the biographical work of Deane L. Root, Curator of the Center for American Music at the University of Pittsburgh, as this is the home of the Foster Hall Collection.

Table 1.1 Chronological List of Single Song Arrangements Surveyed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arranger</th>
<th>Date Published</th>
<th>Title of Song</th>
<th>Date of Original</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Max Spicker</td>
<td>1907, renewed 1936</td>
<td>Come Where my Love Lies Dreaming</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claude Kean</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Beautiful Dreamer</td>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh S. Robertson</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Uncle Ned</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond Porter</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Camptown Races</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Ehret</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Come Where my Love Lies Dreaming</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Ehret</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Gentle Annie</td>
<td>1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Ehret</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Old Dog Tray</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Shaw/Alice Parker</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Gentle Lena Claire</td>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonard Van Camp</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>If You’ve Only Got a Moustache</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ken Berg</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Oh! Susanna</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craig Hella Johnson</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Hard Times</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan LaBarr</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Under the Willow</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Düsing</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Slumber, My Darling</td>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debra Morton</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Camptown Races</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice Parker</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Hard Times Come Again No More</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Hayes</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>My Old Kentucky Home</td>
<td>1853</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.2 Medley Arrangements Surveyed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arranger</th>
<th>Date Published</th>
<th>Songs in the Medley</th>
<th>Date of Original</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wallingford Riegger</td>
<td>1940 (SSA) 1956 (TTBB)</td>
<td>Little Belle Blair, I Dream of Jeannie, Camptown Races, Beautiful Dreamer, Nelly was a Lady, Ring De Banjo, Oh! Suzanna (sic)</td>
<td>1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oh, Suzanna (sic), Ellen Bayne, Ring the Banjo</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3 Published Foster Biographies Surveyed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date Published</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harold Vincent Milligan</td>
<td><em>Stephen Collins Foster: A Biography of America’s Folk-Song Composer</em></td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morrison Foster</td>
<td><em>My Brother Stephen</em></td>
<td>1932*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond Walters</td>
<td><em>Stephen Foster: Youth’s Golden Gleam</em></td>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Tasker Howard</td>
<td><em>Stephen Foster, America’s Troubador</em></td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George A. Zabriskie</td>
<td><em>Stephen Collins Foster</em></td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher Hodges, Jr.</td>
<td><em>Swanee River and A Biographical Sketch of Stephen Collins Foster</em></td>
<td>1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William W. Austin</td>
<td>“Susanna,” “Jeanie,” and “The Old Folks at Home,” The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deane L. Root</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pitt.edu/~amerimus/foster.htm">www.pitt.edu/~amerimus/foster.htm</a></td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Morrison’s biography was originally published as a preface to a complete edition of Stephen Foster’s songs in 1896 and then republished as a separate volume in 1932.*
II. Evolving Attitudes on Foster’s Life and Music

The purpose of this thesis is primarily to examine the evolution of choral adaptations of Stephen Foster’s songs over the last century and secondarily to trace a mirrored arc of development with regard to critical scholarship of his life. Musically, it will be demonstrated that these choral works published in the first half of the twentieth century were largely derivative of Foster’s original music with few musical additions or alterations of texts. The choral adaptions published since 1990 show much greater harmonic diversity from Foster’s originals and much greater cultural sensitivity in dealing with racially sensitive texts. Biographically, it will be shown that critical scholarship into his life and times have evolved from Morrison Foster’s anecdotal biography of his brother, first printed in 1896, to JoAnne O’Connell’s deeply researched volume of 2016. There is also a clear chronological break in critical research into Foster’s life and music with six volumes being printed between 1920-58 and four studies since 1975. This timeline corresponds to the rise of the Civil Rights Era in the United States, a time when Foster’s music began to fall out of favor due to its connection to slavery. The works published since 1990 reflect both the accessibility of information through internet access as well as the greater objectivity provided by the passage of time in critically assessing civil rights in the United States. Though not necessarily directly linked, this document will demonstrate a growing level of sophistication with regard to the biographical and musical treatment of Stephen Foster and his music.
A. The Biographical Materials on the Life and Works of Stephen Foster

Volumes on Stephen Foster’s life and works written before 1958 largely follow the narrative that had been crafted by Morrison Foster in the biographical sketch he prepared for publication with an edition of the complete works of Stephen Foster’s music, first printed in 1896 and republished as *My Brother Stephen* in 1932. This biography is largely an anecdotal remembrance filled with some rather fanciful passages regarding his brother’s musical abilities.

[He] needed only elementary instruction, for his rapid brain and quick perception scorned the slow progress by the beaten path, and he leaped forward to a comprehension of the whole scope of the instrument by the force of his great musical genius.

But he was not content to rely on inspiration alone for his guidance in music. He studied deeply, and burned much midnight oil over the works of the masters, especially Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber. They were his delight, and he struggled for years and sounded the profoundest depths of musical science. The simple melodies which he gave to the public were not the accidental rays from an uncultured brain, but were the result of the most thorough and laborious analyses of harmonies, and when he completed them and launched them on the world, he knew they would strike favorably the ear of the most critical as well as the unlearned in music. 27

Similarly,

He would sit at home in the evening at the piano and improvise by the hour beautiful strains and harmonies he did not preserve, but let them float away like fragrant flowers cast upon the flowing water… At times tears could be seen upon his cheeks as he sang… so sensitive was his nature to the influence of true poetry combined with music. 28

27 Morrison Foster. *My Brother Stephen.* (Indianapolis, IN: (Private Printing) 1932) 32

28 Ibid.
While these do provide some insight into Foster’s musical abilities, they cannot be considered either objective or scholarly.

Morrison also contributes anecdotal mythology of Stephen’s sensitive nature as a human being.

His sympathies were… always with the lowly and poor. Once on a stormy winter night a little girl, sent on an errand, was run over by a dray and killed. She had her head and face covered by a shawl to keep off the peltings of the storm, and in crossing the street she ran under the horse’s feet. Stephen was dressed and about going to an evening party when he learned of the tragedy. He went immediately to the house of the little girl’s father, who was a poor working man and a neighbor whom he esteemed. He gave up all thought of going to the party and remained all night with the dead child and her afflicted parents, endeavoring to afford the latter what comfort he could.²⁹

And again,

One night as he was returning home from Pittsburgh to Allegheny, he found at the end of the bridge two brutes abusing and beating a drunken man. He of course interfered, and fought them both, rough and tumble all over the street. He managed to pick up a board in the scramble with which he beat one almost senseless and chased the other ingloriously from the field. A knife wound on the cheek, received in the encounter, left a scar which went with him to his grave.³⁰

Morrison provides no corroboration for either tale, though both stories are later quoted by John Tasker Howard and Evelyn Foster Morneweck in their respective works. Morneweck even goes so far as to suggest the story of the little girl was the genesis for

---

²⁹ Morrison Foster. *My Brother Stephen*, 36
³⁰ Ibid.
Gentle Annie,\textsuperscript{31} though there is no independent corroboration for this either. Taken together, Morrison Foster and his daughter, Evelyn Foster Morneweck, attempt to construct a very carefully crafted narrative of Stephen Foster that downplays his connections to the minstrel industry as well as his alcoholism, marital problems, and dissolute life in his final years, portraying him more as a tragic figure than a pitiable one.\textsuperscript{32}

Harold Vincent Milligan’s biography of Stephen Foster, \textit{Stephen Foster, America’s Folksong Composer}, published in 1920 takes a more critical look at the circumstances of the composer’s life and works. While many of his facts line up with those of Morrison Foster and Evelyn Foster Morneweck – Morneweck is credited in the preface as a direct source – his conclusions of Stephen’s talent as a composer are particularly harsh.

As a composer, Stephen Foster is a paradox. The wonder is that anyone who could write so well, could at the same time write so poorly. . . . His death, at thirty-seven, found him as a composer just about where he had been at the beginning of his career. Both melody and harmony are of the utmost simplicity. He could neither develop a melody nor vary his harmony.\textsuperscript{33}

Milligan goes on to mitigate this assessment by portraying Foster as “a musical soul . . . placed in an unmusical environment.”\textsuperscript{34} That is to say, what more could be expected of Foster growing up in the cultural desert that was Western Pennsylvania in the

\textsuperscript{31} Evelyn Foster Morneweck. \textit{Chronicles of Stephen Foster’s Family}. 491

\textsuperscript{32} JoAnne O’Connell. \textit{The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster}. 305-340

\textsuperscript{33} Harold Vincent Milligan. \textit{Stephen Collins Foster: A Biography of America’s Folk-Song Composer}. (New York: G. Schirmer, 1920) 109

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
first half of the 19th Century? He goes even further, encouraging us to speculate on Schubert’s musical development if Schubert had been born in Pittsburgh in 1826. The problem with this line of thinking is that Foster never aspired to be the same sort of composer as Schubert, The Social Orchestra notwithstanding. While Morrison may have depicted his brother as a devoted student of Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber, Stephen Foster was deliberately cultivating a musical style suited to the popular tastes of his time – minstrelsy, variety shows, and parlor songs – rather than art music for the concert hall. Milligan leaves out much of what happens in Foster’s life between his marriage to Jane and his final move to New York City, saying only that the records of this period in the composer’s life are somewhat “scanty.” He paints a grim picture of Foster’s final decline. But it is also clear in comparing his work to that of John Tasker Howard’s in 1934 that Milligan did not have free access to the complete Foster Hall Collection. Milligan’s biography contains neither footnotes nor bibliography, so it is difficult to assess the nature of his sources. While his presentation of most of the facts of Foster’s life align with those of Morrison and Evelyn Foster Morneweck, it is not clear where his information originated.

Raymond Walter’s Stephen Foster: Youth’s Golden Gleam, published in 1936, is subtitled “a sketch of his life and background in Cincinnati 1846-1858.” This

35 Ibid.
36 Ken Emerson. Doo-Dah!: Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture, 9-16
37 Harold Vincent Milligan. Stephen Collins Foster: A Biography of America’s Folk-Song Composer, 70
biographical sketch includes many speculative passages about what Stephen Foster may have done or felt during particular episodes of his life in Cincinnati.

As the Fosters rode up to Fourth Street, Stephy’s dark eyes must have widened as he watched the canvas-covered wagons on the levee and in the streets. In these wagons hundreds of pioneers were then on their way to new farms in Indiana, Illinois, and other Western States.39

Paragraphs in the early chapters frequently begin with the conjectural modifier “Possibly.” E.g. “Possibly the Cassilys [sic] took Mrs. Foster, Henrietta, and Stephy for a boat ride….“40 Walters also makes unsubstantiated references to Foster’s character: “A Sir Galahad attitude marked Stephen’s relations with girls and young women in his early youth at Pittsburgh and during his Cincinnati years.”41 Walter’s book was published during his years as president of The University of Cincinnati and his chronicle ends when Foster left the city for good in 1858. Therefore, it doesn’t include any of Foster’s troubles in his final years. Still, Walters is very careful to present Foster’s drinking as something that didn’t affect his personal or professional life, and like Morrison Foster and Evelyn Foster Mornweck, includes a number of unsubstantiated stories such as the “little girl” incident mentioned previously.42 Further, in looking at the endnotes, it is clear Walters relied heavily on Morrison’s biography, Evelyn Foster Mornweck’s notes and correspondence, and even John Tasker Howard’s recently published Stephen Foster,

---


40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Raymond Walters. *Stephen Foster: Youth’s Golden Gleam: A Sketch of His Life and Background in Cincinnati, 1846-1850,* 105
*America’s Troubador* (1934). Walters’ retelling of Foster’s middle years carefully conforms to the narrative arc constructed by Morrison Foster with the addition of personal speculation.

Two other slim biographical sketches can be considered together. The first, written by George Zabriskie in 1941, was published on the occasion of Foster’s election to The Hall of Fame for Great Americans. This volume gives the barest facts of the composer’s life, but also critiques three of Foster’s previous biographers, citing the uncharitable characterizations of George Birdseye and Harold Vincent Milligan, while praising the authoritative work of John Tasker Howard. Summing up Foster’s life in three short pages, this volume goes on to give historical sketches of some of Foster’s most famous songs. In a similar vein, Fletcher Hodges Jr. compiled a biographical sketch of the composer for the opening of the Stephen Foster Memorial in White Springs, Florida, in 1958. Like the Zabriskie volume, there are no footnotes, endnotes, or bibliography; however, Hodges does state in the author’s note that his work is based on the work of both John Tasker Howard and Evelyn Foster Morneweck. He also notes his own association with “Fosteriana” and the collection and study of materials for the Foster Hall Collection at the University of Pittsburgh, of which he was curator at the time.

---

43 George A. Zabriskie. *Stephen Collins Foster: July 4, 1826-January 13, 1864: Song Writer*. (Private printing, 1941, Foreword)

44 Ibid.


46 Ibid.
volume is largely a brief summation of Howard’s much more extensive work, covering just the basic facts of Foster’s life and death.

John Tasker Howard’s *Stephen Foster, America’s Troubadour*, first published in 1934, was the first truly authoritative work on the composer. In it, Howard seeks to present both the narrative of Foster’s life and a guide to the reference sources available to scholars. The fourth printing in 1935 added some additional details regarding Foster’s death and his birthplace, but did not significantly alter any other aspect of the work. Howard had unprecedented access not only to Morrison’s collected papers, but also to family members, Evelyn Foster Morneweck, Mrs. Marion Foster Welch (Stephen’s daughter), Marion’s daughter Mrs. Alexander Rose, and Stephen’s grandson, Matthew Wiley Welch. Additionally, Howard had full access to the Foster Hall Collection of Josiah Kirby Lilly, whose collection of Fosteriana became the foundation of the Foster Hall Collection at the University of Pittsburgh.

Howard used Foster’s own workbook from Marion Foster Welch’s collection to put to rest some of Morrison’s idyllic myths. The work details that in 1851 Stephen rented an office in Allegheny to which he would go every day to compose. The workbook also details some of his business transactions with his publishers. While Foster may not have been good with money, he was not a “Beautiful Dreamer” who did not care about money.

---

47 John Tasker Howard. *Stephen Foster, America’s Troubadour*, vii

48 Ibid.

49 John Tasker Howard. *Stephen Foster, America’s Troubadour*, 167

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.
or had no head for business.\textsuperscript{52} Foster was at the forefront of an entirely new business model at a time when U.S. copyright law did almost nothing to protect the intellectual property rights of the creator or the publisher.\textsuperscript{53} Howard’s volume does add some details to the story of Foster’s death, but this paper will deal with the many versions of that event as one rather than volume by volume.

After Howard, the next most substantive work about Foster is the \textit{Chronicles of Stephen Foster’s Family}, by Evelyn Foster Morneweck published in two volumes in 1944. Morneweck herself does not call this a literary work, but rather a broad representation of the Foster Hall Collection as it was known in the early 1940s woven into a narrative style along with reminiscences of family and friends. (Morneweck, 1944)\textsuperscript{54} It does not go into speculative detail about events, such as Stephen and Jane’s marriage, but mainly presents the source material used by Howard in his biography published a decade earlier, and serves as a published guide to the Foster Hall Collection.\textsuperscript{55} The only significant deviation from the Howard biography concerns the events surrounding Stephen’s death, but that will be addressed later in this chapter. It may be of some significance that this work on a major figure of Americana was published during the height of conflict in World War II.

After Howard and Morneweck, there are no major publications on Foster that are not derivative of those works until William W. Austin’s book \textit{“Susanna,” “Jeanie,” and...}


\textsuperscript{53} Ken Emerson. \textit{Doo-Dah!: Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture}. 43

\textsuperscript{54} Evelyn Foster Morneweck. \textit{Chronicles of Stephen Foster’s Family}, vii

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
“The Old Folks at Home,” The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours, published in 1975. This work is not a biography but rather chronicles three types of Foster songs – Comic or Ethiopian Songs, Poetic Songs and Ballads, and Pathetic Plantation Songs – and how Foster tapped into the burgeoning popular music culture of the nineteenth century. It also includes comparisons to Foster’s contemporaries as well as how Foster’s music has influenced composers of all genre from his time to the late twentieth century.56 In particular, Austin details the growth of the popular music industry in America. When Foster and his contemporaries were composing in the 1840s-1850s, the emphasis was not on the composer when a song was considered for publication. Rather, the importance was attached to who was performing the song. It was not unusual for a song like Foster’s “Oh! Susanna” to be published with little or no attribution to the composer but instead to advertise that the song was “as sung by the Sable Harmonies,” or “as performed by the Christy Minstrels,” for instance.57 Austin also details modern classical and popular uses of Foster’s songs in compositions by Dvořák, Ives, Copland, Grainger, Poulenc, Irving Berlin, Ray Charles, and Pete Seeger among other.58 This volume demonstrates Foster’s assimilation into America’s musical heritage through the time of the Civil Rights Era of the 1960s.

In 1988, Calvin Elliker published Stephen Collins Foster: A Guide to Research, the first major bibliography of literature on Foster’s life and music. This volume contains chronological lists of Foster’s compositions, as well as transcripts of all known

---


57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.
correspondence of Foster himself. Also included are the known major and minor publications on Foster, facsimiles of all known photographs of Foster, and literary and musical tributes to the composer. This volume is an authoritative source for research on Foster printed or collected before 1988. Because its publication predates much of modern computer technology, there are few internet sources cited.

One of the most important modern scholars of Frostiana is Dr. Deane L. Root, Chair of the Department of Music at the University of Pittsburgh, and the Fletcher J. Hodges, Jr. Curator of the Center for American Music, formerly the Foster Hall Collection. While Dr. Root has not published books on Foster, he has contributed numerous scholarly articles and lectures on the life and music of Stephen Foster. He edited with Steven Saunders The Music of Stephen C. Foster: A Critical Edition for publication by the Smithsonian Institution in 1990. Root is also responsible for the content on the University of Pittsburgh’s Center for American Music website, http://www.pitt.edu/~amerimus/foster.htm. Along with Ken Emerson, he was an important contributor to the PBS American Experience episode, “Stephen Foster, America’s First Great Songwriter,” first aired in 2001. He also helped guide the research and publication of JoAnne O’Connell’s 2016 biography, The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster.


62 JoAnne O’Connell. The Life and Songs of Stephen. xv
Ken Emerson’s book, *Doo-Dah! Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture*, first printed in 1997, incorporates both the scholarly work to date on Foster with his deep ties to American popular music. Emerson acknowledges the racism inherent in Foster’s minstrel songs while demonstrating that it is their artistry which makes them an enduring part of America’s music.63 In summing up Foster’s legacy in his introduction, Emerson writes,

Stephen Foster was among the first white boys to do what white boys (and the occasional girl) have been doing ever since – mimicking black music, or what they think is black music and black style. Minstrelsy did not die with the Nineteenth Century. It has outlasted *Amos and Andy* in the Twentieth. Burnt cork is as up to the minute as The New Kids on the Block, Vanilla Ice, or Ted Danson at the Friars Club.64

*Doo-Dah!* Takes an unflinching look at Foster’s life, in particular his failed marriage to Jane, his drinking, and the strange circumstances of his death. These issues had been obfuscated to a certain degree by Foster’s family and the information they shared with other biographers. This book also details quite extensively how Foster’s music has become integrated into every facet of American culture.65

JoAnne O’Connell’s *The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster: A Revealing Portrait of the Forgotten Man Behind “Swanee River,” “Beautiful Dreamer,” and “My Old Kentucky Home,”* published in 2016 is the most exhaustive volume on the life and works of Stephen Foster. O’Connell not only had access to all previously published material on

---


64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.
Foster, but additionally, a resource mostly unavailable to previous biographers, unlimited access to vast internet databases, including those of the Harvard Theater Collection, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Library of Congress to name but a few.\textsuperscript{66} O’Connell notes in her introduction that while many Americans recognize Foster’s melodies, very few know anything of the composer himself. Noting that very little of personal records associated with Stephen Foster survived purging by both Morrison and Jane, she carefully researched information contemporaneous to Foster’s world in newspaper records, marriage and death certificates, and historical societies in Pittsburgh and New York City.\textsuperscript{67} \textit{The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster} gives us the most complete portrait yet of America’s first popular song composer.

\textbf{B. The Biographical Materials Covering the Death of Stephen Foster}

The most mysterious event in Stephen Foster’s life is, ironically, his death. O’Connell’s book details that there are six different versions of the events surrounding Foster’s death. Each narrative agrees on three basic facts – 1) Stephen Foster suffered a grievous wound to the neck on January 9, 1864 in the New England Hotel in New York City’s Bowery region, 2) that he received medical treatment of some kind, and 3) that he died unexpectedly on January 13, 1864. Chronologically, the first version is that of Stephen’s brother, Henry. In a letter dated January 23, 1864, to his friend Susan G. Beach, he states that Stephen had been feeling unwell for several days and had asked the

\textsuperscript{66} JoAnne O’Connell. \textit{The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster}. xv-xvii

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid.
landlord not to be disturbed. Then, around ten the next morning, he stepped out into the hallway to speak to the chambermaid and when he turned to go back into his room he “fell as if he had been shot, and cut his head badly.” A surgeon came and dressed the wound, but Stephen insisted on going to the hospital. He rallied for a day or two, but inexplicably fainted dead away on January 13 and could not be revived. A second version, also by Henry, appears in a letter to his sister Ann Eliza, dated February 4, 1864. In this version, Henry states that Stephen’s friend and songwriting partner, George Cooper, was summoned to help the wounded Stephen. Cooper determined that Stephen needed hospitalization and took him to Bellevue Hospital. Again, Stephen seemed to rally for a day or two, talking of getting out of the hospital and eating some soup. Then as his wound was being dressed on Wednesday morning, fainting away and dying suddenly.

Next in order was Morrison’s version, first published in 1896. He, too, has Stephen ill with a fever in the Bowery hotel, and that in trying to get up and clean himself up on Sunday morning, fainted and fell across the washstand, breaking the wash basin which cut his neck and face. He was found unconscious by the chambermaid who summoned assistance. Once Stephen had regained his senses, he asked to be taken to Bellevue. However, weakened by fever and blood loss, he did not rally and died peacefully and quietly on January 13.

---

68 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
71 Morrison Foster. *My Brother Stephen*, 53
In Morrison’s version, there is no conversation with the chambermaid in the hallway, nor is there any mention of sitting up, talking and eating soup at the hospital. Whereas, in Henry’s version there is no mention of the wash basin. Further, Morrison states that it is the chambermaid who finds Stephen on the floor.

The detail of the chambermaid is important as it relates to the third version of events related by George Cooper himself in an interview with Harold Vincent Milligan for a magazine article and then quoted in Milligan’s biography in 1920. Cooper states that he had been summoned to the lodging-house in the Bowery where Stephen was staying because his friend has suffered an accident. Cooper further states that he found Stephen on the floor, naked and suffering horribly with a cut in his throat, a bad bruise on his forehead, and an untreated burn on his thigh. He whispered, “I’m done for.” A doctor was summoned to sew up the gash to his throat and then Cooper demanded Foster be taken to Bellevue Hospital. When Cooper visited him the following day, Stephen reported that nothing had been done for him since his arrival and that he could not eat the food they served him. When Cooper returned on Wednesday morning, he was told brusquely that his friend was dead. In this version, there is no chambermaid at all, no prior illness or known fall, and no wash basin. Only the curious detail of finding Stephen on the floor, “naked and suffering horribly,” which would certainly preclude the presence of a chambermaid.

---

72 Harold Vincent Milligan. Stephen Collins Foster: A Biography of America’s Folk-Song Composer. 106-07
73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.
John Tasker Howard, writing in 1934, realizes that these disparate accounts do not agree. Rather than trying to create a single narrative, he simply quotes each version side by side and allows the reader to draw one’s own conclusions.75

Evelyn Foster Morneweck adds to the confusion of events by trying to reconcile all the different versions together. In her story, Stephen, already ill, fainted from weakness, falling on the wash basin which broke and cut his neck. The chambermaid finds him and summons George Cooper, who takes him to Bellevue and her version then follows Cooper’s regarding Foster’s death.76 O’Connell posits that this revision to her father, Morrison’s, version was due to the fact that both Milligan and Howard had quoted George Cooper’s account.77

Finally, Ken Emerson, in Doo-Dah!, tries to reconcile all these versions into a single narrative. Emerson states that Foster spoke to a chambermaid “at his door” on Sunday morning and then fell “as if he had been shot,” striking a wash basin or chamber pot which shattered and cut the gash in his neck.78 Cooper is then summoned and the rest of Emerson’s version aligns with that of Cooper. Emerson offers no corroborative source for his version of events.

O’Connell does a very good job of parsing out the differing versions and why the details are important. If Stephen went out into the hallway to speak to the chambermaid and then fell as he re-entered his room, then he could not have been naked, as the only

75 John Tasker Howard. Stephen Foster: America’s Troubadour, 337-43

76 Evelyn Foster Morneweck. Chronicles of Stephen Foster’s Family. 557-560

77 JoAnne O’Connell. The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster. 326

78 Ken Emerson. Doo-Dah!: Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture, 298
eyewitness, George Cooper, has stated. Cooper’s interview, if believed, contradicts the family version to some extent as there is no chambermaid, no indications of a fall, and no prior known illness. Cooper’s version also contradicts what Henry said of Stephen’s recovery. While Emerson’s account makes sense of the facts of each version, he has re-written some of the facts to suit his purpose without attribution.79

The point of O’Connell’s chapter on the mystery surrounding the events of Stephen Foster’s death is to put forward the hypothesis that Foster’s wounds may have been self-inflicted. She cites his depressed state of mind, and his personal circumstances at the time. She also correlates the rise in suicides during the Civil War, including that of E. P. Christy of the Christy Minstrels in 1862.80 She also cites several psychological issues that may have played a part in any suicide attempt Foster might have made.81 O’Connell concedes there is no conclusive evidence to support an assertion of a self-inflicted wound, however, Foster’s state of mind and circumstances would certainly suggest it. Additionally, the many jumbled versions of these events would make sense if the family were trying to make sure there was not even a suggestion of a possibility that Stephen’s wounds were self-inflicted.82 Ultimately, this discussion at the end of O’Connell’s book leaves us with more questions than it answers adding to the mystery of Stephen Foster’s life and untimely death. Still, her book demonstrates the current evolution of the accuracy of scholarship of America’s first great popular music composer.

79 JoAnne O’Connell. The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster. 327-40
80 JoAnne O’Connell. The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster. 327-40
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
In comparing the differing published versions of Foster’s death, it can be seen that more modern scholars have access to a wealth of information through digital and internet formats that was simply unthinkable in the first half of the twentieth century. The scholarship of Root, Emerson, and O’Connell is superior in its accuracy due to the evolution of technology and the critical analysis of scholarship in related fields.
III. Developments in Choral Arrangements

The core purpose of this paper is to provide a comparative analysis of the choral arrangements of selected songs of Stephen Foster, and to demonstrate changes in musical and textual language over the last one hundred years. These songs were chosen because they are representative of Foster’s most popular songs, they were easily available in either the choral library of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, or they were readily available from online music catalogs. Most of the works to be considered are single octavos of individual songs, but three choral medleys of Foster’s songs covering some seventy years will also be analyzed. Each choral arrangement will be analyzed according to the following criteria: key relationship to the original, melodic and harmonic relationship of the choral parts to the original, the relationship of the arrangement’s accompaniment to the original, and any text deviations from the original text. For the purpose of comparison, the original source will be drawn from the authoritative *The Songs of Stephen C. Foster*, A Critical Edition Prepared by Steven Saunders and Deane L. Root, Volumes 1 and 2. As one purpose of this document is to demonstrate the cultural relevance of these choral arrangements, some historical context will be provided to place the arrangements contemporaneously to the time of their publication.

A. Choral Medleys

1. Riegger

The first medley is that of American composer, Wallingford Riegger, originally for SSA chorus as “Airs of Stephen Foster” (Harold Flammer, 1940) and subsequently
adapted, renamed “Songs of Stephen Foster” (Flammer, 1956) for TTBB chorus (see Figure 3.1). In 1940, the rest of the world was becoming engrossed in the Second World War. The United States was maintaining some sense of neutrality and public sentiment was against involvement in the war. It is certainly possible that the original publication was perhaps a statement of patriotism in general, but could be viewed personally for Riegger as he spent several years studying and teaching in Germany prior to World War I. The new version was published in 1956 shortly after the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education of 1954, a time of great racial conflict. One could speculate on the timing of such a publication which includes Foster’s original dialect, but there is no clear evidence of specific intent behind it. Both versions contain the same collections of songs in the same order – “Little Belle Blair,” “I Dream of Jeannie,” “Camptown Races,” “Beautiful Dreamer,” “Nelly Was a Lady,” “Ring de Banjo,” and “Oh! Suzanna” (sic). They are identical in key and text. There are minor differences in harmonies due to voice leading adaption of three to four vocal parts, as well as minor discrepancies of rhythm (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3).


84 In both versions “Little Belle Blair” is included only as a solo piano introduction.
Figure 3.1 – Comparison of the first pages of Riegger’s arrangements for SSA and TTBB

Figure 3.2 – Comparing minor rhythmic variations between the versions
It is notable in this adaption that “Little Belle Blair,” “I Dream of Jeannie,” “Camptown Races,” and “Beautiful Dreamer” all retain their original keys – C major, F major, D major, and E♭ major, respectively. The brief fragment of “Nelly Was a Lady” is transposed down one step from the original A major to G major and “Ring De Banjo” is transposed up from its original F major to G major. Transposing “Nelly” down to G eliminates what would have been a very awkward modulation from E♭ to A. Then transposing “Ring” up to G eliminates the need for an extra modulation and facilitates the use of the original G major for “Oh! Suzanna.”

In terms of text, Riegger uses only the first verse of “I Dream of Jeannie” and “Beautiful Dreamer,” the first and fourth of “Camptown Races,” only the chorus of “Nelly Was a Lady” – the verse is lined out in the piano over undulating “ooohs” in the chorus. In “Ring de Banjo!” Riegger places the chorus first and then first verse and

---

85 It is worth noting that in both versions of the score Riegger labels the final section “Oh! Suzanna”, but the text uses the original spelling “Oh! Susanna.” The reasoning for this deviation is not clear. There is no reference to this deviation in either the Root/Sanders Critical Edition nor Emerson’s book of lyrics, and only the Riegger and Wienhorst medleys use this spelling.
chorus again. “Oh! Suzanna” follows a similar pattern leading to a short coda to conclude
the medley. There are no variations from Foster’s original texts, and Riegger includes all
dialect as originally published in both versions. The specific verses of each song used
were likely chosen for their familiarity, that is, the most recognizable or popular verses
and choruses of those songs.

While Riegger’s most important works were astringently atonal or serial, his
musical language here remains largely true to Foster’s original tonal harmonies. There
are a few moments of subtle chromaticism, such as the last phrase of “Beautiful
Dreamer” (see Figure 3.4) and the beginning of “Nelly Was a Lady” (see Figure 3.5).
There are minor variants in the final “Oh! Suzanna” section between the 1940 and the
1956 version. Whereas the 1940 SSA version uses a secondary dominant A\textsuperscript{7} in measure
157 while the 1956 version stays on G (see Figure 3.6). Then the 1956 TTBB employs a
iv (c minor) chord in measure 160 (see Figure 3.7) Both versions have the same codetta
which modulates to some unusual harmonies using secondary dominants and augmented
6\textsuperscript{th} chords, devices not found in Foster’s songs (see Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.4 – Chromatic chord progressions in “Beautiful Dreamer”
Figure 3.5 – Chromatic progressions in “Nelly Was a Lady”

G: G C A7 D7 G C D G
G: G C A7 D7 G C D7

Figure 3.6 – Harmonic variants in mm157 and mm 160 between the two versions

MM 157

G: C G A7 D
G: C G D
Figure 3.7 MM 160-61

G: G\(^7\) C a\(^7\) D

G

Figure 3.8 – The harmonic progressions in the coda of both versions

G: C c E\(^b7\)

(Gr\(^+\))

G: G/D a D\(^7\) G

G: G/D a D\(^7\) G

(Gr\(^+\))
The piano accompaniments for both versions are identical except for the altered harmonies noted above. There is a twelve-bar introduction for piano alone which lines out the melody of “Little Belle Blair”, along with a few bridge passages to modulate between certain sections. The piano is given the melody for the verse of “Nelly Was a Lady”, while the chorus hums above. The piano part does not rise to any sort of independent accompaniment until the final two sections – “Ring, Ring de Banjo!” and “Oh! Suzanna” – where several flourishes add excitement and depth. Riegger’s medley is a well-crafted arrangement of several of Foster’s most popular and well-known songs. He remains largely true to Foster’s original harmonies and texts and organizes the songs effectively through contrasting moods – lyrical to energetic, sentimental nostalgia to rowdiness – to a boisterous conclusion.

2. Wienhorst

While Riegger’s pre-Civil Rights arrangements remained strictly true to the original texts, Richard Wienhorst’s *A Stephen Foster Set* (E. C. Schirmer, 1991), shows critical text differences with regard to the minstrel songs included in the medley. The set includes three songs – “Oh! Suzanna” (sic), “Ellen Bayne”, and “Ring the Banjo”. It was originally published in two versions, SSA with piano, and SATB unaccompanied. This paper will review only the SSA with piano version as it was the only one available. Culturally speaking, 1991 was a tumultuous year that saw the a US-led coalition invade Iraqi-occupied Kuwait in Operation Desert Storm, the Soviet Union fall as Boris Yeltsin became the first popularly elected president in Russian history, and the film of Los Angeles police beating Rodney King during his arrest sparked race riots in the city.
This arrangement maintains all of the original keys of Foster’s songs – “Oh! Suzanna” in G major, “Ellen Bayne” in C major, and “Ring the Banjo” in F major. Likewise, the choral part writing is a very simple voicing of Foster’s originals. Judging by the overall tessitura of the vocal parts in the SSA arrangement, it seems likely it was intended for a young treble choir. The top soprano part rarely rises to a G above the staff and never above. Likewise, the alto part never goes lower than the B below middle C. Additionally, the music makes little rhythmic demands of the singers beyond ostinato patterns sprinkled throughout, such as the opening “Oh! Suzanna” section where the pattern is established in the lower voice part to accompany each verse (see Figure 3.9). Additionally, two counter melodies are introduced during an interlude between each verse of the song. In the final verse, a variation of the countermelody appears in the highest treble part (see Figure 3.10). A countermelody introduces the second section, “Ellen Bayne”, and accompanies the verses. As in “Oh! Suzanna”, the choruses are sung in three-part harmony. There is a significant alteration of Foster’s original melody and countermelody in the chorus, though the harmony remains the same. After the final chorus, there is a short codetta based on the opening melody. The final section, “Ring the Banjo!”, reprises the rhythmic ostinato introduced at the beginning. A variant of the chorus is heard as a countermelody under the verse. The arrangement ends with a reprised chorus of “Ring the Banjo!” with altered part writing so that the highest treble voice ends an octave higher than the original tone in Foster’s melody. With only a very few independent flourishes, the piano writing does not rise above simple chordal patterns. Additionally, it is possible to perform each movement individually. There are no musical bridges between movements.
Figure 3.9 – Vocal ostinato under melody in “Oh! Suzanna”

Figure 3.10 – Melody, Ostinato, and Countermelody in “Oh! Suzanna”

Given its provenance in 1991, what distinguishes this arrangement is its treatment of text. “Oh! Suzanna” uses verse one and three of Foster’s original, but then adds the text of a fourth verse – “I soon will be in New Orleans” – not found in the original printing but contained in some editions printed after 1848.86 Curiously, throughout this section Wienhorst maintains the spelling as “Suzanna” though the original is “Susanna.” There is no explanation given for this deviation. “Ellen Bayne” utilizes all three verses of the original, but makes one or two alterations of text – e.g. from the archaic “thy” to the more

modern “your.” “Ring the Banjo” uses the first two verses of Foster’s original text.

What distinguishes this medley is the sensibility that has been used in the post-Civil Rights Era with regard to the dialect of the original minstrel songs “Oh! Suzanna” and “Ring the Banjo.” The use of dialect has been entirely eliminated in this set. Where the original had “wid” and “de,” these have been replaced using “with” and “the.” Similarly, in the second verse “udder” is replaced by “other,” and “ebry ting” with “everything,” to cite but a couple of examples. The original text of “Ring! Ring de Banjo” was more problematic with the original first line of text “De time is neber weary if de darkey never groans.” In “Ring the Banjo”, the title of the song has been altered and the first line is now “The time is never weary If the old folk never groan.” As in the first section, dialect words like “wid” and “de” have be replaced with corrected spellings (see Figure 3.11). There is a clear difference of textual sensibility in the fifty years that separate the Riegger and Wienhorst adaptions.
Figure 3.11 – Text examples from the original Foster songs compared to the Riegger and Wienhorst arrangements. Alterations from the original are in bold. In particular, note that Riegger uses dialect in some places the original did not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foster’s Original</th>
<th>Riegger’s Arrangement</th>
<th>Wienhorst’s Arrangement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oh! Susanna</strong></td>
<td><strong>Oh! Suzanna</strong></td>
<td><strong>Oh Suzanna</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I come from Alabama with my banjo on my knee,</td>
<td>I come from Alabama wid my banjo on my knee,</td>
<td>I come from Alabama With my banjo on my knee,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’se gwine to Lou’siana my true love for to see.</td>
<td>I’m g’wan to Lou’siana My true love for to see.</td>
<td>I’m goin’ to Lou’siana My true love for to see.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It rain’d all night the day I left, the wedder it was dry; The sun so hot I froze to def, Susanna don’t you cry. Oh! Susanna, do not cry for me; I come from Alabama wid my banjo on my knee.</td>
<td>It rained all night de day I left, de wedder it was dry; De sun so hot I froze to death; Susanna don’t you cry. Oh! Susanna, don’t you cry for me; I come from Alabama wid my banjo on my knee.</td>
<td>It rain’d all night the day I left, the weather it was dry; The sun so hot I froze to death; Suzanna don’t you cry. Oh! Suzanna do not cry for me; I come from Alabama with my banjo on my knee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ring de Banjo</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ring de Banjo</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ring The Banjo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De time is neber dreary If de darkey neber groans; De ladies neber weary wid de rattle ob de bones. Den come again Susanna by de gaslight ob de moon; We’ll tum de old piano when de banjo’s out ob tune. Ring, ring de banjo! I like dat good old song, Come again my true lub, Oh! Wha you been so long?</td>
<td>De time is neber dreary If de darky neber groans; De ladies neber weary wid de rattle of de bones. Den come again, Susanna, By de gaslight ob de moon, We’ll tum de ole piano When de banjo’s out ob tune. Ring, ring de banjo! I like dat good ole song, Come again my true love, Oh! Wha you been so long?</td>
<td>The time is never weary If the old folk never groans; The ladies never weary With the rattle of the bones. Then come again Suzanna By the gaslight of the moon, We’ll strum the old piano When the banjo’s out of tune. Ring, ring the banjo! I like that good old song. Come again my true love! Oh, where you been so long.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The final medley to be considered in this document is Joseph Martin’s *A Stephen Foster Tribute* (Shawnee Press, 2004). 2004 saw the re-election of George W. Bush as President of the United States, the revelation of systematic torture by US military personnel at Abu Graib prison in Iraq, and the launch of the social media website – Facebook. Musically, this is the most harmonically complex of the medleys surveyed in this paper. Martin makes almost no effort to adhere to the original keys of the works adapted. “Oh! Susanna” is transposed from its original G major to D major. “Some Folks Do” does maintain the original key of F major. “Beautiful Dreamer” is lowered one half step from E♭ major to D major. “The Glendy Burke” was originally in G major but here appears first in D major with a modulation to F major. “Swanee River” is in the original key of D major, and then the work closes with a reprise of the “Oh! Susanna” material now modulated to E♭ major. This medley uses only the first original verse of text in each section. The work opens with a medley of phrases from “Oh! Susanna” and “Camptown Races” before the setting of “Oh! Susanna.” While there is only a single verse of “Some Folks Do”, the chorus is repeated. “Beautiful Dreamer” adds a very brief codetta extension at the end. “The Glendy Burke” modulates from D major to F major between the two sections of the verse text and then there is a brief transitional passage using melodic material from “The Glendy Burke,” “Camptown Races,” and “Swanee River” leading to an abbreviated stanza of Old Folks at Home before launching into the final section of “Oh! Susanna” now transposed to E♭. The purpose of these transpositions is likely to facilitate more advanced part writing for the voices, as well as facilitating smoother harmonic modulations between songs in the medley. Foster’s own melodies
were intended for untrained singers and employ a limited vocal range. Transposing to higher or, in some instances, lower keys allows for greater distance between vocal lines than in Foster’s original harmonies. Additionally, it helps avoid extremes of range in the highest or lowest lying passages, and allows the inclusion of more divisi within single voice parts without creating too thick a texture.

While Martin remains true to Foster’s original melodies, he does take more freedom in his part writing and with rhythms – e.g. the syncopated entrance of the chorus in “Oh! Susanna;” “Beautiful Dreamer” employs some rich chromatic textures and adventurous harmonies as does the final reprise of “Oh! Susanna” (see Figure 3.12). Figure 3.12 – Rhythmic and harmonic variants in Martin’s arrangement

Note the syncopated rhythm

D: Gr+ D/A G(Asus) D/A A7

Note the greater harmonic depth employed at the cadence
Martin’s arrangement is set apart from any of the previously considered medleys by its treatment of the piano accompaniment. While the accompaniment does provide solid support for the choral melodies and harmonies, it is clearly an independent part. Further, Martin explores some unique chord progressions under the familiar melodies and inserts interesting counter textures rhythmically (see Figure 3.13) Of the medleys surveyed, this is the most challenging to perform both chorally and pianistically. Martin’s use of syncopated rhythms, complex harmonic shifts, multiple divisi within vocal parts, as well as the defined ranges of the vocal parts show this is intended for a trained choral ensemble, either college or professional. The piano part requires an experienced accompanist. This twenty-first century arrangement of Stephen Foster songs demonstrates a contemporary sensibility towards the treatment of Foster’s original melodies and texts. Further, Martin takes more liberties with Foster’s music in that he will use short fragments as either introductory or bridge passages. In terms of text, Martin
has removed all traces of dialect from the texts used. His version of “Oh! Susanna” for example, is almost exactly word for word the same as that used by Wienhorst.

Figure 3.13 – Accompaniment textures and harmonies

\[ \text{D} \quad B^b \quad C \quad A^7 \quad D \quad F \quad G \quad A \quad D \quad B^b \quad C \quad A^7 \]

B. Octavos of Single Songs

The octavo arrangements of single songs of Stephen Foster will mostly be surveyed in chronological order, however, arrangements of the same song will be addressed together regardless of date of publication. Additionally, the most complex of these arrangements will be surveyed last.

1. Spicker

The earliest choral arrangement to be analyzed in this document is a TTBB arrangement of “Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming” by Max Spicker (G. Schirmer, 1908, republished 1936). For context, the original date of publication places it squarely between Morrison Foster’s publication of Stephen’s complete works in 1896 and Milligan’s biography of 1920. The republication in 1936 would have been shortly after publication of Morrison’s My Brother Stephen in 1932 and Howard’s America’s Troubador in 1934. Significant events from the year of its original publication included
the fourth modern Olympics held in London, the first celebration of Mother’s Day, William Howard Taft succeeded Teddy Roosevelt as President of the United States, the Tuskunga meteor event in Siberia, and the first Model T rolled off Henry Ford’s assembly line. The interest in arrangements of this particular song is in comparing the arrangement to Foster’s part-writing as this is his only song harmonized for four voices throughout. While a number of his songs have a four-part chorus, the stanzas are scored for either solo or unison voices. In arrangements of this song, we can directly compare Foster’s part-writing over an entire song. Foster’s original publications had voice orderings that are very different from today’s modern SATB arrangements (see Figure 3.14).

Figure 3.14 – Foster’s original voice layouts in “Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming” and “My Old Kentucky Home”


88 The original choral parts of Foster’s published works use odd arrangements of the vocal parts compared to modern SATB alignment of highest to lowest voices. Some works such as “Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming” are arranged STAB, and others like “My Old Kentucky Home” are arranged TSAB. Such arrangements of the vocal parts are common among original publications of Foster’s songs.
Both the original and the arrangement are in F major throughout, but whereas Foster writes the first several bars in a rather static rhythm, Spicker adds some arpeggiation and melodic variation (see Figure 3.15). Also, Foster begins with only three voices, adding the soprano as an obbligato in bar 9 where Spicker begins with all four male parts and then writes his own variant at bar 9 (see Figure 3.16). This arrangement continues in similar fashion with Spicker interjecting short harmonic variants at cadences or transitions throughout. There are no text variants and both songs are intended to be sung a cappella. The Spicker arrangement is slightly more harmonically rich, but remains true to the original in all other aspects. As the original work contained no dialect, there are no text alterations in the choral arrangement.

Figure 3.15 – Comparison of the opening lines of the original to Spicker’s arrangement
Another version of “Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming” was arranged by Walter Ehret (Sam Fox Publishing, 1957). For cultural context, 1957 saw the Soviet Union launch the Sputnik satellite, *American Bandstand* debuted on television, America became more heavily involved in the conflict in Vietnam, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. headed the nationwide resistance to racial segregation and discrimination in light of the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education of 1956,89 placing this arrangement at the beginning of the Civil Rights Era. Ehret remains strictly true to Foster’s original part writing until the section beginning “Soft is her slumber,” where Ehret transfers the melody to the second tenor part while the first tenor now sings what was originally the Contralto part in Foster’s work in its original octave (see Figure 3.17). The only other variant Ehret makes is to write a brief coda consisting of an augmentation of the final line

of the song (see Figure 3.18). Similarly to the Spicker arrangement, there are no variants in text and both works were written to be sung a cappella.

Figure 3.17 – Rearrangement of vocal lines from the original vocal quartet to Ehret’s arrangement

Figure 3.18 – Ehret’s augmentation in the coda

3. Roberton

Sir Hugh S. Roberton arranged one of Foster’s earliest works, “Uncle Ned” for TTBB chorus (Sam Fox Publishing, 1940). “Uncle Ned” was originally printed as one of the Songs of the Sable Harmonies in 1848.90 The association with the Sable Minstrel Singers

---

was an advertising tool of the W. C. Peters Publishing House. To place it in cultural context, World War II had begun in Europe in 1939, the world was still in the grip of the Great Depression, Roosevelt had been re-elected to a third term, Hattie McDaniel became the first African-American to win an Academy Award, and Benjamin O. Davis, Sr. became the first African-American general in the US Army. Roberton transposes the song from its original F major to B♭ major. This facilitates placing the melody more agreeably in the first tenor line and allows more harmonic distance between vocal parts than would be possible in male voices in F major. Harmonically, this arrangement adds some richness by substituting relative minor chords and using the lower three voices on a sustained hum to fill out Foster’s simpler harmonies (see Figure 3.19). There is significant melodic variation at the chorus, with Roberton paraphrasing and truncating Foster’s music (see Figure 3.20). Unlike the original which had a very simple accompaniment, this arrangement is intended for a cappella performance.

91 William W. Austin. “Susanna,” “Jeanie,” and “the Old Folks at Home”: The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours, 19-26

Figure 3.19 – Comparison of opening lines of the original “Uncle Ned” to Roberton’s arrangement

Figure 3.20 – Comparison of the chorus of Foster’s original to the Roberton arrangement – note the switch in solo and choral lines, Foster’s original is the top line.
What is significant in this arrangement are the changes made to the original text. Foster’s first line is “Dere was an old Nigga, dey call’d him Uncle Ned.” Roberton alters this to “There was an old darkey, and his name was Uncle Ned.” However, later at the chorus, Roberton reverts to dialect, “Den lay down de shubble and de hoe, Hang up de fiddle an’ de bow; Dere’s no more hard work for poor old Ned, he’s gone whar de good darkeys go” (see Example 21). In all cases where Roberton uses “darkey” Foster’s original was “Nigga.” It should be noted that this arrangement was published in the same year as Riegger’s original version of “Airs of Stephen Foster.” Riegger makes no changes to his dialect texts, but also does not include any of Foster’s more inflammatory early works. Even with the text alterations, Roberton’s arrangement of “Uncle Ned” would be a problematic program choice under contemporary racial circumstances. In Foster’s time it presented a sympathetic portrait of a slave quite literally worked to death, but modern audiences might feel that is tries to portray a benevolent side of slavery. It might provide some context if a choral program were looking at racial developments in American popular music throughout the 20th Century, but would likely not be acceptable as a stand-alone work in a choral concert. One area of potential study with this work is Foster’s influence on non-American music. Of all the arrangements surveyed for this document, Roberton’s is the only one that was available that was not by an American arranger. It should not be considered lightly that Roberton treats the racial aspects of this text with unusual sensitivity for a non-American.
4. Kean

Claude Kean’s arrangement of “Beautiful Dreamer” is for four-part male voices (G. Schirmer, 1942). By 1942 the United States was involved in World War II both in Europe and Asia, the first controlled nuclear reaction was created by Enrico Fermi in Chicago, women began to serve in the armed forces through the WAVE and WAC programs replacing needed servicemen in clerical work just as women were joining the mainstream work force to allow more men to enter military service. Kean maintains Foster’s original key of E♭ major. The melody is placed in the second tenor part throughout except for two measures where the melody suddenly drops in octave transposition to the second bass part (see Figure 3.22). Kean employs some very subtle chromatic undulation in the accompanying parts (see Figure 3.23). The voice parts alternate homophonic statements of the theme with solo second tenor lines accompanied by “ah” in the outer parts (see Figure 3.24) The work ends with a brief, barbershop-esque

---

4. Kean

Claude Kean’s arrangement of “Beautiful Dreamer” is for four-part male voices (G. Schirmer, 1942). By 1942 the United States was involved in World War II both in Europe and Asia, the first controlled nuclear reaction was created by Enrico Fermi in Chicago, women began to serve in the armed forces through the WAVE and WAC programs replacing needed servicemen in clerical work just as women were joining the mainstream work force to allow more men to enter military service. Kean maintains Foster’s original key of E♭ major. The melody is placed in the second tenor part throughout except for two measures where the melody suddenly drops in octave transposition to the second bass part (see Figure 3.22). Kean employs some very subtle chromatic undulation in the accompanying parts (see Figure 3.23). The voice parts alternate homophonic statements of the theme with solo second tenor lines accompanied by “ah” in the outer parts (see Figure 3.24) The work ends with a brief, barbershop-esque

---

coda (see Figure 3.25). The original has a mostly arpeggiated accompaniment, while Kean’s arrangement is a cappella. There are no variations of the original text in the two verses. The date of publication for Kean’s arrangement could hold certain patriotic connotations. “Beautiful Dreamer” is one of Foster’s most popular songs and an arrangement of an iconic piece of Americana would be an appropriate response to the global struggle in which the United States was engaged. Further, “Beautiful Dreamer” is one of Foster’s sentimental ballads. With men heading off to war and women into factories and offices, such an arrangement would speak to both the bygone days before the war and the hope of victory and peace to come.

Figure 3.22 – Transfer of melody from Tenor II to Bass II

Figures 3.23 and 3.24 – Chromatic part writing and changing vocal textures
There are two arrangements to be analyzed of “Camptown Races,” originally published in 1850. The first is by Raymond Porter for four-part men’s chorus (Robbins Music Corporation, 1957), the same year as Ehret’s arrangements. See the commentary on page 43 for cultural context. Porter’s arrangement is in the original key of D major.

The first sixteen bars of the choral part are in unison, quoting Foster’s original melody. Much of the first section of the work alternates between two-part pairings (TT/BB) and unison. This section also repeats the first verse of the original text three times, the first mostly in unison with a two-part chorus, the second with a baritone solo over an alternating BB/TT ostinato pattern, and the third with a tenor solo over a unison jazz ostinato. This third section modulates to G major. The chorus of this third section is the first to feature a full four-part harmonization. The fourth and fifth section are based on the third and fourth verses of the original. The fourth section modulates to C major and
features a bass solo over the ostinato pattern of the second section and the chorus is once again in two parts. The fifth and final section modulates to F major and similar to the second section features two choral parts in thirds which then opens into four parts at the chorus. The melodic and harmonic lines do not stray from Foster’s originals. The piano accompaniment is derivative of Foster’s original. There is a short, repetitive tag ending building in chromatic and rhythmic intensity to a final “Doo-dah” (see Figure 3.26).

Figure 3.26 – Stretto finale to Porter’s arrangement

The text shows little variation from Foster’s original. The opening line of the arrangement begins “Camptown ladies,” omitting the “De Camptown ladies” of Foster’s original. Similarly, the original “I come down da wid my hat caved in” is altered in Porter’s arrangement to “I come down here with my hat caved in” (see Figure 3.27). In the main, these alterations are superficial, but what is interesting textually in this arrangement is Porter’s addition of scat syllables in some ostinato patterns in the text (as can be seen in Figure 3.26) and the use of the phrase “Zippidee doodah, zippideeay.” Given this arrangement’s provenance (1957) to Disney’s *Song of the South* (1946), it is possibly borrowing on the popularity of the song “Zip-a-Dee-Doo-Dah!” from the movie
which has now been pulled from circulation because of its racist implications (see Figure 3.28). Porter’s arrangement does show some cultural sensitivity with its textual alterations, but the use of scat syllables, while contemporaneous to jazz styles of the time, might be perceived at best as culturally appropriative or worse as insensitive in modern times. Musically, the work is well constructed to build to a climactic ending.

Figure 3.27 – Comparison of first verse texts between the original “Camptown Races” and Porter’s arrangement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foster’s Original “Gwine to Run All Night”</th>
<th>Porter’s arrangement text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>De Camptown ladies sing dis song</td>
<td>Camptown ladies sing this song,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doo-dah! doo-dah!</td>
<td>doo-dah, doo-dah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Camptown race-track five miles long</td>
<td>D’ Camptown race track five miles long,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oh! doo-dah day!</td>
<td>Oh, doo-dah day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I come down da wid my hat caved in</td>
<td>I come down here with my hat caved in,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doo-dah! doo-dah!</td>
<td>doo-dah, doo-dah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I go back home wid a pocket full of tin</td>
<td>I go back home with a pocket full a’ tin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oh! doo-dah day!</td>
<td>Oh, doo-dah day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHORUS: Gwine to run all night!</td>
<td>CHORUS: Gwine t’ run all night,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwine to run all day!</td>
<td>Gwine t’ run all day,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’ll bet my money on de bob-tail nag</td>
<td>I’ll bet my money on d’ bobtail nag,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somebody bet on de bay.</td>
<td>Somebody bet on d’ bay.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.28 – Porter’s use of the text “zippidee doo-dah”
6. Morton

The second arrangement of “Camptown Ladies” is by Debra Morton for male chorus TTB (BLP Choral Music, 2015). Like the Martin medley, this work is contemporaneous to our time. America is clearly in the post-Civil Rights Era and this work was published during the presidency of Barack Obama, the first African-American president. The arrangement begins in E♭ major, up a half-step from the original D major, making it slightly more accessible for a male ensemble. This arrangement echoes the original in that the text sections of the two verses used are in unison and those marked “Chorus” in Foster’s original are in three parts (see Figure 3.29). The second verse features a call and response variant along with a text painting insert after “the blind hoss stick in a big mud hole,” using a chromatically sinking “Oh” (see Figure 3.30). The work finishes with a repetition of the chorus modulated up to E major for the brighter sounding ending of a sharp key. Even transposing the song up from its original key, Morton maintains a somewhat limited vocal range for most of the voices in this arrangement making it accessible to most high-school ensembles. There are optional high notes for Tenor I on the final page, but these are not vital musically speaking.
Figure 3.29 – Comparison of the opening phrases and chorus of Foster’s original “Camptown Races” with Morton’s arrangement

The most interesting feature of this arrangement is the piano accompaniment. While the patterns accompanying the verses are derivative of Foster’s original, it is the interludes which draw notice. The interlude after the first verse is a variation of one of the themes from Rossini’s “William Tell Overture” (see Figure 3.31). Then the accompaniment
figure under the transposition to E major is a familiar theme from von Suppé’s “The Light Cavalry Overture” (see Figure 3.32). Just before the final choral tag ending a military tattoo, more familiar to most of us from its use as the “Call to the Post” at the Kentucky Derby, is heard (see Figure 3.33). These interjections add charm and humor to this arrangement.

Figure 3.31 “William Tell Overture” variant in the piano interlude between verses

Figure 3.32 – Theme from Von Suppé’s “Light Cavalry Overture” under sustained chorus

Figure 3.33 – A US Military pre-reveille tattoo that more is familiarly known as “Call to Post” at the Kentucky Derby tradition in the final measures of the Morton arrangement.
Morton’s arrangement claims to be based on the original dialect of the time, and uses Foster’s original verses with almost no variation. However, the text used in the first two choruses is “De hoss I fancy am de bob-tail nag, He’ll walk away from de bay” (see Figure 3.34) whereas, the text of the original is “I’ll bet my money on de bob-tail nag, Somebody bet on de bay.” There is no source cited for the variant in the arrangement. The substitution could be because of vowels. The stress in the original would fall on bet and somebody. In the case of bet, the tendency in American English is to spread that vowel when sung. Hoss would then be an appropriate substitution of a tall, rounded vowel. In the second part of the phrase, American singers tend to close down the mouth to soon on syllables that end with “m” and “n,” effectively truncating the value of the sung note. Switching to he’ll in place of some would promote a long vowel sound on that note. The boisterous nature of this arrangement and its accompaniment make it a charming addition to choral arrangements of Foster’s songs. Morton’s arrangement is also demonstrative of the fact that historical accuracy is being restored through the use of dialect in modern arrangements. Morton’s use of dialect in this arrangement forces us into a conversation about its appropriateness and Foster’s original intent. It is an interesting cultural appropriation mixing so-called “white” culture through the use of Classical melodies woven into the accompaniment alongside Foster’s black-face minstrelsy associations.

Figure 3.34 – Text variant in the chorus of the Morton arrangement
There are two more arrangements to be considered by Walter Ehret. Along with the aforementioned “Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming,” they are from a set of fourteen arrangements of Foster songs by Ehret which include “Beautiful Dreamer,” “Camptown Races,” “I Dream of Jeannie,” “Oh! Susanna,” “Old Folks at Home,” and “My Old Kentucky Home,” among others (Sam Fox Publishing, 1957). Some of the arrangements are for single gender ensembles but most of them are for mixed ensembles. Please refer to the comments on page 42 for cultural context in 1957. All of Ehret’s TTBB arrangements follow a similar formula which is to assign the melody mainly to the second tenor part, often accompanied by ooh or aah in the other voices during the stanza, and then a homophonic chorus. Frequently there is a modulation to accommodate another voice part taking the melody.

The first of these TTBB arrangements is “Gentle Annie”, originally published in 1856. Ehret transposes it from its original E\textsuperscript{b} major to G major. This seems to be a compromise lifting the second bass part to a low G instead of low Eb but requiring the first tenor part to sing just over the top of the staff in the chorus. The top two parts team in thirds, with the melody in the Tenor I and the Tenor II cross-voicing in thirds depending on the range of the melody (see Figure 3.35). Ehret adds harmonic interest in the part writing through chromatic movement in the accompanying voices while maintaining the original melody in the first tenor part (see Figure 3.36). In the second verse, the melody is given to the second tenor until the chorus. The second chorus begins
with the melody in octave displacement in the second bass before returning to the second tenor for the closing phrase (see Figure 3.37).

Figure 3.35 – Example of cross-voicing in the tenor parts of the Ehret arrangement of “Gentle Annie”

Figure 3.36 – Ehret’s harmonization of the chorus
The accompaniment pattern is derivative of the original, with a few chromatic variations added for color. There are no text variations from the original.

8. Ehret

“Old Dog Tray” is another arrangement by Ehret of a Sentimental Ballad. Foster’s song was first published in 1853. This arrangement is also for four-part men’s voices and has been transposed from the original G major to C major, likely due to Ehret’s habit of placing the melody in the second tenor part. The first and third verses feature an undulating hum in the outer three voices based on the harmonies of the original surrounding the melody in the second tenor (see Figure 3.38). The chorus is sung in full four-part harmony with the melody now in the first tenor (see Figure 3.39). The first ending modulates to F major (see Example 40) and the melody of the second verse is now in the first bass part with the outer parts providing an echo texture. There is a D.C. which returns the singers to the beginning for the third verse and a short concluding phrase. There are slight melodic and rhythmic variations from the original but nothing of consequence. The accompaniment is derivative of the Foster’s original and there are no variations to the text. Both of these arrangements are easily accessible for a young men’s
chorus with the tenor parts just reaching above the staff and the bass parts dipping no lower than F below the staff. Both songs have texts filled with the nostalgia of personal loss without being maudlin. They make effective contrasting pieces to arrangements based on some of Foster’s livelier tunes.

Figure 3.38 – Opening phrase of Ehret’s arrangement of “Old Dog Tray”

Figure 3.39 – Four-part choral harmonization at the chorus
Figure 3.40 – Modulation to accommodate moving the melody to Bass I

9. Parker/Shaw

Alice Parker and Robert Shaw arranged the Parlor Song, *Gentle Lena Claire*, for four-part men’s chorus and tenor solo (Lawson-Gould Music, 1960). This arrangement transposes from the original C major to E♭ major. Rationale for this transposition could be the desire to give the solo to the tenor rather than a baritone. Equally, by raising the tonic it does allow the basses to sing a low “do” without having to descend to low C. The first stanza features the tenor solo over a four-part harmonization based on the original harmonic progressions. The opening phrase of the chorus is based on Foster’s four-part chorus, with slight variations to accommodate voice leading in the transposition (see Figure 3.41) which then subsides into the original texture of tenor solo over four-part harmonization. The second verse features Tenor I and II in unison on the melody with the bass parts providing harmony (see Figure 3.42). The chorus is again derivative of Foster’s original. The final verse features Tenor II with the melody
the outer voices providing harmony at times crossing over the melody (see Figure 3.43). The work closes with the tenor solo in charge of the chorus melody and the other voices offset in one measure canon for contrast. This arrangement is intended to be a cappella while the original had a simple chordal accompaniment. There are no text alterations from the original. While this arrangement is a fairly straight-forward rendition of Foster’s original, it is clear from the tessitura of the bass line, descending to low E♭, and the tenor line, ascending to high B♭, that this was written for an advanced ensemble, and the score notes that the work was recorded by the Robert Shaw Chorale. It is a beautiful arrangement of one of Foster’s rarely performed songs. To place this arrangement in its cultural context, it should be remembered that in 1960 the dominant events were the election of John F. Kennedy as President, the US first officially sent combat troops into Vietnam, Fidel Castro solidified his grip on power in Cuba, and Chubby Checker introduced “The Twist.”94 America was entering a turbulent political period in the Cold War and American culture was changing rapidly. A great many traditional American folk songs were being arranged by Parker and Shaw and others. This arrangement of Foster’s song may have served its 1960s audience as it did Foster’s, a nostalgic balm against the changing tides of progress.

Figure 3.41 – Comparing the altered voice leading of the Parker/Shaw arrangement of Gentle Lena Claire to Foster’s original. Note again the order of the voices in Foster’s original publication TSAB against the arrangement order Tenor I, Tenor II, etc., and how the arrangement adjusts voicing to avoid direct harmonic clashes between the two tenor parts.

Figure 3.42 – Second verse of the arrangement featuring paired voicings
The remaining arrangements to be surveyed were all published in the post-Civil Rights Era include Minstrel Songs, Parlor Songs and Sentimental Ballads, and Nostalgic Songs. The first of these is Leonard Van Camp’s arrangement of the comic parlor song, “If You’ve Only Got a Moustache” (Somerset Press, 1977). By 1977 America was moving into the post-Civil Rights Era. Major events included the sale of the first personal computers manufactured by Apple and Commodore, the death of Elvis Presley, the opening of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, and the premiere of *Star Wars*. Foster’s song was originally published in 1864 after the composer’s death and is the only song in this survey to have words by an author other than Foster himself. This is one of the most well-known songs resulting from Foster’s partnership with George Cooper. Van Camp retains the original key of D major. The original melody is largely lined out either by individual or sectional solos, with harmonized parts added at various points either in thirds or sixths to the melody. Van Camp eliminates Cooper’s second stanza, utilizing
the first, third and fourth for this arrangement, possibly for length, but also possibly that
there is more humor found in the three stanzas used. In the final stanza, Van Camp
modulates briefly to d minor to set up the punch line of the song – one man prevents
another’s suicide by recommending he simply grow a moustache (see Figure 3.44).
Though much of the song is written in two parts, the final page has four-part divisi for a
richer sound at the conclusion. The accompaniment is derivative of Foster’s original and
aside from eliminating one verse of Cooper’s text, there are no other alterations. This is a
charming adaption of one of Foster’s late comic works that is easily accessible for a
young male chorus as it makes no great demands of range or rhythmic complexity on the
singer. In addition, the humor is somewhat juvenile to our modern sensibilities. Still, it
can make an effective addition to a concert of similar arrangements of popular songs.

Figure 3.44 – Setting up the punch line of *If You’ve Only Got a Moustache*

11. Berg

Ken Berg arranged the Minstrel Song *Oh! Susanna* for two part men’s chorus TB
(optional TBB) and piano (Hal Leonard Corporation, 2004). Berg transposes the first
verse of the song from the original G major to F major and the melody remains in the
baritone part throughout the first verse. The tenor is added in harmony beginning with the
second full phrase and an optional third part is added in the repeat of the chorus (see
Figure 3.45). The second verse modulates to $D^b$ major for the first full phrase in the baritone part, and then modulates to $A$ major when the tenor takes over the second phrase. The chorus modulates back to $F$ major. Like the Wienhorst arrangement cited earlier, Berg also uses the alternate third verse text “I soon will be in New Orleans,” not part of the original publication but which became a common addition after 1848. This verse undergoes several modulations beginning in $G^b$ major for the first full phrase, then ascending to $G$ major for the second phrase through the end of the work. The chorus is repeated an additional time at the end of the work with the final measures in augmentation (see Figure 3.46). The only significant melodic or rhythmic deviation is the addition of a syncopated rhythm in the chorus (as seen in Figure 3.45). The distinguishing feature of this arrangement is the jazzy piano accompaniment which provides a lively independent partner to the choral parts and transforms a rather simplistic choral setting into a more complex arrangement (see Figure 3.47). As this is a fairly recent work, the language of the text has been sanitized for modern sensibilities. Whereas the original used dialect like “lub” and “wedder,” Berg’s arrangement alters these to “love” and “weather” (see Figure 3.48). Similar substitutions are made throughout so that there is no trace of dialect in this piece. This is an easily accessible piece for a young male chorus as it is not particularly demanding in range, though it does have some rhythmic complexities. Additionally, it requires only two vocal parts, but offers occasional three and four-part options. However, it does require a very competent pianist. This is a very fun piece to add to a choral concert. As this dates clearly in the 21st Century

---

with regard to Civil Rights, Berg’s arrangement shows a more complete modern sensibility when it comes to dialect in these works.

Figure 3.45 – Optional three-part harmony and rhythmic variants in Berg’s arrangement of “Oh Susanna”

Figure 3.46 – Melodic augmentation in the final bars of the arrangement
Figure 3.47 – Piano introduction to the Berg arrangement

Figure 3.48 – Comparison of the original first verse with Berg’s arrangement

Foster’s original
“Oh! Susanna”
I come from Alabama
with my banjo on my knee,
I’se gwine to Lou’siana
my true love for to see.
It rain’d all night the day I left,
the weather it was dry;
The sun so hot I froze to def,
Susanna don’t you cry.
Oh! Susanna, do not cry for me;
I come from Alabama
wid my banjo on my knee.

Berg’s arrangement
“Oh! Susanna”
I come from Alabama
With my banjo on my knee,
I’m goin’ to Lou’siana,
my true love for to see.
It rained all night the day I left,
the weather it was dry.
The sun so hot I froze to death,
Susanna don’t you cry.
O Susanna, oh don’t you cry for me
I’ve come from Alabama
with a banjo on my knee.

12. LaBarr

Susan LaBarr’s arrangement of the Sentimental Ballad “Under the Willow” for unaccompanied four-part women’s chorus SSAA (Santa Barbara Music Publishing, 2009). 2009 saw the inauguration of the first African-American president, Barack Obama. America was in the grip of a great recession begun in 2007, and Michael Jackson died under mysterious circumstances.96 LaBarr begins the arrangement in the original key of E♭ major and the opening introduction undulates through harmonies suggested by

---

Foster’s original. The soprano lines out the original tune over the more static lines of the lower three parts, however, the accompanying parts explore more adventurous harmonies than the original (see Figure 3.49). All voices join the text at the chorus where LaBarr adds dissonance and suspension for more depth and expression of the text (see Figure 3.50). In the interlude between the verses, LaBarr has composed an obbligato countermelody over the subdued hums of the choir to evoke the mother’s weeping (see Figure 3.51). The second stanza is a full rendering of the text harmonized in all parts. Basing her arrangement on the original harmonies, LaBarr adds subtle dissonance and suspension to create mood and atmosphere. The interlude before the last stanza begins as the previous one did with the obbligato line over sustained hums. However, LaBarr augments the obbligato in octaves and adds an ostinato harmony in the lower parts leading to a modulation to F major for the final stanza (see Figures 3.52 and 3.53). In the final stanza, the melody line is traded back and forth between Soprano I and II as the work slowly subsides into the original texture of a single melodic line over a sustained “oo” in the other parts. The final measures are a repeat of the interlude heard before of the obbligato line over a sustained, undulating “oo” (see Figure 3.54). The a cappella nature of this work presents some distinct musical challenges, but this arrangement adds depth and texture to Foster’s original. LaBarr has used the first, second, and fourth verses of Foster’s original text with no deviations, perhaps the decision to eliminate one verse was to shorten the work, or it may have been for clarity of the story line. This arrangement is a very good addition to the Foster arrangement repertoire in large part because it is a less-familiar work, treated very sensitively, and one with a timeless message of comfort in loss. It is very affecting in performance.
Figure 3.49 – Beginning of the first verse of LaBarr’s arrangement of “Under the Willow”

Figure 3.50 – Opening measures of the first chorus of LaBarr’s arrangement
Figure 3.51 – Vocal obbligato in interlude between verses

Figure 3.52 – Vocal obbligato in octaves with added syllables in lower voices for texture

Figure 3.53 – Modulation before final verse
“Slumber, My Darling” is a Parlor Song first published in 1862, here arranged for SSA chorus and piano by David Düsing (E. Henry David Music Publishers, 2012). 2012 saw the re-election of President Obama, the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth in the U.K., the horrific mass shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Connecticut, and the death of Whitney Houston.\footnote{\url{http://www.thepeoplehistory.com/2012.html}. Accessed October 4, 2017.} This arrangement is in the original key of E\textsubscript{b} major throughout. After a short introduction the melody is introduced in both soprano parts in unison. The voices divide into two-part harmony when the second theme is introduced with a very brief section of three-part harmony before returning to the first theme chorus (see Figure 3.55). The second stanza begins in unison but splits into two parts for the bulk of the verse with a similar passage of three-part harmony as noted above. The third
stanza is the first time there is a significant portion of the work in three-part harmony filling out the voicing of Foster’s original. The final refrain is mostly two-part before ending in three-part harmony (see Figure 3.56). There are no significant variations from Foster’s harmonies throughout the work, save for an occasional suspension. The piano accompaniment is mainly a broader arpeggiation of Foster’s original keyboard part, with a few passages where the right hand doubles the melody. The text uses all three verses of Foster’s original poem without variation. Similar to the LaBarr arrangement, the interest of this work lies in the unfamiliarity of Foster’s original. The arrangement makes no great demands of range, though it does descend well below the staff in the alto part. It adds nicely to the genre of 19th Century popular song choral arrangements for either high school or college ensembles. Given its provenance in the turbulence of modern times, its gentle nostalgia is soothing without being cloying.

Figure 3.55 – Two-part harmony expanding to three-part in the Düsing arrangement of “Slumber, My Darling”
14. Hayes

Mark Hayes arranged the Nostalgic Song, “My Old Kentucky Home”, for SATB voices and piano (Alfred Music in 2016). Given the growing civil discord in America at the beginning of the twenty-first century, this arrangement speaks to the nostalgia of time and place contemporaneous to present day America much as it did to that of Foster’s day. The arrangement begins in the original key of G major, with a slight melodic variant in the upbeat and a substitution harmony within the vocal parts (see Figure 3.57). Hayes utilizes the same harmonies as Foster in the chorus, but with an entirely different voice leading (see Figure 3.58). Hayes also substitutes new harmonies into the final progression at the end of the stanza, these are not dramatic changes, but they do add a richness to the overall sound. The second stanza establishes an alternating pattern between women and men lining out the melody. At the second chorus, men and women divide into three parts respectively before returning to homophonic four parts on the last phrase (see Figure

---

98 This work is available in multiple formats including SAB, SSAA, and TTBB, however only the SATB version is analyzed here.
3.59). This is a deceptive cadence, though, which leads to a more harmonically intense repeat of the chorus (see Figure 3.60). After a short bridge, the chorus is repeated one more time, this time a cappella and breaking into six-part harmony as it fades to the end (see Figure 3.61)

Figure 3.57 – Melodic and harmonic variants between the original opening line and Hayes’s arrangement of “My Old Kentucky Home.”

Figure 3.58 – Comparing voice leading between the original and Hayes’s arrangement. Note also Foster’s voice order TSSB
Figure 3.59 – Alternating vocal lines and divisi in the Hayes arrangement

Figure 3.60 – Deceptive cadence leading to repeat of chorus

Figure 3.61 – Transition to a cappella texture at final chorus
Characteristic of Mark Hayes arrangements, the piano part is featured prominently. In the main, it is an expansive version of Foster’s original keyboard part, with a number of flourishes added. Hayes accompaniment is much more independent than the original, and features some charming effects in association with the voices, such as the sudden shifts from high octaves in the right hand in the opening measure of the chorus to a deep arpeggiated figure in the left hand in the following bar (see Figure 3.62).

One of the most effective passages is the build-up in the first repeat of the final chorus, with added harmonies and chord substitutions leading to the unexpected a cappella final chorus ending (see Figure 3.63). This makes a powerful ending to a beautiful arrangement due to the sudden change of musical texture belying our expectations. Hayes uses the first verse of Foster’s original and then a variant fourth verse added after its original publication.99 This is a powerful adaption of one of Foster’s most popular songs. It is accessible, but requires an ensemble and accompanist with solid musicianship skills. The vocal parts, while not especially demanding, are very satisfying to sing because of the added suspensions and moving lines of the arrangement. Further, the shock of the final a cappella section intensifies the feeling of loss spoken of in the text. The rich textures of this work mark it as an excellent arrangement.

---

Figure 3.62 – Piano adding depth and color to Hayes’s vocal arrangement of the chorus of “My Old Kentucky Home”
The final two arrangements to be surveyed are based on the same work, Foster’s Nostalgic Song “Hard Times Come Again No More” first published in 1854. Alice Parker’s arrangement for male chorus TTBB with piano (Walton Music Corporation, 2015), maintains the original key of E♭ major throughout. The cultural context of this arrangement is almost exactly the same as the previous work. The melody for the first stanza is given to the tenors in unison. The basses, also in unison, join the tenors in harmony at the third for the chorus. The second stanza begins with split tenor parts still harmonized at the third. Tenor II and Bass I sing the chorus in the same harmony as before with Tenor I providing an obbligato above and finally all voices divide into four-part harmony at the end of the chorus (see Figure 3.64). The third stanza begins with an optional baritone solo, which can be sung by the entire section, with the outer parts
providing harmonic counterpoint a cappella (see Figure 3.65). The final chorus features paired voices Tenor I and Baritone singing the main theme at the sixth, while Tenor II and Bass provide the obbligato. The work ends with a final augmentation of the closing melody (see Figure 3.66). The piano accompaniment is somewhat independent of Foster’s original, but more expansive. The beginning of the third stanza is a cappella with the piano accompaniment returning for the final chorus. Parker uses the first, second, and fourth verses of Foster’s original poem. This arrangement is very true to the original, but with enough melodic and rhythmic variation in the supporting parts to make it even more interesting and compelling.

Figure 3.64 – The first full four-part voice division in the Parker arrangement at mm35
Craig Hella Johnson’s arrangement of “Hard Times” for SATB a cappella with soli, (JEHMS, 2005) the final choral arrangement to be considered, is the most complex of all
the ones studied. The work shifts the tonality from its original E♭ major to F♯ major. The work begins with a unison “oo” in the basses with the solo entering at the end of the first bar. In mid-phrase, the altos enter with a contour harmony that resolve into the second statement of the theme (see Figure 3.67). The first verse and chorus continue in the fashion to the end. The second verse begins with a layered texture of undulating chordal patterns and rhythms in the mixed voices, and then adding additional soloists to the melody line. The sopranos and tenors then alternate a colorful pattern under the melody (see Figure 3.68). At the chorus of the second verse, the voices divide into seven parts with the tenors joining the soli in unison (see Figure 3.69). This verse fades out to final cadence on B major. The third verse begins with a nine-part ostinato pattern in the unusual key of d♯ minor while a larger contingent of soli line out the third verse (see Figure 3.70). At the chorus, there is a dramatic pivot on a B major 7 chord to E minor \(N.B. – \) this occurs at a terrible page turn!] And suddenly, we are split into eleven parts (see Figure 3.71) which is compressed slightly into nine parts at the climax of the work (see Figure 3.72). The work closes with a final statement of the text “there’s a song that will linger forever in our ears, forever in our ears…” over an ostinato pattern of undulating harmonies finally resolving in e minor (see Figure 3.73). Johnson uses all four verses of Foster’s original text with no variations. This is a work of extraordinary power which makes a deep and lasting impact whose affect is difficult to describe in words. Mixing modalities – a minor tonality in the vocal accompaniment with the melody in major without alteration – then layering undulating subordinate textures in the central

\[^{100}\text{I have observed that a cappella ensembles tend to stay in tune better in sharp keys. This is an empirical statement based on personal and anecdotal evidence. I do not cite any research which supports this hypothesis.}\]
section of the work, the use of multiple divisi in each voice to create a tremendously rich vocal texture at the climactic statement of the work, and the use of suspended dissonance cascading into surprising resolutions is beyond the power of words to accurately describe. He has managed to distill the intent of the original text and music into a unified, holistic representation of both. This work requires a skilled ensemble that can sustain long passages in unison a cappella, as well as manage some very difficult modulations. It requires an ensemble of enough size and experience to cope with the complex elements – multiple divisi, obbligato rhythmic passages, wide vocal ranges, and far-ranging harmonies – throughout the piece. Craig Hella Johnson has taken one of Foster’s most poignant works and truly made it “linger forever in our ears.”
Figure 3.67 – Opening measures of Johnson’s arrangement of “Hard Times”

Figure 3.68 – Soprano and tenor provide contour to solo melody mm 24-26
Figure 3.69 – Seven part divisi with solo mm 31, the top line is solo soprano

Figure 3.70 – Beginning of ostinato pattern in d# minor – note the vocal spread bottom to top is three octaves and a fourth

Figure 3.71 – After final transposition to e minor, eleven part divisi plus soli
Figure 3.72 – At the climax of the work, nine part divisi plus soli

Figure 3.73 – Final bars resolving to a haunting e minor cadence
IV. Drawing Conclusions

This document has examined the arc of scholarly research on the life and music of Stephen Foster, as well as the development of a body of choral works based on his most famous compositions over the last one hundred years. There is a clear parallel in both trajectories, though these maybe coincidental and not intentional. Just as scholarship into Foster’s life and times has deepened in terms of its interpretation and accuracy, so too have the choral adaptations of his music moved beyond mere fleshing out of Foster’s simple melodies and harmonies to explore their musical possibilities and probe the deeper meaning of their texts.

A. The Scholarly Literature

The scholarly literature on Stephen Foster’s life and works falls largely into two categories. One is that which ascribes to the narrative carefully crafted by Morrison Foster largely to protect Stephen’s and the Foster family’s reputation, but which allowed a shroud of myth and half-truth to obscure an accurate look at Stephen’s life and work. The other has sought to discover the truth that lies beneath even if it means confronting unpleasant or disturbing issues with regard to Foster’s actions or personality. This modern scholarship is providing us with a more honest appraisal of the composer.

1. The Foster Family Narrative

Morrison Foster crafted a highly sanitized version of his brother’s life in order to protect his reputation for posterity. Specifically, he destroyed correspondence or other artifacts that would contradict the story he had fashioned from the time of composer’s
death in 1864 to 1896, when he published his biography to accompany a publication of
the complete works of Stephen Foster.  

This biography, republished in 1932 as My

Brother Stephen, plays down the failure of Stephen and Jane’s marriage and their
ultimate separation, as well as the drinking problems and other dissolute circumstances of
Foster’s final years in New York. The authors who build on that narrative include John
Tasker Howard, whose Stephen Foster: America’s Troubadour offers a comprehensive
look at the composer’s life and is limited only by the nature of research tools available at
the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as the composer’s niece, Evelyn Foster
Morneweck, whose work published all known Foster family archives. Howard is the first
to present together all the disparate accounts of Foster’s death, which he does objectively
by laying each version out to be taken on its own merits. Moreneweck tries to reconcile
all these versions together into a single narrative, but is compelled to leave out some facts
in order to do so. The volumes by Fletcher Hodges, Jr., George Zabriskie, and Raymond
Porter are little more than a rehashing of the Foster family narrative.

2. Towards More Accurate Research

It becomes clear that Howard Milligan did not have access to much of the family
archives in preparing his 1920 biography as he seems to rely on sources outside the
Foster family. He paints a rather unsympathetic portrait of Stephen, particularly his final
days in New York as well as his development as a composer. Milligan is the first
biographer to begin to break away from the Foster family crafted narrative.

---

101 Deane L. Root. “The’ Myth-Story’ of Stephen C. Foster, or Why His True Story Remains Untold.” The
William W. Austin’s “Susannah,” “Jeannie,” and “The Old Folks at Home,” 
*The Songs of Stephen Foster from His Time to Ours* published in 1975, contains very 
little biographical material except insofar as to place the composer and his compositions 
contemporaneously, while Calvin Elliker’s *Stephen Foster: A Guide to Research* 
published in 1988, is a useful repository for its time on the material available in studying 
Stephen Foster. Its only limitation is that it was compiled and published before the 
digital explosion in information technology through the internet.

3. Scholarship Inspired by Deane Root

Though not in published book form, Deane L. Root, has published widely in 
numerous scholarly journals and on the internet quality research that he has done for the 
Foster Hall Collection at the Center. His work was foundational for the episode 
*American Experience: Stephen Foster* for PBS in 2001. He has done much to dispel the 
myths that have grown surrounding the life and legacy of Stephen Foster and to influence 
other scholars in the field, notably Ken Emerson and JoAnne O’Connell. Emerson’s *Doo- 
Dah!* utilizes the greater depth of research available to biographers through digitized 
databases to paint a more realistic portrait of Foster. The only questionable issue that 
arises is his rewrite of the facts regarding Foster’s death.\(^{102}\) While it does reconcile all of 
the different narratives into one, there is no corroboration given for his assertion. Like 
Austin, Emerson goes further in tying Foster’s work into the development of the 
burgeoning popular music culture of the late nineteenth century than Austin had twenty 
years earlier. Additionally, his *Stephen Foster and Company* book of lyrics places

\(^{102}\) Ken Emerson. *Doo-Dah!: Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture.* 298
Foster’s poetry alongside his contemporaries – e.g. Thomas Dartmouth “Daddy” Rice, Henry Clay Work, John Howard Payne, and George Cooper, among others. Emerson makes clear in the introduction what Foster has meant to the so-called “Great American Songbook.” He also points out that almost all of the other works collected alongside Foster in this volume were composed by someone other than the author. Foster really had no equal among his peers.103

Finally, JoAnne O’Connell’s *The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster* published in 2016 is the most in-depth and exhaustive study of the composer to date. Not only did O’Connell have access to the full Foster Hall Collection, but her internet resources included several Pennsylvania historical societies, the Performing Arts Library of Lincoln Center, the New York City Public Library, the Library of Congress, as well as numerous newspaper databases to name but a few. Here, the old myths are stripped away and a very cogent portrait of Foster emerges. For the first time in published form, O’Connell poses the possibility that Foster’s fatal wounds could have been self-inflicted. There is, of course, no proof for this, but she makes a compelling argument for the possibility. Indeed, it would explain the numerous competing stories over his last days if the Foster family were attempting to make sure that no one could even suspect that Stephen may have attempted suicide. O’Connell portrays Foster very objectively, as a man of his times charting a new course in the emerging business of popular music.

Whereas in Morrison’s time, he wished to shield his brother’s reputation from circumstances that his contemporaries would have found objectionable – marital, alcohol,

and money problems. As American society has developed over the last one hundred years, these are no longer flaws that need to be hidden away, they may be regrettable, but they are not fatal. Societal mores have adapted toward greater acceptance or tolerance. We also wish to have a more accurate, truthful history of our past even if it means dealing with controversial issues or setting aside long-held bias or privilege. The trajectory of scholarly literature into the life and works of Stephen Foster demonstrates this desire for accuracy.

B. The Choral Literature

The choral arrangements adapted from Stephen Foster’s songs have shown a mirroring, if bifurcated, arc of development. This division can be clearly seen between Foster’s original texts and the new musical settings. Both develop along the lines of greater sophistication and cultural sensibility, specifically with regard to the Minstrel texts.

When considering the Minstrel texts, the analysis has shown that there was little to no alteration of culturally objectionable lyrics before 1960. Examples 24 on p. 43 and Example 27 on p. 46 are demonstrative of this. It is significant, however, that during the Civil Rights Era of 1960-1980, there were very few choral arrangements of Stephen Foster’s songs published and almost none of those are currently in print. Possible reasons could be cultural sensitivity to the text and changing racial attitudes, or changing repertoire tastes such as the rise of show choirs, or the change in popular music tastes toward rock and roll. It is also possible that changes within the publishing industry itself may have contributed to this gap or perhaps even a combination of some or all of these
factors. There is clearly a sharp divide in text adaptations between those written before 1960 and those written after 1980. All of Foster’s “Africanized” dialect disappears or is cleaned up into an acceptable modern version, (see the comparisons in Example 11, p35) though the impression of the nonsense lyrics of songs like “Oh! Susanna” are maintained (see also example 48 on p. 57). The one exception to this is Debra Morton’s “Camptown Races” (see p. 52) which restores the dialect in a modern musical setting. Arrangements such as this force us to confront the complete legacy of Stephen Foster and not just the sanitized version constructed in the post-Civil Rights Era. What this may say about assimilated racism in America is too broad a topic for this paper. There are several excellent resources which explore this specific subject, such as Eric Lott’s Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class, Burnt Cork: Traditions of Blackface Minstrelsy by Stephen Johnson, and Darkest America: Black Minstrelsy from Slavery to Hip-Hop by Yuval Taylor. Foster himself was conflicted in his feelings toward the blackface minstrel culture and the African experience in America. One of the few surviving letters in his hand is to E. P. Christy of the Christy Minstrels in 1851 seeking to get his own name back on published versions of “Old Folks at Home,”

…I had the intention of omitting my name on my Ethiopian songs owing to the prejudice against them…but I find my efforts have done a great deal to build up a taste for Ethiopian melodies among refined people by making the words suitable to their taste, instead of the really trashy and offensive words which belong to some songs of that order.104

He understood the prejudice against the genre, but found a way to make it acceptable to a wider audience. Foster’s greatest gift was perhaps the ability to find the words suited to

refined tastes, giving the African experience in America dignity, and then set them to
music of equal simplicity and clarity. He told the story of “Uncle Ned” who was literally
worked to death, and of “Nelly Was a Lady” the first black slave to be called so by a
white composer, and of “My Old Kentucky Home” of the all-encompassing grief of slave
families separated by being sold to different plantations.105 We may not recognize these
subtleties with our modern sensibilities, but they were recognized in Foster’s day by no
less than Frederick Douglas.106 Foster has left a complex musical and cultural legacy that
is still open to more exploration.

The music of the choral arrangements of Foster’s songs also shows development
over time. From the earliest arrangement considered in this paper, Max Spicker’s 1908
setting of “Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming” through those of the 1950s and 60s,
the choral settings are almost exclusively harmonized from Foster’s original chord
progressions. It is interesting to compare Foster’s own choral writing in the choruses of a
few songs and in the quartet, “Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming”, to part-writing in
the arrangements. Both the 1908 Spicker arrangement and the 1957 Ehret arrangement,
follow Foster’s part-writing almost exactly, adding only an occasional passing tone or
filling out a chord with more depth (see examples 15 on p. 39 and 17 on p. 40). The same
can be said of the arrangements prior to 1960 of Foster’s songs which included a four-
part chorus, e.g. “My Old Kentucky Home”, there is little alteration of Foster’s original
settings. Additionally, when piano accompaniments were written to go with these
arrangements, the only musical exploration done was in preludes or interludes to stanzas

105 Deane L. Root. “The’ Myth-Story’ of Stephen C. Foster, or Why His True Story Remains Untold.” The

106 Ken Emerson. Doo-Dah!: Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture, 9-16
or between songs within a medley. Accompaniment patterns underneath stanzas and
choruses were largely not independent of Foster’s original chordal accompaniments. The
arrangements might have an arpeggiated pattern in place of Foster’s simple chords, but
they did not stray from Foster’s original progressions, there was no musical development
independent of the original material.

Significant alterations to Foster’s original accompaniments and harmonic
progressions began with those arrangements composed after 1980. Mark Hayes’s
arrangements, which include “Oh! Susanna,” “My Old Kentucky Home,” and “Some
Folks Do,” typically add a jazzy piano part, some altered rhythms and a few subtle
clashing harmonies or suspensions. The main changes introduced are the independent
accompaniments. Some arrangements, such as Ken Berg’s “Oh! Susanna” from 2004
utilize modulations between verses to heighten musical interest, while others, like Debra
Morton’s 2015 “Camptown Races,” include clever themes lifted from classical works to
add charm and humor to the musical setting.

Among the most compelling of the arrangements surveyed here are the recent
works of Susan LaBarr and Craig Hella Johnson. Both works are a cappella and explore
harmonies far afield from Foster’s original. LaBarr’s “Under the Willow” for SSAA
includes a countermelody arching over the hummed interludes suggesting a keening wail
to create mood and atmosphere in this poignant lament. But the most complex
accomplishment so far in the choral arrangements of Foster’s songs is Johnson’s 2005
“Hard Times” for SATB. Johnson shifts in mid-composition from Foster’s major mode to
a minor mode. The chorus also sets up a rhythmic ostinato under the solo melody before
a stunning modulation and multiple divisi in each voice part at the climatic repetition of
the chorus. The work then fades to conclusion in haunting fashion with a repetition of the phrase “forever in our ears” over subtly shifting harmonies that resolve in e minor. Johnson takes Foster’s original pathos and makes it even more poignant in this version. These two compositions make it abundantly clear that, in terms of choral arrangements, Foster’s original work can be used as a point of departure and not merely as a museum piece. It remains to be seen if future composers/arrangers will seek out less well-known Foster songs for new choral compositions.

There are few composers who have had the impact on American musical culture that Stephen Foster has had. Foster was one of the originators of the popular musical style in America. He was a pioneer in forging a career in the popular music sector, helping to make today’s multi-billion dollar industry possible.\(^\text{107}\) His songs have been a part of the so-called “American Songbook” for one hundred and seventy years. They have been sung in the original version published by the composer, and they inspired countless musicians – amateur and professional – to adapt them to suit special occasions or the talents of specific performers. The songs have inspired countless adaptions spanning popular and classical musical traditions. Other authors like William A. Austin and Ken Emerson have explored the connection of Foster’s music to American popular music culture.

This document has endeavored to survey the choral adaptions of the songs of Stephen Foster and how those adaptions have changed textually and musically in the modern era. Stephen Foster continues to inspire musicians of all stripes through his music and lyrics that touch the heart of Americana. Modern scholarship has removed the patina

\(^{107}\) See Appendix 2 for a selected discography of Stephen Foster’s music.
of myth that has at times obscured a true picture of this American icon, giving us a much more unsentimental portrait of the man and his times. Modern choral adaptations have found renewed power in Foster’s music and lyrics, demonstrating that Foster’s work spoke not only to his own time, but even to ours today. The complex legacy of race and class in America are inextricably entwined in Foster’s songs. Minstrelsy was born out of immigrant humor, both those, such as Europeans, who came to this country of their own free will as well as those who were bought and sold on the slave blocks.¹⁰⁸ That Foster made the attempt to participate in this culture on his own terms was revolutionary and the fact that we are still finding new ways to perform his music today speaks to his success. Issues of class and race still plague America, Foster seemed to understand that music could help us find common ground and empathize with “the other.” Foster’s music is so pervasive in American culture, from traditional performances and recordings, to pop music covers, classical arrangements for chorus or orchestra, film, radio, and television, not to mention how he is perceived culturally, that there are myriad paths to continue to explore the man who may rightly be called America’s first popular music composer and his musical legacy. Stephen Foster’s legacy is bound inextricably with America’s own complex legacy of freedom and racism. We cannot ignore the racism inherent in his songs intended for the black-face minstrel audience just as we cannot ignore the trajectory of the roots of minstrelsy still pervasive in American culture. A more in depth study of that aspect of Stephen Foster’s work will lead to greater empathy with the black experience in America. In this, the work of Eric Lott, Stephen Johnson, and Yuval Taylor

is just a beginning. America has never had a full reckoning with its relationship to
slavery, “Manifest Destiny,” and racism towards people of color. Class and cultural
struggles were also a part of the life and times of Foster and we have seen in our most
recent presidential election that these issues continue to divide the American public. As
Foster was a potent voice in his own time to some of these issues, increased study of his
works may lead us to insights in our own time. There was no one else like him at the time
in terms of the scope of his output, popularity, and musical longevity. Yet there is a
perverse irony to Foster’s assimilation in popular culture. For a certain class of works,
such as “Oh! Susanna,” “Camptown Races,” and “Ring de Banjo,” to name but a few, we
are content to quite literally “whitewash” the lyric – remove all traces of dialect – and the
songs are culturally acceptable in spite of the insensitivity inherent in works like “Oh!
Susanna.” Other compositions, such as “Uncle Ned,” “Old Black Joe,” and “Nelly Was a
Lady,” are now considered inappropriate – despite Foster’s efforts to impart the human
face and dignity given to the slave experience in America – because they appear to
convey a benevolent side of slavery, politically incorrect in our modern society. Most
ironic of all, perhaps, is the re-appropriation of works like “My Old Kentucky Home,”
and “The Old Folks at Home,” (“Swanee River”). Both of these works were originally
intended as the laments for black slave families separated by being sold to different
plantations. These songs were admired during Foster’s time for their sensitivity to the
slave experience. Today, we have removed all reference to “darkies” from the lyrics and
claimed them as representative of a general nostalgia of times gone by. Both songs are
now state songs of Kentucky and Florida respectively, adopted during the 1920s during a
time that also saw the erection of Confederate monuments throughout the South. An
interesting question to consider is whether the many people who sing along with “My Old Kentucky Home” every year on Derby Day are fully cognizant of the work’s original meaning. Perhaps a more in depth study of Foster’s songs based in dialect will lead to a more enlightened American viewpoint. The study of Stephen Foster’s music has the power to lead to a deeper understanding of American culture.
Appendix A – Composer Biographies

Ken Berg (b. 1955), received both Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees in music education from Samford University in Birmingham, Alabama. He served twenty-eight years as an educator in the Alabama public schools before devoting himself to church music ministry. He and his wife, Susan, also serve as the Music Directors of the Birmingham Boy’s Choir. Berg is an active clinician and adjudicator as well as a widely published composer and arranger.109

David Düsing (1943-2014), was born in Pemberton, Ohio and grew up in Toledo. As a singer, he is noted for performances with Robert Shaw, Robert DeCormier, Norman Luboff and Peter Shickele, as well as Harry Bellafonte, Pearl Bailey, and Garrison Keillor, among others. He formed his own group, The Dusing Singers, and also arranged the music and conducted musical performances with the Muse Machine in Dayton, Ohio.110

Walter Ehret (1918-2009), was a graduate of the Juilliard School and Columbia University. He taught for over forty years in the public schools of New Jersey and New York. A well respected composer and arranger, he published more than 2000 choral compositions and was also known as the author of The Choral Conductor’s Handbook.111


Mark Hayes (b. 1952), is an award-winning pianist, composer, arranger, and conductor. He received a degree in piano performance from Baylor University in 1975, and has published more than 1,000 musical works. Hayes has toured extensively throughout the world and is much in demand as a clinician. His compositional works, both originals and arrangements, synthesize many different popular and classical musical styles.  

Craig Hella Johnson (b. 1962), founder and Artistic Director of the professional choral organization Conspirare, is a Minnesota native. He studied at St. Olaf College, the Juilliard School, and the University of Illinois. He earned a doctorate from Yale University. Johnson is also the Music Director of the Cincinnati Vocal Arts Ensemble, and previously served as Artistic Director of the male ensemble, Chanticleer. He has also held a number of academic posts including serving at the Director of Choral Activities at the University of Texas, Austin. Johnson remains active as a clinician, conductor, composer, and arranger.

Claude Kean, OFM (1903-1997), was a Franciscan monk born in Cumberland, Maryland. He was ordained to Holy Orders in 1927 and served several educational institutions, including St. Bonaventure College, Christ the King Seminary in Allegany, and Holy Name College in Washington, D.C. During his career he taught music, homiletics, chant, Latin, German, and English.

---

114 https://hnp.org/who-we-are/our-friars/deceased-friars/claude-kean/
Susan LaBarr (b. 1981), is a graduate of Missouri State University with a bachelor’s degree in music and a master’s degree in music theory. Additionally, she has studied privately with Alice Parker. Susan is a widely published composer and arranger, and is also much in demand as a clinician. Her husband, Cameron, is Director of Choral Activities at Missouri State University, and Susan works as an editor for Walton Music.\(^\text{115}\)

Joseph Martin (b. 1959), was born in North Carolina and earned degrees in piano performance from Furman University and the University of Texas, Austin. While at Furman, he accompanied the choirs of renowned choral educator, Milburn Price, and was inspired to begin composing. Martin is a very popular composer with more than 1200 choral compositions and arrangements currently in print. He is also active as a piano soloist throughout the world. He currently serves as Director of Sacred Publications for Shawnee Press.\(^\text{116}\)

Debra Morton has been an accompanist and vocal coach in the Texas area for over thirty-five years and currently serves as staff accompanist for the MacAllen, Texas Independent School District. She earned a degree in piano performance from Baylor University and has arranged numerous works for her choral ensembles, particularly humorous songs.\(^\text{117}\)

\(^\text{115}\) http://www.susanlabarrmusic.com/about.html Accessed December 4, 2017


\(^\text{117}\) https://www.brileemusic.com/composer/morton-debra/ Accessed December 4, 2017
Alice Parker (b. 1925), was born in Boston, Massachusetts and studied composition and conducting at Smith College and the Juilliard School. She is most well known for her association with Robert Shaw and their arrangements of American folksongs, hymns, and spirituals. She has also published many original compositions as well as books on music, conducting, and church music. She remains active as a composer/arranger and clinician.\(^{118}\)

Raymond Porter presented something of a puzzle, as no biographical information could be found about him through standard digital online searches. Thanks to the assistance of Paula Hickner, Head of the Lucille C. Little Fine Arts Library at the University of Kentucky, and her colleagues for the information that led to an apparent solution of the puzzle. According to documentation cross-referencing sources in the U.S. Copyright Register and OCLC/WorldCat lists, it is likely that Meyer Rappaport, a Russian emigré, used the pseudonym, Raymond Porter, to publish choral arrangements of popular American songs.\(^{119}\) This is another area for potential research beyond the scope of this document.

Wallingford Riegger (1885-1961), was born in Georgia, but the family soon moved to New York where Riegger studied at the Institute of Musical Arts (now the Juilliard School). He pursued graduate studies in Germany and held several important conducting positions in German opera houses. He moved back the United States when America

\(^{118}\) https://www.morningstarmusic.com/composers/p/parker Accessed December 4, 2017

entered World War I in 1917. He then became active as a composer and educator, teaching for many years at Drake University in Des Moines, Iowa. Riegger’s music is noted for its aggressive use of serialistic techniques. In later years he returned to a more neoromantic idiom.\textsuperscript{120}

Sir Hugh S. Roberton (1874-1952), was a Scottish composer and a leading British choral conductor of the first half of the twentieth century. In 1906 he founded the Glasgow Orpheus Choir, which for nearly fifty years was one of the leading choral ensembles in Britain. Known as a perfectionist, Roberton’s ensemble was known for its performances of madrigals, motets, folksongs, liturgical music, and major choral works of Bach, Brahms, Mendelssohn and Handel. Due to his pacifist beliefs, both he and the Orpheus Choir were banned from performing on the BBC during World War II.\textsuperscript{121}

Robert Shaw (1916-1999), is arguably America’s most well-known choral conductor. Ironically, he did not intend to pursue a musical career, however while studying at Pomona College in Los Angeles, he began to fill in at rehearsals of the men’s glee club. A chance meeting with legendary choral conductor Fred Waring led to Shaw accepting a job with Waring after graduation. Shaw went on to form his own pop group, the Collegiate Choral, which attracted the attention of Boston Symphony Orchestra maestro, Serge Koussevitzky, who hired Shaw to prepare his choruses. This led to an introduction

\textsuperscript{120} http://www.musicsalesclassical.com/composer/short-bio/1295 Accessed December 4, 2017

to Arturo Toscanini who engaged Shaw and the Collegiate Chorale for his recording of Beethoven’s Symphony No. 9 with the NBC Symphony Orchestra and Shaw’s reputation was made. In 1956, George Szell invited him to become chorus master for the Cleveland Symphony. Shaw accepted and also took conducting lessons from Szell. In 1966 he was invited to become music director of the Atlanta Symphony. Shaw built its quality and reputation for twenty years, particularly integrating the organization into the musical culture of the city. After retirement from the Symphony, Shaw continued to be active as a conductor and clinician, most notably at the Robert Shaw Institute and Festival sponsored by The Ohio State University in Dordogne, France.122

Max Spicker (1858-1912), born in Königsberg, East Prussia (now a part of Russia), he received his musical education at the conservatory in Leipzig. Spicker held a number of important opera posts before emigrating to America in the 1880s. He was appointed music director of Temple Emanu-El in New York in 1891. He is a noted composer of many Jewish liturgical works as well as being editor of the four-volume Anthology of Sacred Song and the five-volume Operatic Anthology for G. Schirmer.123

Leonard Van Camp (1934-2003), was born in Wichita, Kansas and taught at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville for more than thirty years. Dr. Van Camp enjoyed a worldwide reputation as a choral music educator and conductor, publishing numerous choral editions of the works of Bach, Brahms, Handel, and Haydn, as well as books on

122 https://www.allmusic.com/artist/robert-shaw-mn0001671910/biography
the preparation and performance of Handel’s *Messiah*, Brahms’ *Requiem*, and Mendelssohn’s *Elijah*. Dr. Van Camp was also a noted scholar of early American music, particularly the music of William Billings.¹²⁴

Richard Wienhorst (b. 1920), was born near Indianapolis and earned a degree in public school music from Valparaiso University in 1942. After serving in the army during World War II, he returned to teach at Valparaiso as band director. In 1948, he earned a master’s degree from the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago, studying with the renowned Leo Sowerby. In 1952, he received a grant to study with Nadia Boulanger at the École d’art Americaine in Fontainebleau. Wienhorst would earn a Ph.D from the Eastman School of Music in 1962. Wienhorst taught at Valparaiso until his retirement in 1984. He is considered a very important composer of music for the Lutheran church in America.¹²⁵


Appendix B – A Select Discography of the Songs of Stephen Foster

Title: Ashokan Farewell; Beautiful Dreamer: Songs of Stephen Foster
Artist/Artists: David Alpher, Daver Bargeron, Peter Ecklund, Matt Glaser, Thomas Hampson, Garrison Keillor, Arnie Kinsella, John Kirk, Molly Mason, Michael Parloff, Mark Rust, Evan Stover, Tony Trischka, Jay Ungar
Producer: Michael Burniker
Label: Spectrum
Catalogue number: 54621
Date: January 2016
Contents: Ashokan Farewell, Bound for Another Harvest Home, Prairie Spring, Haymaker’s Hoedown, Solstice Hymn, Thanksgiving Waltz, La Chanson de Mardi Gras, Bonaparte’s Retreat/Hoedown, Violin Solo, Jeanie With the Light Brown Hair, Hard Times Come Again No More, The Voice of Bygone Days, Foster Favourites Medley, Beautiful Dreamer, That’s What’s The Matter, Old Home Medley, Sweetly She Sleeps My Alice Fair, My Wife Is a Most Knowing Woman, Linger in Blissful Repose, Ah! May the Red Rose Live Always
Comments: This is a reworking of the disc American Dreamer featuring Thomas Hampson (EMI 1992) with added instrumentals on some traditional Civil War era songs. The Foster songs remain largely true to the originals with a few added background vocals and instrumentals. Significantly, all Foster songs that contain dialogue in the original are represented here only in instrumental arrangements.

Title: Richard Dyer-Bennett, Vol. 11: Stephen Foster Songs
Artist/Artists: Richard Dyer-Bennett, Harry A. Rubinstein
Producer: No producer listed
Label: Smithsonian Records
Catalogue number: 11000
Date: 2012
Contents: Linger in Blissful Repose, Gentle Annie, Come with Thy Sweet Voice Again, If You’ve Only Got a Moustache, Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, For Thee Love For Thee, Ah! May the Red Rose Live Always, Beautiful Dreamer, Sweetly She Sleeps My Alice Fair, There Are Plenty of Fish in the Sea, Open Thy Lattice Love, Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming
Comments: Richard Dyer-Bennet played a significant role in the folksong revival of the 1950s. This album is available through the Smithsonian Institutes Folkways label. The songs recorded here are performed faithfully according to Foster’s originals. There are no songs which include dialect.

Title: Randy VanWarmer Sings Stephen Foster
Artist/Artists: Randy VanWarmer
Producer: No producer listed
Label: CD Baby
Catalogue number: 5637603098
Date: 2012
Contents: The Camptown Races, Oh Susanna, My Old Kentucky Home Good Night, Beautiful Dreamer, Angelina Baker, Old Folks at Home, Hard Times Come Again No More, Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Old Black Joe, We Will Keep a Bright Outlook
Comment: Distinctive pop sounds and fine vocals on this album. However, the background instrumentals get monotonous with the arrangements either being in the same key or the same tempo track to track.

Title: The Complete Piano Works of Stephen Foster
Artist/Artists: Sara Davis Buechner
Producer: Chitose Okashiro, Ricard de la Rosa
Label: Pro Piano
Catalogue number: PPR224535
Date: 2011
Contents: Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Beautiful Dreamer, De Camptown Races, Louisiana Suite Op. 97, The Old Folks Quadrilles, Maria Bach Waltz, Tioga Waltz, Soirée Polka, Village Bells, Holiday Schottische, Santa Anna’s Retreat from Buena Vista
Comments: This album begins with some familiar Foster songs arranged for piano with some contemporary harmonies and rhythms mixed in. It also includes the Louisiana Suite by Walter Nieman. The Old Folks Quadrilles, along with some of Foster’s incidental compositions for piano get a sensitive treatment. The music is straightforward parlor entertainment like Foster’s songs. They are charming and entertaining.

Title: Dreamer: The Music of Stephen Foster
Artist/Artists: Cinzi Lavin, Jennifer Love
Producer: Cinzi Lavin and Jennifer Love
Label: Cinzi Lavin and Jennifer Love
Catalogue number: Digital Download
Date: 2011
Contents: My Old Kentucky Home, Beautiful Dreamer, Oh! Lemuel!, Under the Willow She’s Sleeping, Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread, Uncle Ned, Was My Brother in the Battle, Penny for Your Thoughts, Willie I Have Missed You, Ring Ring the Banjo!, Harmony Chant
Comments: Foster’s songs receive a folk music treatment with acoustic instruments and simple percussion. These arrangements demonstrate the versatility of Foster’s music to be adapted to many styles.

Title: Songs of Stephen Foster
Artist/Artists: Margie Cates, Jennifer Ivester, Darren Vincent
Producer: No producer listed
Label: Evosound
Catalogue number: EVSC143D
Date: 2011
Contents: Old Dog Tray, Old Folks at Home, Old Black Joe, Oh Susanna, Nelly Bly, My Old Kentucky Home Good Night, I Dream of Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, De Camptown Races, Beautiful Dreamer
Comments: Foster is treated to Bluegrass and Country arrangements on this album. There are many affecting performances on this album, particularly Hoot Hester’s “Hard Times.” But the real star is the versatility of Foster’s music.

Title: A Tribute to Stephen Foster
Artist/Artists: Don Carroll
Producer: Digital Download
Label: Don Carroll
Catalogue number: Digital Download
Date: 2011
Contents: Old Folks at Home, My Old Kentucky Home, Beautiful Dreamer, Gentle Annie, Jeannie with the Light Brown Hair, No One to Love, Hard Times Come Again No More, Slumber My Darling, Old Black Joe, Oh Susanna
Comments: Don Carroll has arranged Foster’s songs for tenor saxophone and electronic jazz soundtrack. It sounds like what you think it will sound like.

Title: Sons of the Pioneers Sing the Stephen Foster Songbook
Artist/Artists: Hugh Farr, Karl Farr, Spencer Foster, Bob Nolan, Roy Rogers, Tim Spencer
Producer: Carey E. Mansfield
Label: Varese Sarabande
Catalogue number: 067022
Date: June 2010
Comments: A CD re-issue of a classic recording by Roy Rogers and the Sons of the Pioneers. It features the close harmonies associated with the Sons of the Pioneers. When listening to the tracks back to back, there is a certain monotony to the arrangements – same key, same tempo, same background instrumentals. Still, the vocals, featuring Roy Rogers, are an important part of popular music from that period in America making this a valuable addition to this discography.

Title: The Songs of Stephen Foster
Artist/Artists: John Halloran, John Halloran Singers, Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, William Steinberg
Producer: No producer listed
Label: Columbia Legacy
Catalogue number: 332
Date: October 2009
Contents: My Old Kentucky Home, Nelly Bly, Beautiful Dreamer, Some Folks, Jeannie with the Light Brown Hair, Camptown Races, Little Liza Jane, Home on the Range, The
Fox, Steal Away to Jesus, Rock A My Soul, America the Beautiful, Commemoration Symphony to Stephen Foster
Comments: Reminiscent of the Robert Shaw Choral, perhaps more musically true to the originals, however some works, like “Oh Susanna” have a jazzier feel. The Foster arrangements here are all a cappella.

Title: Stephen Foster: Songs; Charles Tomlinson Griffes: The Rose of the Night; Aaron Copland: Eight Poems
Artist/Artists: David Alpher, Dave Bargeron, Peter Ecklund, Matt Glaser, Thomas Hampson, Barbara Hendricks, Arnie Kinsella, John Kirck, London Symphony Orchestra, Molly Mason, Mark Rust, Evan Stover, Michael Tilson Thomas, Tony Trischka, Jay Ungar, Deborah Voigt, Brian Ziegler
Producer: Alison Ames, Michael Berniker, Max Wilcox
Label: EMI Classics
Catalogue number: 5099923447
Date: 2008
Contents: Violin Solo, Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Hard Times Come Again No More, The Voice of Bygone Days, Foster Favorite Medley: Ring ring the Banjo/Oh! Susanna, Camptown Races, Beautiful Dreamer, That’s What’s the Matter, Old Home Medley: Old Folks at Home/My Old Kentucky Home Good Night, Sweetly She Sleeps My Alice Fair, My Wife Is a Most Knowing Woman, Linger in Blissful Repose, Ah! May the Red Rose Live Always, The Half-Ring Moon, Pierrot, Cleopatra, Evening Song, Eight Poems of Emily Dickinson
Comments: The Foster songs recorded here are a re-issue of previous tracks recorded by Thomas Hampson.

Title: The Stephen Foster Collection: Stephen Foster in Contrast
Artist/Artists: Bing Crosby, Al Jolson, Kaye Choir, The King’s Men, Frank Luther, George Stoll, John Scott Trotter, Billy Williams and Choir, Arthur Wright, Victor Young
Producer: This is a compilation of diversely recorded tracks. No single producer was listed.
Label: Jasmine Records
Catalogue number: 454
Date: August 2007
Contents: Vol 1: I Dream of Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Nell and I, Beautiful Dreamer, Sweetly She Sleeps My Alice Fair, My Old Kentucky Home, De Camptown Races, Swanee River, Old Black Joe, I Dream of Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Old Folks at Home, De Camptown Races, Oh! Suzanna, Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming, Beautiful Dreamer, My Old Kentucky Home, Old Folks at Home, Beautiful Dreamer, Old Black Joe, I Dream of Jeanie, Massa’s in the Cold Cold Ground, Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming, Oh! Suzanna, De Camptown Races, Medley: Swanee River/Old Black Joe
Vol 2: Beautiful Dreamer, Old Folks at Home, I Dream of Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Old Black Joe, My Old Kentucky Home, Massa’s in the Cold Cold Ground, Oh!
Suzanna, De Camptown Races, Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming, I Dream of Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Old Folks at Home, Old Black Joe, My Old Kentucky Home, Beautiful Dreamer, Mother Thou’rt Faithful to Me, Medley: The Glendy Burk/Under the Willow/Way Down in Cairo, Comrades Fill No Glass for Me, Open Thy Lattice Love, Sweetly She Sleeps, Ah! May the Red Rose Always, Medley: Brudder Gum/Laura Lee/Angelina Baker, Gentle Annie

Comments: As the title suggests, this album is a study in contrasts of styles between artists like Bing Crosby, Al Jolson, Frank Luther and how they have interpreted the works of Stephen Foster. Foster’s music shows adaptability to the jazz styles of the 40s and 50s

Title: Hard Times: Stephen Foster Remembered
Artist/Artists: Amy Miller, Carson Hudson Jr.
Producer: Amy Miller
Label: CD Baby
Catalogue number: 5637204351
Date: January 2007
Contents: Hard Times Come Again No More, Soiree Polka, Oh! Susanna, Don’t Bet Your Money on de Shanghai, That’s What’s the Matter, Santa Anna’s Retreat from Buena Vista, Camptown Races, Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Glendy Burk, Evening Star Waltz, Virginia Belle, Better Times Are Coming, Farewell My Lilly Dear, Gentle Annie, Was My Brother in the Battle?, Nothing but a Plain Old Soldier, Old Uncle Ned, Old Folks at Home, Some Folks
Comments: Foster’s music receives an Appalachian folk music treatment. Charming and endearing, once again demonstrating how Foster could appeal to such a wide audience.

Title: By the Old Pine Tree: Flute Music by Stephen Foster and Sidney Lanier
Artist/Artists: John Feeney, Krista Bennion Feeney, Paula Robison, Samuel Sanders, Calvin Wiersma
Producer: Adam Abeshouse
Label: Pergola Recordings
Catalogue number: 1034
Date: July 2006
Contents: Quadrille Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, Jig, Anadolia, Byerly’s Waltz, Rainbow Schottische, Jennie’s Own Schottische, Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Oh! Susanna, Blackbirds, Wald Einsamkeit I, Wald Einsamkeit II, A Melody from Lanier’s Flute, Cradle Song, Wind Song, The Old Pine Tree, Beautiful Dreamer, Maggie by My Side, Gentle Annie, Where Are the Friends of My Youth, Old Folks Quadrilles Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, My Old Kentucky Home
Comments: This album features works from Foster’s The Social Orchestra demonstrating Foster’s compositional skills beyond parlor songs. Also, lovely performances of some of Foster’s most popular songs arranged for flute and piano. Flute and piano works by Sidney Lanier fill out the album.
Title: Early American: The Melodies of Stephen Foster
Artist/Artists: Andy Bishkin, John Hollenbeck, Chris Washburne
Producer: Andy Bishkin
Label: Strudel Media
Catalogue number: 009
Date: 2006
Contents: My Old Kentucky Home, Good Night, Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Early American, Camptown Races, Journey Cake, Oh! Susanna, Fits and Starts, Hard Times Come Again No More, Nelly Bly, Thin King Thinking, Old Folks at Home, Old Black Joe, Dom Casual, There’s a Good Time Coming, Beautiful Dreamer, Kid Proof, Old Folks at Home
Comments: A very interesting instrumental compilation using an unusual combo of clarinet, trombone, tuba, and percussion in a very jazzy style.

Title: Nelson Eddy Sings The Stephen Foster Songbook
Artist/Artists: Nelson Eddy
Producer: This is a compilation of studio recordings with no producer listed
Label: Jasmine Records
Catalogue number: JASCD 421
Date: November 2005
Contents: Old Folks at Home, The Merry Merry Month of May, Beautiful Dreamer, Oh! Susanna, My Old Kentucky Home, O Lemu!, Gentle Annie, Nelly Bly, Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming, Some Folks, Open Thy Lattice Love, Oh Boy Carry Me ‘long, Sweetly She Sleeps My Alice Fair, If You’ve Only Got a Moustache, Old Dog Tray, De Camptown Races, Slumber My Darling, Jenny June, My Brudder Gum, Sweet Emerald Isle, Old Black Joe, Fary Belle, Massa’s in de Cold Cold Ground, I Will Be True to Thee, Louisiana Belle, Nellie Was a Lady, There’s No Such Gal as Mine, Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Don’t Bet Your Money on de Shanghai, Uncle Ned, Comrades Fill No Glass for Me, Dolly Day, Once I Loved Thee Mary Dear, Angelina Baker, Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread.
Comments: Mostly faithful vocal interpretations of Foster’s originals. Accompaniments have been orchestrated in 50s easy listening style with some tracks featuring background vocals. This is a substantial volume featuring 35 tracks that include not only Foster’s most well-known songs but several rarities like “Sweet Emerald Isle,” and “Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread.”

Title: Beautiful Dreamer: The Songs of Stephen Foster
Artist/Artists: Julie Adams, Peter Anderson, Will Barrow, Mark Thomas Bell, Pat Bergeson, Boo Berstein, Suzy Bogguss, BR5-49, Charlie Chadwick, Beth Nielsen Chapman, Jack Clement, Danny Coots, Greg DeLisle, The Duhks, Judith Edelman, Tania Elizabeth, Steven Epstein, Marvin Etzioni, Dave Ferguson, Stefanie Fife, Geoff Firebaugh, Steve Fishell, Alvin Youngblood Hart, Jessica Havey, Amy Helm, Don Herron, Paul Hostetter, Byron Issacs, Henry Kaiser, Alison Krauss, Greg Leisz, Tony Leone, Pais Leppikangas, Yo-Yo Ma, Raula Malo, Matt Mangano, Gawain Matthews,
Fiano McBain, Jordan McConnell, Roger McGuinn, Pat McLaughlin, Chuck Mead, Edgar Meyer, Buddy Miller, Wood Newton, Mark O’Connor, Ollabelle, John Orine, Billy Panda, Glenn Patscha, Robin Petrie, Leonard Polodak, John Prine, Kimmie Rhodes, David Roe, Matt Rollings, Robin Ruddy, Chris Scruggs, Scott Senior, Ron Sexsmith, Michelle Shocked, Mavis Staples, Yvonne Staples, Jeff Taylor, Martin Terefe, Hawk Shaw Wilson, Jimi Zhivago
Producer: Steve Fishell
Label: American Roots Publishing
Catalogue number: 5915942
Date: August 2004
Contents: Beautiful Dreamer, Slumber My Darling, Don’t Bet Money on the Shanghai, Nelly was a Lady, No One to Love, Camptown Racesm, My Old Kentucky Home, Autumn Waltz, In the Eye Abides the Heart, Old Folks at Home, Oh! Susanna, Willie We Have Missed You, Hard Times, Gentle Annie, I Dream of Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Ah! May the Red Rose Live Always, Holiday Schottisch, Comrades Fill No Glass for Me
Comments: A compilation album of a wide variety of artists from many genres interpreting the music of Stephen Foster. Highlights include Mavis Staples’ “Hard Times,” David Roe’s soulful “Old Folks at Home,” and collaboration of Alison Krauss, Yo-Yo Ma, Edgar Meyer and Mark O’Connor on “Slumber My Darling.” A very diverse collection of performances and styles featuring Foster’s music.

Title: Swanee: The Music of Stephen Foster
Artist/Artists: Marty Atkinson, Norton Buffalo, Sarah Elizabeth Campbell, Jeffery Alan Cook, Joe Craven, Marti Kendall, Steve Kritzer, Laurie Lewis, Molly Mason, Todd Phillips, John Reischman, Beverly Smith, Tony Trischka, Jay Ungar, Joe Weed
Producer: Joe Weed
Label: Highland Records
Catalogue number: weedjoe6
Date: June 2004
Comments: This album treats Foster’s music to a blend of bluegrass and country styles. The combination is quite affective. The renditions sensitively avoid dialect.

Title: Stephen Foster: A Family Album
Artist/Artists: Stephen Adamski, Sheryl Cohen, Douglas Jimerson, Osman Kivrak, Teri Lazar, Ruth Locker, Sara Stern, Jill Worley
Producer: Richard Krents
Label: Amerimusic
Catalogue number: 3000
Date: February 2002
Contents: Camptown Races, My Old Kentucky Home, Come With Thy Sweet Voice Againm, Old Folks Quadrilles, Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, The Merry Merry
Month of May, Old Folks at Home, Beautiful Dreamer, The Village Bells Polka, Old Dog Trey, Nelly Bly, Was My Brother in the Battle?, The Glendy Burke, Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming, Old Black Joe, Jeanie’s Own Schottische, Gentle Annie, Oh! Susanna
Comments: Foster’s songs sung with mostly original dialect. Some songs are arranged for banjo and guitar, but others have the original piano. An interesting mix of popular and classical styles.

Title: Stephen Foster Songs: Parlor and Minstrel Songs, Dance Tunes and Instrumental
Artist/Artists: Juliane Baird, John van Buskirk, Ridley Enslow, Linda Russell, Steve Schneider, Frederick Urrey
Producer: John Ostendorf
Label: Albany Music Distribution
Catalogue number: 119
Date: 1994
Contents: The Glendy Burk, Nelly Was a Lady, Melinda May, Soiree Polka, The Moustache Song, O Willie Is It You Dear?, Mr. and Mrs. Brown, Gem from Lucia No. 1, Wilt Thou Be Gone Love?, Old Black Joe, Maggie By My Side, Camptown Races, Hard Times Come Again No More, Gems From Lucia Nos. 2 and 3, The Shanghai Chicken, Beautiful Dreamer, Ah! May the Red Rose Live Always, Nelly Bly, Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Oh Susanna and Some Folks
Comments: A very interesting recording with some vocals using a distinctly modern pop sound and accompaniments while others use a more classical vocal style and period instruments – fortepiano and hammered dulcimer. It is a very refreshing take on Foster’s songs.

Title: Richard Crooks: 10 Stephen Foster Songs, 8 Serious Songs (and Arias)
Artist/Artists: The Balladeers, Borodin Trio, Ralph Colicchio, Richard Crooks, Frank La Forge
Producer: Donald Graham
Label: Claremont Recordings
Catalogue number: 785058
Date: 1994
Contents: Beautiful Dreamer, Old Folks at Home, My Old Kentucky Home, Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming, Oh! Susanna, Old Black Joe, Jeanie with the Light Brown Massa’s in de Cold, Cold Ground, Ah! May the Red Rose Live Always, Camptown Races, Be Thou Faithful, Sound an Alarm, Élégie, Panis Angelicus, Open the Gates of the Temple, Angels Guard Thee, Killarney, In fernem Land
Comments: It is not clear when this album was originally recorded and released, but Crooks was “The Voice of Firestone” on the radio from 1928 to 1945, so these tracks were most likely recorded during that time. The hallmark of this album is the very idiosyncratic approach to diction by Crooks. He trills his “r’s” in classic fashion side by side with a very faithful approach to Foster’s original dialect. Like the Jolson and Crosby recordings, its value is in what was acceptable and popular in its own time.
Title: Stephen Foster Songbook  
Artist/Artists: John Cali,  
Producer: Joseph Habig, Richard Mohr,  
Artists: Florence Kopleff, Clayton Krehbiel, Louise Natale, Thomas Pyle, Robert Shaw, Robert Shaw Chorale, James Wainner, Grant Williams  
Label: RCA/Victor  
Catalogue number: 61253  
Date: 1993  
Contents: Ring de Banjo, Beautiful Dreamer, Gentle Annie, Way Down in Ca-i-ro, My Old Kentucky Home Medley, Old Black Joe, Dolcy Jones, Thou Are the Queen of My Song, Old Folks at Home, Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming, Oh! Susanna, Gentle Lena Clare, Nelly Bly, Some Folks, Laura Lee, Camptown Races, Steal Away to Jesus, Nobody Knows the Trouble I’ve Seen, I Want to Die Easy, Nejsi Nejsi  
Comments: Classic choral arrangements by Robert Shaw and Alice Parker. Plenty of harmonic and rhythmic vitality, traditional without being saccharine. These arrangements show a deep respect of the musical heritage of Foster’s originals and remain largely true to original dialect. Superb choral singing.

Title: Mormon Tabernacle Choir: Songs of the Civil War and Stephen Foster Favorites  
Artist/Artists: Frank Asper, Richard Condie, Robert Cundick, Mormon Tabernacle Choir, Alexander Schreiner  
Producer: Thomas Frost, John McClure  
Label: Erato  
Catalogue number: MDK48297  
Date: 1993  
Comments: Very traditional arrangements which remain true to Foster’s original melodies and harmonies. Some organ improvisation is featured in the background or in interludes between stanzas.

Title: Songs by Stephen Foster  
Artist/Artists: Jan DeGaetani, Leslie Guinn, Gilbert Kalish  
Producer: No producer listed  
Label: Nonesuch  
Catalogue number: 71268-1  
Date: 1987  
Contents: Ah! May the Red Rose Live Always, Gentle Annie, I’m Nothing but a Plain Old Soldier, If You’d Only Got a Moustache, Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Mr. and Mrs. Brown, My Alice Fair, Slumber My Darling, Some Folks, Sweetly She Sleeps My Alice Fair, That’s What’s the Matter, There’s a Good Time Coming, Was My Brother in the Battle?, Wilt Thou Be Gone Love?
Comments: A straightforward presentation of Foster’s songs as originally conceived for voice and piano. The performers treat the music with utmost care and respect. Thoroughly refreshing and honest music making.

Title: Stephen Foster Songs
Artist/Artists: Al Jolson
Producer: No producer listed
Label: Decca
Catalogue number: DL-5308
Date: 1950
Contents: Beautiful Dreamer, Old Folks at Home, I Dream of Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair, Old Black Joe, My Old Kentucky Home, Massa’s in de Cold Cold Ground, Oh Susanna, De Camptown Races
Comments: It is hard to listen to this album and not imagine Jolson in blackface in The Jazz Singer. Still, it documents a particular time and place in American popular music.

Title: Stephen Foster Songs
Artist/Artists: Crinoline Choirs, Bing Crosby, The King’s Men, Georgie Stoll and His Orchestra, John Scott Trotter and His Orchestra, Victor Young and His Orchestra
Producer: No producer listed
Label: Decca
Catalogue number: D-5010
Date: 1949
Contents: I Dream of Jeanie, Nell and I, Beautiful Dreamer, Sweetly She Sleeps My Alice Fair, My Old Kentucky Home, De Camptown Races, Swanee River, Old Black Joe
Comments: As in the Jolson album, this recording documents a particular time and place in popular music in America. There is some lovely singing and affecting arrangements, but the style is long out of fashion.
Part II – Program Notes for DMA Recitals

1. UK Chorale Fall Concert – November 9, 2006

Domine, labia mea aperies
Salmo 150
Ave Maria
Leonardo Dreams of His Flying Machine
Ain’t Got Time to Die

Orlando Lassus (1530-1594)
Ernani Aguiar (b. 1950)
Anton Bruckner (1824-1896)
Eric Whitaker (b. 1970)
arr. by Hall Johnson (1888-1970)

As a child, because of the beauty of his voice, Lassus was kidnapped three times before being taken into the service of Ferdinand of Gonzaga, a general to Charles V. He traveled to Italy with Ferdinand in 1544 and eventually served as chapel master at St. John Lateran in Rome in 1553. Following a year in Antwerp, he joined the court of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria in 1557 and remained in his service for the rest of his life. Lassus is considered a master of the Franco-Flemish style which dominated European music during the Renaissance. Lassus was unusually adept at multiple genre and languages. His compositions include Italian madrigals, French chanson, German part-songs, and Latin motets and masses. His religious works are particularly noted for their emotional intensity. A featured compositional technique in his works is the use of text painting.126

The motet, Domine, labia mea aperies, is from a set of 32 motets published in Munich in 1585. Most of those motets are offertories, while this text is from the office of matins, the first morning office of monastic orders. This work has been arranged by Charlene Archibeque and includes a foreword with translations, pronunciation guides, and information on editorial changes – key, text, and meter. Challenges include maintaining intonation in long, polyphonic, melismas, as well as unusual Renaissance harmonies.

Ernani Aguiar, born in Rio de Janeiro in 1950, is a noted composer, conductor, and musicologist. His most well-known work is Salmo 150 (Psalm 150) which features a vital rhythmic and harmonic background ostinato based on Brazilian music with rapid vocal articulations and mixed meters common in late twentieth century music. Aguiar is professor of music at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.127 This work presents some significant rhythmic challenges of mixed meter and accents purposefully placed on unstressed syllables. There are ostinato passages for the lower voices with the upper voices in a paired duet which lead to a unified musical statement at the end of each stanza.

Anton Bruckner was an Austrian composer best known for his symphonies and religious works. Orchestrally, Bruckner was known to be a disciple of Richard Wagner and his symphonies are noted for their rich harmonic structures as well as their massive length. In sacred music, Bruckner was a member of the St. Cecilia Society whose distinguishing

---

feature was to restore an a cappella format and straightforward simplicity to religious music, harkening back to the ideals of the Council of Trent (1545). Bruckner was a devout Catholic and composed numerous psalm settings and motets in Latin. Bruckner also composed numerous secular works, most of these were for Austrian choral societies. Bruckner’s sacred vocal music is demanding in its harmonic complexity. The chromatic lines weave together in ingenious ways. The texture is one of demanding polyphony.

Eric Whitacre is a popular American composer most known for his choral compositions. He studied with John Corigliano and David Diamond at the Juilliard School. His vocal and orchestral works have been performed and recorded by major ensembles world-wide. “Leonardo Dreams” was the result of a 2001 Raymond C. Brock commission. Whitacre was determined to set a poem by Charles Silvestri. The two collaborated by exchanging drafts each of which inspired the other with either text or music. Whitacre calls the work an opera brève, but it also contains elements of Italian Renaissance madrigal technique alongside twentieth century pan-diatonicism and polyrhythms. This work presents numerous challenges for rehearsal and performance, not the least of which is intonation in a long and complex a cappella work. There are many close suspensions that demand accuracy. Significant portions of the work are aleatoric in nature with individualized rhythmic patterns in each voice that are then overlaid to create a polyrhythmic texture. Each of these lines must be learned in separate sectional rehearsals and then put together in full rehearsal. Whitacre has also employed some Renaissance articulation patterns that require advanced vocal techniques. The final pages are a beautiful vocal soundscape representative of Leonardo’s dream state.

Hall Johnson was born in Athens, GA and attended Atlanta University and Allen University. Continued studies included the University of Pennsylvania, the Juilliard School, and the University of Southern California. He began his professional career as violinist, but his interest soon turned to choral music. He formed the Hall Johnson Negro Choir in 1925. Besides arrangements of spirituals, Johnson also composed musicals, film scores, cantatas, and solo vocal works. He was also a noted author on the history and performance of spirituals. “Ain’t Got Time to Die” was published in 1956, near the end of Johnson’s compositional career. The challenge in presenting spirituals is defining what is appropriate tradition and what is appropriation. Hall Johnson belongs to a group of spiritual arrangers who employed dialect and composed their works in such a way as to make the dialect integral to its performance. There are also elements of blues vocal styles in this work, such as the bending of pitch in some entrances. Choral directors must make judicious use of these techniques to avoid parody.

129 https://ericwhitacre.com/biography Accessed December 5, 2017
130 http://www.artsongupdate.org/Articles/HallJohnson.htm Accessed December 5, 2017
2. UK Men’s Chorus Spring Concert – April 5, 2007

Zur hohen Jagd from Jagdlieder

Robert Schumann (1810-1856)

Hunter’s Chorus from Der Freischütz

Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826)

Dirait-on from Les Chanson des Roses

Morton Lauridsen (b. 1953)

Tarantella

Randall Thompson (1891-1984)

I Wished to Be Single Again

arr. by John A. Ricketts

Somebody’s Callin’ My Name

arr. by Wendell Whalum (1931-1987)

Robert Schumann was a German composer and music critic, regarded as one of the greatest Romantic composers. Schumann’s career as a pianist ended before it truly began due to a hand injury. Thereafter, Schumann devoted himself to composition. Much of his early output was for the piano, but after 1840, his compositions include solo songs, symphonies and other orchestral works, an opera, as well as choral and chamber works. Schumann was also an important music critic helping to found the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik in Leipzig. Schumann married Clara Wieck, a talented pianist and composer in her own right, in 1842 after an acrimonious battle with her father. Their relationship suffered due to Schumann’s bipolar disorder which included numerous manic and depressive episodes. After a suicide attempt in 1854, Schumann was committed to a sanitarium until his death in 1856. Robert and Clara were also important supporters of the young Johannes Brahms.¹³¹

Jagdlied (Hunting Song) is a set of five part-songs for male chorus and four horns, based on hunting themes, composed in 1854. “Zur hohen Jagd” (On to the High Chase) is the first of the set.

Carl Maria von Weber was a German composer and opera director during the transitional period between the Classical and Romantic periods. Today he is particularly known for his operas Der Freischütz, Euryanthe, and Oberon. Der Freischütz (The Free Shooter) is considered the first great German Romantic opera. Weber studied with Michael Haydn, Franz Josef’s brother, and was also cousin to Mozart’s widow, Constanze Weber. He was appointed to important opera positions in Prague and Dresden. Der Freischütz premiered in Berlin in 1821. Based on German folklore, it is the story of man who has sold his soul to the devil to procure magic bullets that will enable him to win a shooting contest. He is redeemed by the pure love of his fiancée. The opera made Weber a national hero.¹³²

Just before the climactic scene of the opera, a chorus of hunters appear extolling the joys of the hunt.

These two songs for male chorus and horn quartet provide an opportunity for an ensemble to sing with an unusual ensemble. Typically, the only time vocal ensembles sing with horns are in an orchestral context. But in these works, the distinctive properties

of the horn and its idiosyncratic intonation are brought to the fore. The ensemble must be sensitive and adaptable to a new overtone series. Both Schumann and Weber use the horns in these works in typical Romantic fashion to musically reflect the idea of the hunt.

Morton Lauridsen is an American composer perhaps best known for his collaboration as the composer-in-residence with the Los Angeles Chorale from 1974-2001. He has been a professor of music at the University of Southern California for more than forty years. Lauridsen is renowned for choral works like “O Magnum Mysterium,” Les Chanson des Roses, and Lux Aeterna. His choral works span diverse styles: representative and abstract, chant, Renaissance, Romantic, and twentieth century techniques. His works include settings of diverse languages as well, including English, French, Latin, and Spanish.133 “Dirait-on” is from the set Les Chanson des Roses (Songs of Roses) based on the poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke. “Dirait-on” presents challenges similar to other Lauridsen works such as maintaining accurate intonation over long passages of close suspension and unusual harmonic movement. French pronunciation is always an issue for non-French speakers, so careful attention must be paid to clear diction.

Randall Thompson was an important American composer and music educator. Over his academic career Thompson held positions at Wellesley College, the University of California-Berkeley, the University of Virginia, Princeton University, Harvard University, and the Curtis Institute of Music. Thompson is noted for his choral compositions like “Alleluia,” The Testament of Freedom, and Frostiana, as well as symphonies, string quartets and other chamber and piano music.134 “Tarantella” was composed for the Harvard Glee club in 1937, based on a poem by Hillaire Belloq. The song tells the story of a man betrayed by his wife, looking back and mourning his lost love. This work is in two clear sections. The first is a rollicking remembrance of a joyful time which requires some dexterous singing and good English diction to relate the story. The second part is a lamentation for what has been lost. Here the harmonies twist together musically representing the anguish of the soul of the narrator. The piano accompaniment is independent of the voices and quite challenging.

John A. Ricketts is known for his arrangement of the British folksong “I Wished to Be Single Again,” published in 1979. It is the humorous story of a man’s disastrous journey through love, marriage, death, remarriage, and regret. This is a charming addition to the male chorus repertoire featuring some call and response passages as well as homophonic passages. Care should be taken to set up the joke at the end and not telegraph the punch line.

Wendell Whalum was an American composer, arranger, and editor. Showing extraordinary musical talent at an early age, he earned degrees from Morehouse College, Columbia University, and the University of Iowa. He returned to Morehouse in 1953 to

133 http://www.mortenlauridsen.net/MortenLauridsen.html Accessed December 5, 2017
134 http://www.kennedy-center.org/Artist/A9541 Accessed December 5, 2017
begin his teaching career and spent the rest of his academic career there as a professor of music and the director of both the band and the Glee Club. He is most well-known to day for his many arrangements of spirituals that he composed for the Glee Club, and which they performed on world-wide tours as well as recorded. Dr. Whalum also held many church positions during his career.

Whalum’s arrangement of “Somebody’s Callin’ My Name” utilizes several elements to build an exciting work. The first word, “Hush,” uses the onomatopoedic device of elongating the final consonant, “sh,” to emphasize the meaning of the word. Additionally, throughout the work, dynamics are suppressed helping to build a heightened sense of anticipation. In the final stanza the chorus and soloist give full-throated expression to the joy of being called by name by the Lord. Whalum’s arrangement utilizes dialect in a way that is integral to the performance. The challenge in this work is to maintain a sense of controlled energy throughout in a suppressed dynamic that only reaches full boil in the final pages.

3. UK Chorale Spring Concert – April 12, 2007

O Vos Omnes
(1548-1611)
Tomas Luis de Victoria

Die Nachtigall
Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847)

Cantique de Jean Racine
Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924)

Horizons
Peter Louis van Dijk (b. 1953)

Ezekiel Saw de Wheel
arr. by Moses Hogan (1957-2003)

Tomas Luis de Victoria was the greatest Spanish composer of the Renaissance. His began his musical studies as a chorister in the cathedral of Avila. In 1567 he was sent to Rome for further musical studies at the Collegium Germanicum. It is possible he studied with Palestrina who was the chapel master at that time. He returned to Spain in 1569, but was summoned back to Rome to succeed Palestrina as chapel master at the Collegium in 1571. He published his first book of motets in Rome the following year, with other important volumes following in 1576 and 1581. In 1585 he published his most ambitious work, the Officium hebdomadae Sanctae, a collection of 18 responsories, 9 lamentations, two Passion chorales, a miserere, improperia, motets, hymns, and psalms for the Easter season. From 1587 he lived mostly in Spain with occasional trips to Rome until settling for good in Spain around 1595. He continued to publish religious works until 1605. He died in relative obscurity at the Real Convento de las Clarisas Descalzas in 1611.

Victoria’s music is praised as being the equal of Palestrina in beauty of melodic line and harmonic construction. Like Palestrina, Victoria mostly followed the guidelines of the Council of Trent (1545) which included limiting the complexity of melismatic line, eschewing text painting, and avoiding the extremes of range in individual voice parts.

Like Palestrina also, Victoria’s works are known for their careful, quality craftsmanship. His motets and madrigals are some of the finest Renaissance choral creations.\(^{136}\) The motet, *O Vos Omnes*, is from the Tenebrae (Good Friday) responses of the Roman Catholic liturgy. The text is based on Lamentations 1:12: O all you who walk by on the road, pay attention and see if there be any sorrow like my sorrow. Victoria presents some significant challenges for a vocal ensemble, especially with regard to intonation in long polyphonic passages with close suspensions between voices. Also, this work is built on imitation melodic ideas which enter in isolation. Care must be taken that these individual entrances are secure.

Felix Mendelssohn was an important German Romantic composer, pianist, and conductor. A musical prodigy, he began performing professionally at the age of 9 and was composing sonatas, songs, symphonies, and chamber music by the age of 11. In 1829 he led a performance of Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion* which had not been heard since the composer’s death in 1750. This performance led to a renewed interest in Bach’s works who by then had been largely forgotten. The success of this performance also enable Mendelssohn to travel to the British Isles. In the period that followed, 1830-1835, Mendelssohn published many of his most important orchestral works including *Die Hebriden Overture*, the Scottish, Italian, and Reformation Symphonies. In 1835 he was appointed conductor of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra. Mendelssohn was also very devoted to his sister, Fanny, and helped to further her career as a composer and performer by publishing some of her works under his own name. In May 1849, she suddenly collapsed and died of a massive stroke. Mendelssohn’s health declined thereafter and within six months, he too was dead.\(^{137}\)

“Die Nachtigall,” (The Nightingale) is an excellent introduction to the choral music of Mendelssohn. Besides writing large-scale works such as *Elijah*, Mendelssohn wrote many songs for mixed vocal ensembles. This a cappella work is based on a poem by Goethe. The work pairs women’s and men’s voices in duet in the first stanza, then joins them together for the second. Challenges in preparing a work such as this include securing intonation on passages that have wide leaps, as well as maintaining choral unity in passages that require tempo rubato, both common elements of Romantic choral style. Further, crisp German diction is necessary both for clarity of text as well as the vocal texture Mendelssohn sought.

Gabriel Fauré was also a child prodigy whose talent led him to studies with Camille Saint-Saëns. In 1896 he was appointed organist at La Madeleine in Paris and professor of composition at the Conservatoire. In 1905 he succeeded Dubois as the director of the Conservatoire. Among his notable students were Maurice Ravel, Georges Enesco, and Nadia Boulanger. Fauré excelled as a songwriter and is considered the father of the French mélodie. He also wrote numerous works for piano and chamber groups as well as a few orchestral works. Among his choral works is the “Cantique de Jean Racine,” perhaps second in popularity next to his *Requiem*. The text is a Latin hymn from the office of Matins translated into French by Jean Racine. It won first prize in the École


Niedermayer de Paris Composition Competition when Fauré was just 19. The principle challenge of this work is the sustaining of the vocal line through very long phrases in each voice part. There are also some distinctive harmonic challenges in the middle of the work. Accurate French diction always requires special attention.

Peter Louis van Dijk was born in the Netherlands, but his family migrated to South Africa in 1962. Encouraged in music from a young age, he studied accordion, guitar, violin, mandolin, trombone, tuba, and percussion. He attended the South African College of Music at the University of Cape Town. As a composer, his works encompass many genre – chamber music, choral, orchestral, ballet, and opera. Van Dijk received a commission from the King’s Singers to write a work for their South African tour in 1995. Van Dijk had long held an interest in the San or Bushpeople of South Africa. The San were notable for their small stature in comparison with other native tribes. In cave paintings by the San there are depictions of great sailing ships arriving in South Africa from Europe. The San welcomed the Europeans whom they believed would help shelter them from the more aggressive tribes. Instead, the Europeans almost wiped them out completely.

The work features a text by the composer himself that depicts the joys of peaceful, tribal life leading to the excitement of the arrival of the great sailing ships. The tragedy is sharp and sudden and the work fades to a conclusion that recapitulates the opening measures, now turned from expectant joy to uncertain sadness. This work has certain aleatoric challenges, such as glissando hums, that require very careful rehearsal to sound spontaneous. Careful attention must also be paid to slowly building up the volume and emotional intensity to the climax of the work. When done with attention to details such as this, this work makes a powerful impact.

Moses Hogan, born in New Orleans, was an important American composer and arranger. He graduated from the Oberlin Conservatory with continued studies at the Juilliard School and Louisiana State University. As a pianist, Hogan won the 28th Annual Kosciusko Foundation Chopin Competition. In 1980, he began to explore choral composition and arranging, forming the Moses Hogan Chorale. In 1998 he founded the Moses Hogan Singers which toured the world and recorded widely. Hogan also served as editor of the new Oxford Book of Spirituals. Hogan’s approach to arranging spirituals was a synthesis of traditional melodies with elements of jazz, such as syncopated rhythms and complex harmonies.

“Ezekiel Saw de Wheel” is for eight-part mixed chorus. It features traditional call and response sections alongside an almost improvisatory section representing the “wheel a-turning.” Maintaining solid intonation in two distinctly different stylistic sections is the principal challenge of this work. The traditional call and response sections are fairly straightforward, but the passages evocative of Ezekiel’s vision of a wheel within a wheel have multiple ostinato patterns in each voice. The texture is quite challenging to create and sustain but is very rewarding when performed well.

138 https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/61558/Moss_Complete_2017.pdf?sequence=4&isAllwed=y Accessed December 5, 2017
Giuseppe Verdi was born in Roncole, Italy, near Milan. He showed early musical talent which lead to his study with the organist in the neighboring village of Busseto. It was there that he came to the attention of a local, wealthy merchant, Antonio Barezzzi. Barezzzi subsidized Verdi’s musical education in exchange for the young composer providing music lessons for his daughter, Margherita. Though Verdi was denied entrance to the Milan Conservatory, Barezzzi’s support helped him procure private lessons with Vincenzo LaVigna. Through LaVigna’s connections, Verdi was able to secure a commission from La Scala for a comic opera *Un Giorno di Regno* (King for a Day). However, during the composition of the work, Verdi’s wife and two small children died in an epidemic of fever in 1840. Verdi asked to withdraw from the completion of the opera during his time of grief. Inexplicably, La Scala refused and demanded the opera on deadline. Verdi delivered an uninspired work whose disastrous premiere led Verdi to declare that he would never compose again. A young soprano from La Scala, Giuseppina Strepponi, was convinced of Verdi’s talent and conspired with Barezzzi to get Verdi to return to operatic composition. The result was *Nabucco* (1842) which led to world-wide success for Verdi. The opera also became his link with the Italian unification movement known as the Risorgimento. In the 1840s the Italian peninsula was occupied in the north by the Austrian empire and in the south by the Kingdom of Spain with the Papal States serving as a buffer in the central Italy. Verdi’s name became a rallying cry for the Risorgimento:

- V – Vittorio
- E – Emmanuele
- R – Re (King)
- D’ – (of)
- I – Italia (Italy)

In the aftermath of Italian unification in 1861 Verdi briefly served as a senator before returning to his compositional career. Verdi composed twenty-six operas, a large-scale Requiem, but only a handful of works in other genre. Verdi is chiefly known for the reforms he brought to Italian opera, namely transforming it from the formulaic bel canto style of Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini, to a more through-composed, drama-centered work which made possible the verismo operas of Giacomo Puccini’s generation. Central to this transformation were a trio of works, *Rigoletto* (1851), *Il Trovatore* (1853), and *La Traviata* (1853). Although not successful at its premiere, *La Traviata* would soon take its place as one of Verdi’s greatest works and a foundation for the Verismo movement.139

*La Traviata* is based on the Alexandre Dumas fils play, *La Dame aux Camellias* (The Lady of the Camellias). Traviata means a fallen woman in Italian, and the title character, Violetta, is a courtesan in Paris around 1850. There are no nobility in *Traviata*, all the characters are bourgeois, though of differing economic classes. Verdi specified that the opera should be produced in a setting contemporaneous to its composition. His characters were to be real people confronting real situations. As had been his practice in *Rigoletto* and *Trovatore*, Verdi rarely divides the dramatic action of the opera between separate musical numbers. Instead each musical section flows seamlessly into the next without

---

pause or interruption. *Traviata* has remained one of Verdi’s most enduring masterpieces for its musical and dramatic depth and unity.

From a choral standpoint, Verdi uses the chorus in a mostly traditional way. In Act I and Act II scene 2, the chorus are friends of Violetta and her inner circle – they are all of the same class. In the first act, they join in the celebratory revels of Violetta’s party. They are amused by Alfredo’s courtship of Violetta as he is much younger and from Provence – clearly not as sophisticated as the Parisians. By Act II scene 2, they have accepted him as being part of Violetta’s life. At a party given in honor of Violetta, only Violetta knows of her secret meeting with Alfredo’s father, Germont, and her agreement to break up with Alfredo because of the issues it has created in regard to Alfredo’s sister’s potential engagement in far-off Provence. Alfredo arrives at the party, and in his ignorance of the circumstances, publicly insults Violetta by tossing a wad of money at her, exclaiming that he has now paid her what he owed. The chorus responds in outrage to Alfredo’s crass act which Germont has only just arrived to witness. The scene ends with one of Verdi’s final ensemble with each principal singing of their own private torment and the chorus voicing their support of their beloved Violetta.

By the last act however, the chorus now represents Violetta’s final isolation in that we never see them onstage. Instead, after Violetta’s stark aria of resignation, “Addio del passato,” (Farewell to that time) we hear them offstage as carnival revelers celebrating just outside her window. The opera ends with Violetta’s death just as she seemed on the brink of true happiness. The choral parts here are some of Verdi’s most rewarding operatically speaking. From the “Libiamo,” of the first act to the second act’s party scene with its emotionally searing ensemble finale. Verdi lifts the chorus to be an integral character in the drama. There are numerous choral interjections in the larger crowd scenes, and care must be taken that the ensemble stays focused so they are prepared for accurate entrances. Also, there are numerous different compositional styles used for the ensembles in each scene. Careful attention to Verdi’s details of articulation is vital to successful performance.

5. UK Opera Theater Spring 2007 – *Carmen* Georges Bizet

Georges Bizet was born in Paris and studied at the Conservatoire with Charles Gounod and Fromental Halevy. Bizet showed early promise as a composer, winning the Prix de Rome at the age of 19. Upon his return to France in 1860 he produced the operas *Les Pêcheurs des perles* and *La Jolie Fille de Perth*, which showed great musical promise, but lacked dramatic depth in the librettos. His great masterwork, *Carmen* (1875), based on Prosper Merimée’s novella, was a precursor to the Italian school of verismo. The realism of the work caused a scandal at its premiere. The title character was a Gypsy or Roma woman, not exactly a heroine by European standards. Further, she lived her life by her wits and sexuality, again, not wholesome fare in nineteenth century Europe. To make matters worse, since the opera originally contained dialogue in place of the more traditional recitative, it was decided

---

that the work should be performed at the Opera Comique rather than the Palais Garnier. The Comique was traditionally for lighter fare, like operetta, as well as more family-oriented entertainment. The shocking nature of Carmen's plot was considered much too risqué for the Comique at the work’s premiere and the opening was a disaster with the opera soon being withdrawn. Bizet, believing his best work a failure, fell into depression and declining health, dying just three months after the premiere. He would never know that Carmen was soon to become one of the most popular operas in the world, gaining hundreds of performances in Paris alone by 1890, and appearing in opera houses worldwide by the end of the century. The combination of local color – Bizet’s Spanish-sounding music – along with the raw emotions of the characters and situations, have made it a perennial favorite with audiences and performers alike. It is one of operas most enduring masterworks.

From a choral standpoint, Bizet’s music and drama present numerous challenges. The choral writing is of equal difficulty to that of the vocal leads. Further, the chorus is not limited to a homogeneous group of people, but in various scenes must portray soldiers, citizens, women who work in the cigar factory, smugglers, and the diverse crowd at the bullfight. These are not static scenes, but require physical movement and participation in the drama. The chorus becomes a major character in the drama and not just background for the leading characters. Carmen is a challenging, yet finely crafted musical and dramatic work that has earned its place as one of opera’s masterpieces. Chorally, this is a very demanding opera with each act having independent choral sections. The chorus doesn’t just shore up ensemble scenes as in much previous Romantic grand opera, but is here an integral part of the drama. It is complex and difficult music to sing. Additionally, Bizet writes with a great deal of Spanish color and flair in terms of rhythms, harmonies, and melodies. It requires great attention to detail to bring about an accurate performance and a great deal of stamina and concentration on the part of the chorus.

---

Bibliography - Part I


Frost, Jessica L. “A Longing for What Once Was or Was It?: Nostalgia in the Songs of Stephen Collins Foster,” 2012.


Morneweck, Evelyn Foster., and Ind.) Foster Hall Collection (Indianapolis. *Chronicles of Stephen Foster’s Family*. [Pittsburgh] : Published for the Foster Hall Collection by the University of Pittsburgh Press, 1944.


O’Connell, JoAnne. *The Life and Songs of Stephen Foster: A Revealing Portrait of the Forgotten Man Behind ”Swanee River,” ”Beautiful Dreamer,” and ”My Old Kentucky Home”*


Zabriskie, George A. *Stephen Collins Foster: July 4, 1826-January 13, 1864: Song Writer.* Ormond Beach :“The Doldrums”, 1941.


Part II


http://www.kennedy-center.org/Artist/A9451 Accessed December 5, 2017


https://www.artsongupdate.org/Articles/HallJohnson Accessed December 5, 2017

http://www.mortenlauridsen.net/MortenLauridsen.html Accessed December 5, 2017


https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream.handle/2263/61558/Moss_Complete_2017.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y Accessed December 5, 2017


https://ericwhitacre.com/biography Accessed December 5, 2017
Vitae

Perry K. Ward

Clinton, TN

**Academic Degrees**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temple University</td>
<td>Professional Certificate in Opera Performance</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England Conservatory of Music</td>
<td>Master of Music in Vocal Performance</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis Conservatory of Music</td>
<td>Graduate Diploma in Vocal Performance</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis Conservatory of Music</td>
<td>Bachelor of Music in Vocal Performance</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Professional positions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instructor of Music</td>
<td>Carson-Newman University</td>
<td>2001-2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Professor of Music</td>
<td>Carson-Newman University</td>
<td>2006-2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct Professor of Music</td>
<td>Pellissippi State Community College</td>
<td>2009-2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Professor of Music</td>
<td>University of Tennessee at Chattanooga</td>
<td>2011-present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>