

**OUR
MARCHING
CIVILIZATION**

WARREN D. ALLEN



COLLEGE *of the* PACIFIC:
AMELIA DENNIS FUND

OUR MARCHING CIVILIZATION

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College of the Pacific
Stockton, Calif.

OUR
MARCHING
CIVILIZATION

*An Introduction
to the Study of Music
and Society*

By
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TO
MY DAUGHTER

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

THIS BOOK is a detour from a main highway now under construction. In exploring the relationships of *Music and Society*, a volume on which I am now at work, many inviting side roads have opened up. The method proposed is to investigate the histories of tone and rhythm in the uses man has made of music in social life. Every one of these uses has helped to make our civilization what it is. It would be quite possible, therefore, to open up every one of the side roads along the highway. A volume each could thus be devoted also to Our Dancing Civilization, Our Dramatic Civilization, Our Worshipping Civilization, Our Gregarious Civilization, et cetera, emphasizing the uses made of music throughout history in dance, drama, church, entertainment, and so on.

When I came to the history of the march, however, the materials available were so rich and as yet so unassembled that the temptation grew to devote a project to it. The march is not only a musical form; it is in itself suggestive of the condition we have set up for civilization. Mankind is civilized, we believe, when it shows capacity for progress, for getting out of the rut in which a vegetating culture is content, for lifting weaker members to their feet so they may go ahead with the strong to higher levels of living in thought and in action. We therefore speak automatically of the "march" of this or that whenever we mean that this or that has been improved or has itself improved the life of man.

One barometer of progress in society is the use of the musical march. The Hebrews marched out of Egyptian bondage with the martial music of trumpets; the Greeks sang and danced their way to war to the sound of the aulos; and the Romans stopped them with the first brass bands to march over Europe.

In the Middle Ages there was no progress—no marching, only winding processions and endless argument. But when nations began to march, in the seventeenth century, then progress did begin, in science, arts, and industry. Marches were the backbone of music, from Lully's operas to Beethoven's symphonies. These marches supported a new, propulsive idea, the belief that modern man had improved upon the past and that man was going on to better conditions in the future. In the history of modern nations, progress via war has been ruthless; but

it *has* been progress, of a sort. The inexorable fact of history so far is that when a nation stops marching another nation marches in.

Part One of this study is entitled, "Marching as to War," recalling a hymn which has glorified the martial spirit, as did all of our arts in the nineteenth century. In it a thumbnail history of the march is followed by a chapter on the American march down to the time when our nation stopped marching and became a Listening Civilization. As these lines are written, millions are marching again; but all men are listening, hopefully, prayerfully, fearfully, ecstatically, or lazily, to talkies, radio, phonographs, loud-speakers human and mechanical, lectures and concerts, crooners and singers, forums and panels, newscasts, sportscasts, broadcasts galore. Out of this Tower of Babel comes one theme which is being developed into what may yet become a great symphony, a theme never heard so insistently in any previous war. That theme is, "The Post-War World."

Part Two is devoted to that theme. "Marching after War" must continue, but how and where? That is the most challenging question in the world. A generation which has been reared in softness and confusing luxury is doing wonders on land and sea and in the air. As this story unfolds, please note also that something has happened to the march. Thanks to the inspiration of those two "backward" (?) nations, Russia and China, ours may yet become a Working Civilization.

The final questions raised are, "What are we working for?" and "Toward what goals is our marching now directed?" I am indebted to Louis Adamic for one answer, provided in his challenging concept of *Two-Way Passage*. Another answer has been found in Ely Culbertson's *World Federation Plan*. I trust therefore that my final chapters on musical and social organization may contribute to the movements initiated by these two bold innovators.

The principle of two-way reciprocity between different countries is bringing men together in common cause. The principle of federation, arrived at after slow and painful experiment through the ages, is the only principle which can bring about global peace and global unity. From the brassy marches of selfish national progress we may yet rise to symphonies scored for all mankind.

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January 26, 1943

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W. D. A.

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Part One

“MARCHING AS TO WAR”

Chapter I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MARCH

PRELUDE—THE MARCH IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

✎ THE TITLE of this book cannot be spoken vigorously without using the rhythm of the march itself.^{A*}

Marching is not merely ordered walking, from here to there and back again; it is a way of life—from the cradle to the grave. No form of music has been ingrained more deeply than the march in the habits of Western man since the beginning of his history.

The baby learns march rhythms before he learns to walk and before he learns to talk.^B

Children play their games to march music.^{B1}

We march to and from the altar to be married!^C

We march through our news-reels to *The March of Time!*

Tone marches on! until we ourselves are marched to the grave.^{C1}

1. THE RUDIMENTS OF MARCH MUSIC

The rudiments of marching and of march music are as old as man himself and stem from his traditional tendency to fight, to need commands in war. Three types of instruments, music, and signals are important in the history of military music—percussion, brass, and reeds.

a) *Percussive Noise for Stirring Up Excitement*[†]

Primitive man uses drums to strike terror into his enemies, to drive off evil spirits, and to signal to his fellows at a distance. “Drums are the pulse of Africa.”

When hordes of barbarians go to war, they need the excitement of noise. Modern barbarians, not content with the already excruciating

*The capital letters refer to notes in the Appendix beginning on page 87. These notes give materials for musical illustrations if and when chapter i is delivered as a lecture. Although the chapter is really self-sufficient, it is more vivid if the illustrations are heard.

† The figures also refer to notes in the Appendix, beginning on page 87, giving the numbers of recommended records and piano music which could be used for illustration.

noises of explosive warfare, put screamers on their bombs and stukas. The ancient barbarians used clangor to suggest the clash of steel; but the more civilized ancients, the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, used the musical tones of wind instruments. When the Moors entered Spain, they brought musically-tuned "kettledrums" slung over the horses' saddles.

b) *The Commanding Trumpet*

Originally, the primitive trumpet was merely a megaphone for amplifying the voice. In Africa today, signals are blown on the war trumpet in the speech-rhythms of command.²

With the ancient Hebrews the trumpet symbolized the voice of God himself. The Ten Commandments were handed down to Moses on Mount Sinai to the accompaniment of "thunders and lightnings and the trumpet exceeding loud," probably punctuating and emphasizing the commandments which begin with the clarion words, "Thou shalt not!"^D

In the tenth chapter of Numbers we are told: "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Make thee *two* trumpets of silver^{D1} for the calling of the assembly and for the journeying of the camps. . . . And if ye go to war in your land against the enemy that oppresseth you, then ye shall blow an alarm with the trumpets; and ye shall be saved from your enemies."

Ever since, the trumpet has been the symbol of the church militant, for God added, "the priests shall blow with the trumpets; and they shall be to you an ordinance for ever throughout your generations."

Occasionally Hebrew chants are sung in the form of a bugle call, when the words suggest a triumphant note, as in the song of Moses in Exodus 15:1.^{D2}

The Romans developed whole families of brass instruments for their marching legions.^{D3} Their march music must have been a great contrast to the bedlam of the barbarians continually stirring up trouble on the outposts of the Empire.

c) *Pipes and Reeds for Dance-Marches*

The Greek tradition was still different. Their war melodies, played on the aulos, a reed instrument, were probably the ancestral versions of our dance-marches for pipes and reeds. These pipe melodies are typified today in such marching songs as the Scotch bagpipe marches,

also "Yankee Doodle," "Dixie," "The Girl I Left Behind Me," and "When Johnny Comes Marching Home."^{D4}

These are the war melodies of humor-loving, dancing soldiers who have been educated to love liberty and to fight for it. They are not the melodies of militarism. The people who sing them may be slow to go to war; but they are dangerous when provoked.

2. THE MEDIEVAL PROCESSIONAL MARCH

There was no orderly marching throughout the Middle Ages; there were only processions. The early Christian Church provided sanctuary, escape from disorder, refuge from oppression, and respite from war. Within the cathedral and the cloister, on missionary journeys to the North, plain song was free and contemplative, tortuous and winding, like the impressive processions in which it was sung.³

Such music was the opposite of the military march. It condemned violent action; it lifted men's thoughts to the better life to come; it prayed for mercy; it begged forgiveness. Sung in Latin, the universal language of the Church, it was supposed to rise above the petty rivalries of section against section, country against country, nation against nation. It was the universal song of Christendom, without measure, and with no accompaniment.

But the martial spirit rose within the Church, challenged by the spreading power of the Moslems. Still there was no marching, in the modern, ordered meaning of the term. The Crusades were fought by knights on horseback, with disorderly hordes of soldiers, adventurers, ruffians, and pilgrims on foot. But when Crusaders went into action they often yelled as a battle cry the sacred words of the chant.^E Sometimes priests urged on the soldiers vociferously, shouting "Miserere nobis."

The penitential march of the pilgrims to Rome or to the Holy Sepulcher was in all probability much more irregular than Wagner would have us believe (in his "Pilgrims' Chorus").⁴ In the opera, *Tannhäuser*, the pilgrims march to this solemn hymn in triple measure, with no attempt to imitate the music of old. There is an old tune, however, which dates from 1349, the year of the Black Death. Sung by the Flagellants all through Germany, it was an expression of tortured fanatics—crazed with pain and hardship—not yet expressive of orderly marching. There are some German authorities who erroneously look upon

this as the very first march;^F this was far from being the first march tune, however.

The Italian *laudesi*, or praise-givers, had been singing their lovely *laudi* as processional hymns for some time. These followers of Saint Francis of Assisi were lovers of nature, and their happy processional hymns contrast sharply with the more austere chorale marches of the Germans. The *laudi* in dialogue also formed one basis for early Italian opera and oratorio.^{F1}

Going back eleven centuries, we find that the recently discovered Oxyrhyncos hymn, the oldest now available, is also in march measure. It may have been sung with bodily movement and hand-clapping, to the dismay of the strict Church Fathers.^{F2}

3. THE DANCE-MARCH OF THE RENAISSANCE

In the thirteenth century dancing began to come back into favor. As early as 1240 one of the earliest polyphonic compositions to be written down was "*Sumer is icumen in*," a lilting dance measure.⁵ But, with its accent on one, it is also the kind of music to which one could march with a springy step. It is also the rhythm of the Christmas carols of the late Middle Ages.

When the first treatise on dancing came out, in 1588, the author, a priest named Jehan Tabourot (Arbeau), began his *Orchésographie* with instruction in march steps. The solemn Processional Dance of the Renaissance was the Pavane, or Peacock Dance.⁶ Music was getting more regular—with the regularity of country music, the regularity of spontaneous agreement, but with no hint of military regulation. Such music was basic in the great festivals and *trionfi* of Italy.

For over three centuries, however, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth, art music was predominantly influenced by singing melodies. Dance music was played by ear; few musicians bothered to write it down. Military marches were played by ear also, by trumpeters jealous of their craft. Soldiers' songs were passed along orally (as many are today), used for a time, then forgotten.

4. THE LUTHERAN MARCH

The real beginning of the modern march dates from the Lutheran Reformation. It took great determination to break with Rome and found a new church. Men were very much in earnest. Music had pre-

viously been free and soaring;^c but now preachers pounded the pulpits and the German people sang like trumpets and trombones.^{c1}

Theirs was the music of firm decisions. Musical endings were stronger than ever before; and the major scale, for the first time, received official approval.

Luther's hymn was indeed the "battle hymn of the Reformation"; but during the Thirty Years' War it became a battle hymn for all Germans, Catholics as well as Protestants.

5. THE BRUTAL AND THE SENTIMENTAL MARCH—THIRTY YEARS' WAR

This thumping rhythm is one type of revolutionary utterance; but long before the Thirty Years' War it was used also to put down rebellion. A soldier song revived by the Nazis in their fights with Communists offers a good example. It is one of the most brutal songs on record. Originally it was a "get-out-of-the-way" song during the Peasant Revolt, with the words, "Hüt' dich, Baur, ich kumm" ("Look out, hicks, I'm coming").^h

From 1618 to 1648 Germany was a bloody battleground and was pillaged and ravaged as ruthlessly as other countries have been pillaged and ravaged by Germany today. It is not surprising, therefore, that the German march can be brutal, as demonstrated above. It can also go to the other extreme and be very sentimental. One popular marching song during the Thirty Years' War looked forward to summertime after the horrors of winter.¹ However, during that dreadful war even the lullabies sung by mothers were often funeral marches full of foreboding.¹

These three songs are found in a songbook for the Hitler youth, showing that the lingering fires of hatred from the Thirty Years' War were fanned into marching flames by the Nazis after 1933. The songs of the seventeenth century often expressed fatigue and defeat; but the Nazis did not include these in their songbooks.¹¹ They left such whining songs to the democracies.

In England and in France the history of the march is quite different, except for one parallel. The determined, thumping march of Lutheran soldiers had its counterpart in the psalm tunes sung by Cromwell's Puritans. Orders on their firing line were given by pious captains who talked like ancient Hebrews. Commands to shoot came as if from Jehovah, in sturdy march time.^k

6. THE RESTORATION MARCH

When Charles II was restored to the throne, he brought back the latest styles from Paris. As we shall see, marching and march music were all the rage under Louis XIV. English cathedrals, therefore, rang with joyous march music in the French style.⁷

The jaunty Cavaliers, together with the Irish and Scotch, with their jig-marches, made the march a much more buoyant, cheerful affair than it has ever been in Germany. Perhaps the most famous jig-march in English history was "Lilliburlero." With its satirical nonsense, it protested an unpopular appointment in Ireland and did much to drive James II from the throne in 1688. Forty years later this same march was used in *The Beggars' Opera*.¹

In the meantime, the march was making its glittering début at the court of the Grand Monarch, Louis XIV.⁸

The march of military power and gorgeous pageantry was the guiding concept of city planning. Straight, wide avenues replaced the tortuous, narrow streets of the Middle Ages; motion became the most fascinating of phenomena, as Lewis Mumford points out in *The Culture of Cities*.

7. THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

Lully's music for Louis XIV was not merely that appropriate for the pompous entrance of the Sun-King; it had even deeper significance. It was the music which heralded the emergence of a new idea, an idea which kindled men's minds, an idea which gave new hope for the future—the idea of progress.

Until the seventeenth century, marching had never been anything but a disagreeable task, something which had to be done, like any other job. Now it came to be a basic concept for a new interpretation of history, a belief that mankind has been slowly but surely forging ahead and will continue to march toward better things.

Newton's first law of motion in a straight line was gradually and instinctively applied to a concept of human affairs, until Hegel, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, found it possible to claim that the human spirit had marched in straight lines from its childhood in China, India, and Persia to its adolescence in Greece, its youth in Rome, and its maturity in Prussia.

8. THE IDEALISTIC MARCH

The Continental concept of the march has always been literal and land-bound; but with the Anglo-Saxon and the closely-related Dutch Pilgrims progress was something to be attained beyond the seas. This idealistic concept, projecting the march into the realm of the spirit, was transfigured in tone by George Frederick Handel, in *The Messiah*.⁹

Handel's "Hallelujah" was a great coronation march in style, beloved by the British ever since as a vocal expression of pride in their great empire on which the sun never sets. This idealistic concept of progress overseas has made the Anglo-Saxon use the analogy, "Sail on, sail on, O Ship of State."

These manifestations of motion in baroque music were offset by the continuity of medieval mysticism in that great era.¹⁰ The ecstatic music of Palestrina and Victoria, and the multiple choirs of Venetian music were among the sensuous arts employed by Mother Church to counteract the militant triumphs of progressive Protestantism. This music sings that progress is not important; that only the timeless universals guarded by the Church are worth while. Southern Europeans and South Americans were conquered, therefore, not by march music, but by exquisite Italian melody and by warm, sensuous harmony.

The pietistic Lutheran tradition also fostered the mystic serenity of medieval Christianity, as in the devotional chorales exquisitely harmonized by Johann Sebastian Bach. In these gems the determined accents of the militant chorale disappear in reverent ecstasy.

Bach could write marches, but he did so very rarely, usually in a small frame, for beginners.¹¹ On the contrary, Handel's music always suggests the march even when he writes dance music. Bach's music suggests the dance, even when he writes march music.

Mozart was like Bach in this respect; Mozart's singing style makes the march playful, as with the "Glockenspiel" in *The Magic Flute*.¹² Or satirical, as in Figaro's mock military march from *The Marriage of Figaro* and the farewell of the pseudo-soldiers in *Così fan tutte*,¹³ or solemn, as in the "March of the Priests" from *The Magic Flute*.¹⁴

9. THE SYMPHONIC MARCH

With the development of the classical symphony, the march came to be the framework and inspiration for the working out of musical ideas.

The word *andante*, Italian for walking, came to be the central word for indicating normally moderate tempo in music—about 70 steps per minute—which was the usual speed for parade marching in most eighteenth-century armies. While walking or marching, one can spin out tunes at will, unhampered by the dance forms which have to be confined, as it were, within four walls. Composers of classical symphonies, notably Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, now began to make their musical ideas develop “on the march”—up and down over the hills and dales of musical thought, carrying the listeners to the loftiest heights of imagination.

Joseph Haydn was the lineal descendant of Handel in carrying out the march idea. Haydn was one of the first to federate the marching band with the indoor string orchestra in *symphonies* which are still played today. In his *Military Symphony* he employed “Turkish music,” originally the barbaric noise of bass drum, cymbals, and triangle.¹⁵ This was a great fad in the eighteenth century. The barbaric music of the Turkish Janissaries had spurred the soldiers to great fury. The Great Powers adopted and imitated it, therefore, in a very refined form. Thus the military march, in the eighteenth century, entered the salon and did much to disinfect warfare—to make the life of the soldier seem charming and attractive.

10. THE REVOLUTIONARY MARCH

Then came the great revolutions which tore the mask of prettiness from the face of war and made the march once more the compelling voice of the people.

First came our own Revolution.^M

“The Spirit of ’76” pictures the playing of a typical eighteenth-century quickstep—probably “Yankee Doodle.”

Its opposite was William Billings’ psalm-tune march “Chester.”^N

This sturdy tune recalls the revolutionary zeal of the Lutherans in the Reformation and the piously pounding rhythms of Cromwell’s Puritan soldiers.

The French Revolution brought forth the most stirring of all march songs, “La Marseillaise.” Now this tune employs two tricks of rhythm and melody which were new in the eighteenth century: First, the challenging use of the most important interval in the bugle call—the “Glorious Fourth.”^O

By itself, however, that is not enough. It is not likely that French-

men would have been stirred with the rhythms of thumping chorales and psalm tunes.⁰¹ No, that would never have started a French Revolution!

The other novelty resulted from the fact that men were shouting strong words those days in a new rhythm:⁰²

Lib-er-ty! E-qual-i-ty! Fra-ter-ni-ty!

This rhythm had already been made familiar in the operas, oratorios, and symphonies of the great musicians, especially Handel, Haydn, and Mozart. Hence the dotted rhythm on the words "Allons," "enfants," and "patrie." The song *had to be* as we sing it today.⁰³

11. BEETHOVEN, GREATEST OF ALL MARCH COMPOSERS

The chief musical spokesman for this heroic period was Beethoven. His career began in the Revolutionary era, continued through the heroic phase of Napoleon's conquests, through the Emperor's degradation and fall, and into the Romantic period. Beethoven's march music reflects all these moods of the age.

He expressed the faith of the Enlightenment, believing with Handel and Haydn that⁰⁴ "The Heavens Are Telling the Lord's Wondrous Glory." There were moments of doubt, as in the first measures from the Allegretto of his *Seventh Symphony*,¹⁶ then in the passage just before the "Finale" from the *Fifth Symphony*.¹⁷ But Beethoven always concluded with a firm belief in the ultimate triumph of right and justice.

Beethoven's eloquent *funeral marches*¹⁸ were heroic expressions of grief, but the apotheosis of optimism is found in the "Ode to Joy" in the *Ninth Symphony*, the setting of Schiller's immortal lines of faith and hope.^P

12. THE ROMANTIC MARCH

While Europeans were *singing* about all mankind becoming brothers, Englishmen and Americans were putting it into effect. While Europeans were watching their fortified boundary lines, Britain, the United States, and Canada were beginning the negotiations which eventually resulted in that miracle of social art, a peaceful boundary line with no fortifications whatever.*

After the fall of Napoleon, the rulers of Europe lived in continual fear¹⁹—fear of another revolution.

Many lived in fear—fear of storms, fear of eternal damnation, fear

* Reference is made here to the Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817 and subsequent compromises which established permanently peaceful relations between the English-speaking nations.

of invasion, fear of each other. Nevertheless²⁰ romantic poetry dwelt on the beauties of nature as never before; well-fed bourgeoisie were very comfortable; and each country felt safe within its well-defended boundaries—with armies²¹ ready to march at a moment's notice.

Music was called upon to portray these tremendous extremes in feeling, and the march became the favorite vehicle of expression. For the first time history was unfolded on the stage; grand opera depicted the march of progress, the march of civilization. The fearful episodes of history were dramatized in the wild rides of romantic music, and the heroic episodes in pageantry.²²

The early operas of Richard Wagner were in march measure from beginning to end—always in the meticulously regular 8- and 16-measure form, but swelling with pride and consciousness of national power.²³

The music of German romantic and Parisian grand opera was eminently suitable for the wind instruments. Frequently the latter overshadow the strings in nineteenth-century music. The military band was much more important than the orchestra in popular favor. Great improvements were made in all wind instruments. The band, with its flair for snap, precision, and speed, and its great dynamic range, from *ppp* to *fff*, made it the ideal medium for popular and serious music in all of the Great Powers. Power and speed were to be reckoned with in art and politics as well as in industry.

Nineteenth-century armies could move faster than any other armies in history. Napoleon had stepped up the tempo of marching from 70 to 120 steps per minute, and the tempo has been increasing ever since—in music and in warfare.*

Musicians and politicians in Europe were therefore faced with the same problem during the Romantic period: How were they to control the increasing *tempo* of progress, together with the increasing *volume* of production?

The answer was the rise of the conductor in music, along with the revival of absolutist rule. Richard Wagner symbolized the conductor in music; Metternich, Napoleon III, Bismarck, and the Czar of Russia were among the conductors of European nations. Each nation was ready to march against the others with speed and deadly precision. Each could call upon powerful forces to back up conversations *pianissimo* and ultimatums *fortissimo*.

* See the article, "Strategy," by Captain Liddell Hart, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th edition, XXI, 457.

It was inevitable, therefore, that orchestras should try to be more heroic, with more and more additions from the military band. It was also the tendency to glorify heroic men and heroic themes.

13. RISE AND FALL OF THE HEROIC IDEAL

a) *In Serious Music*

Five selections will highlight the history of heroic music from 1806 to 1917—from Napoleon to Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Beethoven's *Eroica Symphony* (1806) starts very modestly.²⁴ But by 1870 Siegfried's "Journey Down the Rhine," in *Götterdämmerung*,²⁵ was much louder—consequently much better (according to the standards of the Gilded Age).

But a still bigger and "better" orchestra was required in 1902 for the tone poem by Richard Strauss entitled *A Hero's Life*.²⁶

In 1913 Igor Stravinsky turned his back on the military heroics of the nineteenth century and celebrated the fecundity of nature in his *Rite of Spring*,²⁷ but with the hugest orchestra of all.

Then came war, and in 1917 Stravinsky, with only seven instruments, wrote his bitter commentary, *The Story of a Soldier*,²⁸ in which the "Grand Chorale of Thanksgiving" is a distorted satire on the determined rhythm and forceful harmony of "*Ein feste Burg*." The "triumphal march" is not for a conquering hero but for the Devil!

In these quotations we glimpse the tremendous inflation of the conquering idea of progress throughout the nineteenth century, followed by the sudden deflation of this heroic belief after 1914.

b) *In Popular Music*

This same phenomenon is apparent in the history of march music and the idea of marching onward over here in the United States. This country, newly organized, with its face turned westward toward the great open spaces, was an ideal place for marching forward in thought, in song, and in action. While heroic progress was glorified in the abstract in Europe—in philosophy, sociology, political science, poetry, painting, and drama and in art music—in America it came to be glorified in fact, in material achievement, in expansion, in popular action, and in popular music.

Popular dance music, in Europe, came to be more and more like march music. The national dance of Poland was the martial Polonaise,

immortalized in the music of Chopin, especially the "Military Polonaise."²⁹

The Bohemian polka could be a stirring national march, as in Smetana's opera, *The Bartered Bride*.³⁰

And Offenbach's naughty can-can was nothing more than the old military quickstep, as in his finale to *Orpheus in Hades*.³¹

Even the waltz, that exquisitely lilting measure, became a sort of seductive march, as in the music of Johann Strauss,³² with its sweeping down-beat on one measure and its exhilarating up-beat on the next.

In America the opposite was the case. As our pioneer ancestors marched through the wilderness, suffering all sorts of hardships to build a new civilization, to mine the gold, and to make the desert fertile, they sang march music in dance style. They were fundamentalists in religion, but even their gospel hymns danced.⁹ They sang with bravado, with assurance and confidence. They knew they were good; they admitted it. Our cocky roughneck ancestors, in the War of 1812, sang like the braggarts they were.³³ They marched across the plains to a schottische^R ("Oh, Susanna," by Stephen Foster).

When people could not get to theaters, the *world's greatest shows* came to them, to the delight of all the "ladeez and gentlemen."³⁵

When the "daring young man of the flying trapeze" went to call on his girl, he didn't sing "Why must I be tormented?" or "Somebody else is taking my place." No, indeed! He tilted his hat at a saucy angle and went down the street with an air.³⁴

After helping end the first round in this World War, Americans had resilience enough even during a depression to sing: "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?"^T

We have a vast heritage of stirring melody, buoyant dance music, marching gospel hymns, circus tunes, psalm tunes, two-steps, parade marches, ragtime and cake-walks, jigs, reels, chanteys, hill-billy and cowboy songs, and "hot" jazz, all of it march music in a sense—the music of a varied but united people proud of its achievements and confident for the future. As a people sings, so is it.

How did it come about, therefore, that until the greatest crisis in our history came upon us at Pearl Harbor we were all but forgetting our great heritage? Instead of confidence, we heard on all sides blue defeatism and the whining cry that we should ignore this world revolution and "stay out of the war!" Our trumpets were no longer instruments of command, calling us to denounce an evil infection which had

spread over the world. Our trumpets were muted, good only for sweet, shimmering escapism or blatant wisecracks. In fact, the popular hit before Pearl Harbor was, "I Don't Want to Set the World on Fire"!³⁵

This descent from cockiness to lethargy marks an all-time low in the history of the march. Stravinsky's bitter satire on the march reflected the disillusionment of war-torn Europe, an artistic deflation of an inflated belief.

Perhaps the enemy heard that song and decided that Americans were as soft as their music. He learned better; but wherever that kind of music continues to be popular, no country can give of her best. The French were singing weepy songs like that when the "wave of the future" engulfed them, in 1940.

14. ALLIED PACIFISM AND "AXIS" MILITARISM

The trend away from the selfish march in Western civilization started just after 1900. The British and Americans had just polished off two wars of which they have been a bit ashamed ever since. In 1896 we covered ourselves with glory by shouting a two-step slogan:^U "Remember the Maine; to hell with Spain." We sank two rusty Spanish fleets without difficulty and suddenly found ourselves a "Great Power." But we showed true greatness in time by setting a new example in colonial government, so successfully that the Filipinos had their independence assured and now look to us for deliverance and reunion. There is no better band for a Sousa march than the heroic Philippine Constabulary Band.³⁶

Similarly, Great Britain came out of the Boer War with a chastened willingness to receive colonials as equals, gradually evolving and substituting the concept of "commonwealth" for that of "empire," even imparting the *idea* of freedom to Moslems and Hindus that had never known anything but slavery for centuries. The old march-song, "Rule Britannia," has been displaced by Elgar's song of faith and hope which sings of the glory of freedom, a song which is not merely British; with an *s* added to the first word, it could be a song for *all* free nations:

"Lands of hope and glory."^V

To make a long story short, the English-speaking nations developed an altruistic outlook which was new in history. It was the mainstay of the International Peace Movement centered in Holland. There was great

sympathy for the Russian revolutionaries who were working underground against terroristic Czarism. This feeling is symbolized at the beginning of Tchaikovsky's *Marche slave*.³⁷ Consequently, when the Japanese stabbed the Russians in the back at Port Arthur, in 1905, the liberal-democratic world merely smiled and said the Czar and his secret police had it coming to them. Nobody noticed that the wily Japanese were inaugurating a new type of unscrupulous warfare now known as the *Blitz*, which was to knock all the romantic drivel about "civilized warfare" into a cocked hat.

In the history of the march, this is what had happened: The Japanese first came into contact with *our marching civilization* after 1865, when march music and the belief in progress were at their zenith. The first musical organization along Western lines to be established in Japan was a military band on the British model. Since that time, our march music and our other arts connected with war have been copied and developed assiduously by these indefatigable borrowers.

Japanese classical arts, during centuries of isolation, had undergone exquisite refinements; and while they were borrowing the march, our artists, especially the impressionists, were getting inspiration from theirs. Meanwhile, the Japanese began using Western music in a big way, while still cultivating their exquisite native arts of poetry and painting. A revealing instance in which poetic idealism and blatant militarism are blended together dates from 1937. At the great national contest for poets that year, the winning poem was, as usual, delicately suggestive of the beauty of the Japanese landscape. The music to which it was set, however, was a blaring, vulgar, march tune.

In recent years Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, with its declaration that "all mankind shall be brothers," has been a great favorite in Japan. It seems strange to us that the Japanese can see no contradiction between their high ideals and their bestial actions in China. This is understandable, however, when we realize that the Japanese came into contact with our marching civilization at the high tide of German romanticism, when illusion came to be an artistic objective. The Western world was then fostering a terrible illusion now known as the Napoleonic legend, so strong that a very popular song by Robert Schumann, "The Two Grenadiers,"³⁸ sets words by Heinrich Heine to "*La Marseillaise*," glorifying the conqueror who had ravaged Germany, and weeping over his capture! This is as if a French poet and composer should glorify Hitler, say, in 1970!

The romanticizing of militarism went very far indeed. People actually believed that armies ready to march against each other could bring about universal peace. Military march music, no longer functional in battle, had become an integral part of concert music, opera, church music, song, and *all* forms of peaceful art. Thus was fostered the Great Illusion; and music played its part. In 1867, year of the Meiji Restoration in Japan, a great military-band contest was held in Paris. Crack military bands from all the Great Powers took part. A Prussian band won; and, strange to say, the whole affair was a romantic feast of brotherly love. Maudlin verses appeared in the Paris journals, calling the Prussian army band "messengers of peace" and hailing Frederick the Great and Napoleon as "brothers in arms"—all just three years before the Franco-Prussian War!

Here in America, friendliness for victorious Germany far outweighed sympathy for France after the latter's defeat. The tendency was to applaud Bismarck for his new United States of Germany. Very few saw the rise of Prussia as an ill omen for the future. In fact, America's virtuoso pulpit orator, Henry Ward Beecher, in an editorial in his *Christian Union*, rhapsodized over the Prussian Victory in 1871, as follows:

The Lord has intrusted the leadership of Europe to a people [the Prussians!] whose race-mission it has always been to develop freedom, intelligence, and pure spiritual religion.*

Thus we were led to believe that newly-opened-up Japan, efficient Germany, and unified Italy would be interested, like this country, in world peace. In the meantime, Germany and Japan continued to make the march a means of enforcing national unity while forging their marching armies into brutal, aggressive weapons for world conquest.

The Japanese picked the winning side in 1914 but did no marching. They resumed their marching, however, in 1931-32, got a green light from a sedentary League of Nations, and have been marching ever since. Their progress in a career of unchecked crime gave encouragement to the marching minorities in Italy and Germany. The grand march into Ethiopia and the timid march on the Rhineland were the first toddling steps of the international gangsters. They have been making war ever since on the countries unwilling to march.

* Quoted in Paxton Hibben, *Henry Ward Beecher* (New York, 1927; second edition, Readers Club, New York, 1942), p. 204.

15. THE MARCH AS A MODERN WEAPON

a) *In Germany*

Germans can be made to march brutally with sentimental enthusiasm, even though unconvinced by any rational means. The history of the Horst Wessel Song will show how this is done—reviving the march idioms of the Thirty Years' War.

Many a German folksong begins, with a sort of nostalgic feeling, on the second pulse of the measure.^w The words might be:^{w1} "*Ich liebe dich*" or "*Es war einmal.*"

On June 21, 1919, the German sailors who scuttled the fleet at Scapa Flow sang a sweet old folksong with words of farewell to their ships:^{w2}

The duffle bags are packed, alas, the last time,
The hammock's folded up to hang no more.
Let's give three cheers for all of our brave comrades,
Full steam ahead to our dear Fatherland.

In 1930 a Nazi trooper named Horst Wessel was killed in a street fight and became a sort of saint, it is said, because of his refusal to have a Jewish physician. These are supposed to be his words for the same tune. Note the way in which a romantic funeral song has been turned into a very aggressive revolutionary march:^x

Come, clear the streets; the Brown Shirt men are coming!
Keep clear the streets, for marching S. A. men;
For there are millions who look for the swastika:
The day of freedom dawns for starving men.

b) *In Other Countries*

All this shows the process by which nationalistic songs are often made. We have seen how each note of old melodies came to be thumped out in the Reformation, in chorales and in psalm tunes. Our own national anthem was originally a rollicking drinking song; the tune for "God Bless the King" and "America" may have been an old dance piece originally, a quick galliard.³⁹

The main characteristic of revolutionary song, however, is the thumping rhythm of increasing numbers of feet on the march.^y That was the sound which terrified the aristocrats of France when the crowd marched on the Bastille.⁴⁰ That was the sound which terrified the Czarist régime in 1917. The "*Internationale*," the great song of that year, is not Russian in origin; it was written by French Communists and is somewhat

imitative of "*La Marseillaise*."⁴¹ Hanns Eisler, the German anti-Nazi composer, caught the revolutionary idiom in his stirring song, "Forward! We've Not Forgotten!"

The finest of all modern songs of freedom, originating in a concentration camp and carried to Spain by anti-Nazi supporters of the Loyalists, is "*Wir sind die Moor-Soldaten*."⁴²

c) *Communist Songs in America*

The attempts of American Communists to start a revolution in this country were futile, feeble, and entirely lacking in one great necessity for American song—the sense of humor. They even tried to teach little boys and girls to be good Communists by making a proletarian funeral march out of "Yankee Doodle"⁴³ with these words:

Yankee Doodle's in the shop; he holds to it like blazes;
He lets his little wages drop, he gets his pay in praises.
Yankee Doodle has a boss, high-hat Uncle Sammy;
Uncle's profit is his loss,
Cock a doodle, dammy.*

All this is subversive activity with a capital *S* and a capital *A*, but it is largely ineffective because of its stupidity.

It is affirmed, by many who seem to know, that Russians have no respect for American Communists; that they have much more for a wealthy man with human understanding, like our former Ambassador, Joseph Davies. Be that as it may, the songs which have welded the Soviet Union together have little in common with such Communistic propagandist songs. The songs which have made Russia so formidable today are of the soil—not songs about a mystic entity known as the Nation or the State.

d) *Songs of the Soviet Union and New China*

At first, the Bolsheviks tried to avoid the musical idioms of the *bourgeoisie*. They wrote dissonant, grinding music which was as far as possible from the old clichés overworked in romantic music. They even wrote march music for and inspired by the machine.⁴³

They soon realized that in order to have machines, men have to make them. The "Five-Year Plan" was therefore fundamentally a

* *Pioneer Song Book*, New Pioneer Publishing Company (New York, 1935), p. 16. From the medley, "Mother Goose on the Bread-Line."

scheme for putting every able-bodied man, woman, and child in the Soviet Union on a productive basis. Never in history were the work habits of so many millions of people changed in so short a time.

It may be interesting to note, therefore, that a new emphasis has entered into march music in Russia, and that is the idiom of the *work* song. This is appropriate, because the Soviet Union is the first country in history to adopt working tools for its national insignia.

16. A NEW TYPE OF MARCH MUSIC—THE WORK SONG

This work-song idiom is the opposite of the old martial melody. It does not use the overworked "Glorious Fourth" of the bugle melody, calling men in an ascending figure to "A-Rise, Stand Up, Fight On, Forward, *March!*"

No—the work-song idiom *begins* on a high note and works downward, thus making it easier for singing workers to work together in *pulling, pushing, hauling, pounding, digging, lifting*, and in general in *building* things rather than *destroying* them.

This work-song idiom appears in barge songs, lumber songs, sea chanteys, and work songs the world over. A favorite song of the Red Army, "Song of the Plains,"⁴⁴ shows the use of this idiom.

Listen also to the Chinese singing of work. They know more about it than any other people. Note also the significance of one of their song-titles: "Work as One."⁴⁵

This is the music of men, women, and children who carried 130,000 tons of heavy machinery into the interior of China—on *their bare backs*.

"Work as One" is not a bad motto for an all-out effort. The glorification of work is something new in history. When the Commandments were handed down on Mount Sinai there was no commandment saying, "*Thou shalt work!*" The only reference to work in the Commandments is to the day on which man shall *not work*. Most of mankind has usually tried to get along with as little work as possible. The only occasions on which masses of men have really worked hard have been under the compulsion of slavery and exploitation, or under necessity—in war—when everybody gets to work and destroys much of the work that had been done before.

The twentieth century has enabled many of us to have more with less work than any other people in history. That is what is called a "high standard of living." Much of our ingenuity has gone into "labor-saving devices." This increase in comfort involving the minimum of effort is

reflected in some of the songs we sing—songs with lush orchestration, songs of day-dreaming, songs of self-pity. Take for example another pre-Pearl Harbor gem of un-American defeatism entitled, "Someone's Rocking My Dream-boat."⁴⁶ Even in wartime that song was a favorite on crooners' programs sponsored by sellers of luxury goods. It sang of the poor dears who had had their dreams of ease and comfort shattered by "a mutiny at sea." Here we had been "sailing along, peaceful and strong," and it made a beautiful rhyme to weep that all of a sudden "something went wrong!" The singer, with a sexless voice which was something between tenor and contralto, moaned languidly, "Who can it be?" The announcer then soothed milady by suggesting that Peaches, Bootsie-Wootsies, or a fur coat on easy instalments would be good for one's "morale." A far cry, indeed, from the virility of the pioneer work songs with which our ancestors marched Westward:

I've been work-ing on the rail-road (levee)
All the live-long day

We have many and shall have more such songs, spicy and racy with American humor, sentimental without sentimentality, and idealistic without sanctimoniousness. Frank Loesser's "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" combines the old Calvinistic tradition with the rhythms and mood of American work songs. "Alexander's Ragtime Band" was a better war song than "God Bless America," by the same composer. When crooners sang the latter, many of us felt like praying "God *help* America." It could be made into a marching work song, with words of vigor, humor, and confidence, to the effect that "God *has* blessed America! What are we going to do about it?"

Our United States of America were united, not by accident, but by hard work, sacrifice, and compromise. Eighty years ago, when some states got to acting like European nations with sovereign powers, and Americans were marching against each other, it took a rail-splitter brought up on hard work to hold the Union together. We have found that it pays to stick together; and our example is being followed in other countries that have adopted the principle of "united states"—the seven united republics of the Soviet Union, the United States of a new China, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the United Dominions of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, and some of the twenty-six republics of Central and South America. The "Axis" concept of unity by exclusion can mean nothing but the tragic bonds of conquest and slavery for everyone, even the "conquerors."

The only truly "New Order" can come from permanently united nations; those who coined the term were really calling for a New *Disorder* which was to undo all the united efforts of the past. Their promising bugle calls and deceitful fanfares, their brutal stamping, thumping evolutions, their Stuka-like noises of barbaric fury have to be put down with the comparatively quiet determination of free, united people. For the duration *and long afterward*, it means *work*; but if we emphasize the *sweat*, we shall be less likely to shed the "blood and tears" of slavery.

After centuries of foolishness about laws of automatic progress, it should be apparent at long last that there is no progress without effort. And after having the march drilled into us all these centuries, it is obvious that we must keep marching or join the living dead. We cannot abolish marching; but we can change the objectives.

In 1942, Americans were forced to resort to the oldest form of locomotion—and had to learn to like it. At that time every one of us felt a bit like Stephen Leacock's hero who mounted his horse and dashed off in all directions. But we got our feet on the ground, flat as they were; and we had to get into step, to march in thought with Handel, Beethoven, and Haydn, in action with our united allies everywhere.

The widespread scattering of our marching men is a means of making us see more clearly our world responsibilities in the years to come.

Our marching overseas can have not merely the conquering urge of an AEF but also the humanitarian aims of an ARF, for relief and reconstruction. And, in the words of Vice-President Wallace, our march must be "the march of the common man."

In this spirit our marching may result in what Louis Adamic calls "the passage back," in his challenging work, *Two-Way Passage*. Our "passage back" to the Old World may yet heal the wounds made by old mistakes and repay the debt we owe for our great heritage of art and aspiration. In so doing, countries which until now have never united except for purposes of war and destruction may finally unite for peaceful effort.^{BB}

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This first chapter has dealt with the general historical picture, in an attempt to sketch the high lights of the world history of the march. America's part has only been mentioned incidentally; but the American march, like the American way of life generally, has unique characteristics which deserve a special chapter, that which follows.

Chapter II

MARCHING AMERICA

AMERICA has been the melting pot for marches as it has been for other immigrants. No other form of music has been so universally loved throughout the country, until recently. Even the Negroes have caught the spirit; when they sing "All God's Chillun Got Wings," they wind up by exclaiming, "Goin' to march all over God's Heaven!"

In opening up a new continent the march and the idea of the march were as much a part of the pioneer as his primitive tools. He believed not only that "Westward the course of empire takes its way" but that it was his "manifest destiny" to *show* the way. Timidity has never been an American trait. The American march, until it became "sweet," and "corny," has always been a heady stimulant. Such is the case with ragtime, genuine "blues," "hot" jazz, and lively "swing."

1. MARCHING AWAY FROM EUROPE

The early colonists did no marching; they were too busy grubbing a living from the soil. Their backs were turned to Europe, their faces toward a new future. The New England psalm singer, however, continued a seventeenth-century tradition—the traditional rhythm of Protestant determination. "York Tune," "Old Hundred," and other stand-bys begin with an iambic foot which always sounds like "Thou shalt" or "I will."

It was natural, therefore, that when the colonists marched against the English their favorite war march, from Maine to California, was "Chester," in psalm-tune style, by William Billings, a tanner by trade and a composer by avocation. They stamped furiously to the words as they sang "Chester."

For a long time it has been believed that outside of "Chester" and "Yankee Doodle" all the war tunes and marches of the Revolution were borrowed from the Old World. Recent research has disclosed much originality among rebel songsters, however. In the War of 1812, the

march music of the Yankees carried on the cocky style of "Yankee Doodle" with even more bravado, and practically every Old World type of folksy march-tune was pressed into service.

With the opening up of the West, Americans came to be still more receptive to the idea of the march, not only because of the new land to be wrested from Nature and the Indians but also because of imported philosophies coming from abroad.

The European philosophy of the march first came to this country in a popular form in the translated lectures of Victor Cousin. The latter's lectures on the history of philosophy were widely circulated in this country in the 1850's. One central point made by Cousin was that "a nation is progressive only on the condition of war;" that "War and battles are, first, inevitable; secondly, beneficial. . . . Every nation which advances, advances by conquest."*

Whether or not these ideas from Europe stimulated the idea of the march by means of war, we marched against Mexico in 1846 and, after Americans had been reading Cousin, North and South began marching against each other, in 1861. The Westward march continued after the Civil War, throughout the "Gilded Era"; then, when plains and desert offered no more worlds to conquer, we marched overseas in 1898 against Spain. Teddy Roosevelt led a march up a Cuban hill, Dewey marched into Manila Bay, and the United States of America took its place among the Great Powers. In 1917 the A.E.F. began marching on the European continent. Each of these wars brought forth a style of march which was genuinely American.

2. THE MINSTREL AND CIRCUS MARCH

The first distinctively American contribution to the march in the nineteenth century was in the field of entertainment. Our two foreign wars in that period, with Mexico and with Spain, were each entered upon immediately following the introduction of novel musical shows. That great American institution, the minstrel show, made its start in the 'forties, just before the Mexican War (1846-1848). The comic operas of the Gay 'Nineties were followed by the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Dan Emmett, composer of "Dixie," and other tunes, started the Vir-

* Victor Cousin, *Course of the History of Modern Philosophy*, translated by O. W. Wight, New York, 1852.

ginia Minstrels in 1843 around a nucleus of violin, banjo, bones, and tambourines. In 1844 the most famous of all minstrel shows, the Christy Minstrels, began its career, to become famous later in England also. The grand-review finale was known as the "walk-around." By 1850 the Ordway Minstrels initiated the preliminary street parade for ballyhoo.

That other great American institution, the traveling circus, had already established marching as a basic form of entertainment. The parade, with bouncing clowns, bulging muscles, caged animals, brass band, and steam calliope, has ancient prototypes in Europe; but in America this form of entertainment took on unique features. Its chief differences were not merely in the brand of humor and the gargantuan dimensions which it reached. Whereas the European circus had always remained something fixed, to which the audience flocked, as in Rome, the American circus marched all over "God's country" and went directly to the people.

These minstrel shows and circuses trained a school of entertainment bands and orchestras which have given popular American music a distinctive flavor. There has never been anything like it anywhere else in the world. The minstrel show marked the beginning of those popular arts which have resulted from the co-operation of Negroes and whites, down to ragtime and jazz. The music of the circus manifested the American genius for making things "click"; in it, speed and accuracy of timing were combined with manifold spectacle and color. The circus also showed the American love for animals, pets, and trick stunts. The circus band had to be a collective human metronome, because so much depended on the split-second synchronization of action and of music.

It is no wonder that America has come to lead the world in dance bands and orchestras and movies. Perhaps the unique art of Walt Disney and his genial colleagues never would have been possible without this heritage of perfectly timed popular music and animated caricature. These American characteristics began to affect global warfare in 1942.

The eighteen-forties were also the years in which Stephen Foster started in "the Ethiopian business," contributing not only quick dance-marches for the pioneer, such as "Oh, Susanna," and "De Camp-Town Races" for the minstrels, but also songs of sentiment gently marching in rhythm. In form, these were exact replicas of the rococo music of the eighteenth century, an Americanization of the playful march and the sentimental air.

3. THE GOSPEL-MARCH OF THE 1830'S

The "fundamentalists" of those days looked askance at the circus, the minstrel show, and the "immoral" waltz but with great favor on all forms of stirring march music. This was in line with the old Mosaic martial tradition carried on by Lutherans and stern Calvinists everywhere. The gospel-hymn tune was the basis of American folk music in the mid-nineteenth century. Dance rhythms crept into it, in disguise, for people who frown on dancing must have their rhythm somehow.

The gospel-march tune was fathered by Lowell Mason (1792-1872). Mere mention of some of his best marches will remind the reader of his tremendous influence:

- "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" (Missionary Hymn) 1829
($\frac{4}{4}$ measure or $\frac{2}{2}$ processional type)
- "Watchman, Tell Us of the Night" 1830
($\frac{6}{4}$ measure, suggestive of the Siciliano, the "gentle march" type)
- "My Faith Looks Up to Thee" ("Olivet") 1833
($\frac{4}{4}$ measure—not for march use at all but having the march pattern slowed down for devotional contemplation)

Thomas Hastings also contributed splendid examples of this style. The writer will never forget the magnificent effect produced by a vested Negro choir in Harlem coming into the church on the processional strains of Hastings' "Ortonville" ("Majestic Sweetness Sits Enthroned"); the eighteenth-century softness of line was maintained by a gentle swinging motion, and the firmness of faith was proclaimed by a matchless sonority of tone.

All this music of American hymnology during the 1830's is in sharp contrast to the march music of reactionary Europe in vogue during that same decade. The bombast and pseudomagnificence of the "grand" march was to take hold of American music later, but this march music of the 1830's was that of a civilized people with a confident trust in God. This music is a part of our heritage which needs to be preserved and better understood.

4. THE GERMAN INFLUENCE

Certain borrowed influences crept into American gospel hymns, particularly that of sweetened German romanticism. One example of this is *Jewett*, "My Jesus, As Thou Wilt." The original German words were by Benjamin Schmolck, evidently a Pietist of the early eighteenth

century; the tune was adapted by Joseph P. Holbrook, in 1862, from *Der Freischütz*, by von Weber. This music—the opposite of von Weber's stirring settings of "Lyre and Sword," the anti-Napoleonic, flashing verses of Koerner, most patriotic of German songs for men—is the romantic music of horns in the depths of German forests. Such music offered solace and escape from the horrors of civil war, in 1862.

After 1848, great numbers of German immigrant musicians came to this country. Some settled as music teachers, *Musikanten*, and conductors; many more introduced the German taste for *Schmalz*, sentimental music at meals or in the beer garden. They also made definite contributions to march music in the bands of the Union Army. Fired with the protesting zeal with which they had escaped to this country, they found an outlet for their talents and energy in the service of the North.

This influx gave a great impetus to orchestral music in this country; Theodore Thomas was among those who came to stay.

5. NORTHERN MARCH VS. SOUTHERN DANCE

The Civil War songs of crusading Northerners were a composite of minstrel tunes, circus music, German romanticism, Stephen Foster, and gospel-hymn tunes.

The Northerners marched to the dotted rhythms and vigor of revolutionary music, as in "The Battle Hymn of the Republic"; the South retaliated with gay dance rhythms. Stephen Vincent Benét has caught the subtle differences between Northern and Southern rhythms in his epic, *John Brown's Body*;^{*} poets are often the most sensitive musicians. When Benét wants to portray Northern feeling, whether with soldiers, stay-at-homes, or children, he does it with the straight duple march, in $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{4}$ measure.[†] When he portrays Southern feeling, he employs jig rhythms or the dainty rhythms of gavotte and bourrée.[‡] Sadness and grief are portrayed in the French manner, with slowed-up, heavy jig measure, as in the description of Jack Ellyat in prison (p. 204). Even a banjo, minstrel rhythm appears (p. 350) when

Cudjo heard it, and Cudjo shook
And Cudjo felt for the Holy Book,
And the wind blew on without peace or rest,
Blowing the straws from the dried up nest.

^{*} Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., New York. Copyright, 1927, 1928, by Stephen Vincent Benét, New York, 1929.

[†] *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 284, 304, respectively.

[‡] *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 163, 166.

The Northern composers who wrote the Civil War tunes—and most American composers were Northerners*—often turned out both gospel-hymn tunes and patriotic march-songs, because the style of both was the same. In this connection no history of the American march would be complete without the story of George Frederick Root (1820–1895). This gifted and versatile pioneer in American music was an organist and voice teacher in young ladies' seminaries and Union Theological Seminary. After a year in Paris, about 1850, he came back and wrote some songs for Christy's Minstrels under the pen name of G. Friedrich Wurzel. He became most successful as a composer, editor, and publisher and is a central figure in the history of our music education.

Root's contributions to the American march included "The Battle-Cry of Freedom," "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching," one of the finest examples in history of the determined stamping march plus the dotted rhythm, and "Just before the Battle, Mother," heir of a long line of lachrymose war ballads in a march rhythm sung slowly. Root's contribution to the gospel-hymn tune is equally distinguished but greatly neglected. His stirring tune in $\frac{3}{4}$, "Rialto," makes use of a German metrical formula but it is sung joyously and buoyantly, not with *Schmalz*. His exquisite "Shining Shore" reflects the radiance of Medieval faith found in old carols and in the Italian *laudi*.

The greatest of all those American war songs which use the crusading rhythm is "The Battle-Hymn of the Republic." The history of this song again illustrates the use of the gospel-hymn idiom in the North, and it also demonstrates the age-old process by which sentimental tunes of religious piety have been converted into war songs.

In the 1850's one gentle march of evangelical persuasion went like this:



Say, broth-ers, will you meet us? Say, broth-ers, will you meet us?
 Glory, glo-ry hal - le - lu - jah; Glory, glo-ry hal - le - lu - jah;



Say, broth-ers, will you meet us? On Ca - naan's hap - py shore?
 Glory, glo-ry, hal - le - lu - jah, For ev - er, ev - er more.

* The Negro composer was already emerging; James H. Bland with his "Carry Me Back to Ol' Virginny," "Oh, Dem Golden Slippers," and "In the Evening by the Moonlight," and Sam Lucas a little later, with "Carve Dat Possum."

Curiously enough, it was of Southern origin but was revitalized in the North. While "Dixie," with its infectious rhythm, was of Northern origin but could never be made to sound warlike, this gentle tune was easily made into a war song, first as "John Brown's Body," then with Julia Ward Howe's stirring clarion call:*



Mine eyes have seen the glo - ry of the com - ing of the Lord

"The Battle-Hymn of the Republic" obviously shows the same dotted rhythm that is found in the great revolutionary songs of the late eighteenth century—"The Men of Harlech" and "*La Marseillaise*." Such songs help win victories.

The South was at a great disadvantage over the North, without a song like that or one like the other great Northern song, "The Battle-Cry of Freedom." Curiously enough, the South, not having such a song except for "The Bonnie Blue Flag," reached overseas and borrowed "*La Marseillaise*." Some explain the popularity of the latter as a Confederate rallying-song by pointing to the French influence in Louisiana. But it needed more than that local impetus. Since 1790, citizen armies have needed to use such vigorous rhythms with sincere emphasis, and civilians have needed them even more than soldiers.

To return to this matter of popular music as a serious subject, there is no reason to be ashamed of our heritage. Root was a serious musician; but, like Arthur Sullivan, he found his richest vein in popular feeling, as the great nationalists in European music were doing at that time. By the time Antonin Dvořák came to the United States to teach composition, in 1892, he could interest none of his New York students in American materials. He gave up after two years and returned to Bohemia, where serious composers were interested in folk music. In other words, and unfortunately for American music, the reaction after 1865 had swung our serious composers back to the imitation of German romanticism and French grandeur. One spicy new seasoning, fortunately, was the saving sense of Irish humor, as we shall see.

6. THE AMERICAN GRAND MARCH

By 1870 the Minstrel Show had "*grown*," like every other cultural phenomenon in the Western World. Haverley's "Mastodon" Minstrels

* For further details, see Louis C. Elson, *The National Music of America*, and John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music*.

painted "40—Count 'Em—40" on the bass drum of their band. This was typical of all phases of American enterprise. After the victory of the North, profits grew, railroads grew, buildings grew, cities grew, and, as in Europe, progress came to be identified with growth.

Everything was "grand" in those days—Grand Opera, Grand Hotel, Grand Avenue, Grand Army, Grand Opening, Grand Concert, Grand Piano and Grand Organ, Grand Orchestra, Grand Dame—and every Grand Ball opened with a Grand March. The circus came to be the "Greatest Show on Earth," and the Best had to be the Biggest.

This phenomenon was also a belated imitation of Europe—an echo of what had been started over there in the 1830's. All Americans who had money and talent marched to Europe to get culture and bring it home to the crossroads. Whereas the Grand Tour for the cultured European was an individual matter, the personally conducted tour became big business for Americans. Europeans came to this country to reap a rich harvest, beginning with Jenny Lind's triumphal visit in 1850 under the auspices of the showman, P. T. Barnum.

The sufferings of war in the East were alleviated by the discovery of gold in California. Bonanza mining, free homesteads, and the opening up of the rich West in general offered a safety valve which relieved the pressure of war to an extent which would have been impossible if the Western boundary had stopped at the Mississippi.

Concert artists, lecturers, and dramatic companies visited California, Colorado, and Virginia City, Nevada, sometimes neglecting many settled communities of the East in order to do so. San Francisco, in the 1870's, put up a Palace Hotel which was one of the "wonders of the world."* The river boats plying between San Francisco and Sacramento were "floating palaces," which vied with their magnificent rivals on the Mississippi and the Hudson. Little girls in pigtailed learned to play "Grand Marches" at their piano lessons; then they went to "finishing school." Every humble home had to have a special room—the parlor—and no matter how crowded the rest of the house might be, the parlor was never to be used except for grand, special occasions. To this day, small "grand" pianos are called "parlor grands" and "baby grands." Our smallest olives have to be labeled from "large" to "giant," "colossal," and "super-colossal." "Jumbo" oranges are the latest manifestation of a culture which uses the adjective "swell" as a term of approval.

* Oscar Lewis and Carroll D. Hall, *Bonanza Inn, America's First Luxury Hotel* (Knopf, New York, 1939).

7. THE FESTIVAL MARCH

Grand festivals of military music in Europe in 1846 and 1867 were astonishing affairs, in which military establishments were hailed as the harbingers of international peace. These were echoed in this country by visits of European bands to expositions later in the century; but the immediate repercussions were in Boston's mammoth Peace Jubilee Festivals of 1869 and 1872. The first was "In Honor of the Restoration of the Union of the States"; the second was to celebrate "World Peace" after the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War and the emergence of Germany and Italy as Great Powers.

The Festival of 1869 employed a chorus of ten thousand, accompanied by an orchestra of one thousand. One of the favored numbers was Verdi's popular march-song, the "Anvil Chorus" from *Il Trovatore*, "producing a tremendous sensation among the audience and receiving an uproarious encore. The picturesque hundred firemen, in black pants, red shirts, and white caps, did their duty admirably, beating their anvils with fine effect, and with such precision as not to miss a note amid the rapid cadences which the orchestra gave with such force." Altogether, "the program as a whole was the *grandest* outpouring of sublime and patriotic music ever heard upon the American continent."*

The World Peace Jubilee in 1872 called forth a chorus of 20,000 and an orchestra of 2,000. It is quite likely that German singing societies contributed to these huge musical forces. It is also likely that Germans and Italians, by that time more numerous than English and French in the immigration columns, helped to swing national sympathies toward these new powers in the world. In 1876 the Centennial Exhibition management in Philadelphia ordered a Grand March for the occasion from the greatest composer in the world at that time, Richard Wagner. This mediocre work, which cost the Exhibition \$5,000, was played at the opening ceremonies. According to Devens this grand opening was "the most wondrous microcosm of civilization ever concentrated in one locality." The final mark of superlative approval, proudly displayed by the editor on the last page of *Our First Century*, was a facsimile copy of a letter

* From R. M. Devens, *Our First Century*, "being a popular descriptive portraiture of One Hundred Great and Memorable Events of perpetual interest in the History of our Country, Political, Military, Mechanical, Social, Scientific and Commercial: embracing also Delineations of all the Great Historic Characters Celebrated in the Annals of the Republic; Men of Heroism, Statesmanship, Genius, Oratory, Adventure and Philanthropy. With Additions to the Present Time. Splendidly illustrated with Several Hundred Plates, Portraits and other Embellishments. C. A. Nichols, Springfield, Mass., 1885." (The title should be read in sturdy march-rhythm.)

of congratulations from the great Bismarck himself. The American admiration for the new Germany extended even into this century, when an American composer wrote the famous march, "Under the Double Eagle," lovingly played by Nazi bands today.

In 1883 the Metropolitan Opera House was opened with a French opera, Gounod's *Faust*;^{*} but it was sung in Italian with a cast preponderantly Italian. For years afterward the "Met" management was alternately German and Italian.

American musical culture with a capital C was dominated by the "possessive march," the expansionist influences of German *Kultur* and Italian opera; every pioneer town had its "opera house"; instrumentalists and composers studied in Germany; vocalists went to Italy. Dick became Ricardo, Blanche became Bianca, in order to sing; conductors and pianists had to be foreigners; and to this day a foreign accent is very impressive to otherwise intelligent Americans whose musical knowledge is primitive.

8. THE PARADOXICAL IRISH

The director and organizer of the great music festivals described above was an Irish-American bandmaster, Patrick S. Gilmore (1829-1892). After coming to Canada in a British military band, Gilmore moved to Massachusetts, where there is a very large Irish population, conducted a military band of his own organization during the Civil War, and claimed to have composed "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," one of the jauntiest of all military songs. An Irish-American improvement upon the old "Mallbrouck Goes Off to the War," it has the same potentialities for poignant expression when the verses tell of the soldier who fails to return.

Contemporaneous with Gilmore's grandiose undertakings and his organization of the grand march on the most colossal scale ever known, the comic Irishman was dominating popular music and American folk-humor. The Mulligan Guards debunked the ubiquitous German drill squads and *Turnvereins*, and Irish wit pricked inflated balloons down to the inimitable "Mr. Dooley" in the days of that inveterate marcher, Theodore Roosevelt.

This paradoxical situation is as revealing of the Irish nature as is the present-day division of geographical Ireland. The Irishman loves

^{*} Repeated subsequently so often that W. J. Henderson called the Metropolitan the *Faustspielhaus*.

a gr-r-and show, but he is just as fond of intimate poetry. He is a master-builder and contractor; but he loves wrecking just as well. He is either a fiery Catholic or a fiery Protestant (and even Irish Catholics love to protest); he is a great scholar, or else proud of his ignorance; he loves music and art with heart and soul or else he hates them; and he feels that way toward people also.

The British gentleman has never understood the Irishman; but the contradictions in Irish nature are probably best known to the cultivated Irishman himself, hence his incomparable wit. Britain has learned much from the Irish, however, and the world has much more to learn from them.

In music the Irishman has done his best work only after leaving home and assimilating other cultures. Perhaps this can be said in other fields also, from the days of the great Irish missionaries in Europe down to George Bernard Shaw. This may be because people of other nationalities so seldom go to live in Ireland, to help new syntheses, new Irish arts.

Arthur Sullivan, son of an Irish bandmaster, wrote some of the world's wittiest march music, after training in German thoroughness and in collaboration with W. S. Gilbert, a master of the English humor of understatement. English opera in the nineteenth century is almost entirely due to naturalized foreigners, who included the Irish Michael Balfe (*Bohemian Girl*) and Sir Charles Villiers Stanford.

In America the Irishman has been a splendid "limb of the law"; police forces could hardly exist without him, even though an occasional black sheep indulges in "a bit of honest graft." On the other hand, the Irish policeman often has to deal with his own in cases of law infractions, for even law-abiding Irishmen love a fight.

Goldberg gives the Irish their due in popular music by recalling the rowdyism of Harrigan and Hart and the music of Dave Braham, a mixture which provided an American Gilbert-and-Sullivan combination in reverse—Irish verses by Harrigan to English tunes by Braham.*

All in all, the Irish-jig influence on the American march was genuinely in line with the American love of exaggeration and ridiculous contrasts. "McGinty" was being condemned to "the bottom of the sea" during the same years in which Patrick Gilmore was presenting "the grandest outpourings of sublime and patriotic music ever heard upon the American continent."

* Isaac Goldberg, *Tin Pan Alley* (John Day, New York, 1930), pp. 66-83.

When we realize that the Irish came in between the old Negro influence and the rapidly increasing Jewish element, the complex nature of American popular arts in the theater can best be understood. The mixture was important in vaudeville, that irreplaceable form of American entertainment which for a time threatened to go the way of the minstrel show and the barely surviving circus.

The leavening influence of Irish pleasantry and English snap almost disappeared from our popular music after 1918. We need it again. The combination of poignantly sad Jewish and Negro idioms, without the plainsman's ax, the Irish shillelagh, and the British monocle, has resulted in too much gloom. The grand and lugubrious should never be allowed to flourish without the bubble-pricking comic.

9. THE OPERETTA MARCH

In recalling the march music of John Philip Sousa (1854–1932) we need to remember that some of his marches were written originally, not for army parades, but for comic operas (*El Capitan*, for example). Sousa as a young man had played under Offenbach when the latter visited this country. The influence of Offenbach, Gilbert and Sullivan, and Johann Strauss was tremendous in the Gay 'Nineties, an unprecedented decade in opera history. New works by Mascagni, Puccini, Richard Strauss, and Leoncavallo appeared in this decade.

Two other names appeared in the history of theatrical march music during the 'nineties—Reginald de Koven, American son of an English clergyman, "the American with a monocle"; and Victor Herbert, another Irish-born composer, who, like Sullivan, studied in Germany. In De Koven's *Robin Hood* a long-lost flavor of English lore came back in such quick marches as the "Tinker's Chorus" and in jolly-good-fellow march music such as "It Takes Nine Tailors to Make a Man."

The recent revival of interest in Victor Herbert has been marred by the Hollywood style imparted to his music. Herbert, the Irish-American with German schooling, wrote for red-blooded marchers, dancers, and singers, not for crooners.

Another phase of march-like music for entertainment was the stein-song of Germanic extraction. American college songs exhibit an amalgamation of the German *Bierkeller* song with the jolly boar's-head-roast-beef songs of Merrie England. The American male chorus or glee club therefore combined the best features of the German *Singverein* and the English Catch Clubs.

10. MARCHING TO CHURCH AND DANCING TO WAR

We have noted from time to time the various uses of hymn music in time of war, from the Middle Ages to the present, and we have seen how powerful the crusading march has been as a weapon in all ages. In the Gay 'Nineties, however, a curious dual phenomenon took place: (1) church music became increasingly militant, even though there was no war in sight, possibly because of that; and (2) military music rejected the religious element entirely.

As for the first, it would be very simple and misleading to condemn Sullivan's "Onward, Christian Soldiers," Bishop Heber's "The Son of God Goes Forth to War," in its various settings, and other march-hymns as being merely expressions of the militaristic spirit. It is safe to say, however, that the idea of the march had become so ingrained in our fathers' thinking that they actually looked upon march music as a perfectly appropriate means of praise and the allusions to war as being purely figurative references to a spiritual conflict.

Nevertheless the indictment can be drawn against all churches for not opposing the spirit of militarism in any effective way. Pope Pius X, in his *Motu proprio* of 1903, urged a return to the devotional beauties of peaceful, serene Gregorian plain song, and condemned "modern" church music for its "theatrical style" and "conventionalism" of rhythm. Not one word of condemnation was uttered concerning nineteenth-century music, however, for martial tendencies which might glorify war. All the great churches were prosperous in the 'nineties; missionary enterprises were successful, and march music had helped the latter immeasurably. Even Japanese schools in California taught Buddhist hymns to gospel-tune rhythms. The march had carried the gospel as well as military drill to all parts of the globe, but they boomeranged.

The world was largely at peace in the late '80's and early '90's; no war seemed likely; so it was perfectly harmless to sing martial music in church. On the other hand, millions of people, young and old, especially in England and the Americas, had read about wars in history classes and had merely learned to regard them as "won" or "lost," like games which decided who was to dictate the next set of rules. The French knew better; but they were dreaming of *revanche*. English-speaking nations were more or less impressed by the "glory" of war, by the qualities of heroism described in music, painting, and poetry.

Both England and America knew that continental Europe could or-

ganize mass-armies again over night; but the younger generation knew nothing of the meaning of "draft" and "conscription." English and American armies were still organized on the eighteenth-century model of small professional forces, although without mercenaries. In spite of this unpreparedness, England underestimated the strength of the Boers and marched against them in South Africa in 1896. That was too far away to interest Americans, and the bad showing of the British did not deter them from a similar war adventure in 1898.

In America, youth in the Gay 'Nineties had learned to think of the military march as theatrical music, which it was. So when war with Spain came, in 1898, America danced into it with patriotic fervor. (See p. 15, above.)

There were no crusading marches, as there were no idealistic principles for which to crusade. The boys went to Cuba and to the Philippines singing "Good-bye, Dolly Gray," "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," and "Ta-ra-ra-ra Boom-de-ay."

Thus the great English-speaking democracies emerged from these two military adventures overseas with no sense of "glory" but with a righteous willingness at least to talk of and dream about universal peace. Only Germany and Japan retained the concept of the march as a way of life. In England and America march music again became merely a means of entertainment, or an expression of national pride on parade.

After the 1903 edict from the Pope, serious church musicians turned away from martial music to more serene forms of religious song. In secular arts, the pastel colors of impressionistic music made the democratic world believe that the twentieth century was to be as comfortable as "the afternoon of a faun." Then came the realization of "the great illusion"—in 1914. For peace-loving America this came only in 1917–1918, a brief period of hysterical war for a country at "peace" during most of the first forty-one years of the century.

11. "OVER THERE" AND HOME AGAIN

There had been no organized opposition to the war with Spain, but a small group of "willful men" opposed our declaration of war against Germany in 1917, when for the first time the United States entered into a military alliance with overseas powers against a Continental foe.

It will be some time before an adequate survey of 1917–1918 war music can be made. An enormous quantity of commercial trash piled

up. Every tunesmith thought he could write a "patriotic" song. The old patterns were worked to death: the quickstep, the jig-march, the good-bye tear-jerker, and such songs as those beginning "Giddap, giddap, go on, go on, we're on our way to war" and "I'd like to love someone, but every right arm is holding a gun."

The crusading march was often directed not only against Germany but also against the slacker who did not do his part. The pacifist song, "I Did Not Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier," was met by a song which changed the last word to "shirker."

One of the few new songs which emerged with a novel trick, one of the few which made stirring band music, was, of course, George M. Cohan's "Over There." A really new turn was given to the bugle call on those words, not only a dance-accent on the up-beat but also the descent from a high note, which is typical of work songs. This clarion call electrified an indifferent nation; but there was still no crusading-march of determined Allies bent on really making the world safe for democracy. As in most wars, the soldiers' favorites were not military tunes at all but nostalgic songs about the "home fires" and about "Mademoiselle," with the hundreds of unpublished verses dedicated to that unknown female.

Patriotic music was for the civilian population, where it belongs. The slogan of the war was not one to inspire a battle hymn, however; the word "Democracy" does not fit into a bugle call, like the words "Arise," "Stand Up," or "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." If we shout "de-MOCK-cracy," the effect is not right. The only way to save democracy is to live it and—paradoxical as it may seem—to enforce it.

So, when the Armistice period began, after November 1918, the boys trooped "back here," glad to be dismissed from a very hard, unpleasant school. A President who saw ahead was regarded as merely a professor with impractical notions.

The tragedy of 1919 was that Woodrow Wilson had a message but no radio; America had a duty but no march music inspiring us to do it. Ford Madox Ford said it for his countrymen: "*No more parades!*"

Part Two

MARCHING AFTER WAR

Chapter III

THE MARCH OF HYPOCRISY

IN ORDER to understand the slogan, "No more parades," we must understand the reaction against marching after 1918. Extreme pacifism, after the Armistice, among sincere religious people, went so far that groups of young men in England and America declared that they would never fight in any war. This was not the consistent stand of Quakers, who have always opposed war on principle; it was the swing of the pendulum in churches which had blessed war in the Romantic Era.

In 1864, toward the close of our Civil War, at about the time when Richard Wagner was penning his militant march music for the peaceful master-singers of Nuremberg, an English country parson* wrote five verses to form one of the most influential hymns of modern times.

Seven years later, a 29-year-old church organist by the name of Arthur Sullivan, about to quit church music for wider fields of activity, set "Onward, Christian Soldiers" to the tune which has since gone around the world and back many times. Words and music have risen to heights of inspiration in the great missionary enterprises of the church, and have also sunk to the depths of ribald mockery, as at the Republican Convention of 1936.

These verses by the country parson, squire, novelist, and antiquarian are not great poetry; but the zeal of their interpreters and the thumping accents of Sullivan's stirring tune have obscured the difficulty of rhyming "war" with "fore," for example. But one need not cavil at such details. There is one little word, however, which will bear examination, in the refrain with which the hymn begins and ends:



On-ward Chris - tian Sol - diers, march - ing as to war

* The Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould was a well-to-do curate who went into the ministry, one of the few occupations open to gentlemen outside of the army. After inheriting the estate of Lew Trenchard, "where his family had been settled for three centuries, he exchanged his Essex living for the rectory of Lew Trenchard in 1881." After that the parson-squire wrote several popular novels.

The first implication of the word "as" is the generally accepted notion, still prevalent today, that marching is associated primarily with war. That is a false assumption. The concept of orderly marching, although it originated in war, is now bound up with many other functions in society.

The second is the still more ancient belief that the religious life is essentially a battle. Pagans and their war-gods, the Hebrews and their Yahweh, Mahomet and Allah have inspired crusades for centuries. Religious leaders from the Crusades and the Inquisition down to the Reformation and from Luther and Calvin to the Italian Catholics in Ethiopia, have blessed war or even waged war with those who disagreed with them. Of course war will persist as long as men continue thus to distort the teachings of the Prince of Peace.

The next line, with its suggestion of the bugle call,



recalls the old device, "In hoc signo vinces," ascribed to Constantine, who first made Christianity the official religion of an Empire. But this line, appropriate as it might have been in the fourth century, was nothing less than a ghastly travesty in 1864, ten years after the Crimean War and seven years before the Franco-Prussian conflict.

The facts concerning the Crimean War must have been familiar to Baring-Gould. It is possible, however, that in the calm of his rural parsonage he was insulated from disquieting facts. One disturbing thing was that the only cross which had entered the Crimean War was the original Red Cross borne by Miss Florence Nightingale in spirit and in action. That cross certainly did *not* go "on before"; Miss Nightingale had to push it into the British Army, even after failure to provide for the wounded had brought about intolerable conditions. Fortunately she had character and determination, which enabled her to cope with incompetent generals who were mismanaging the whole campaign and putting every obstacle in her way.

The words, "as to war," naturally could have raised the question, "Which war?"—the war against the Russians, who were following the wrong kind of cross, or the war waged by Miss Nightingale against stupidity, red tape, ignorance, indolence, complacency, filth, and disease?

One might give the parson the benefit of the doubt and trust that he was referring to her war; but the odds are against that. More likely he was inspired by the lines of another and abler poet who interpreted war to posterity by writing of the heroic "Six Hundred"—not as a war correspondent at Balaklava but while meditating on their deeds in his lovely garden on the Isle of Wight.

"The Charge of the Light Brigade" is called "one of the most heroic and useless episodes in English military history." No one begrudges that Six Hundred the immortality vouchsafed them by Tennyson; but one can imagine some of the men looking down "from the gold bars of heaven" and asking, "I say, m' lord, why didn't you give a whole verse instead of one line to the fact that

'Someone had blundered'?"

And why did not Tennyson, deep in the enchantment of his garden "ringed," as we are told, "with ilexes and cedars," find the stuff for heroic poetry in the bravery of Florence Nightingale, who went "into the jaws of death" and reduced hospital mortality from 42 per cent to 2 per cent?

The heroes of the nineteenth century who made "hell's foundations quiver" included the Nightingales, the Pasteurs, and others who contributed to "the march of medicine"* in spite of incredible opposition, not only from the generals, but from the doctors. "At the sign of triumph, Satan's hosts" *did not* flee. The heroes who put them to flight were the reformers who fought injustice, exploitation, and thievery in corrupt business, industry, and politics, sometimes over the protests of pious frauds who were themselves implicated.

Baring-Gould wrote: "Brothers, we are treading where the saints have trod." But he and most of his comfortable colleagues were doing nothing of the sort. The saints of old had very rough pathways, and many saints of this century have met with stiff opposition along the path of sainthood. The saints of old and their followers scorned comfort. Saint Benedict and his missionary disciples, Saint Francis and his ministers to the poor offer standards which make canonization a very difficult matter. Treading in the pathways made possible by the saints should have made us humble, rather than arrogant, more conscious of our social responsibilities.

* Ray Lyman Wilbur, *The March of Medicine* (Stanford University Press, 1938); W. C. Alvarez et al., *The March of Medicine* (Columbia University Press, 1940).

But the most doubtful claim of all in "Onward, Christian Soldiers" was:

We are not divided,
All one Body we,
One in hope and doctrine,
One in charity.

This was true here and there, of one church at a time, possibly; but modern denominationalism is not thus described. The problem of unity cries out for solution today as never before. Since that problem *has* been solved in art and music but not in religion and politics, a musician may venture some suggestions on this subject in the next chapter, summarizing the plea for a "marching civilization."

As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter we can now better understand the criticism voiced by the anti-Romanticists after 1918. The exposure of nineteenth-century hypocrisy in bracketing war and religion, the sickening realization that God was always dragged into the war on both sides, and the disgust over the opportunism shown by a vacillating church, fearful for its own institutional life—all these furnished ammunition for the cynics. The result was a disintegration of our moral fiber, a concern for nothing but the comforts and pleasures of the moment. We lost our integrity, our capacity for anger at wrongdoing, our sense of values—in family, school, church, and national life.

Chapter IV

THE TWO-WAY MARCH

✱ “NO MORE PARADES” was intended to mean that free men would no longer be dragged into showy militaristic adventures led by imperialistic warmongers and profiteers; that the “glorious panoply of war” could never again be sold to a gullible nation. That was welcome doctrine to war-weary democracies; but the tragic result was that “No more parades” was interpreted to mean “No more marching” of any kind—no more flag-waving, no more patriotic songs, no drill, no sacrifice! Terrified by the notion of “regimentation,” we threw out the baby of Discipline with the dirty water of Militarism.

The German slogan, “All Quiet on the Western Front,” was an appealing one to apply wishfully to Western civilization. In short, wealthy America, Britain, and France made the age-old mistake of believing in the “one-way march.” According to this the march of victory is the only effort required and upon the achievement of “victory” all good things will automatically march toward the “victor” in piping times of “peace.” The victorious nations went “back to normalcy,” and Homer Lea’s now obviously prophetic warning, announced in 1909, went completely unheeded. That warning was that as long as some self-sacrificing but vindictive nations prepare for war, peaceful nations must keep marching in spirit in order to defend liberties which demand eternal vigilance. Lea summed it up in these burning words:

“To shoot is less important than to march.”*

For those who think of marching only in connection with war, that sentence may be puzzling. Why is marching necessary, as Lea said, for survival itself?

Louis Adamic, in his happy phrase, “two-way passage,” offers a solution which has profound philosophical and sociological implica-

* Homer Lea, *The Valor of Ignorance* (new edition, Harper & Bros., New York, 1942), p. 164.

tions, perhaps even deeper than he himself may have realized at first. His proposal, briefly, is that since America is the result of westward movement from Europe which gave us a cultural basis for our civilization, we are now in a position to make a "passage back" to the cultural wilderness which is now Europe, to repay our debt by a process of relief and reconstruction along American lines.* Let us examine this notion in the light of social theory and music history.

Ever since the days of the Greek social philosophers, the study of mankind has been interpreted in terms of motion. Adamic's term "passage" is at first glance similar to those traditional terms in social theory which suggest movement—cycle or recurrent motion; revolution, or quick social movement by turning over; "evolution" or slow social motion through growth or development from one "stage" to another. But when Adamic suggests "passage back," he is a sociological heretic.

For nearly three hundred years the dominant concept of motion applied to man's history and behavior has been "the idea of progress," of continuous motion *forward, in varying tempo, but always straight ahead*. "Westward the course of empire takes its way," typical of this belief, is a nineteenth-century aphorism deriving from Hegel's dogma that history, like the sun, "rises in the east" and "travels from east to west." To suggest, as Adamic does, that we should make progress by a "passage back" in an easterly direction, is to run counter to all the basic tenets that traditional sociology held dear.

Emerging during the sunlit reign of Louis XIV, the formative years of Britain's overseas empire on which the sun was never to set, the settlement of the New World, and the rise of Prussia, we have seen how the propulsive power of march music helped fix this idea of forward progress in men's minds. One object of this essay has been to indicate this remarkable correlation between music and social progress, the interdependence between the two in emotional states and national achievement.

The concept of "marching civilization" in feminine form was expressed thus, in 1871, by a Victorian anthropologist:

We may fancy ourselves looking on at Civilization as in personal figure she traverses the world; we see her lingering or resting by the way and often deviating into paths that bring her toiling back to where she had passed by long ago, but, direct or devious, her path lies forward, and if now and then she tries a few backward steps, her walk soon falls into a helpless stumbling. It is not

* Louis Adamic, *Two-Way Passage* (Harper & Bros., New York, 1941).

according to her nature, her feet were not made to plant uncertain steps behind her, for within her forward view and in her onward gait she is of truly human type.*

But there has always been one insuperable difficulty with the idea of literal, straight progress in one direction and its application to the study of man. Perpetual progress has been as difficult to achieve as perpetual motion. Every musical march has a beginning and an end; every march on foot has a destination and a return. The conventional musical march is in three parts; the first part is lively and invigorating, and is followed by a lyric section like a soldiers' song. The third part is merely a return to and repetition of the first part. The march on foot is to an objective; if it is a short practice march, one stops, rests, and goes on back to the starting point. If it is a long march, one rests and goes on farther; sooner or later, however, the marching ends and how to get back remains the irritating but unavoidable question.

In the words of the old verse, sung to "Malbrouck Goes Off to the War," "The bear went over the mountain . . . to see what he could see . . . The other side of the mountain was all that he could see." Likewise, "The King of France, with twenty thousand men, marched up the hill, and marched right down again."

War, as a rule, has provided only one objective for the King's armies, namely, to "bring home the bacon," i.e., the bacon stolen from the other country. In war it is obvious that heretofore the objective of marching has always been one or more of these four: (1) to entrap, capture, or annihilate other marchers who have reached the same region; (2) to destroy the enemy's property; (3) to annex and exert power over the enemy's country; (4) to bring back prisoners and *loot*.

Loot, that vulgar term, has never been mentioned in the diplomatic amenities of "civilized" warfare. These amenities were invented during three centuries of progress and called "international law." Among progressive "Christian" nations "indemnities" were allowable, but no "Christian" nation would stoop to loot—no, never; well, almost never. Thus war as a process of spoliation was effectively disguised. Its real nature was brought to light again only in our time by the Japanese and the Germans; both these nations have been enabled to wage "total" war, unhampered by any Christian scruples whatever.

China was perhaps, of all countries, the most systematically looted nation on earth—until the Nazis started to break all records in Europe.

* Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (London, 1871), I, 69.

But it was in China that the United States, at the beginning of this century, set a novel example which reversed the old principle of retaliatory loot dignified by the term "indemnities."

After the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, that pivotal year in world history when world peace once more became an absorbing topic, the old principle of punitive indemnities was sternly invoked by the Great Powers. The Kaiser, in instructing his troops who helped put down the Boxers, invoked the memory of his ancestral "Huns" to avenge the killing of the German Minister to Peking. At length the Chinese indemnity of 450,000,000 taels was divided among the Powers. But the United States government remitted a large part of its share to provide scholarships for Chinese students in America and to found a college in Peking. Tsinghua College has therefore become known as the "American Indemnity" College. The investment has proved to be one of the finest ever made by any nation on foreign soil, because from that impetus to Chinese education have come many of the leaders who are making China a bulwark for freedom in Asia today.

In view of what has happened in Asia and in Europe since 1900, let us glance again at Hegel's philosophy of history and go back even to Montesquieu. In so doing, we shall find philosophical justification for the Kaiser's "Hun" speech and the American action will stand out in bolder relief.

Back in 1748 Montesquieu remarked, in commenting on "The Climate of Asia":

In Asia the strong nations are opposed to the weak; the war-like, brave and active people touch immediately upon those who are indolent, effeminate, and timorous; the one must therefore conquer, and the other be conquered. In Europe, on the contrary, strong nations are opposed to the strong; and those who join each other have nearly the same courage. This is the grand reason for the weakness of Asia, and of the strength of Europe; of the liberty of Europe, and of the slavery of Asia.*

By 1837 Hegel was prepared to be more specific in tracing the progress of the human spirit from east to west:

Europe is absolutely the end of history, Asia the beginning The east knows only that *one* [the despot] is free; the Greek and Roman world that *some* are free; the German world knows that *all* are free.†

* Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws* (translated by Thos. Nugent, London, 1897), Book XVII, p. 3.

† Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (third German edition, translated by J. Sibree, London, 1894; revised edition, 1900).

The Germans of 1900, after their march to Peking, probably felt that in imposing harsh terms they were really fulfilling their destiny in history—that they, the true guardians of freedom, were conferring it upon the “indolent, effeminate, timorous” inhabitants of Asia. It is in this same spirit, inspired by Hegel’s concept of the march, that the Nazis marched into Spain in 1937, into Austria in 1938, and into every other Continental country thereafter except two, to bestow “freedom” on their weak, indolent, “inferior” neighbors.

Only by knowing this background can one begin to comprehend such incredible distortion of the word, “freedom”; only thus can one understand the ghastly failure of Germans to win the “co-operation” of free men after marching all over them. Knowing this, the gorgeous musical scoring of march themes in German propaganda films takes on new significance.

When our government took the unprecedented step of remittance of indemnities, the European philosophy of the march was abandoned for the first time. The way was pointed to a new concept of the “march of conquest.” The only conquerors who have known what to do when they arrived have been the liberators. True liberators are those who stay with the task and help cultivate fruits of conquest for everyone, instead of taking them away from the conquered altogether.

Abraham Lincoln would have followed the policy of the two-way march, had he lived. After Lee’s surrender, Grant had told the Southerners to keep their horses for the farm work for which they were so badly needed. Lincoln called for “Dixie” as a “song of triumph”; he did not call for Work’s “Marching Through Georgia,” the “Horst Wessel” song of the North.

After Funston’s victory in the Philippines, American conquerors set out to liberate via education, not by imposing English and suppressing Spanish, but by finding a place for both. Our songbooks for Philippine schools have taught Filipinos to sing American songs and American children to sing in Spanish. The same policy is working beautifully in Pan-American relations; the children of the Americas are singing each other’s songs. Brazilians like Stephen Foster and our cowboy songs; we like the songs of the gaucho and the increasingly familiar music of Latin-American composers, from Gomez to Villa-Lobos.

We are beginning to see that the constructive achievements we call “civilization” have always been results of the two-way lines of communication which make peoples *helpful to each other*. The one-way

schemes of "pure" racialism and fascist nationalism attempt the impossible—"unity by exclusion." To *exclude* the bad, why not *include* the good from the rest of the world and offer one's best in exchange? One-way advantage no longer pays.

If Hitler had made an objective study of the world's "conquerors" he would have seen that their one-way passages through ruined countries have led to their own downfall. Art treasures stolen from each other have helped fill the art galleries of European nations for decades and centuries; but the spectacle of magnanimous Hitler restoring to Spain art treasures stolen by Napoleon gets no applause. His systematic looting of Europe under the legalistic pretense of "purchase" makes a record high in the annals of spoliation. The history of Spain's fall after her seizing and wallowing in the riches of the New World will be repeated in the history of Nazi Germany. The tempo of Germany's fall, like the tempi of all movements in modern times, may be much faster.

With the downfall of Nazism, Fascism, and Shintoism, it becomes the task of the United Nations to march into Europe and Asia, not for conquest and plunder, but for relief, reconstruction, and re-education. Just as modern warfare can no longer be localized but is automatically global in nature, so the postwar tasks of building and production, sanitation and distribution, enlightenment and education must be carried out on a global scale.

After previous wars in world history, the tasks of rebuilding have usually been left to civilian enterprise. The armed forces have been demobilized, and the soldier, out of a job, has gone home to face the dismal prospect of unemployment and widespread depression. This time, however, the world-wide tasks of postwar rebuilding will have to be undertaken under centrally directed military conditions. The challenge is so stupendous that it can be met in no other way. Thus, for the first time in history, mankind will be forced to *keep on marching* in order to enforce and preserve peace after hostilities have stopped.

1. THE MARCH OF RELIEF

This phase of marching after the present war was the first to be instituted, in 1942, America's first year of global war. Louis Adamic, in his stimulating bulletins which followed up *Two-Way Passage*, was one of the first to call for an American Relief Force; by the end of the year Governor Lehman of New York was at work as Director of Rehabilita-

tion. The march of a United Nations' Relief Force in Europe is something to anticipate; it has a chance to be the first armed body in history "with the cross of Jesus marching on before." To give some daily bread, to bind up wounds, to heal the sick, to put nations back to productive work—these are the military objectives of such an army.

2. THE MARCH OF RECONSTRUCTION

America, with her vast resources, has always been the land of plenty toward which famished nations, impoverished by war and pestilence, have turned in hope. It is obvious, however, that no one country, no matter how favored, can be expected to feed and clothe the rest. The task ahead is that of helping others to help themselves. It is here that the American genius for organization can help war-torn countries back to their feet with a two-way march of supplies, equipment, and trained men and women.

The will to produce under difficulties, the willingness to work without stint, may be difficult to arouse, however, among millions of undernourished European, Asiatic, and African people. Workers' vitality there has been sapped, women have been ravished, and children are stunted. Life for the millions of survivors is precarious; but the European peasant is tough and has been recovering from wars for centuries. Adamic, in his account of postwar Serbia, in *The Native's Return*, shows with what resiliency Belgrade recovered from the terrible conditions of 1914–1918. Today strong forces for recovery have been generated outside the borders of the conquered European nations. Poland alone has 200,000 men fighting on the United Nations fronts, in Britain, Africa, Persia, and elsewhere. These men, having done so much marching in countries new to them, have learned much. Their efforts at reconstruction may be more effective when they march back than if they had fought the Germans all this time within the confines of Europe. For the first time Europeans are defending their invaded homes by fighting outside of Europe. Free France in Africa and legions of escaped soldiers, from General Giraud to the stalwart Norwegians from the North, help to insure a new and sane Europe.

Russia and China, however, are the pioneer nations of the present day. From the status of "backward" nations, as they were regarded in the nineteenth century, they now emerge as potential giants of the future. Russia and China have come together, one driven eastward by Germany in defiance of Hegel, the other driven westward by the Japanese. When

“Wake up and see what the Jew has accomplished.” After having been hounded out of every country in Europe, the Jew has demonstrated his ability to produce as well as to exchange, to manufacture as well as to sell. He had already demonstrated his ability to make music superlatively well, to heal the sick with consummate skill, to get at facts with patient research, and to organize and direct great enterprises. The Jew can help enormously in the march of relief and reconstruction.

The March of Reconstruction can be accomplished only by learning the value of co-operation. Proud, wealthy America needed to learn that lesson. It took this tremendous war to teach us, and many have not learned it yet. The co-operative movement, one specific manifestation of this spirit, has met with great opposition from entrenched interests devoted to the one-way marches of bigger profits or higher wages. Big business has its place and can accomplish wonders, just as big nations can. But the *new* developments in our two-way march of progress often come from small groups and small nations. The Chinese co-operatives operate with crude materials; but their method and spirit are successful and prophetic. The Japanese co-operatives under Kagawa were crushed by the militarists who brought on war; the Scandinavian co-operatives were ruined by the Nazis. Their revival and expansion may help bring recovery for all.

The traditional American policy of one-way foreign trade by means of high tariff walls was not quite so immediately ruthless as the one-way marches of the old Spanish conquerors in the New World. The ultimate results were equally disastrous, however, in view of the worldwide depression of 1929 and the forcible removal of tariff walls in Europe by the Nazis ten years later. In the meantime our reciprocal trade treaties have proved to offer better solutions than either rigid tariffs or war. Again America has demonstrated capacity for the two-way march in human relations. America, with her two parties and other evidences of democratic dualism and flexibility, can always find two ways of doing things.

As Wendell Willkie reported to the nation, in November 1942, we have a great reservoir of good will in all these nations in Europe and Asia. But we must not only guard against the leaks which he reported in that reservoir. We must also remember that a reservoir, to be of any use whatever, must be worked in two ways. One must put in at least as much as one takes out. An occasional overflow does no harm; but the reservoir must not run dry.

3. THE MARCH OF RE-EDUCATION

The most difficult task of rehabilitation facing the United Nations after the war is the problem of re-education. Relief and reconstruction involve tangibles such as food, medicines, clothing, transportation equipment, and building materials. The economic tangle involves terrific problems for our best minds, but they are tangible problems that *can* be tackled by men who will be called in as a matter of course—lawyers, bankers, statesmen, and economic experts of all kinds. The problem of re-education is vastly more difficult, and is one toward which little constructive thinking has as yet been directed. The object of this chapter is to show that artists must be called in on this stupendous job—it cannot be done without them.

This problem involves *intangibles*, but these intangibles are the root of the whole difficulty. An entire generation, at least, of Germans and Japanese, and, during the war, of all youth under their control, has been educated with a thoroughness which is inconceivable to liberal-democratic peoples. We hold to the “live and let live” theory; but this dangerous education, as Gregory Ziemer has pointed out, has not been for civilized living, or even for life itself—it has been “education for death.” The question is “How can this systematic education for death be *quickly and in a spectacular manner* counteracted by a vast program of education for life, so that all the world may have hope?” It will have to be done quickly, though not hastily. After all, the Nazi education for death has been under way intensively only since 1933. It has been done thoroughly, however, and the re-education must also be thorough.

Certain considerations seem to the writer to have timely validity in the light of history and of the kaleidoscopic changes in modern times. At the risk of oversimplification, and with full realization that modifications and reservations are necessary in detail, certain facts are here offered for what they are worth, in the belief that they throw light upon the prospective two-way march of the United Nations.

First, let us glance at history:

The education of Europe and of the rulers of Europe until the seventeenth century was very largely dominated by the Church.

The education of Europe since the seventeenth century has more and more come to be dominated by the State.

In Britain and the New World, since the seventeenth century, revolu-

tionary movements have tended to make Church and State servants, not masters, of the people. Church and State have shared the tasks of education, each in a clearly specified sphere.

In the Old World, revolutionary movements have tended to make both Church and people first servants, then abject slaves of the State under the increasingly militant religion of nationalism.

Education in the New World has stressed the appeal to reason, through science, books, spoken drama, journalism, and debate. The arts have been tolerated, but until recently have had no fundamental place in education. They are just beginning to show their practical value.

Mass education in the Old World has always stressed the appeal to feeling, through the arts—pageantry, parades, opera, ballet, architecture, painting, sculpture, and oratory.

Fascist and Nazi leaders came to power on a wave of dramatic uses of every possible means for stimulating excitement and enthusiasm. Reason was dethroned. Radio and movies, parades and processions, pageantry and music swept away all rational objections.

Nazism, with its notion of the master-race, then swallowed up Fascism, and, having made unfeeling robots out of potential human beings, began in desperation the final spasms of extermination in a "revolution of nihilism."

Now for the vista which lies ahead after war—one which may sound visionary to the "practical" men who have always pooh-poohed the artist; but these are practical suggestions, if artists are given a chance:

The United Nations will be able to use Europe, traditionally the mother of our arts and sciences, as a vast stage for popular presentation of the great dramas of rehabilitation, celebrating the four renewals of faith which can bring about four transformations of society. These four transformations must take place if the "four freedoms" are to become a reality. These are the New Revival, the New Renaissance, the New Reformation, and the New Restoration.

Revival of the Christian Spirit—A revolutionary revival which shall preach a religion of co-operation, decency, and tolerance in international affairs, in revolt against the destructive forces which have had their revolutions and have failed to restore order.

Renaissance of Learning—With great celebrations attendant upon the reopening of the universities closed by tyrants. Hundreds of institutions, from Leyden to Cracow, await The Day.

Reformation of Our Institutions—Not by violent revolution, but by reasonable adjustment to man's needs.

Restoration of the Rights of Man—Of the two-way march of reciprocity throughout the world.

We already have at hand the tools for dramatizing these transformations, the artists to plan the programs, and the actors to put them across. By the time the German and the Japanese militarists are thoroughly stopped, once and for all, these four transformations can take place, and the greatest dramas in history can begin—*provided* the civilians of the world see what our men in service see, in all parts of the world; *provided* our politicians have their eyes opened as were those of Wendell Willkie in his famous flight in the autumn of 1942.

By the time the war is over, the vastness of the challenge, the boundless possibilities, the unprecedented horror, and the magnificence of the will to live may grip even civilians who in 1942 were still living in a dream world past and gone.

Radio and movies, television and airplanes are the new media which can be used on a global scale to dramatize the facts and events proclaiming world peace and world unity. If, as seems likely, the war in Europe should end before the war in the Pacific, every dramatic move in Europe could be heard on the radio and seen on the screen in China, India, and Siberia, to inspire our Allies there and to help shorten that war.

But, above all, it must be borne in mind that the re-education of Central Europe can be brought about only as it has been before—by appeals to the emotions and not merely to the reason. The genius for showmanship is as important as the genius for organization. America and Russia possess that genius to a high degree. The history of our marching civilization makes it crystal clear that mere arguments have never brought about unity anywhere. Unity has always been forced upon mankind in self-defense. Men have to *feel willing* to unite; they have to see the handwriting on the wall in letters of fire; they have to hear the command to unite played on trumpets and roared on drums.

There are at least four occasions in history when Europe has literally been educated and directed toward certain goals, not by reason, but through the emotional appeal of art, affecting the ear and the eye. Force was used, to be sure; but art tempered force, and made the appeal. After this war force must still be available, but only to strengthen the appeals of art and reason. These four were the conquests achieved by art:

First, the conquest of the invading Germans by the Roman Church. The great Roman Empire fell to pieces; but the Church conquered the conquerors with the aid of the arts, with monodic plain song and magnificent art and liturgy in noble churches.

Second, the Renaissance. Science and learning generally were revived with the aid of the arts, with festivals and pageantry, poetry and painting.

Third, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. In these eras both sides made lavish use of music, and the Catholic Church was saved in Southern Europe through the encouragement of the various great arts of the Baroque Era.

Finally, the great Romantic and Nationalistic movements of the nineteenth century, beginning (or was it culminating?) in the Congress of Vienna, one of the finest shows of the century.

What a chance was missed in 1918–19! If the Allies had paraded in Berlin and Munich and Vienna, with the German Army stiffly at attention; if the Peace Conference had been held in Salzburg or Vienna, with great festivals by international artists; if the League of Nations had been seated, not in Calvinist Geneva with its traditions of anti-artistic theological argument, but in Vienna, the geographical center of European culture; if Max Reinhardt had been put on a Council of Dramatic Education for Occupied Countries, along with British, French, and American movie and stage directors; if the stadiums built in Germany with American money had been filled by Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey—but why go on? If these things had been done, if Hans had been given an opportunity to participate, he might have listened. If Hitler could have been put to work painting stage scenery, his *Kampf* might never have come off.

Things which could not be done in 1919 can be done in 1943. *Woodrow Wilson had no radio*. Furthermore, in his day it occurred to no one that the arts could be used to help solve the knotty problems of world differences.

We not only have the electrical media for unifying mankind; we have also begun to develop the artistic syntheses by which mankind can be electrified, with good news rather than bad, with hope instead of fear. This is made possible by the “hook-up.” So far, only in the United Nations has it been possible to use the radio in two ways—to hear the fulminations of dictators and also the dictates of reason. When the receiving sets of the world are open for the “two-way passage,” when the

Berlin radio first announces, "Take it away, Hollywood" and "Come in, London," the march of re-education will have begun in earnest. Shall we be prepared for it?

On Christmas Eve, 1942, the radio world of the free nations was allowed to hear "Command Performance" for the first time. This was one of the most significant steps taken thus far in the unification of the world via art. This term has never been used before by persons other than rulers—emperors, kings, princes, and presidents. When the Kaiser used to call for a favorite opera, it was "by command of the All-Highest." In 1942, however, the commands for entertainment came, not from those on high, but from the millions of men in the ranks of our people's Army and Navy scattered throughout the world. Their favorite stars of radio, movies, and stage now broadcast to these men weekly, wherever they may be, in the Arctic, in India, in Africa, or in the islands of the Pacific. These artists give freely and earnestly to impart new life to our men.

Such a "command performance" is here to stay, not merely for the duration but for all time to come. This war is being fought to determine who shall give the commands. Shall it be those few, the despots, who educate for death, or the millions who want education for life? With the victory of the latter, the men who have fought the battles will command that we who have stayed at home shall continue with them the fight for unified peace.

It may strike some unimaginative souls as very strange that artistic entertainment can show the way to world unity and world peace. These lines are written, however, to assert that very fact. The world will never get together on a peace plan for unity and federation, no matter how reasonable or how logical it may be, until men everywhere are permitted to laugh at the same jokes translated into all languages, to weep over the same tragedies, to applaud the same artists, to see the same movies, and to enjoy the same songs. They need not share the same beliefs in religion, politics, or economics; but the common denominator of enjoyment is indispensable.

Christendom was once united, not merely by force, and certainly not by reason and logic, but by song, pictures, statues, architecture, and liturgy. But it was not only great art of the highest order; it was popular art—downright entertainment—which made Christians feel a certain unity. The *laudi* of the Italians, the mystery, morality, and miracle plays, the opera and ballet theaters managed by the Jesuits, the school-

dramas and concerts of the Protestants—all these were entertainment for a purpose, with lasting historical effects. Nationalism has been bulwarked by entertainment. The march has always made people proud of their country—on the parade ground, in the opera, in the musical comedy, and in the pieces sung and played in the Sunday School, the public school, and the home.

Today the unity of the Americas is felt because of the two-way march of our popular arts, even though sometimes, in our ignorance and prejudice, our movies have offended our neighbors. The conga and the fox trot have to pave the way for economic reciprocity. Conferences on the latter are necessary but insufficient unless the peoples affected *feel* like co-operating in what Havelock Ellis called the "Dance of Life."

Even advertising, that American invention by which radio is supported in this country, provides a suggestion for world unity. In all other parts of the world radio is controlled by the all-powerful State—here and there by the Church. Under the democratic system of radio control here, censorship too often comes, not from government, but from big business interests with axes to grind. But business succeeds only with widespread popular patronage; our "sponsors" are open to suggestion. They have been slow to catch the significance of "Command Performance," but even they may get it in time.

America has something to advertise which is far greater than her gadgets and her soap; that is the American way of life, which much of the world would like to adopt, if it could or when it can. Three outstanding characteristics of this way of life have traditionally been apparent in our popular arts—an innate religious sense, a buoyant sense of humor, and a willingness to work. Ease and luxury did something to those three things before this war: the cynic replaced the preacher; the wisecrack took the place of humor; and the love of hard work gave way to the slowdown (in industry and in music). Thus the gangster replaced the pioneer, and the tuxedo looked with contempt at the overalls.

Great Britain, China, and Russia woke up before we did—they had to do so. Humor and hard work saved them and us. Education in the hard school of war has shown, however, that these American virtues are still alive.

Those who control radio and movies after the war will control the destiny of mankind. The Axis dictators know very well what policies they will pursue, but as these lines are written there appears to have been no planning on the part of the United Nations for this tremendous

task. God help us if these great instruments are left to the whims of nationalism, denominationalism, bureaucracy, and business.

If "command performances" continue under the military auspices now operating and spread to include the armed forces of all our Allies, such entertainment, oratory, drama, commentary, opera, religious services, and concerts as have never been heard before can flood the air from pole to pole and ocean to ocean, making the world feel like a unit even though the differences in language may require a corps of translators in each country.

Thus, if "marching after war" is made to continue, bringing messages of hope and peace, laughter and tears to all mankind, the people now dwelling in darkness will indeed see a great light. Those who have been educated for hatred and death *must* be forced to stop, look, and listen. No re-education of individuals and groups can be undertaken without the backing of a global program for entertainment, instruction, and inspiration.

When a Federal Council of Nations meets to consider its postwar adjustments, millions of common people throughout the world can command performances not merely of economists and politicians but of the world's great orchestras playing new works by the world's great composers of all nations, the choirs of all religious centers from the Vatican and St. Paul's to the smallest parish church, the actors and singers of all the world's opera houses, the movie and radio stars of all nations, the preachers of all the great creeds, and the wise men of the East as well as those of the West.

But, above all, the world will need to hear messages inspiring mankind to keep on working, at the peaceful tasks of production which will call for even greater effort than the wartime tasks of destruction which engross us now. The dramatization of industrial conversion from war back to peace economy will be as essential as the dramatization of our ideals. The communiqués on relief and reconstruction, production and distribution, sanitation and renovation should be much more exciting than those concerning battles. The war against poverty, disease, and ignorance can be won with intensely hard work. Yet we shall not begin to work hard enough unless work is glorified. Perhaps, in spirit, Christian soldiers, marching onward, will sing, "Marching as to work."

Chapter V

MUSICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

✎ MARCHING calls for organization; a marching people must be united. If the captains are interested in marching for its own sake, order is the prime desideratum; everyone must "keep step." If the marchers and the objectives are of prime importance, order and unity are still important.

These final chapters essay a difficult task but, if reasonably successful, may indicate that our civilization is still marching onward and that the march toward world unity is possible because of certain principles of musical organization that are closely akin to the principles of political unity. It will also indicate that these principles are always manifest in music parallel with and sometimes prior to their manifestations in society; also that the only principles upon which a world order can succeed have been manifest in music and society since the late eighteenth century and are being revived today.

Greek philosophers, particularly Plato and Aristotle, and Baroque scholars, notably the political theorist, Jean Bodin, attempted to make some connection between music and society by way of analogy. Their comments, while still suggestive, have little bearing on the problems we face today; modern society and modern music are quite different from the music and society of 1606, when Bodin's *Six Bookes of a Commonweale* first appeared in English.* The chasm is still wider between the music of Aristotle and that of our times.

Aristotle, in his attempt to compare the two principal kinds of government with the two modes of music, in Book VIII of his *Politics*, did set in motion the kind of inquiry which is attempted here. His fundamental epigram is axiomatic, as true today as it was twenty-odd centuries ago. In Jowett's translation it reads:

We may compare the oligarchical forms [of government] to the severer and more overpowering modes [of music], and the democratic to the more relaxed and gentler ones.

* For quotations from and comment on Bodin's theory of music and society, see W. D. Allen, *Philosophies of Music History* (American Book Company, New York, 1939), p. 33.

That statement obviously has psychological validity; it has little significance today, however, for those who seek constructive conclusions concerning the principles on which music and society are organized.

Plato and Aristotle had much to say about music and its effects on the soul, but their term meant much more and much less than is meant by our word "music" today. For them, as for us in this discussion, "music" embraced all the liberal arts. Greek song and instrumental music, however, were limited to the first of the six great styles of musical organization known to and used by us today.

These six styles of music are all cultivated and thrive best under certain social conditions, or at times when these conditions are being developed. In each case, a similar unity is achieved in the style of music used and in the form of social organization which is appropriate. Each has merit; none will ever be abolished; but the last has prime significance for the postwar world.

Let us examine briefly, in turn, each of the following:

1. Pure melody and patriarchal rule.
2. Accompanied melody and aristocratic or absolutist rule.
3. Polyphony and co-operative conditions.
4. Harmony and nationalistic aspiration.
5. The concert principle and the "concert of nations."
6. Symphony, concerto and sonata, suggesting the principle of democratic federation.

1. PURE MELODY AND PATRIARCHAL RULE

Pure monody, melody without accompaniment, is the ideal musical style in societies organized on the patriarchal principle. In such societies it is assumed that all subjects subscribe to a common belief, a common trust in a human, semi-divine, or heavenly father. The human chief of a primitive tribe, the Mikado claiming to be of divine origin, and the Holy Father in Rome all prefer music sung in unison. Primitive chants, the Japanese national anthem, and the Gregorian plain song preferred by the Pope are best sung without accompaniment.

The most enlightened society fostering pure melody is of course the Catholic Church; but even in that well-knit, far-flung organization it is impossible to demand pure monody except as an ideal standard. The papal *Motu proprio* of 1903 plainly recognized the need of other musical styles to which we have become accustomed, notably accompanied melody, the textures of polyphonic music, and nationalistic idioms.

The basic need for pure monody as the deepest form of religious expression would be felt by any group facing death on a raft adrift in the ocean. Under such conditions the Lord's Prayer or "Nearer, My God, to Thee" would be uttered without accompaniment and with no attempt at harmony. Each participant would probably want to sing the melody. On shore, however, in safety, both harmony and accompaniment are very desirable.

From the papal point of view it would be ideal if all the world would bow the knee and sing in pure monody; but the Pope himself recognizes the impossibility of that. One of the most encouraging signs of the times is his address of December 24, 1942, in which the need for co-operative work was urged as vigorously as the need for common faith. Both are necessary bases for a new world order, but no one church, no one patriarch, no one ruler of any kind can dictate the terms. For the first time in history, an "atheistic" nation (Russia), a "pagan" nation (China), and the Jews of the world are united with the "Christian" nations in supporting the *spirit* of Christ against the forces of hate and destruction.

2. ACCOMPANIED MELODY AND ARISTOCRATIC RULE

Accompanied monody, originating under aristocratic rule, is that style in which the accompaniment gives support or merely says "yes, yes" to the melody. The melody dominates the accompaniment just as an aristocratic ruler dominates his people. This has been a favorite style throughout the world, beloved by kings and subjects alike. Most people like that music best which allows the melody to stand out clearly, distinct from the accompaniment. By that same token most people demand leadership which is clear-cut and definite. Both demands are legitimate; an aristocracy of melody and of leadership will always be desirable. Aristocracy of leadership may be that of brains, birth, or breeding. Expert superiority should be respected. But high rank carries with it responsibilities as well as privileges.

The world's finest examples of lyric melody, the most popular form of accompanied monody, were composed when musicians were alive to the truth of the adage, "*Noblesse oblige.*" In this category fall the simplest melodies of Gluck, Mozart, and other composers of the classical period. Yet lyric music can be as banal and stupid as the leadership of "stuffed shirts."

It has been said that the earliest attempts of historians and chroniclers were "monuments of boasting." The lyre has always been associated with the sword; the singer with his lyre has often been a liar. After a destructive war, in which the sword was used for its usual functions of decapitation, disemboweling, and other heroic tasks, the lyre was used to help disinfect the story. It has been well said that on the day of a battle historical facts can be picked up on the field but by the following day the facts have commenced to get into their uniforms. With equal truth it can be said that the "facts" soon get into lyrical measure. Poetic license has built up many a hero in history—many deservedly, of course, but many also whom it were better to forget. This has been true from the medieval *chansons de geste* down to "The Two Grenadiers" and other ecstatic lyrics perpetuating the Napoleonic legend.

The oldest song in the Bible is a war song of praise for victory. Centuries after the song of Deborah and Barak, King David cured Saul with his harp-playing and inaugurated a new era of peaceful praise. But even the sweet singer of Israel, praising a Shepherd-God of goodness, kindness, and mercy, can exclaim, in Psalm 144: "Blessed be the Lord my strength, which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight."

No, the lyric principle, beautiful as it is, is no more sufficient for music than the old theory of "divine right" was for government. Neither principle will do as a basis for world unity, beautiful as it may seem to march to lyric or martial melody. Haydn's "Emperor" hymn did not make Austria leader of the world; the same tune with new words—"Deutschland über Alles"—has led Europe to ruin.

3. POLYPHONY AND CO-OPERATION

The polyphonic principle, emerging in the late Middle Ages, offered the first convincing proof that different individuals can sing or play different melodies simultaneously with harmonious effect. Polyphonic music, moreover, had its richest development in the cities and towns of northwestern Europe where great Gothic cathedrals were being built on a co-operative basis. The polyphonic principle is evident in the co-operative, communal efforts of small units, as in the family, in business, in industry, and on the farm. This style was perfected thus in the *communes* of northern France and in Flanders, where tapestries were made and where the fine concept of weaving was germane to social life. It is

unfortunate that the extreme theories of communism have obscured the fundamental and healthy meaning of the word *commune*.

The Industrial Revolution and European militarism did much to destroy the polyphonic principle of the *commune*, in music and in society. The family ceased to be a productive unit, with each member carrying out his allotted task; the family came to be dependent upon the factory, and there the workers came to be cogs in machines operated on no principles whatever except those dictated by greed and selfishness. The old medieval and Renaissance customs of family music, table music, and tavern music disappeared, and the church choir became professionalized again.

The crises of the twentieth century, however, have brought back recognition of the need for and the value of this principle. This took place in music before it was evident in society. Widespread revival of the music of Bach, that great master of polyphony, was one symptom; then came the amazing developments in small chamber-music groups, glee clubs in business establishments, and the *a cappella* choirs in schools with their repertoire enlarged to include the madrigals, rounds, canons, and fugues of intimate old music. Meanwhile modern composers began to emulate the polyphonic style rather than the harmonic sensuousness of Romantic music.

With war demanding that everyone do his part, a fuller recognition of the polyphonic principle began to be manifest in military science and tactics, in industry and in business. All armies, since 1939, have had to place more reliance on the small group and the individual soldier than the old manuals had called for. England, long before America did so, organized co-operatives, and also learned to decentralize industry, apportioning many different tasks in production to small units operating under central control. But when an American firm began calling employees "associates," that was indeed a recognition of the polyphonic principle, namely, that every voice or part in the musical and social fabric is of equal worth. This principle is the sine qua non of world unity; but, operating at its best in small units, it is still inadequate to cope with the global problem.

4. HARMONY AND NATIONALISTIC ASPIRATION

"Harmony" is a word which has been used with longing by every writer on social and musical theory since the days of the Greeks. After 1600, however, the term came to have new meaning. Bodin saw this, in

likening social harmony to the harmony produced by the pleasing tones of the major triad. But his analogy was unfortunate. It assumed the possibility of a static condition, prescribing that

the wise Prince shall set his subjects in a most sweet quiet, bound together with an indissoluble bond one of them unto another together with himself and the Commonweale. As the first foure numbers to be seene; which God hath in harmonically proportion disposed to show unto us, that the Royal estate is harmonically, and also to be harmonically governed.*

This would seem to argue an acoustical basis for the divine right of kings to establish social harmony, an obviously doubtful proposition.

The musical contemporaries of Bodin began to see the virtues of this "divinely ordained" chord as a central unit for musical composition, with organs, brass choirs, and voices sustaining tones in sonorous harmony. Theorists began to extol the chord as the basis of all music; and to this day the popular notion is that to understand the language of music one need only study *harmony*. Melody and rhythm have been singularly neglected.

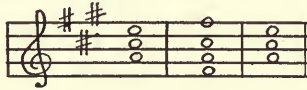
As can be seen from the history of the march, the bugle calls and trumpet fanfares of seventeenth-century music imparted life and motion to this otherwise static chord, and the way was paved for the nationalistic music of pomp and parade. The military band, in Europe, came to be known as a *Harmonie*; the German word *Harmoniemusik* is a synonym for military music.

The romantic apotheosis of the march in the nineteenth century, the tremendous expansion of national imperialisms, and the expansion of harmony went hand in hand, while "the world's largest" was sought in everything, in organs and orchestras, bands and choruses, armies and navies, cities and factories, colonies and circuses.

The state was a "sovereign state," responsible to no one, binding its members together in the "sweet unity" of harmonies blown with wind instruments on parade. The Germans therefore had no difficulty in developing the theory that their state was a living, immortal organism. Fichte had said in his *Addresses to the German Nation* (1807-1808), that the individual's life was bound up with a higher, eternal life, that of the nation; that the life of the individual possessed no value for him except for the fact that his own life was a sort of a cellular organism in the larger body of which he formed a part.

* Jean Bodin, *Six Books of a Commonweale* (translated by Richard Knolles, London, 1606), pp. 790-91.

This expansion of the factor of harmony, the opposite of the polyphonic principle, came to its climax in the music of Richard Wagner. The individual member of the orchestra, in the Prelude to *Lohengrin*, has no importance whatever save as a member of a huge ensemble playing beautifully orchestrated chords. Much of the opera seems to move around this comparatively static chord progression:



The Germans forgot that harmony, in both music and society, is the result of compromises. Our whole system of tuning, based upon the tempered scale, is one by which keyboard instruments are deliberately thrown slightly out of tune in order that no one combination of tones will be more out of tune than others. In the orchestra, the shimmering beauty of strings playing together is due to the fact that no two violinists ever play absolutely in tune with each other. Nevertheless, the impressive success of Wagner's harmonic style in the nineteenth century bolstered the German belief not only that harmony could be achieved in society but that it could be *imposed*—by Germany—on a disorderly, dissonant world.

In the meantime each nation developed nationalistic harmonies of its own. Within the United States the doctrine of states' rights convinced many people in the North and the South that two separate national harmonies could live side by side. War finally decided that issue, and the Union was preserved. Still Europe tolerated opposing harmonies, and in 1867 these faced each other at Paris, in musical competition, as "harbingers of peace." Moreover, European statesmen sincerely believed that a "concert of nations" could preserve the peace.

5. THE CONCERT PRINCIPLE AND THE "CONCERT OF NATIONS"

The concert principle was a step in the right direction, in music and in politics; but it was a dangerous principle. Concerted action, in music and in politics, demands a well-balanced program. With the upset of the balance, the whole program went to pieces in European politics; the Germans "doubled the brass." *Too much reliance had been placed upon the virtuoso.* (The *concerto* principle is defined on pp. 72-73.)

The theory of balanced power in Europe should have dictated the term "consort of nations." The Elizabethan word "consort" referred to a family of instruments similar in character but different in size, e.g.,

a "consort of viols." The "Great Powers" were so called because of greatness of size, not merely in terms of populations but with respect to their military and naval establishments.

The danger of the concert principle lies in the all-too-human tendency of some performers to demand the spotlight. The nineteenth century was the century of the virtuoso, in music and in politics. To examine just two, let us observe the careers of Franz Liszt (1811-1886) and of Prince Metternich (1773-1859). In 1848 the virtuoso performances of these two men came to an end. Franz Liszt, disgusted with the business of playing one brilliant piece after another for delirious worshipers, retired to devote himself to a new synthesis of music and poetry. Metternich was forced to retire, after the revolutions of 1848, and his lifelong efforts to accomplish the right thing (unification) in the wrong way (absolutism) came to an end.

Both men saw clearly the futility of one woman after another in their love lives, and of one thing after another in public life, in musical concerts, and in the concert of nations. They longed, as did all nineteenth-century thinkers, to see this world as an organic whole. Liszt sought to synthesize the problems of strife, love, and life, in his symphonic poems, even before Wagner tried to fuse the arts together in his "art of the future." Metternich had tried to preserve the peace of Europe with a German Confederation which would marry feminine, cultured Austria with masculine, aggressive Prussia.

However, Liszt spent his last years trying to discourage budding virtuosi who had no other aim in life than to learn to play the piano-forte at top speed. Germany continued to be the training school for virtuoso instrumentalists and Italy the hothouse for developing high C's. Liszt's many qualities of greatness were forgotten; poets, pianists, and preachers emulated his long hair and proclaimed their personal versions of his gospel of abundant love. His rich, exquisite love music and that of his contemporary Wagner started a trend toward sensuous eroticism which has gone to extremes in present-day popular music, to the detriment of music, manners, and morale.

Metternich had enjoyed the concert of nations with keen relish, handling the nationalistic and imperialistic virtuosi of politics with the skill of an opera impresario. Each prima donna nation was given her opportunity to perform; political alliances were made with brilliant weddings and with all the *éclat* of operatic ensembles.

The British were avid patrons of musical and national concerts. Eng-

land's foreign policy was to keep the power program well balanced with her own virtuosi in diplomacy. At the same time her musical programs at home were well balanced with the importation of the finest composers and virtuosi of the Continent.

With all this impressive patronage of musical and political prima donnas, two great eighteenth-century principles were well-nigh lost. Metternich's adherence to absolutist principles made his dreams of confederation impossible. The upheavals of 1848 merely transferred despotic power from the king as a person to the state as an organism. The virtuoso performer reigned supreme in music, and the virtuoso nation ruled supreme in power politics. By 1914 Haydn's old "Emperor" hymn was stolen by Germany to proclaim the supremacy of *Kultur*.

Neither harmony nor the virtuoso principle, magnificent as their results may be, will do as principles of world unity. Both are powerless to prevent one nation from singing and marching to "*Our land above all.*"

The remaining principle, the symphonic, contemporaneous with and akin to the democratic principle of federation, is the subject of the next and final chapter.

The calendar on the next page, preceding the final chapter, offers a historical enumeration of some events and trends between 800 and 1800 which tended toward or brought about unification of differences. By 1800 these two principles of unity—the symphonic in music and the federative in politics—were thoroughly understood and operative. The symphonic principle was successful in Central Europe, the federation principle in the new United States of America. This calendar is by no means comprehensive and is intended to supplement the historical allusions in these two chapters. On page 85, below, the calendar is continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to show the unfortunate trends away from federative principles in modern times.

TOWARD SYMPHONIES AND FEDERATIONS

Some Historical Events and Periods Showing Unification of Differences

I. MEDIEVAL UNITIES IN ARTS AND SOCIETY

840. Coronation of Charlemagne. 962. Coronation of Otto I. Contemporaneous with the Carolingian and "Holy Roman" Empires, the beginnings of polyphony and what some called the "symphonious" or simultaneous singing of high and low voices at different intervals.
1200. The great century of cathedral-building. The *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), with his synthesis of Christianity and Aristotelianism; the great *organa* for voices and instruments (Notre Dame).
1315. Swiss League of Confederation. Dante's *Inferno*. The *ars nova* in music, with its syntheses of duple and triple rhythms. Giotto's paintings; general appreciation of nature in art.

II. UNITIES IN THE BAROQUE ERA

- 1588-1603. Elizabethan era in England. Unity of music and poetry. Shakespearean syntheses of comedy and tragedy.
1600. Beginnings of modern opera in Italy: federation of voices, chorus and orchestra, music and drama.
1603. King James VI of Scotland becomes King James I of England but promotes no unity.
1620. The Pilgrims land at Plymouth Rock, opening up possibilities for social unities in a New World, unities which had become impossible in the Old World.
1628. Benevoli's Mass for the dedication of Salzburg Cathedral, scored for fifty-four vocal and instrumental parts. Baroque architecture.
1630. The "Great Emigration" to Massachusetts. Puritans establish self-government around Boston, under a royal charter.
1687. Newton's *Principia*, climaxing and completing work of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and Descartes. J. B. Lully dies, after completing important works for stage and orchestra. The word "symphony" comes to mean instrumental interlude in opera or oratorio.
- 1688-89. Bloodless Revolution in England. Act of Toleration. Parliamentary government. Anti-slavery agitation begins in Pennsylvania. William Penn sets example in dealing with Indians.
1707. England and Scotland unite to form Great Britain.
1735. Handel, in his oratorios, unites English folk spirit with music drama. Bach unites the mysticism of Catholic tradition with the vigor of Protestantism in his B minor Mass.

III. UNITIES IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD AND REVOLUTIONARY ERA

1745. *Symphonies* in Mannheim, with federation of musical ideas on the sonata principle and of musicians gathered together from all parts of Europe.
1762. Gluck's *Orpheus*, the oldest opera in the modern repertoire, with music of such simplicity that it is adaptable to any European language.
1776. *Declaration of Independence*. Colonies unite for the first time, in defense of their liberties.
1777. *American Articles of Confederation*. Joseph II, Emperor of Austria, makes abortive attempts to organize a German Confederation along liberal lines.
1787. *The Northwest Ordinance*, first human document to prohibit slavery in a given area.
- 1787-89. *The Federal Constitution of the United States of America*, uniting all races, creeds, and parties in one political framework. The mature symphonic music of Haydn and Mozart. *Don Giovanni* and *The Magic Flute* (1791).
1800. Beethoven's *First Symphony*.

Chapter VI

THE SYMPHONIC PRINCIPLE AND THE PRINCIPLE OF FEDERATION

✦ TWO GREAT eighteenth-century principles were forgotten in the Romantic Era, that passionate era of love and militarism, that heyday of poetry and hypocrisy, when cannon were covered with flowers. The symphonic principle had been developed in Central Europe, in and near Vienna, by the latter part of the eighteenth century. The federation principle had been put into effect at precisely the same time, in the United States of America. Both are being revived today.

These two principles are essentially the same, in music and in politics: both accomplish the *unification of diverse, even opposing elements within the same framework*. In the small courts of Southern Germany and in polyglot Austria musicians from all parts of Europe formed symphony orchestras which federated the marching band of the military establishment with the indoor house orchestras of strings, horns, and flutes. At the same time (about the same decade, in fact, 1777–1787) the American Colonies were being transformed into the United States of America, binding together men of different origins, different creeds, and different classes under one Federal Constitution. The means undertaken and the steps in the process were similar: in both cases a loose organization of connected but independent parts was followed by a more closely knit, stronger union. The Thirteen Colonies, under the Articles of Confederation (1777), entered into “a firm league of friendship with each other” (Article III), but not until after declaring: “Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence!”

In European instrumental music a similar sort of union had been in vogue for over a century, in what was known as the suite. This consisted of from four to six separate dances, alternately slow and fast, as in social dancing, but all written in the same key. These were “united,” but each little piece retained its “sovereignty, freedom, and independence.”

Then composers began to use the abstract term "Sonata" for these suites and began connecting them with bridging passages. The "chamber sonatas" kept their dance characteristics, but the "church sonatas" got to be interesting simply as pure music. Now when composers began federating the military band and the indoor orchestra for their princely patrons, the former gave inspiration for march music and the latter gave inspiration for minuets and lyric melodies.

By 1787, the year of our Federal Constitution, Mozart and Haydn had perfected "symphonies" in several movements to be played by these federated orchestras, and these symphonies were based on a highly developed sonata principle which in some movements united and expanded march, dance, and lyric music, polyphonic and harmonic styles, all within the same framework. Mozart, in 1787, even wrote a symphonic opera, *Don Giovanni*, in which voices, personalities, and symphony orchestra are blended into a perfect unity, every part keeping its individuality but retaining no "sovereignty" over the others.

During this same decade, the Emperor Joseph II made some attempts to put some liberal reforms into effect which aimed to tolerate differences more than was usual. But this achievement of "unity by inclusion" on the European Continent was perfected only in music. In politics it was carried out in our Federal Constitution, but not until opponents had used all of the same arguments which are heard so loudly proclaimed today against world federation.

In answer to these opponents, John Jay, in *The Federalist* (No. 2), pointed out that to have a government, "the people must cede to it some of their natural rights, in order to vest it with requisite powers." Similarly the trumpeters and drummers, who were top virtuosi in Prince Esterhazy's *Harmonie*, had to cede some of their rights, sit on uncomfortable gilded chairs, and count rests until the director signaled them to come in here and there.

Provision was made, however, in symphonic music and in parliamentary politics, for giving the virtuoso a chance to shine. The concerto, for soloist and orchestra, was and is the top-flight opportunity for the artist capable of playing with orchestral accompaniment. Nearly every instrument in the orchestra has had concertos written for it. Every member of the orchestra can aspire to play a concerto, just as every Congressman can aspire to make a speech which will sway his colleagues. The concerto principle involves the art of *unity by opposition*, in pitting a soloist (or a group of soloists, as in the *concerto grosso*)

against the rest. This is called the two-party system in politics, and presupposes the necessity of a "loyal opposition."

1. VIENNA AS A POTENTIAL CENTER FOR UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

The dual monarchy, Austria-Hungary, where the symphony had its richest development, came closer to realizing the federation principle in politics than any other Great Power. It did unite very diverse elements within its boundaries, but it lacked the democratic basis without which true federation cannot be accomplished. Nevertheless, the dual principle so necessary for musical arts did thrive in Austria-Hungary, just as it thrived in the politics of the United States. Vienna, meeting-point for North and South, East and West, German-Italian and Gallic-Slavic elements, *was and always can be* a center for the European nervous system.

Psychologically, Vienna, more than any other center, has responded to the waves of optimism and pessimism which have swept Europe. We find both in the great masters of the nineteenth century Viennese School; we find both in the gloomy heroism of Beethoven's "Funeral March," offset by the heroic optimism of the other movements of his *Third Symphony*; we find both in Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" on the one hand and "Hark, Hark, the Lark" on the other; we find both in the "laughter through tears" of the Strauss waltz or "The Old Refrain." All these were manifest in the contradictory era of *optimistic militarism*.

But when the pendulum swung to the extremes of love-deaths in Wagner and the self-pity of despair in Tchaikovsky's last symphonic movement (1893), and toward *pessimistic pacifism*, Vienna swung also to "the dark underworld of psycho-analysis," as Freud himself called it, and to the negativistic principles of Arnold Schönberg in music.

2. THE NEGATIVISM OF THE "NEW ORDER"

In a letter written in 1915* Schönberg laid down his plan for a new order in music, rejecting the old dual principles of major-minor tonality and thematic contrast, calling for music in which *one theme*, an arbitrary "tone-row," *should dictate the entire texture and structure* of a composition.

Schönberg was unconsciously reflecting the negativistic current of feeling which flashed through war-torn Europe; to this day he probably

* To Nicolas Slonimsky, in *Music Since 1900* (Norton, New York, 1937). n. 574.

ERRATA

Page 73: For 1915, read 1937.

Page 74: Paragraph two, line one. For *letter*, read *music*.

‡ For p. 146, read pp. 136, 147.

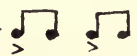
‡ For p. 148, read pp. 139, 148.

¶ For p. 151, read p. 167.

** For p. 167, read p. 151.

is unaware that his demand for the dictatorship of one dissonant theme, "without tonality," was akin in principle to the one-party theories of Fascism which finally made him and his colleagues exiles.

Little did he or anyone else realize the implications of this music and the theory supporting it; in 1939, in these United States federated on the symphonic principle of dualism in politics, Ernst Krenek, disciple of Schönberg, came out in support of atonality, urging that it should be the new basis for musical organization, since the symphonic form ended with the fall of the Hapsburg Empire!* Krenek then proceeded to use the terms all too familiar in totalitarian terminology. Proclaiming the "decay" and "dissolution" of tonality,† he proceeded to announce the "liquidation of the sonata,"‡ "the elimination of the triad" and "disappearance" of the three-part consonance§ which Bodin had made basic in 1600, and the "removal" of the "impediment" of "fixed rhythmic patterns."|| He then eulogized atonal music for its "renunciation of the extensive and popular vocabulary of the consonant triads,"¶ and found the great virtue of atonal music to be the absence of "decorative, craftsmanlike applications of artistic elements . . . subordinated to the everyday requirements of life!" "Ornamentation" of any sort is anathema.** Since then, in showing young composers how not to write music in the old, free forms of tonality, Krenek continues old trends toward negative pedagogy by saying, "The octave is not allowed." With the old framework of musical repose thus *verboten*, he goes on to demand that new music shall be based upon "the principle of continuous tension!"††

In the meantime, between Schönberg's letter and Krenek's books, one Adolf Schicklgruber, of low estate, but sensitive, as Austrians always have been, to world feeling and to dramatic values, changed his name to the simple, "fixed rhythmic pattern" of stage names— He saw to it that this radical music of continuous tension was banned in Germany and turned to the Prussian march as a means of German

* Ernst Krenek, *Music Here and Now* (Norton, New York, 1939), pp. 134-35.

† *Ibid.*, p. 146.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 148. What Krenek could have said is that the symphonic principle did flourish under the Hapsburgs, who held to the Holy Roman Empire tradition of federation, but that the principle was neglected when the Hapsburgs turned to nationalism. However, a sound principle cannot die altogether.

§ Ernst Krenek, *Music Here and Now*, p. 148.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

** *Ibid.*, p. 167.

†† Ernst Krenek, *Studies in Counterpoint Based on the 12-Tone Technique* (Schirmer, New York, 1940), p. 7.

unification. Austria was murdered in cold blood to the hateful abuse of Haydn's "Emperor" melody. One party now reigned supreme; the principles of dualism and opposition were banished and the whole continent of Europe has been in a state of continuous tension ever since, a state perfectly exemplified in Schönberg's recent "Concerto for Violin and Orchestra."

To such a pass do we come when composers themselves fail and are not permitted to see any connection between their art of music and the art of politics! In 1815 the world's greatest symphonist, Beethoven, was the composer of the occasion at the Congress of optimistic Vienna; in 1915 pessimistic Vienna inspired music which demonstrated "the loneliness and alienation of humanity"* in the work of Schönberg. The latter, unlike Beethoven,† would have been horrified to have anyone suggest that his ideas would be put into effect by politicians. Beethoven *wanted* his ideals to be put into effect; they can and will be yet, if we of the democratic world have our way.

All this is mentioned to show that historic Vienna, as a nerve center for Europe, is to be reckoned with in any future plans for federation. The dramatic meetings of "Axis" dictators on a line running through the Brenner Pass, Vienna, and Munich, offer more evidence of the strategic value of this part of Europe as a cultural hub which would serve future democratic plans just as well as they have served the purposes of Hitler. The treaty-makers of 1919-1920 made one of their most colossal mistakes in isolating this nerve center which has registered and radiated so much throughout the world, for good and for evil, for hope and for despair.

3. THE GLOBAL MARCH OF THE FUTURE

In 1931 a young American executive presided over an international meeting of business and professional men in Vienna. There is symbolic significance in this first meeting of old Vienna with young America, also in the fact that this organization was and is known as "Rotary International." As the name suggests, this organization rotates its officers and convention cities throughout the world; the symbol for all these "Rotary Clubs" is the wheel.

* Krenek, *Music Here and Now*, p. 165.

† Beethoven was even willing to write some very banal music in order to please the unmusical politicians at Vienna, hoping perhaps that his own anti-imperialistic, democratic ideals might have a hearing. His "Wellington's Victory" sounds very thin today, but its fanfares and cannon shots spelled liberation from a dictator who had terrified all Europe. Today some composers pride themselves on their failure to reach the common man.

Man of some sort has been roaming this globe for ten thousand centuries or so, but only recently has he developed brains enough to make wheels carry himself and his baggage around. Still more recently, he has made wheels do all kinds of work for him.* Maybe Rotary has something there: perhaps the wheel suggests a new philosophy of social progress. It took man most of these many thousands of years to find out that the earth goes around the sun, not vice versa. Now he has wheels which leave the ground and fly him around the earth in less time than it took to go from Mount Vernon to New York in Washington's time, or from Vienna to Rome in Beethoven's day. Perhaps it is about time that we begin to envision the progress of civilization as freely encircling the globe, not merely as proceeding forward, and certainly not entirely from East to West. Land-bound thinking has made boundaries matters of exaggerated importance; global progress must transcend boundaries.

Unfortunately, however, self-centered humanity has always been slow to accept global concepts. Every new theory, even every new fact about the globe on which we live, encounters stubborn indifference or opposition.

The first basic fact, the roundness of the earth, was not generally accepted until men went around it and "saw" for themselves.

The second basic fact, rotation of the earth on its axis around the sun, aroused all those who feared the destruction of "the old-time religion."

The third basic fact, the interdependence of all rotating members of all solar systems in the universe, came to be accepted after the first two were admitted, but its full implications have yet to be realized.

Aristotle and the Pythagoreans before him had reasoned out the fact of terrestrial rotundity by watching ships approaching on the horizon and by other observations. Men still were skeptical, however; they refused to be convinced until they themselves could make the round trip. Flat-footed humans marching on flat ground and fond of flat statements have now and then continued to insist that the world itself is flat; only yesterday the late Mr. Voliva of flat Zion City, suburb of flat Chicago, was insisting that any fool could see that the whole earth is flat.

Aristarchus of Samos, in 270 B.C., went farther than Aristotle and dared to assert that the earth revolved around the sun—not vice versa.

* See Ray Lyman Wilbur, "Wheels," in *Human Hopes* (Stanford University Press, 1940), pp. 359-67.

For this he was rebuked. The old-time religion was good enough for the Greeks, and Aristarchus was put down as a dangerous, impious fanatic. It was eighteen centuries before a scientist dared to revive that notion. When Copernicus did so, in the sixteenth century, A.D., Martin Luther protested that "the fool is trying to overthrow the whole art of astronomy, but the Bible points out that Joshua made the sun and not the earth stand still." A few closed minds were still echoing Martin Luther's condemnation as late as 1900, when a German pedant in this country hoped and prayed "that the days of the pernicious Copernican system may be numbered."*

Now, finally, all our churches as well as all our schools accept the facts made clear by astronomers since Copernicus. What we now call the Copernican revolution did wonders for mankind. It changed man's concept of an earth-centered universe. Gradually and painfully men had to admit that our own world is only one of many; that the sun, not the earth, is the center; that the sun itself revolves around its axis; that all the stars we see are other suns, each with an interdependent system of its own; and that these systems have worked fairly well for millions of light-years.

There are other applications to be made of the famous Copernican theory, and these are more important to us now than our knowledge of astronomy. The Copernican revolution has not yet affected man's thinking in the vastly more important realm of global human affairs.

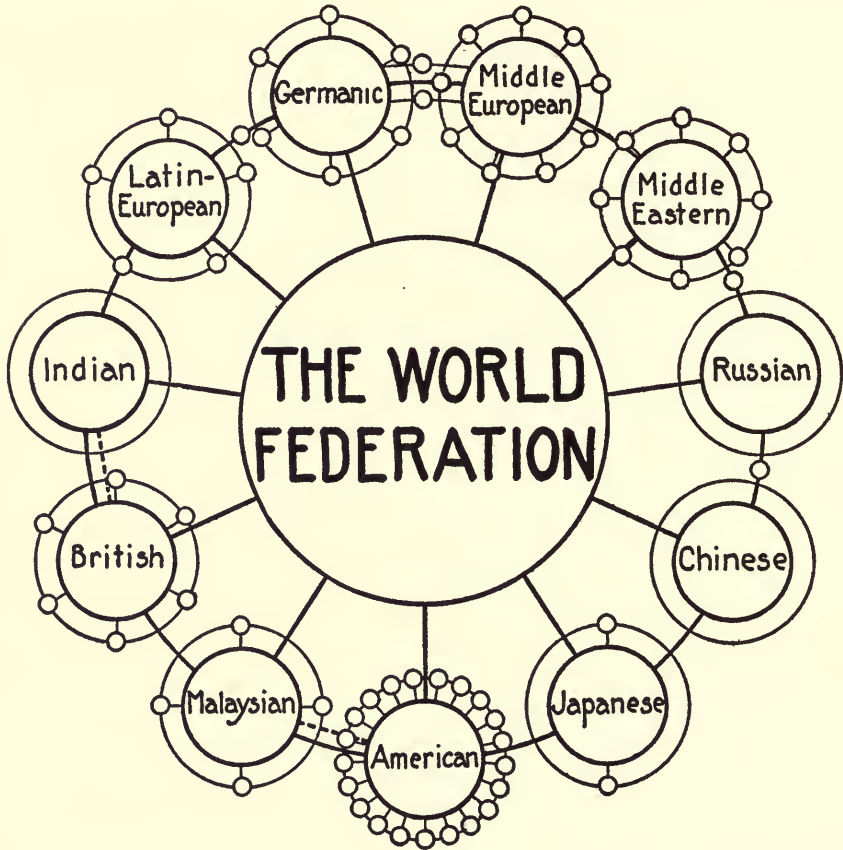
Puny man, an infinitesimal fraction of a speck in an inconceivably vast solar system, deserves a lot of credit for learning about that system. Science has revealed many secrets, and we are justly proud of it. But the greatest and the wisest of men can claim no credit for the system. "The heavens declare the glory of *God*"—not of man; "the firmament showeth *His* handiwork"—not one bit of it is ours. We can claim credit only for the systems we organize ourselves.

Now that we look at the human beings swarming, squirming, kicking, quarreling, and murdering each other all over this regularly rotating globe, it is apparent that our systems, our schemes for human relationships, have broken down. Why has it not occurred to someone to work out a global political system on the principles discovered four centuries ago by Copernicus and elaborated by his successors, from Kepler and Galileo to Newton and Einstein? Why has no one suggested

* Dorothy Stimson, *The Gradual Acceptance of the Copernican Theory of the Universe* (New York, 1917), p. 103.

ways by which human governments might rotate about each other and about a sort of social solar center in some sort of harmonious adjustment? At long last one man at least has dared to do so.

In summarizing his plan for a World Federation, Ely Culbertson offers a fascinating diagram of his suggested Regional Federations,



eleven in number, held together by common ties and grouped about a central government. His description of the system is as follows:

The system of the World Federation, when considered as a schematic abstraction, may be broadly likened to a system or galaxy of suns. Each of the eleven Regional Federations (American, British, Russian, Chinese and three European; Middle Eastern, Javanese, Malaysian and Indian) is a "sun." Around each "sun" revolve on their own sovereign axes, a number of states (e.g., twenty-one in the American, North, South and Central). They are held in their "planetary orbits" by psycho-social and economic forces. The eleven "suns," in turn, revolve around

the World Federation Government. And the whole system is held together by the Constitution of the World Federation.*

That analogy is breath-taking in its daring. But a scheme for peaceful world federation will have to be as bold and challenging as a dictator's bid for world conquest. Only bold schemes succeed.

It took bold thinking for Copernicus to arrive at his conclusions concerning the solar system. Vested interests and ultraconservative timidity fought this heretical nonsense about a movable earth. Copernicus had outraged all the old religious beliefs concerning Creation and man's central position in the universe. Not only Catholics and Protestants but professional scientists lined up against his system.

The old-time religion, good enough for some, will now be that which worships the sovereign, immovable nation in all its isolated sanctity. But a world federation meets their objections by keeping both nationalism and sovereignty within a global framework. Nations cannot abandon nationalism any more than persons can abandon personality. Without national pride there is no motive power for government. It need only be harnessed and controlled, allotting sovereignty to national federations with every power but one—the power to make war independently.

The history of uncontrolled nationalism has been seen in this history of the march. The rising sun, moon, and stars have all been symbols of national pride; but no nation has succeeded in being a solar system unto itself, in grand isolation. The world is now so small and so completely interdependent that one governmental sun must suffice, just as one is enough in our planetary system.

As soon as the heliocentric concept of the universe began to gain acceptance, the first great marching ruler of a nationalistic state in the modern sense took the sun as his emblem. Louis XIV, as "Le roi soleil," saw to it that the planets and satellites of French nobility revolved about his person with the stately magnificence of orbs in the starry firmament. For over three centuries every "Great Power" has followed Louis' lead in developing a sovereign state responsible to no central authority outside of itself. Two countries pursued this nationalistic philosophy to its logical extreme. Imperial Germany started to expand in the nineteenth century with the apparently innocuous desire of having "a place in the sun," then assumed the right to be the sun itself in a system which

* Ely Culbertson, *World Federation Plan* (Summary), (Garden City Publishing Co., 1943, Garden City, New York), p. 23.

spelled stark ruin, death, and destruction for her conquered satellites. The "rising sun" of Nippon took up a similar course.

"Negotiation" with opposing solar systems, when they once get into operation, is manifestly impossible. Nothing but chaos can result when they collide. When totalitarian nations are mechanically efficient, coldly ruthless, absolutely devoid of anything remotely resembling human scruples, inventive, subtle, and in command of tremendous fire-power, the simile of two political solar systems seems fairly apt. There are objections, however, which make the German and Japanese systems unworthy of the comparison. The irresistible force of one vast system can never conquer the immovable force of another to synthesize a smoothly working system for the globe. Aggressive war can destroy but cannot make a working system. Obviously *a smoothly functioning global system must be based upon law*. That law can be found in the working of our universe. The solar system works because of gravitation, a force which compels every body in the universe to *attract* other bodies. It was Sir Isaac Newton who discovered that every mass of matter tends toward every other with a force which varies directly as the product of the masses and inversely as the square of their distances apart.

Each of the planets is quite different from the others. If life exists on Mars or Venus, it is life which is entirely at variance from life as we know it on Earth. This does not alter the physical facts of planetary interdependence and attraction, however. Each member has its place in the system, *in a given region*. Each is sovereign in its own right, but all depend for their continued existence on a mutual power of attraction.

Culbertson is the first to show that a global system of federated governments, each entirely different, each in a region of its own, can be organized so that all can attract each other in an interdependent, rotating system. What he calls "psycho-social and economic forces" are to his World Federation what the force of gravitation is to the federation of planets in which we live, move, and have our being.

The epochal audacity of this proposal is rivaled only by the boldness of Copernicus in denying the fixity of the earth. To say that a world federation can be organized on a gravitational principle of social attraction is to deny the basic tenets of old-time nationalistic faiths. All the romantic blah concerning international brotherhood is meaningless so long as nations maintain armies, navies, and air forces with which they can march against and *repel* each other on land and sea and in the air.

How does Culbertson reconcile the facts of military necessity with

his belief in potentially attractive forces of social gravitation? He does so by realistic acceptance of the necessity for armed forces and by offering a plan by which every nation on earth is represented equitably in a World Police system to keep global order under the central control of a world government which rotates in space and in time. (Every six years the central government is to be housed in a different region.)

With no section of the earth more than fifty hours distant from any other section, by plane, it is obvious that civilization depends upon the way in which force is to be used in the future. If we can revolutionize our thinking as Culbertson suggests, and can turn our enormous global energy into a gravitational force of mutual social attraction, the possibilities for a new world are limitless. If military might is to continue, as of old, to act as an anti-gravitational force of mutual social repulsion, there is no prospect of anything but greater destruction and even more terrible tyrannies than the suffering world has already known.

Newton's law of gravitation in an orderly universe has never been applied to political theory. Social scientists have never got beyond his First Law of Motion. After Newton's formulation of that law, it was easy to envisage *progress in straight lines* (until deflected) for a nation proud of its armies. Then with the development of the belief in evolution, i.e., the doctrine of progress applied to biology, it became fashionable to conceive of the state as a biological organism. The idea of progress and the biological analogy for individual states have been great stumbling blocks which prevented thinkers from envisaging world politics in terms of social attraction.

The overrated individual (or nation) which plunges *straight ahead* to an objective, looking neither to the right, to the left, nor behind, exemplifies the short-sighted, narrow-minded way of life which cannot see beyond the end of the nose. On the other hand, the romanticist who "looks ahead" to rosy but vague glows on the distant horizon goes to the other extreme and fails abjectly when he tries to lead the way.

It becomes obvious that no postwar settlements will work unless they bring opportunity for progress to the jungles of the Amazon and the plains of Mongolia, "from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand." To make such settlements workable, all United Nations will need to hear and see each other's representatives. Why could not this be done, not only on radio and screen, but with a series of congresses rotating internationally throughout the world during the proposed "cooling-off process"?

And what could be more appropriate than a new Congress of Vienna, under American initiative, as one of the first of these spectacular meetings? Vienna, perhaps the least nationalistic of European centers, was and always can be a central clearinghouse and source of the symphonic arts of music which demonstrate so clearly the cultural unity of Europe. The United States is the central source of the symphonic arts of politics, having demonstrated by its constitutional federation, which has stood the strains and stresses of these hundred and fifty years, that differences *can* be united.

Great Britain, champion of decency and freedom, with such representatives as General Smuts, could bring to this Congress the new concept of a commonwealth of nations which has replaced the old, frightening shibboleth of empire.

Soviet Russia, the first country in history to use productive tools as national insignia, has achieved a record in her federation of seven republics and 135 racial stocks. Her contribution to these congresses would be a show of power which all nations can emulate—a power which has destroyed all invaders and can be turned to production for the good of all. East *does* meet West in Russia and New China. Under a world federation on the symphonic principle, with each nation ceding some of its sovereignty for the good of all, these pioneer nations, if given a chance, will show us how to roll up our sleeves and make the system work. So will all the other Americas and the liberated nations of the world now under the conqueror's heel. Must we be bombed ourselves to be fully awakened?

It remains to be seen whether this generation is equal to the challenge, whether we can be big enough to put our shoulders to this enormous wheel of Progress and march with it. Too many will want to climb on the bandwagon and ride in comfort after the fighting stops. The American Rotarians who visited Vienna in 1931 enjoyed the lavish hospitality of a struggling, ill-fated Socialist government which tried to emulate the hospitality of their forbears who entertained the Powers in 1815. These Americans, however, belonged to a generation which had thought of Europe only as a vacation land in time of peace and a good place to steer clear of in time of war. They probably believed, as most good Republicans did then, that Europe and America should be kept as far apart as government and business. But every event in Europe before and since has radically altered their lives. Their children were softened for a while by the strains of defeatist popular music. The

latter was definitely in the wake of the Viennese theorists who lauded music expressing "the loneliness and alienation of humanity."

A marching, disciplined America has finally reawakened. When United Nations men march into Vienna it will be to new marches similar to those which our men call *service songs*. These tunes put to shame the musical hogwash which is fed to American civilians, just as the men themselves put us civilians to shame for our selfishness and stupidity. We shall never emerge from confusion and bewilderment, Fascism, and war if the serious music of the future continues to favor the atonal dissonance of despair, and popular music the romantic hypocrisy of self-indulgent lushness. Nor will the brassy *Harmoniemusik* of nationalism mean what it used to mean to the narrow-minded, without "symphonic" variety. *We shall certainly lose the peace again* to specious reasoning and sound logic from false premises if we trust education to argument alone. We shall certainly lose the peace if education hopes to win both the war and the peace with science and technology only, abandoning the arts and the humanities "for the duration."

We will win the peace, however, if we make the whole round world feel like uniting in a common cause, if we continue to hear



with all Allies singing, with the Chinese, "Work as One," and with the Russians and the British, "All for one and one for all" in the spirit of the great symphonists—Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt.

The concept of the wheel is significant. Americans were the first to use it as a symbol of international friendship; but our enemies were the first to use it in international politics. *An axis is essential*; a wheel is useless without it. "Rotary" failed in Europe; the democratic world had forged no axis around which it could revolve. The totalitarian axis has stalled the wheels of Europe; it soon ran dry without the lubricating reservoir of world friendship. A better and well-oiled axis is needed.

The moral rehabilitation of Germany and Italy is absolutely essential for European stability and world peace. The center for that task could remain exactly where the dramatic instinct of Hitler placed it, in Vienna;

but it would have to be under democratic leadership having no taint of ancient autocracy or Fascist ideology. When Hitler conquered Vienna with a show of brute force, he conquered the heart of Europe. When Vienna is recaptured by the world to which she has given so much, she can become a center for moral values in world politics just as she has always been a center for artistic achievement. Thus the democratic axis could begin to function for wheels of global federation which might carry freedom and justice, art and learning to all the world.

As can be seen from the calendar opposite, the trends of modern times have been away from the glorious ideals of political unification and the symphonic tradition with which the century began. The calendar on page 70 indicated the gradual emergence of these arts of political and musical unity. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, have witnessed too much stress on the personal and national needs of selfish mankind. This has led to civil war and world revolutions which have finally split the globe into two factions marching against each other. This has happened in spite of the mechanical unifications provided by science and technology. We have annihilated time and space, but men have been forced apart farther than ever before.

We are now forced to turn back to the great principles of unification found in the work of our great masters—in music and in society. The first plans based upon these principles may be faulty in detail, as all first plans are, but these can be remedied if we learn to think in global terms, keep marching in thought, and “Work as One.”

FROM SYMPHONIES AND FEDERATIONS TO DISSONANCE AND DISUNITY

I. THE ERA OF NAPOLEON, BEETHOVEN, AND MONROE

1800. Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
1803. The Louisiana Purchase. Beginnings of Federal system for Switzerland.
1804. Coronation of Napoleon and disappointment of those who looked to him as one who might unite Europe on revolutionary ideals. Beethoven changes dedication of the *Eroica Symphony* (No. 3). Steam railways and steamboats appear.
- 1814-15. Congress of Vienna. Union of Norway and Sweden (until 1905). "Holy" Alliance engineered by the Great Powers under absolutist principles to prevent revolutions. Treaty of Ghent, ending Anglo-American War. Final revision of Beethoven's *Fidelio*, opera based upon the theme of human justice.
1817. Rush-Bagot Agreement. Beethoven begins *Ninth Symphony*, federating voices with orchestra in Schiller's "Ode to Joy."
1819. Florida ceded by Spain to United States.
1820. Missouri Compromise, revealing conflicting interests of the North and the slave states.
1821. Death of Napoleon. Von Weber's *Der Freischütz*, beginning German romantic opera. Greek Revolt.
1823. The Monroe Doctrine.
1826. Death of Jefferson. 1827. Death of Beethoven. 1828. Death of Schubert. End of the great classical symphony tradition. John Quincy Adams defeated for re-election by Jackson. End of "The American System," with its emphasis on federal strength. Beginning of sectionalism, spoils system, and other causes of Civil War.

II. THE ROMANTIC ERA

1830. *Symphonie fantastique*, by Berlioz, with the new romantic emphasis on personal suffering. Revolution in France. Belgium separates from Holland. Polish revolt and absorption by Russia.
1831. Death of Monroe. Beginnings of humanitarian movements in England and United States.
1848. Unsuccessful revolutions in Europe. Fall of Metternich and of hopes for German Confederation. Communist Manifesto. Wagner's *Art and Revolution; Lohengrin*.
- 1851-52. Napoleon III and Third Empire. First great World Exhibition in London.
1853. Invention of the multiple telegraph.
- 1861-64. Civil War, for the preservation of the American Union. Wagner seeks unity of arts, succeeds in bolstering German nationalism.
- 1870-71. Defeat of France by Prussia. Prussia affects formation of German "Empire," really a confederation of German states, not for peaceful federation, but for eventual conquest. Unification of Italy.

III. THE POST-ROMANTIC ERA

1875. International Postal Union accomplishes unity of the world by mail.
1876. United States Centennial. Invention of the telephone.
1877. Brahms's *First Symphony* revives classic symphony tradition, in Vienna.
1893. Tchaikovsky's *Symphonie Pathétique* (his last), ending at variance with classical tradition, on a note of pessimism and despair.
1900. Beginnings of international "conciliation" movements, automobiles and highways.
1903. First heavier-than-air flying machines (airplanes).
1905. Japanese attack Russia without warning at Port Arthur. Norway and Sweden separate.
1914. End of "conciliation." 1919. League of Nations, inadequate because statesmen lose sight of neglected federation principle.

IV. THE ARMISTICE PERIOD

- 1919-1939. *Perfection of world unification* by air transport, radio broadcasting, sound film, and television. *Destruction of world unification* by Fascism, Nazism, Shintoism, and by negativism in democratic countries.

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Appendix

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER I

APPENDIX

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER I

Chapter i was originally presented as a lecture at Stanford University, at Teachers' College, New York City, and in Washington, D.C., during the summer of 1942. At that time it was a summary of a history of the march which had been projected by the author but left unfinished. That history has yet to be written; a definitive and comprehensive study of the march must be preceded by much greater accumulation of data. In the meantime, however, the issues involved have seemed timely enough to justify their presentation in this volume. Chapter i can be presented as a lecture, as it was originally given, by the author or by others.* With the use of the records indicated it offers the most dramatic use of the material and gives a quick survey of the history of music and society in one hour and a half. This supplement could also be used in classroom work, not only in music but also in social studies programs and in war-orientation and -morale courses. Each and any of the sixteen sections could there be enlarged, with leisurely study of the materials suggested, in all their completeness, and with extensions and additions from the inexhaustible mine of materials available on the subject. Where suggested records† are not obtainable, resourceful teachers will find others.

A.

♩ = 112 PRELUDE

Our march - ing civ - i - li - za - tion,

Drums and trumpets play a short fanfare on this theme. Trumpets imitate each other on the major triad; clarinets and piccolos enter near the end with the first measures of "Dixie" and "Yankee Doodle." Then bass drum continues through what follows in the same tempo with this rhythm:

* Permission to use the chapter as a lecture with the musical illustrations can be had from the Stanford University Press. Cue sheets for choir and parts for band can be provided. For details, address Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California.

† In indicating records, V stands for Victor, C for Columbia, and D for Decca.

B. Sopranos and altos repeat—with triangle:

2/4

Pat - a - cake, pat - a - cake, bak-er's man

This lit-tle pig went to mar-ket | This lit - tle pig stay'd home

B1. Drum continues without pause—same tempo, same drum-rhythm:

♩ = 112 Sopranos and Altos

(All voices)

Sur le pont d'A-vign - on on y dans - e, on y dans - e.

Lon - don Bridge is fall - ing down fall - ing down, fall - ing down,

Drum

C.

Trumpets

Men

Here comes the bridel

8ves The March of Tone!

Trumpets

8ves

Cl. Time marches on! until we ourselves are marched to the *Grave*.

On the word *Grave*, the last two measures of Chopin's Funeral March, from the Sonata, Opus. 35. On the final chord the drum stops.

1. THE RUDIMENTS OF MARCH MUSIC

a) *Percussive Noise for Stirring Up Excitement*

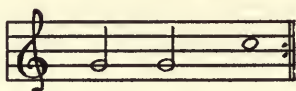
1. Record: *African Music*, V-P10, Vol. I, Record 12. Play this through the words, "Greeks, and Romans." On the word "kettledrums," use tympani, if available.

b) *The Commanding Trumpet*

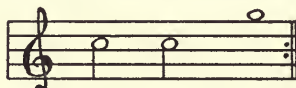
2. *African Music*, as cited, Record 9.

On the words, "thunders and lightnings," use bass-drum roll.

- D. Choir shouts: *Thou shalt not*, then trumpet plays repeatedly:



- D1. At the words "two trumpets," second trumpet joins the first, playing



Both continue until the word "generations."

- D2. Baritone solo:

Exodus 15: 1

Az - ya - shir - mo - she, ub - ne Is - ra - el eth hash - i - roth
haz - oth l'a - do - noy va - yo - me - ru le-mor.

- D3. Brass fanfare on the words "marching legions."

c) *Pipes and Reeds for Dance-Marches*

- D4. These melodies on piccolo, clarinet, oboe, and bassoon. Use bagpipes if available.

2. THE MEDIEVAL PROCESSIONAL MARCH

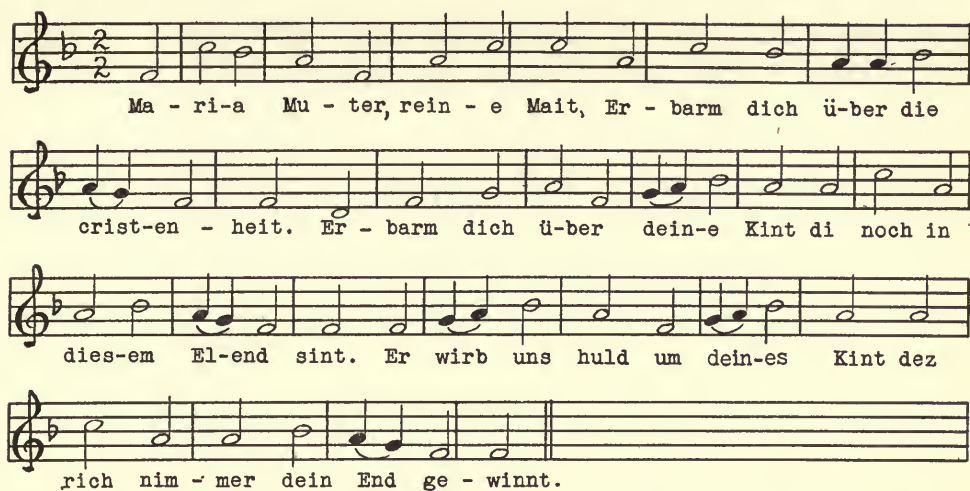
3. Record: Any *Kyrie* from VM-69 or VM-87.
- E. Men shout *Kyrie eleison*, with noise of striking metal.
4. V-20127-A

F.

FLAGELLANT'S HYMN

1349

(Wearily, with nasal tone)

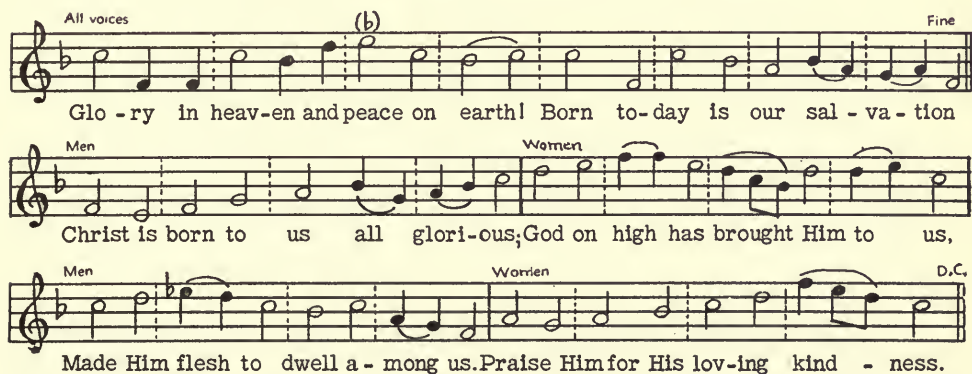


Ma - ri-a Mu - ter, rein - e Mait, Er - barm dich ü - ber die
 crist - en - heit. Er - barm dich ü - ber dein - e Kint di noch in
 dies - em El - end sint. Er wirb uns huld um dein - es Kint dez
 rich nim - mer dein End ge - winnt.

Record version, VM-739; 4. See Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte in Beispielen* (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1931), p. 17. For English words, see Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, Norton, 1940), p. 239, or Georgia Stevens, *Medieval and Renaissance Choral Music* (Boston, McLaughlin and Reilly, 1940), p. 69.

F1.

LAUDE OR CHRISTMAS PROCESSIONAL HYMN



All voices (b) Fine
 Glo - ry in heav - en and peace on earth! Born to - day is our sal - va - tion
 Men Women
 Christ is born to us all glori - ous, God on high has brought Him to us,
 Men Women D.C.
 Made Him flesh to dwell a - mong us. Praise Him for His lov - ing kind - ness.

As given in Adler, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Berlin, Hesse), Vol. I, p. 211. Translation from the Italian by W. D. Allen.

F2.

THE OXYRHYNOS HYMN

(Greek-Christian, third century, A.D., discovered in 1922)

All prais-es be to Thee, Lord God Al-might-y,
 Heav-en and earth mag-ni-fy Thee. All the
 stars a-bove and crea-tures here be-low, Waves and the
 riv-ers join us in prais-ing Fa-ther and
 Son and Ho-ly Ghost. All the an-gels and
 arch-an-gels cry a-loud: A-men, A-men, Ho-
 san-na in the high-est; Glo-ry and hon-or and
 pow'r be un-to Thee, both Now and ev-er more. A-men.

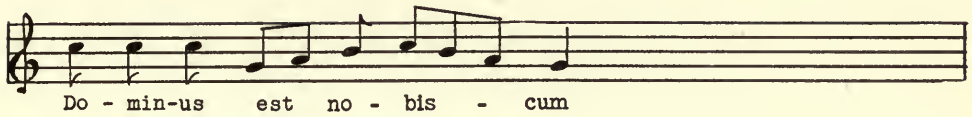
For reproduction of original papyrus and Greek text, see Otto Ursprung, *Die Katholische Musik*, in Bucken's *Handbuch der Musik-Wissenschaft* (Potsdam, Athenaeon, 1931), p. 12. This English adaptation is by W. D. Allen.

3. THE DANCE-MARCH OF THE RENAISSANCE

5. Record: *Columbia History of Music*, Vol. I, p. 12. Available in *Singing Through the Ages, Contrapuntal Songs*, ed. by Harris and Evanson, American Book Co., 1940, p. 1.
6. Record: *Anthologie sonore*, Vol. I, 5b; or Peter Warlock, *Capriol Suite*, D-K 576.

4. THE LUTHERAN MARCH

G.



G1.



After the words "official approval," repeat the last phrase on the piano.

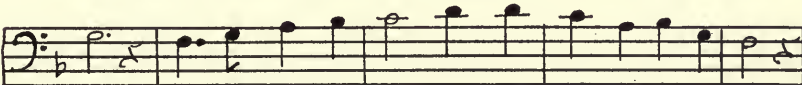
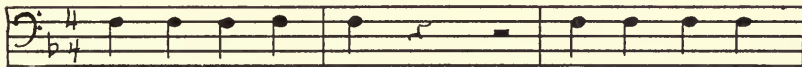
5. THE BRUTAL AND SENTIMENTAL MARCH—THIRTY YEARS' WAR

H.

WIR ZOGEN ("WE'RE MARCHING")

Men's voices (brutally, with staccato shouts)

Hüt dich, Bau'r, ich kumm!
 Hüt dich, Bau'r, ich kumm!
 Wir zogen in das feld.
 Doch hätt'n wir weder Wein noch Brot,
 Strampede mi!
 A la mi presente
 Al vostra signori.



English translation by W. D. Allen. For the complete song, see the Nazi song-book, *HJ [Hitler Jugend] Singt* (Mainz, Schott, 1933), p. 24.

I.

SUMMER SONG

Es geht wohl zu der Som-mers-zeit; der Win-ter fährt da-hin. Man-
 cher Sol-dat zu Feld-e leit, wie ich be-rich-tet bin, zu
 Fuss und auch zu Pferd, wie man nur ihn be-gehrt ganz
 mun-ter be-sun-der die be-ste Rel-te-rei; ein
 gan-ze wer-te Rit-ter-schaft, Fuss-volk ist auch da-bel.

For the complete song, see *HJ Singt!*, p. 30.

J.

HARK, CHILD, HARK

(Women alone)

Hark, child, hark how the Storm-wind rides and emp-ties our lar-der.
 If the Bruns-wick-er stands out-side, he'll seize us still hard-er.
 Learn to pray, my child, and fold your hands so tight;
 So that God will strike the mad-man in the fight!

English translation by W. D. Allen. For the German version, see *HJ Singt!*, p. 32.

J1. MEIN FUSS' IST MÜD' VON WANDERN

Solo Baritone

My foot is tired from wan-d'ring, My purse is emp - ty,
see? The Kai-ser beat all Flan-ders, But what is that to me?

K. Men shout: "Fire, in the Name of the Lord."

6. THE RESTORATION MARCH

7. Record: Henry Purcell, "Rejoice in the Lord" (Introduction), *Columbia History of Music*, II, 2. Published by Novello, London.

L. LILLIBURLERO

Hol Brod - er Teague, dost hear de de - cree, Lil - li - bur - le - ro
bul - len a la. Dat we shall have a new dep - u - tie,
Lil - li - bur - le - ro, bul - len a la. Le - ro, le - ro,
lil - li - bur - le - ro, lil - li - bur - le - ro, bul - len a la
le - ro, le - ro, lil - li - bur - le - ro, lil - li - bur - le - ro, bul - len a la.'

For a record, *Beggars' Opera*: VM-772, 10.

8. Record, March from *Thésée* (Lully). V-7424
Published for orchestra by Music Press, Inc.
Keep record playing through section 7.

8. THE IDEALISTIC MARCH

9. Handel: Excerpts from *The Messiah*
a) Aria, "The Trumpet shall sound" (first few measures)
b) "Hallelujah Chorus" (first few measures)
Records, C-DX630/7 side 15, and VM-825-A.
10. Gabrieli: *Benedixisti, 2000 Years of Music*, 17, or
Selections by Palestrina, Lassus, or Victoria.
11. Bach, "March in D," from *Anna Magdalena's Book*, published by Schirmer, in
Bach for Beginners.
12. Record, VM-541, 16.
13. Records, *Non più andrai*, Mozart Society Album, II, 8, and *Così fan tutte*,
VM-812, 7.
14. Record, VM-542, 19.

9. THE SYMPHONIC MARCH

15. Record, Haydn, "*Military*" *Symphony* (Allegretto), V-DM 472, 3. Add bass
drum, cymbals, and triangle, as in the score, because the recording does not
permit them to be heard.
Cf. also Beethoven's "Alla marcia" from the "Choral Finale," *Ninth Symphony*
(C, Set 227, 14).

10. THE REVOLUTIONARY MARCH

M. "Yankee Doodle," with piccolo and drums.

N.

CHESTER

William Billings

Let ty - rants shake their i - ron rod And slav'ry clank her
gall - ing chains! We fear them not, we trust in God.

For the complete words and music see *Ye Olde New-England Psalm-tunes*, Wm.
Arms Fisher, ed. (Boston, Ditson, 1930), p. 7

0. Trumpets and trombones; then the Choir—

A - rise! Stand up!

01. Sing "*La Marseillaise*" as if it were a Lutheran chorale, with heavy chord accompaniment:

All-ons, en-fants de la patr-ie, le jour de gloire est arr-i-vé.

02. Choir shouts the words—*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!*

03. Sing "*La Marseillaise*" in regular way.

11. BEETHOVEN, GREATEST OF ALL MARCH COMPOSERS

04. Tenor or Soprano Solo—with accompaniment

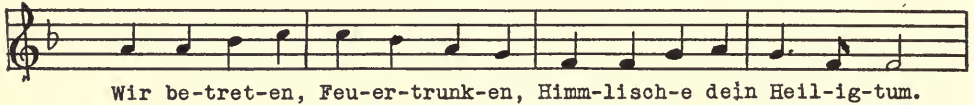
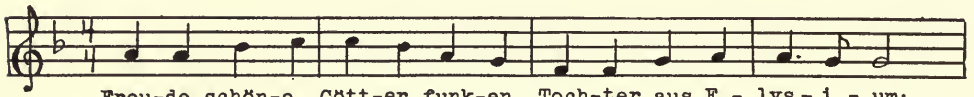
The heav'ns are tell - ing the Lord's end - less
glo - ry; His might - y name their voic - es raise;

16. Play these measures on the piano or use VM-317, 4.
17. Record: VM-245, beginning just before *ff* on record 7. The beginning of the brilliant Finale can be seen in the deeper cutting of the record.
18. Piano Sonata, Op. 26 (*Marcia funebre*)

P. Schiller

ODE TO JOY

Beethoven



12. THE ROMANTIC MARCH

19. Record, Rossini, *Overture, William Tell*, VM-605, Part 2, "The Storm."
20. *William Tell*, Part 3, "The Calm."
21. *William Tell*, Part 4, "Finale."
22. Meyerbeer, *Coronation March, Le Prophète*. Just a few measures at piano, or record VM-7104.
23. Record, V-3619.

13. RISE AND FALL OF THE HEROIC IDEAL

24. Record, VM-263, 1.
25. Record, VM-308, 1-B.
26. Record, VM-610, 1.
27. Record, VM-74, 1-B.
28. Record, V-MW-184, 6. ((The "Triumphal March" is on the same side.)
29. Piano, "Polonaise" in A major; Record, VM-353.
30. Record, V-8694.
31. Piano or Record, V-35881 (last part).
32. VM-445 or Piano.

Q.

Gim-methat old-time re - li-gion, Gim-me that old time re - li - gion,
Gim-me that old-time re - li - gion, It's good e - nough for me.

33. Record, "The Constitution and the Guerrière," from *Ballads of the American Revolution and the War of 1812*, RCA Victor Folk-Song Series, I, P-11, 9.

R. Stephen Foster: "Oh! Susanna!" Choir sings one verse.

S. Choir sings:

He flies through the air with the greatest of ease,
This daring young man on the flying trapeze.

34. Record, Pryor, "The Whistler and His Dog," V-19869.

T. Choir sings one verse.

35. Record, C-36295.

14. ALLIED PACIFISM AND "AXIS" MILITARISM

U. Choir shouts in $\frac{6}{8}$ measure.

36. Record, any Sousa march.

V. LAND[S] OF HOPE AND GLORY Elgar

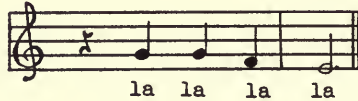
Lands of' hope and glo - ry, Moth - ers of the free,
How can we ex-tol thee, Who are born of thee?

37. Record, V-6513 or 12006.

38. Record, V-15379.

15. THE MARCH AS A MODERN WEAPON

W. Sing: (very sentimentally):



W1. Sing the German words to the motive above.

W2. Baritone solo (with pathos)

The dum - bags are pack'd a - las, the last time ;

The ham - mock's fold - ed up to hang no more. Let's give three

cheers for all of our brave com - rades. Full steam a -

head to our dear Fath - er - land. Let's give three

X. Male chorus sings, "Come, clear the streets," to the same tune, in brutal stomping rhythm. There is debate in Germany over the irregular measures of this *Horst Wessel Song*. The shifts from $\frac{4}{4}$ to $\frac{2}{4}$ and back again are functionally helpful, however, in heavy marching, because of the shift of accent from left to right now and then. English translations are by W. D. Allen. For the complete *Horst Wessel Song* see *Deutschland Erwache!* (Munich, 1934), p. 3.

39. Piano; play "America" in double-quick tempo.

Y. Choir; stamp softly, then more loudly.

40. Piano, "La Marsellaise."

41. Records of the "*Internationale*" and "Forward," Timely Recording Co., 235 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
42. *Songs of Democracy*, recorded in Spain during the Civil War and Fascist invasion, Keynote Recordings, 3b.
- Z. Choir; sing the verse with piping voices, in *minor*.
43. Record, Mossoloff, *Soviet Iron Foundry*, V-4378.

16. A NEW TYPE OF MARCH MUSIC—THE WORK SONG

44. Record, C-Set 58-1, *Songs of the Red Army*; see *15 Red Army Songs*, Am-Rus Corporation, New York.
45. Record, *Songs of New China*, Keynote Recordings, 109, 2.
46. Record, Okeh Records, 6534.

AA. Choir, "The Levee Song."

When chapter i is delivered as a lecture, the following compositions are a few of many suitable for a finale. Each has a suggestion of the march spirit, even though it may not be a march in conventional sense. The words convey the idea of moving forward in thought and aspiration, and the music in each case employs the work-song idiom:

- "Onward, Ye Peoples".....*Jan Sibelius*
(Galaxy Music Corporation, 1939)
- "Song of America".....*Eric Southey*
(Clayton F. Summy, 1942)
- "Prayer of Thanksgiving".....Netherlands Folk Song
- "America, the Beautiful" (Materna).....*Samuel A. Ward*
- "March to Victory!".....*Harry R. Wilson*
(J. Fischer & Bro., 1942)
- "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition".....*Frank Loesser*
(Paramount, 1942)
- "*Chee-Lai!*" March of the Volunteers.....*Nieh-Erh*
(Chinese News Service, 1942)
- "The United Nations".....*D. Szostakovicz*
(Am-Rus Corporation, 1942)

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