

NOSTALGIC SENSIBILITIES: ROMANTIC MUSIC IN SELECTED WORKS OF

WILLA CATHER, ERNEST HEMINGWAY, AND F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

by

NICOLE JOSEPHINE CAMASTRA

(Under the Direction of James Nagel)

ABSTRACT

Although the Modernists lauded progressive attitudes toward the arts, Ezra Pound's injunction to "make it new" did not necessarily proscribe the old, familiarity with which provided the best way to achieve his example. A strong interest in the nostalgic past characterized American literature of the era, especially the fiction of Willa Cather, Ernest Hemingway, and F. Scott Fitzgerald. Memorializing experience meant idealizing it to a degree, and Romantic music in particular helped express impressions of the individual and collective past with which the period and these writers were so preoccupied. Stemming from the Impressionism that precipitated the early twentieth-century aesthetic, a focus on sensory experience defined the capstones of the new literary era to which Cather, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald belonged. The trademark styles of all three authors therefore urge the suggestion to listen to their writing in

addition to reading it. Doing so means reevaluating the tendency to align Modern authors and their fiction with twentieth-century music, especially jazz. Ubiquitous as it was, it could not offer an adequate paradigm for certain structural and thematic concerns.

Romantic music did, and as an older aesthetic, it also provided an idiom commensurate with the nostalgic tone of particular works of fiction. Antonín Dvořák's Symphony No. 9, *From the New World*, inspired the theme of *My Ántonia* (1918). The variations genre, especially Johannes Brahms's *Variations on a Theme by Haydn*, and the castrati tradition relate to the form and content in two of Hemingway's short stories from *Winner Take Nothing* (1933), "Homage to Switzerland" and "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen." Finally, Franz Schubert's Heine Lieder seem to have galvanized Fitzgerald's development of Dick Diver, the protagonist in *Tender is the Night* (1934). Using a musical hermeneutic for these works depends on reading them as inherently nostalgic for an artistic impulse that was subsumed by a more progressive, avant-garde one. Ultimately, inspiration rests in suggestion, not duplication, and the way in which an author crafts musical influence becomes its own kind of performance.

INDEX WORDS: Modernism, Fiction, America, Music, Nostalgia,
Willa Cather, Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott
Fitzgerald, *My Ántonia*, *Winner Take Nothing*, "God
Rest You Merry, Gentlemen," "Homage to
Switzerland," *Tender is the Night*

NOSTALGIC SENSIBILITIES: ROMANTIC MUSIC IN SELECTED WORKS OF
WILLA CATHER, ERNEST HEMINGWAY, AND F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

by

NICOLE JOSEPHINE CAMASTRA

B.A., State University of New York at New Paltz, 1997

M.A., State University of New York at New Paltz, 2005

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The
University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2012

© 2012

Nicole Josephine Camastrà

All Rights Reserved

NOSTALGIC SENSIBILITIES: ROMANTIC MUSIC IN SELECTED WORKS OF
WILLA CATHER, ERNEST HEMINGWAY, AND F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

by

NICOLE JOSEPHINE CAMASTRA

Major Professor: James Nagel

Committee: Douglas Anderson
 Hubert McAlexander

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2012

DEDICATION

For Ivan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to James Nagel for his invaluable help and guidance not only with this project but with several of my endeavors over the course of my doctoral degree. My thanks also go to Douglas Anderson and Hubert McAlexander for their unique support and encouragement and for serving on my committee. All three have shown me how to become a better writer, reader, and thinker in more ways than I can count.

My work on Hemingway's "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" was helped in particular by John Sanford, who graciously offered me unpublished material on his uncle Ernest Hemingway, and Susan Beegel at the *Hemingway Review*, who supplied great editorial advice. My broader research on Hemingway in this project is indebted to conversations with Valerie Hemingway and to Robert Trogdon, who provided me with information from the Hemingway Letters Project. Additionally, the John F. Kennedy and Jimmy Carter Libraries have been instrumental in my archival work with Hemingway's manuscripts, as was the Rare Books and Special Collections Library at Princeton University for my research on F. Scott Fitzgerald. I greatly appreciate funding from the Ernest Hemingway Foundation and Society, The University of Georgia Graduate School Dean's Award, Dissertation Completion

Fellowship, and other support from the Graduate School, and The University of Georgia English Department.

This project also flourished from frequent conversations with David Haas. His breadth of knowledge in the field of musicology helped me to articulate some of my deepest intuitions about music and literature and also reminded me of why I love music in the first place.

Additionally, I would like to recognize some of my music professors from SUNY New Paltz. Mary Jane Corry, Harry Jensen, and Susan Seligman all helped this project in one way or another through their valuable tutelage. The English department at New Paltz granted similar guidance since it provided me with some of the best training for being a critical thinker and member of an academic community. I would especially like to acknowledge the love and support of Sparrow and H. R. Stoneback. Their faith in me provided the impetus for my graduate studies and sustains me still.

Special thanks go to the friends who supported me in numerous ways during the writing of this project. My family has also provided constant encouragement, including my siblings, Danielle and Jeff, my mother and stepfather, Linda and Don Drott, and especially my father, Joseph. More than any other, my husband, Ivan, deserves my utmost gratitude for his patience, faith, and love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
CHAPTER	
1 Introduction: A Hidden Muse	1
2 "A Homesick Heart": Antonín Dvořák's Symphony No. 9, <i>From the New World</i> , and Willa Cather's <i>My Ántonia</i>	63
3 The Distant Past: Musical Content and Form in Ernest Hemingway's "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" and "Homage to Switzerland".....	144
4 Swan Song: Franz Schubert's Heine Lieder and F. Scott Fitzgerald's <i>Tender is the Night</i>	227
5 Conclusion: Transposing Memory	314
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	349

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: A Hidden Muse

Although the Modernists lauded progressive attitudes toward the arts, Ezra Pound's injunction to "make it new" did not necessarily proscribe the old, familiarity with which provided the best way to achieve his example. A strong interest in the nostalgic past characterized American literature of the era, especially the fiction of Willa Cather, Ernest Hemingway, and F. Scott Fitzgerald. All three mostly employed Pound's dictum by using vintage sources in unique ways, and one influence was Romantic music. Antonín Dvořák's Symphony No. 9, *From the New World*, inspired the theme of *My Ántonia* (1918). The variations genre, particularly Johannes Brahms's *Variations on a Theme by Haydn*, and the castrati tradition relate to the form and content in two of Hemingway's short stories from *Winner Take Nothing* (1933), "Homage to Switzerland" and "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen." Finally, Franz Schubert's Heine Lieder seem to have galvanized Fitzgerald's development of Dick Diver, the protagonist in *Tender is the Night* (1934).

All three authors were familiar with these composers. Ernest Hemingway's audio collection at the Finca Vigía, his home in Cuba, contains an immense selection with well-worn album covers. Willa Cather's journalistic reviews of symphonic and operatic performances, written over several years, fill volumes. F. Scott Fitzgerald's personal library and that of his lover, Sheilah Graham, contain several books on the topic and on a major poetic muse for Schubert's late Lieder, Heinrich Heine. Using a musical hermeneutic for these works depends on reading them as inherently nostalgic for an artistic impulse that was subsumed by a more progressive, avant-garde one.¹

The term *Modernism* applies to a transnational movement and commonly refers to the historical period between World Wars I and II, but that timeline can be extended as far back as the 1890s. Beginning around the turn of the century, the trends in literature and music departed sharply from convention. Innovative applications to tonality and narrative perspective, for example, were favored over more traditional approaches. The iconoclastic concern with form also represented a break from the past. Established boundaries began to disappear, giving way to broader, unfettered expression. Similarly, stream of consciousness and unreliable narration became increasingly more common in fiction, demonstrating the idea that an objective reality was difficult to grasp and understand. Antipathy toward

nineteenth-century sentimentality also provided a cornerstone of the new ideal. Resulting partly from the example of French Symbolism but mostly from Impressionism, the new aesthetic in the United States favored selection rather than saturation, implication instead of documentation.

Chronologically, American Modernism follows Realism and Naturalism. Trying to create an objective picture of the world and document the social injustice that pervaded it, these related but distinct styles grew alongside the proliferation of information in the latter third of the 1800s, especially with the advent of the telegraph and yellow journalism. *Realism* focused on present actions and their consequences in a purely human context unassisted by external spiritual forces. People were viewed as products of social constructs. There was no transcendence, and nature offered little solace since the pantheism of the earlier part of the century had dissipated. The fiction of this period usually revolves around a moral choice, and a first- or third-person limited perspective grants insight into a protagonist's dilemma. The force of Huck Finn's famous exclamation "All right, then, I'll go to hell" depends upon his point of view.² Because it is not only unique but also intensely personal, the level of sacrifice inherent in his declaration is dramatic. More than Twain, William Dean Howells is often considered the sage of the movement and his *The Rise of Silas*

Lapham (1885) a shining example of it. An examination of the corrupting power of wealth, the novel addresses the conflict between social ambition and ethical substance; the rise of the titular character is a moral one. The fulfilling reconciliation at the end of *Silas Lapham* marks a very different tone from the often despairing one in Naturalist works.

An extension of Realism in the starker depiction of a slice of life, *Naturalism* differs in philosophic focus and depends on omniscient narration because of concerns with the economic, biologic, and social powers beyond the control of the individual. Subsequently, fiction from this period employed a framework that had access to a history of such issues and how they would determine a character's fate. Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) famously uses this point of view in order to show how Carrie, despite her efforts, can never really attain a level of contentment, for it remains past her reach. The recurring image of her in a rocking chair emphasizes motion without progress; Carrie is at the mercy of an indifferent environment. Fiction from this period persistently explored the various ways in which the self "seemed neither independent, nor unified, nor fully conscious, but rather interdependent, discontinuous, divided, and subject to the play of unconscious or inherited impulses."³ Regardless of the differences between both strains of literature, they responded to the emotionalism

and idealism of Romanticism by presenting a grittier view of the world. Modernism extended this riposte but focused far more heavily on the aesthetics of prose.

Modernism straddles the turn of the century in the nascent stages of it as Impressionism. Stemming from the artistic movement, the literary one uses similar methods in order to render reality in the most vivid way possible. Discussing the trend in American fiction, James Nagel claims that "what emerged in the 1890s was a new" creed. Nagel describes the unique approach as the endeavor to present "the sensations of a character so graphically that the reader would experience the scene directly, participating in the action on the same epistemological plane." The objective was to represent single sensory moments. Subsequently, Nagel argues that writers such as Stephen Crane explored themes that dealt largely with the struggle between "truth and illusion. Impressionistic works are always, as a result, ironic." In addition to Crane and Ambrose Bierce, both of whom Nagel maintains achieved this effect "brilliantly" with the use of "an essentially lyrical aesthetic" and "violent subject matter," Henry James also contributed to the style.⁴

James's experiments predate those of Crane and Bierce, specifically in *The Portrait of a Lady* (1885), and it prefigures his grand achievement with the aesthetic in *The Ambassadors*

(1903). Providing some of the impetus for James's work was Walter Pater's "Conclusion" to his *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873). Pater insists that the world is completely fluid and that living in it is "but the concurrence, renewed from moment to moment of forces, parting sooner or later on their ways." These agents are the "natural elements to which science" gives names.⁵ An individual can only register this process, and each perception is different because each person is imprisoned in the self. The epiphany for Lambert Strether in *The Ambassadors* is that he finally "sees," according to James. In his "Preface," he describes "the business of my tale and the march of my action, not to say the precious moral of everything, is just my demonstration of this process of vision."⁶ Strether realizes the sum of his existence is "this place and these impressions. . . . Oh I do see."⁷ Pater argues that "we have an interval, and then our place knows us no more."⁸ Ephemeral but vivid flashes are all that life can offer.

Impressionism gave way to smaller, mostly European, movements such as Aestheticism that stressed the value of beauty for the sole purpose of the sensual pleasure it offered, *l'art pour l'art*, divorced from all practical or moral considerations. In its latter paragraphs, Pater's "Conclusion" presents the essential credo. If the paramount question is how to live passionately and get the most from the short time each person

has, then the answer lies in a hypersensitivity toward every convergence and every fluid second so that one burns "always with this hard, gemlike flame." The factor that heightens one's appreciation of one's interval most, according to Pater, is art, for it "comes to you proposing to give the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake."⁹

Aestheticism anticipated Decadence, which was fostered by a group of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century writers who held that art was superior to nature and that dying or decaying things were the most exquisite. Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) is one example. However, both movements go back to Edgar Allan Poe and John Keats for inspiration, particularly the negative poetics in Keats's "Ode on Melancholy" (1819) in which "She dwells with Beauty, Beauty that must die." In Poe's "The Oval Portrait" (1842) the act of painting and the finite result are endowed with procreant power that comes at a very high cost. Focusing on the visual perception of light, the narrator is fascinated by a picture of a young woman. He learns that while her husband created her likeness on canvas, she ceased to exist. Upon the final brush stroke, he cries out that his work is "Life itself!" and suddenly realizes that his beloved is dead.¹⁰ The relevance of Poe's fiction on different movements in the late nineteenth-century was first declared not

by American writers but by French poets who were inspired by Poe's reliance on the image over exposition.

The Symbolists were strongly influenced by Edgar Allan Poe, and because Charles Baudelaire translated Poe's works, the French poet remains largely responsible for the trajectory that starts with the Baltimore bard and continues past the turn of the century. Poe provided a prototype for the primary aim of Baudelaire and his peers: to "approximate the indefiniteness of music."¹¹ In order to do so required techniques of "indirection and suggestiveness" that Stéphane Mallarmé, for example, associated with the medium.¹² His close friend Claude Debussy (1862-1918) was inspired by Mallarmé's *L'après-midi d'un faune* (1876), and Debussy's famous *Prélude* (1891-94) that stemmed from it spawned Vaslav Nijinsky's choreography for *Afternoon of a Faun* that the Ballets Russes premiered in 1912.

Mallarmé's verse was sensually provocative, and Debussy also relied on the evocation of a "mood, atmosphere, or scene" not just in this piece but in most of his work. His compositions focus on "detached observation" and present motives that do not necessarily develop; rather, they "repeat with small changes."¹³ Likewise, there is no urgency toward tonal resolution but, instead, on the acoustic experience each moment or series of sounds offers. Generating different perspectives of a musical subject without providing reconciliation of them was similar to

the objective in Symbolism, Impressionism, and, later, Modernism of presenting an image rather than the exegesis of it. Debussy's *Prélude à l'apres-midi d'un faun* provides an index of the ways in which the early twentieth-century aesthetic would engage an interdisciplinary approach.

The lineage from Poe to Baudelaire to Debussy outlines a clear manifestation of Pater's oft-quoted maxim that "all art constantly aspires towards the condition of music."¹⁴ In the development of an early twentieth-century literary aesthetic it plays an important role though it is sometimes subordinated to the visual arts in terms of a cross-disciplinary approach. Moreover, the confluence of media is typically seen as a distinctly avant-garde, European phenomenon, but Poe's example stretched across the transnational movement. Described as a "prophet of Symbolism" by Edmund Wilson, Poe exerted an indirect influence on Modernism that drew from the French antecedent, but his work must have held some value for American Impressionist fiction in that so many of his stories center on sensory perception of particular scenes of distress, what Nagel refers to as a Vistazo.¹⁵

Different from the more reportorial style of Realism and Naturalism, Impressionism put a stronger focus on prose aesthetics. Coupled with the irony inherent in it, the Modernist fiction that subsequently developed was able to indulge the

nineteenth-century sensibility of beauty without the "emotional slither" Ezra Pound attributed to it.¹⁶ Writers like John Dos Passos, Willa Cather, and F. Scott Fitzgerald could juxtapose a lyrical style with the brutal themes of war, loss, and death. Often considered the first American novel about World War I, *One Man's Initiation: 1917* (1920) by Dos Passos is a heavily imagistic work and descendent of the artistic tenets Crane and Bierce instituted decades earlier, according to Nagel.¹⁷ The chapters portray scenes, or visions, of "the woods at night" or "dawn in a wilderness of jagged stumps and ploughed earth."¹⁸ Gastronomic depictions similarly emphasize a visual picture instead of a descriptive experience. Martin Howe admires "red strips of herring and silver anchovies, salads where green peas and bits of carrot lurked under golden layers of sauce, . . . hard-boiled eggs barely visible under thickness of vermillion-tinged dressing." Song fragments such as "au plein de mon cognac / qu'il fait bon, fait bon, fait bon" augment perception further, for another way to create single sensory moments is to draw inspiration from music.¹⁹ One of the first American writers to experiment in this way was Edgar Allan Poe.

Cather, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald were all admirers of his work. A complete edition of Poe's oeuvre is featured in the Cather family book collection, and James Woodress posits that the nineteenth-century author was a "formative influence" on the

Nebraskan writer.²⁰ F. Scott Fitzgerald became acquainted with Poe as a boy when his father read the poetry to him.²¹ That interest continued, for near the end of his life, his lover Sheilah Graham remembers that Scott read him.²² Ernest Hemingway wrote to Malcolm Cowley in 1945, declaring that he had just "sent for the Portable Poe." Hemingway ordered it even though, as he told Cowley, he had "read it all before . . . [he] ever went to Italy" as a young man in World War I. Drawing a connection between his old friend Scott Fitzgerald and the Baltimore bard, Hemingway wrote that the latter "had more self propelled bad luck than Scott even," but he also acknowledged that Poe "was doing it first," implying that they all owed him an artistic debt.²³

The aural aspect of Poe's writing remains a paramount feature of it. Many of his characters have heightened sensory perception and are haunted by sounds. The narrators in "The Tell-Tale Heart" (1843) and "The Black Cat" (1843) offer two examples. Moreover, Poe explored this dimension of his craft, which has as much to do with form as it does with content, in his essay "The Rationale of Verse" (1848). He posits that "man derives enjoyment from his perception of equality." He uses the crystal to illustrate his point and suggests that only a simultaneous recognition of several refractory "angles" and "sides" produces a satisfying experience. Similarly, "the

perception of pleasure in the equality of sounds is the principle of *Music*." Just as the gem quartz presents many facets at once, so harmony allows one to hear sounds concomitantly. The degree of enjoyment is determined by individual taste and what Poe terms "unpractised" and "practised" ears. The former can perceive only "simple equalities" while the latter can "appreciate both equalities at the same time—although it is absurd to suppose that both are *heard* at the same instant. One is heard and appreciated from itself: the other is heard by the memory. . . . Highly cultivated musical taste . . . takes pleasurable cognizance through memory."²⁴ Recalling earlier patterns and melodies helps place newer ones in the context of an overarching scheme, producing a richer acoustic experience.

Though an odd concept, the idea of literary harmony is possible through conscious recognition. Experiencing a work of fiction, like listening to a sonata, is a linear activity, unfolding in time. Alternately, visual media present a subject all at once in a single temporal space. Like art, music fills the intervals each person has with beauty. Unlike the sight of a painting, however, the sound of an instrumental composition is linked to the acute awareness of the passing of each moment. Since it is impossible to hear different parts of a concerto or read separate sections of a novel simultaneously, one must recall earlier sections in order to deepen the resonance of

present ones. The pleasure in discovering a given book or story often depends upon such connections. Similarly, hearing the return of a motive in a Beethoven symphony enriches the acoustic experience through balance. In order for a text to produce a musical effect, memory becomes a central structuring agent thereby making nostalgia a significant thematic component.

Nostalgia is a major commonality among *My Ántonia*, *Winner Take Nothing*, and *Tender is the Night*, especially in the use of memory and the manipulation of plot for stylistic and structural effect. Jim Burden tells the story of his childhood friend decades after he has left the Nebraska prairie. His subjective memoir is a relic of youth, a fact he recognizes when he deliberately adds the personal possessive pronoun "My" to his title *Ántonia*. Hemingway's narrators, placed at more of a remove than those of either Cather or Fitzgerald, present stories that are not told in strict chronological order, transposing the past and making it an ever-present force in the current lives of the physically and emotionally damaged men in "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" and "Homage to Switzerland." The fall from grace of Doctor Richard Diver is related by a third-person limited perspective in *Tender is the Night*. The events of Dick's professional and personal life are introduced in a circuitous way, and the act of remembering his "heroic" youth from the standpoint of his troubled adulthood makes his self-destruction

all the more tragic. The focus on engaging closely with the impressions of personal history makes the fiction of Cather, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald distinctively Modern in an American sense.

Exploring the past through retrospective narration was a consistent thematic and formal component in many works of early twentieth-century American literature. One of the most famous examples, especially of an unreliable account, is Nick Carraway's in *The Great Gatsby* (1925), a novel that brought Fitzgerald critical acclaim. Published that same year, Cather's *The Professor's House* was also an exercise in nostalgia, for besides being the story of the aging Godfrey St. Peter, it is a recollection of his deceased student, Tom Outland. Divided into three books, the long middle section is Tom's story. Incidentally, Cather claimed a musical influence when she said the book represented her experimentation with "sonata form."²⁵ Just a year later in 1926, Hemingway's first novel, *The Sun Also Rises*, became an immediate success. Jake Barnes's reflective account of his love for Brett Ashley and how he reconciles with the impossibility of that affair is a way of memorializing the experience and its enduring effect on him. Though the protagonists in all three works express deep hurt over fractured relationships, their remembrance never borders on the sentimental.

Certain stylistic tenets such as allusion helped writers to avoid the overt emotion so distasteful to the contemporary aesthetic despite material that dealt largely with the individual and collective past. The Anglo-American Modernism "presided over by Pound and Eliot," and including Cather, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald, had a particular concern with history and for knowledge before the war that changed everything. Unlike European movements, the American model "sought to correct the apparently amnesiac tendencies of modernity by reconnecting it to a valued cultural tradition."²⁶ Paradoxically, that "tradition," which included music, was located largely in the Old World, for it could muster heritage in doses that the new one could not offer. This separate artistic inheritance and the attitudes toward it helped define the period, especially in reference to more avant-garde manifestations of it.

Modernism possessed broad ideological implications. Current critical trends recognize the inherent pluralism in the period, but it can be divided into two distinct impulses: one that looks forward and one that looks back. Included in the latter set are many American writers. The former category, however, comprised several radical international factions. Full of manifestos and responsible for many *isms*, these artists sought expression that either fit seamlessly within or judged violently the technological, urban, and mechanical age they observed. Peter

Nicholls maintains "the achievement of the avant-garde . . . is to call into question the very institution of art, to undermine aesthetic autonomy by seeking to make art part of life."²⁷ In the years leading up to and following World War I, this aim held political assumptions as well since aesthetic platforms could challenge civic interests. Defiance began partly by questioning national traditions, and a strong sense of collective culture grounded many groups such as the Futurists in Italy, the Russian Futurists, the Cubists in France, and the Expressionists in Germany.

Because so much avant-garde literature possesses ideological implications, the life of many of these *isms* was very short, corresponding to fluctuating trends. Dadaism provides one famous, though exceptional, example. Begun in February of 1916 in Zurich, the movement expressed the opinion that the war "demonstrated only the complete bankruptcy of the West's intellectual tradition, leaving a posture of absolute indifference as the only one worth adopting."²⁸ The political atmosphere in Europe had given way to "outrage and negation," and these artists used media such as the plastic arts, theatre, and writing to convey their anti-war and anti-tradition views.²⁹ By 1922, André Breton "announced the death of Dada," resulting largely from the fact that philosophically it "recognized only instinct and had no time for any kind of interpretation, which

it simply derided as bourgeois intellectualism."³⁰ Presenting a more "affirmative" alternative, Surrealism was born from Breton's creative vision and stressed free imaginative association in order to access thought otherwise sequestered under the control of reason.³¹ One prevailing ideology gave way to another, and this cycle of revision pluralized and politicized the radical literature of the period.

The avant-garde considered conventional literary forms stale, but the milieu in the United States proved to be very different. Compared with those who had centuries of tradition to rail against, New World authors still grasped to answer Ralph Waldo Emerson's call in 1837 for the "sluggard intellect of this continent" to make its own books, its own legacy.³² The novel remained a powerful tool in establishing a native tradition despite a "general Dada and Surrealist distrust of narrative structure—a distrust of forms which subordinate the immediacy of presentation to some kind of external textual authority."³³ Media such as dance, painting, the plastic arts, and theater provided more authenticity for such artists. Conversely, Nicholls emphasizes that "neither Britain nor America possessed a powerful academic culture on the European model, and this may explain why these writers felt little direct hostility towards art as an institution and, accordingly, no desire to dissolve

the boundaries between" it and life.³⁴ American Modernism lacked the vitriol so endemic to many Old World counterparts.

Despite the lack of a manifesto, the American movement had implicit aims. Aesthetic tendencies included the preferred but not consistent use of shifting narrative perspective, stream of consciousness, unreliable narration, juxtaposition, fragmentation, allusion, and the force of the image rather than description. There was the ideological belief that institutional edifices such as the church and government no longer functioned efficaciously or had completely failed altogether, proving chimerical. There was also the acknowledgment as early as the turn of the century of a general ennui, or "soul sickness," as Jackson Lears points out, in the sense that modern life had "grown dry and passionless, and that one must somehow try to regenerate a lost intensity of feeling."³⁵ The monumental experience of World War I had irrevocably altered the artist's view of humanity. Watching as "civilization plunged further toward abyss and darkness after August 1914, present experience offered bitter incentives to look backward instead, to a happier past whose allures and securities could be recovered or revisited through the innovative strategies" of writing, as Randall Stevenson puts it.³⁶ The prospect of annihilation changed the retrospective view of history, which became one central thematic focus in the fiction of this period.

Amidst the chaos that precipitated and followed World War I, writers were engaged in trying to make sense of it all. There had never been an international conflict of this magnitude before. Romantic illusions of battle had been shattered. The world's love affair with the hero was over, and no one could be certain what was left. A paramount concern was figuring out "how to live in it," as Jake Barnes says.³⁷ To do so required an evaluation of the individual's relation to time and place. Not surprisingly, Albert Einstein's *General Theory of Relativity* addressed that very dilemma in 1916. The new subjective vision of reality called into question the notion of an objective one such as works of Realism and Naturalism assumed. Learning "how to live in it" carries a sense of urgency for characters like Jake Barnes, and one core issue for Anglo-American Modernists is time, especially as it figures "through the shock of 'exile' and cultural contrast," as Nicholls emphasizes.³⁸

Self-appointed exile granted a unique artistic perspective, however, for several of the most famous American writers lived and wrote in Paris in the 1920s. Unlike Ezra Pound, Ford Madox Ford, and T. S. Eliot, Hemingway and Fitzgerald never repudiated United States citizenship. Instead, their fictive quest for cultural identity grew stronger as they worked abroad, but expatriation had its epistemological limitations, deeming it anything but a simple choice as Archibald MacLeish put it in

"American Letter" (1930): "How can a wise man have two countries?"³⁹ Dislocation is at the center of several Modernist works, especially in the sense that a first-person narrator is literally or figuratively displaced and searches for a way to correct that isolation. For many characters, this condition results from ignorance of history. Reconnecting to it constitutes a large part of the thematic and philosophic aims of the period. The speaker in Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) famously addresses this issue by using "fragments" of the collective past to shore against his "ruins."⁴⁰

Exile characterized the new artistic era long before the literary capstones of high Modernism claimed it in the twenties. Music had already started to depart sharply from its more canonical precedents and presented the violent stirrings of change as early as 1905 with the performance of Richard Strauss's *Salome* in Dresden, which shocked audiences since the "subject, actions, and emotions were stranger than any attempted in opera before." Strauss's "fiercely dissonant" compositions anticipated more well-known harbingers of melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic change such as Igor Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* (1911-13) and Schoenberg's twelve-tone system.⁴¹ Structuring principles were breaking down along with the dissipation of tonality, which meant that the traditional idea of tension and release that had defined compositional practice for centuries morphed

extensively. The “polarized forms” of consonance and dissonance and tonic and dominant had “become formulaic” at the end of the nineteenth century and, therefore, expendable.⁴²

Western music is based on major and minor scales. The diatonic variety uses only the eight notes in a given key. In a C major *diatonic scale*, there is no C sharp (C#), which would exist in the *chromatic* version since it uses semitones, or half-steps, that are not part of a designated signature. Reliance on *chromaticism*, as in some of Johann Sebastian Bach’s compositions that later influenced many nineteenth-century composers, disrupts the aural experience of symmetry because notes outside of the key are added. The distance from an established equilibrium highlights a measure of discomfort but a return to it sates an acoustic longing. Varying degrees of expressivity are achieved by means of departure from and reconciliation with a tonal center.

Much of the tension between consonance and dissonance is predicated upon relationships between notes in a particular key. For example, the *leading*, or seventh, tone in a scale needs to be resolved by the *tonic*, or first, one. B leads to C' in C major. The perception of tonal balance is disrupted when resolution is delayed. The dimensions of a work are often determined by the type and timing of such reconciliations. Other important acoustic combinations rely on the *sub-dominant*, or

fourth degree, which complements the tonic. A *perfect fourth*, such as C and F in C major, resonates well as in the "Amen" at the end of church hymns. The *dominant*, or fifth, provides even more structural support, for out of the connection between it and the first scale degrees come *triads*, a mainstay of traditional harmonic practice. These chords comprise three notes, and the different intervals between them determine the type of triad: major, minor, diminished, and augmented. All of these established connections between different sounds make up *tonality*, which contributes to what a listener expects to hear.⁴³

Compositional practice in the early twentieth century was challenging the principles under which the Western canon had flourished for centuries. Such changes, Marshall Brown argues, undermined "totally the stability of the tonic, of the octave, and of the beat. If the tension never relaxes, then . . . [it] also never builds, and the internal dramatic shape of the work is lost."⁴⁴ Music was no longer characterized by "direct expressivity" as it had previously been; instead, it "turned abstract in expressionism," according to Carl Dahlhaus.⁴⁵ It seemed to plumb frames of mind. Brown suggests as much when he observes that "the great" pieces of this period seem "not to take a position." They have "no home base" since they rarely have the "pronounced and unmistakable ideological character" found in the work of "powerful revolutionaries . . . like

Mozart, Beethoven, and Wagner."⁴⁶ As much as composers wanted to acknowledge tradition by working within it, using variation form for example, they also broke sharply from melodic and harmonic precedents. Their work was somewhat alienated by its inaccessibility, and as such it offered a labyrinthine search for other places of exile.

Just as some writers sought ways to expand linguistic frontiers, composers embraced different means to challenge convention, thus indicating the frailty of it and marking the beginning of a new era in which nothing remained stable. The arts converged to scout the boundaries of their respective iconoclasm. Daniel Albright makes the point that "the Modernists intended Modernism—the movement did not come into existence randomly."⁴⁷ He defines it as "*the testing of the limits of aesthetic construction.*" Searching for what he calls the "outer bounds of certain artistic traits" begins before World War I, most famously with the Armory Show, or International Exhibition of Modern Art, of 1913 in which well over a thousand paintings, sculptures, and other works demonstrated radical new expression.⁴⁸ However, Arnold Schoenberg provides an earlier example of innovation, according to Robert P. Morgan. He posits that "sometime around 1907-08 a final boundary was irreparably transversed."⁴⁹ Schoenberg's early atonality, or music with no

tonal center, irrevocably shifted what Morgan calls the "foreground-background" dialectic.

Western music had for centuries maintained a balance between what was heard and what structural support lay beneath it; concepts such as "consonance, diatonicism, triad, and fundamental progression belong to background phenomena, while those of dissonance, chromaticism, and auxiliary tones belong to the foreground."⁵⁰ The balance between the two poles began to dissolve with Schoenberg's atonal works before 1916, but it really dissipated by the time he started writing again in 1923 with his *twelve-tone system*. Brown explains that traditional tonality "is selective—some notes are in the scale, others are out," whereas Schoenberg's model presents a saturation of the same "space: all notes must be represented equally."⁵¹ Because this modern sound was "removed from ordinary reality by its nonsubstantive and nondesignative nature, [it] offered the age an ideal embodiment of the notion that art is pure form—and thus pure language."⁵² The era deemed the connection between words and reality suspect, a concept many writers explored. The shift in musical grammar prefigured the radical new direction in literature undertaken by Gertrude Stein, James Joyce, and Ezra Pound.

Schoenberg's twelve-tone system became synonymous with the new grammar. Brown describes it by observing that "dissonance is

no longer expressively marked with respect to consonance. The dominant, similarly," can no longer be recognized in relation to the tonic "so that though polytonal music continues to use triads, movement away from a given triad loses its significance. And melody loses its primacy through being fragmented."⁵³ Expectations are thwarted by not maintaining the established balance between poles of tonality. Manipulating it this way tends to, as Albright puts it, detemporalize what an audience hears; it cannot anticipate what is coming next because there is no tonal referent, no "home base." Conversely, "the commonness of common chord progressions" means that a listener knows what is "going to happen before" it does.⁵⁴ Eliminating them establishes an entirely new aural experience.

Schoenberg may have discovered a new discourse, but it did not last. Morgan offers a cogent explanation when he cedes that even though Schoenberg's work offered expression "unmediated by external controls" and, therefore, a type of "purity," the "price to be paid was severe. Schoenberg's newly liberated foreground projected a 'language' that no one, not even the composer himself, could understand, at least not in the sense that one had always been able to" comprehend traditional tonal compositions.⁵⁵ Morgan's observation may also describe why some avant-garde literature was so short-lived. If a work of art remains inaccessible, then it also poses limitations on the

knowledge it seeks to impart. In trying to correct what Pound called the "rather sentimentalistic" tendencies of the nineteenth century, some Modern writers and composers had gone to the other extreme, to the limits of abstraction and beyond.⁵⁶ Dissonance could not express the nostalgic past the same way lyricism could. Memorializing experience meant idealizing it to a degree, a notion that aligns more easily with concord than discord. Romanticism provided a better musical paradigm for such thematic literary aims.

The term *Romanticism* cannot be applied across the arts interchangeably, for there were distinct manifestations of it. The English style "was represented in music solely by John Field—in other words, poorly—but left its mark on the history of opera librettos and *program music* through the . . . influence of [Sir Walter] Scott and [Lord] Byron," according to Carl Dahlhaus.⁵⁷ In contrast to John Field's meager example, William Wordsworth's Preface to his *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) is generally considered the beginning of the new poetics that flourished in Britain for the first third of the nineteenth century and that include, most notably, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Keats, Percy Bysshe Shelley, and George Gordon, Lord Byron. Queen Victoria's reign that began in 1837 commences the subsequent literary period that bears her name.

American Romanticism could be seen in verse and fiction. Washington Irving's short stories such as "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" (1820) mark the trend elaborated on by Edgar Allan Poe and made more famous by Nathaniel Hawthorne. He articulated his definition of "Romance" in the Preface to *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) when he wrote that the term refers to a work of art that presents "truth under circumstances . . . of the writer's own choosing or creation," which includes "the attempt to connect a by-gone time with the very Present that is flitting away from us."⁵⁸ This view is clearly antithetical to the thematic and philosophic aims of Realism and Naturalism in the United States that prevailed after about 1865. Ultimately, there was no musical equal on either side of the Atlantic to match the prolific literary output.

Different from the more abbreviated Anglo-American literary timeline, musical Romanticism is grounded in a German sensibility and spans the entire nineteenth century, even overlapping the beginning of the twentieth, according to some scholars; exact dates and definitions are not only problematic but nearly impossible. Ludwig van Beethoven's arrival in Vienna in 1792 marks the beginning of the period for many musicologists. However, Peter Burkholder posits that "the political and economic events of 1815 serve as a convenient starting point . . . because their impact . . . helps to explain

the distinctive" sounds of the era.⁵⁹ Some composers, such as Robert Schumann and Hector Berlioz, disliked the term *Romantic*, and it was commonly used by opponents with "pejorative connotations."⁶⁰ Nevertheless, adherents and adversaries alike agreed on "the styles and ideas intended by the word: a preference for the original rather than the normative, a pursuit of unique effects and extremes of expressiveness, the mobilization to that end of an enriched harmonic vocabulary, striking new figurations, textures, and tone colors" and by a "tendency toward formal disintegration."⁶¹ Thinking of the movement as a challenge to what preceded it, however, is inaccurate. Dahlhaus points out that it was "not until Romanticism" that Classicism "came into existence in the first place."⁶² An easy transition may appear between the two, but the designation of an earlier style was not suggested until 1836 by "the influential Leipzig music critic Amadeus Wendt."⁶³

Every artistic movement has its own giants, icons of the shifts in style that herald change. Ludwig van Beethoven was that figure in the 1800s. An emotionally disturbed and often very physically sick man, Beethoven became "a voluntary exile from society," a choice that unwittingly made him "a prototype for the Romantic artist, and the founder, by general consent," of that music.⁶⁴ His symphonies spawned the dominant genre in the first half of the century. The immense popularity of what some

critics term *absolute music*, that which does not use lexical devices to buttress a composer's intention, grew partly as a result of its metaphysical implications. Dahlhaus explains that "nineteenth-century . . . aesthetics were colored by German" intellectual thought, the most important contribution of which was the "new urgency" it gave to "thinking about" instrumental compositions.⁶⁵ Such philosophical aspects of the art had not previously been suggested, and Arthur Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Representation* (1818) offered profound ways to do so.

Schopenhauer determined that music offered the most genuine expression of the will and emphasized that the medium "does not express this or that particular joy, but anxiety, pain, horror, jubilation, happiness, contentment *in themselves* . . . unaccompanied by any incidentals and thus by any self interest. And yet we understand them completely in this quintessential form."⁶⁶ Subsequently, the art was superior to all others because it allowed perceiver and perception to fuse. He formulated that instrumental compositions were objects "of aesthetic contemplation, in which the listener . . . remains engrossed" in, rather than separate from, the "acoustic phenomenon."⁶⁷ This growing nineteenth-century concern with interiority and expression marked a difference from the refined order stressed in the Baroque and Classical movements.

As an aesthetic paradigm, *absolute music* possessed dubious powers. Its "purported inclinations toward transcendence would seem to be accompanied by a concomitant fear of excess," as Brad Bucknell posits.⁶⁸ Reviewing Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in 1810 for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (General Music Newsmagazine), E. T. A. Hoffman called instrumental composition the "most romantic of all the arts—one might say, the only genuinely romantic one—for its sole object is the infinite."⁶⁹ Hoffman's statements became a quintessential treatise for the period. The popularity of Beethoven's orchestral works encouraged this vogue of aesthetic contemplation of the sublime. Moreover, the close, almost symbiotic, ties with philosophy meant that such music presented transcendence in a way different from the other arts. It could vivify the human condition by virtue of its accessibility to emotion. It represented expression freed from language.

The anxiety of Beethoven's influence likely hastened the end of absolute music, inviting a reconsideration of the connection between it and language. The final movement of his Ninth Symphony provided redemptive implications of this association, however. The "Ode to Joy" signaled "a dramatic art which exploits the potentials of tone and word," as Bucknell suggests. The fourth section of Symphony No. 9 is set to a 1785 poem by Friedrich Schiller, and Bucknell emphasizes that this

choral setting presents a "tacit acknowledgment" of limitation. Music "seems to transcend" lexical boundaries, but it also "appears to require" them.⁷⁰ This idea anticipates Richard Wagner's (1813–1883) vision of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a term commonly applied to his theory of a "universal art work" based on a shared aim among different media.⁷¹ Alternately, writing between the eras of Beethoven and Liszt, Robert Schumann (1810–1856) revered the power of instrumental composition, and he admired Beethoven's symphonies for what they suggested about the future of it. Schumann eventually realized that Beethoven's model had been exhausted by mid-century. Composers turned, or rather returned, to the tradition of German *Lieder*, resuming the relationship between "tone and word." The reconciliation of the two was well grounded in the history of the Lied, begun in the eighteenth century but really explored in the nineteenth. Though not a prolific composer of it, Beethoven is often credited with the first song cycle, *An die ferne Geliebte* (1816).⁷²

Much more renowned for his *Lieder*, Beethoven's contemporary Franz Schubert composed over six hundred of them. He relied on sources written by Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). Observing the "remarkable catholicity of Schubert's taste in poetry," Leon Plantinga notes that it "has given rise to much discussion as to the nature (or even the possibility) of a

genuine amalgamation" of artistic "values" in the Lied.⁷³ The appeal of composing for verse lay mostly in the Romantic penchant for the primitive. Common belief held that modern folk or antiquated "poetry, like the epics of Homer, was meant to be sung; the German word 'Lied' referred interchangeably to a poem with music or without. As melodies assumed to accompany" such examples "were hardly available, composers set their hands to providing them."⁷⁴ Schubert's songs continue to be held in highest estimation, especially since they often present "an obvious connection" with his chosen texts.⁷⁵ Writing in this compositional genre gave the composer a hospitable space for creative license, one way to establish a place in the canon alongside Beethoven.

The depth and breadth of Beethoven's oeuvre had intimidated composers, including Schubert, and contributed to a confluence of the arts that changed the aesthetic topography in the latter half of the 1800s. Large orchestral pieces entered a "second age" as new ways of exploring the "relation between lyricism and monumentality," song and symphony, became central to developing works that could rival and extend the force and power of Beethoven's.⁷⁶ Always striving to create a definitive masterpiece, composers realized the paradox that it "must be in important ways *unique*," quite unlike others of its kind, "and at the same time *exemplary*, comprising a lasting standard of

achievement and a model for others to emulate." Beethoven's instrumental compositions "were seen as both for the entire nineteenth century" and his massive shadow humbled many who followed.⁷⁷

Compounding a general anxiety of influence even further was the "systematic" discovery of "neglected earlier music." The most "spectacular" of such "recoveries and most far reaching in its consequences" for the era was the "Bach revival."⁷⁸ Manuscripts of the German composer's work, along with those of others, had not previously been accessible and, subsequently, there was very little concept of a canon. Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847) was among the first to integrate the new-found Baroque influence, and most of his peers soon realized that they had to compete not only with their contemporaries but also with their predecessors. Even though the notion of musical Romanticism "derives from literature, there are no literary parallels for some of the basic traits that distinguish" it from an eighteenth-century oeuvre, above all "for the profound changes in its relation" to antecedent models.⁷⁹ For example, one trademark characteristic of the 1800s, expressive harmonies, would have been "unlikely without the chromaticism and secondary dominant harmonies of Bach."⁸⁰ An awareness of tradition led to irrevocable changes in compositional and listening practices. Other factors contributing to the newer trends were the

breakdown of the patronage system and the growing size of the audience, a force determined largely by the cult of performance and performers.

Outside of the church, music had traditionally been an exclusive interest, accessible only to those who could afford it. More than any other art, it has always "been associated with direct" sponsorship. In all but its simplest forms it "is a notoriously expensive entertainment: performers must be assembled, instruments procured" and parts "copied."⁸¹ The nineteenth century, however, witnessed a severe reluctance to "privilege and prestige," indicated by several bloody conflicts.⁸² By 1820 "revolutionary movements had toppled the governments of Spain, Naples, and the Ottoman Empire, and in 1825 the tremors of rebellion were felt in Russia."⁸³ The patronage system signaled inequity. Representative of this fact, many composers in the 1800s came from broader socio-economic backgrounds than their forbears, and they usually "had much less early exposure to a common body of . . . craft and technique," which presents "one explanation for the dissipation of a 'central style,' . . . and for the extraordinary diversity" of Romanticism.⁸⁴ In addition, concerts that began in the late seventeenth century as "simple exercises in free enterprise" grew in frequency.⁸⁵ The dissolution of an antiquated financial support system also meant that musicians could "make a living by

offering their services."⁸⁶ Performance, followed by publishing, created a new kind of industry.

The listening public grew exponentially larger in the nineteenth century; people wanted not only good entertainment but also ways to reproduce what they heard. Owing to a "splendid succession of young pianists . . . heard on the London stage" in the late eighteenth century, "there was a dramatic growth of music making in the home."⁸⁷ Instrument manufacture and publishing helped sate the increasing demand and provided significant means to the amateur. Morgan suggests that the *salon music* sold for public consumption was not very difficult and would be considered "popular" by current standards. It lacked complexity and depth and was "designed to satisfy the cultural ambitions of a growing middle class."⁸⁸ Even Beethoven "produced his share" of compositions "intended for home performance and quick sale."⁸⁹ He soon wrestled with the difficult nature of authorship: finding his work "ever more in demand, Beethoven was continually in negotiation with publishers in several cities, frequently quarreling with them about publication rights, correctness of editions, and payments."⁹⁰ Accessibility gained an audience for many composers, but it also meant that, as a commodity, their output was subordinate to the strictures of a nascent capitalism.

The success enjoyed by publishers depended largely on what audiences heard and what they wanted reproduced, but much of what became available depended on economic viability. *Concertos*, compositions for a solo or a small group of instruments and orchestral accompaniment, remained popular and had been performed widely since the Baroque era, but publishing them "was always an expensive and risky business" precisely because "difficult music" on a large scale "was never in much demand in amateur circles." Families were unlikely to host entire ensembles for an evening's entertainment. Subsequently, "a great many concertos by leading pianists from this period have been lost or . . . preserved only in more salable arrangements as sonatas."⁹¹ Marketability determined only a part of the public's acquaintance with different compositions.

Sheet music and instruments provided one form of consumption for the public but so did performance, which was a large factor in disseminating trends. J. C. Bach "began to play public solos on small English square pianofortes in the late 1760s." More composers followed, and "in the itineraries of the more peripatetic of these musicians . . . [lie] the beginnings of that familiar nineteenth-century phenomenon, the touring virtuoso."⁹² Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840) is a famous example.⁹³ Around 1805 he became the violinist "for Elise Baciocchi, the sister of Napoleon who was the newly installed ruler of Piombino

and Lucca."⁹⁴ Emigrating from his native Italy in 1828, Paganini's solo career began in Vienna "where he created a sensation, . . . leaving his audiences openmouthed at the unprecedented effects he produced" on his instrument. Both Schumann and Liszt wrote of their admiration for the man's virtuosity and his "expressiveness."⁹⁵ Paganini, like many who succeeded him, specialized in demonstrating his particular strengths, a strategy that confirmed his reputation and encouraged demand for his talent.

A strong performance required more than virtuosity, however. It depended also on charisma.⁹⁶ Several accounts of Paganini's concerts stressed his appearance, contributing to a pervasive Romantic notion of the tortured artist, the perennial myth that conflates insanity and creativity. The French critic F. -J. Fetis cited the "extraordinary expression" of Paganini's face, "his livid paleness, his dark and penetrating eye . . . and to certain diseased minds, unmistakable evidences of a Satanic origin."⁹⁷ Taking such liberties with the persona of an artist is a creative act, a natural segue from musical figures to fictional characters. After half a century of listening to magnificent and mysterious performers, the cultural imagination readily embraced the captivating Svengali in George du Maurier's best-selling novel *Trilby* (1894).⁹⁸ The popularity of Du Maurier's sinister Austrian musician may stem from the fact that

he shares a similar ethnic background with the most famous soloist of the nineteenth century, the Hungarian pianist Franz Liszt.

Almost unrivaled in charisma and innovation, Franz Liszt (1811-1886) remains perhaps the greatest celebrity pianist. His career spanned most of his life, augmenting his mythical persona. An eleven-year-old Liszt moved to Paris in 1823 and gave his Parisian debut a year later.⁹⁹ Just as people thought Paganini a mystifying figure, so the Romantic imagination transformed Liszt "into a particular sort of hero: mysterious, sickly, and bearing the faint marks of dark associations with another world."¹⁰⁰ More than these fanciful connections, however, Liszt remains very important in terms of changing audience appreciation. He was the first in taking "the unprecedented step of doing away with an orchestra or other soloists in his concerts." He also played pieces "by Bach, Handel, Scarlatti, Beethoven, Weber, and others. This is a decisive move from the characteristic posture of the earlier nineteenth-century virtuoso," who was concerned primarily with "the exhibition of his own lightning speed and thundering octaves," granted most readily by his personal compositions. Stressing the importance of works by other artists, Liszt "became a new sort of public soloist, the interpreter typical" of the later 1800s and the

twentieth century.¹⁰¹ Aside from his exegetical influence, Liszt's example increased the demand for solo performance.

With the advent of new ways to travel in the nineteenth century, several virtuosi found success in America. Considering why the country has never produced a composer on the level of Beethoven or Brahms, Joseph Horowitz cogently posits that, owing to a particular adoration of "heroic individualism," audiences wanted to be entertained by dazzling showmanship more than anything else.¹⁰² Ever the land of public relations, the United States nurtured the cult of performance. Soloists were paid very well, so well that Eduard Hanslick, "dean of Vienna's music critics," observed that this "was truly the promised land, if not of music, at least of the musician."¹⁰³ The career of soprano Jenny Lind, the great celebrity of the 1800s, provides one example of New World fame. She was promoted "in significant respects" by "the model merchandiser . . . Phineas T. Barnum, who also dealt in midgets and mermaids, and whose masterminding" of her first tour here in 1850 was "a legend in its own time."¹⁰⁴ Possessing a persona tantamount to her singing, she was embraced everywhere because she "was perceived and admired as a veritable angel; whether or not she was angelic, sublimity was what Americans wished to worship. She was the more revered for seeming transcendent [sic], ineffable."¹⁰⁵ Her fabled persona rivaled that of her more charismatic male peers.

Adoration for performers paves the way for the huge space that exegetical power takes up in the musical imagination.

Horowitz notes that the succession from "[Leopold] de Meyer to [Henri] Herz to [Sigismond] Thalberg to [Anton] Rubinstein to [Hans von] Bülow, logging nearly a thousand American concerts between 1845 and 1876, encapsulates the progression from entertainer to 'interpreter,' itself a gauge to rapidly ripening audience taste and capacity."¹⁰⁶ Honing the listening public's preferences was a collective interest in the future and what lay ahead. As the land of pre-lapsarian optimism, the United States suffered from selective memory loss, according to R. W. B. Lewis. Therefore, a touring virtuoso's singular interpretation of a given work became paramount to the history of its composition or even its creator. No knowledge of the canon was needed to appreciate a performance. Familiarity with such a background might represent a disproportionate concern with the past, and as Lewis maintains, "while European romanticism continued to resent the effect of time, [Walt] Whitman was announcing that time had only just begun."¹⁰⁷ Not surprisingly, native classical music in the New World was quite slow in its beginnings. Great national composers did not appear until the twentieth century.

It was conductors, not composers, who captured the public's attention in the twentieth century, however. Extending the

fascination with showmanship and, more importantly, interpretive power, particular figures reigned more supreme than the creators of the works that anchored their programs. The most exemplary icon of adoration was Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957) who, unlike any before or since, would "himself become sacred, even eclipsing the heavenly deities Beethoven and Wagner, both of whose exalted New World legacies he would uniquely absorb and promote."¹⁰⁸ Before Toscanini's arrival in New York from Milan, from 1908-15 and again from 1926 on, the German-born Theodore Thomas (1835-1905) helped create the concept of an American symphonic group. Unlike the ensembles in Europe, which were "predominantly" for opera and theater and "whose musicians assembled for an occasional" performance, Thomas's model existed on a larger scale, one that people "would embrace."¹⁰⁹ Subsequently, he was "a national force." He toured the United States as a violin virtuoso at the age of fourteen, and "he first led an orchestra of his own in 1862. . . . Beginning in 1864, his concerts were a regular, often nightly, New York attraction. . . . Thomas's core itinerary of twenty-eight cities in twelve states became known as the 'Thomas Highway'."¹¹⁰ Reaching the pinnacle of success, Thomas finally acquired the philharmonic he "craved" that could reach the "Midwestern cities [he] considered his own," and the Chicago Symphony was born in 1891.¹¹¹ One of Thomas's aspirations was that it should show the

"culture of the community."¹¹² He had an important artistic impact on the greater Midwest.

Growing up in the Midwest at the turn of and in the early twentieth century, Willa Cather, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Ernest Hemingway witnessed a very exciting period of change in that region. This shift was brought on largely by ethnic influence, by the singing societies that reflected the immigration patterns of Czechs and Germans. The prolific ensembles that dotted the landscape from St. Louis to Chicago all relied heavily on a German-Romantic idiom in their repertoire. This particular canon was favored by the leading conductors of the day. Theodore Thomas's Chicago Symphony provides one such example. It "played an annual benefit series in Oak Park" where Hemingway grew up and "where a high percentage of the middle-class gentry were not only musically conversant but actually skilled musicians," according to Michael Reynolds.¹¹³ It performed Dvořák's Symphony No. 9 in Lincoln, Nebraska when Cather was nineteen years old and after which she published a review of that performance for the *Lincoln Courier* in December of 1897. Finally, Thomas's philharmonic was a quintessential part of the artistic life of Chicago and the greater region, across which Fitzgerald moved as a child, including the city of St. Paul that hosted Thomas regularly in the 1890s. Thomas's successor, Frederick Stock, assumed the baton in 1905, and he elevated the orchestra's

relevance to the environment by limiting performances to that particular area, touring it "exhaustively."¹¹⁴ The Midwest came to rival New York in terms of cultural richness and talent. It was a good place for any artist to mature.

Even though Hemingway, Cather, and Fitzgerald ultimately ended up in places other than those of their childhood, they all spent their formative years in Thomas's Midwest. In addition to the annual visit of the Chicago Symphony to Oak Park, Grace Hall Hemingway possessed her own talents as an opera singer, encouraged Ernest's cello playing through adolescence, and proudly professed the artistic inheritance granted by her side of the family. Many years later, Ernest's record collection in his last home, the Finca Vigía, demonstrated his enduring passion for music. Willa Cather's cultural interests flourished upon her graduation from the University of Nebraska in 1895. Shortly thereafter, "she was known as the [Nebraska State] Journal's outstanding critic, and was also writing regularly for the *Lincoln Courier*."¹¹⁵ In fact, Hermione Lee posits that Cather's next post as a journalist and teacher in Pittsburgh would determine the "preferences" of her craft, a process that was "being worked out through the reviewing" of performances.¹¹⁶ In late works such as *Lucy Gayheart* (1935), Cather continued to reference favorite composers such as Franz Schubert.

Fitzgerald's early childhood is not as rich in terms of such exposure, but late adolescence granted him access to New York City. After his move East, first to the Newman school in Hackensack and then to Princeton University, Fitzgerald quickly became acquainted with musical theatre through his composition of witty lyrics, some of which brought him to Chicago in 1915 with the Triangle Club's production of *The Evil Eye*. As an older man, he often visited the Hollywood Bowl to attend concerts with Sheilah Graham.¹¹⁷ The artistic life of the Midwest left a lasting impression on all three writers, particularly on the interest in classical music that continued well into their adult lives. Incorporating it in their fiction logically stems from their affinity for it.

Although their respective styles differ greatly and even overlap with the Realist and Naturalist movements that preceded them, Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and Cather are all Modernists. Their work stresses evocation over description, and they were all masters of this type of subtlety. They were all influenced, to varying degrees, by the Impressionism before them. In particular, Stephen Crane's vivid war writing seems to anticipate that of Hemingway's, but Henry James's aestheticism casts a wider emphasis in terms of creating a "process of vision," as James called it. Sensory elements in the fiction of Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and Cather are of paramount importance,

which means that musical references provide just as much insight as any other medium to the “epistemological plane” of a character.¹¹⁸ Moreover, well-placed allusions render their prose style difficult and opaque in certain respects, but they also allow meaning to be the “measure of what you brought to the reading,” as Hemingway put it.¹¹⁹ Bringing a knowledge of Dvořák, Brahms, and Bach to their fiction underscores the rich texture of their craft, of the ways in which they deepened thematic and structural resonance by employing a medium that does not use language as a means of expression.

This type of interdisciplinary endeavor is at the heart of Modernism. However, unlike the avant-garde that used contemporary models of different media, Hemingway, Cather, and Fitzgerald relied on an older aesthetic paradigm. Thematically, their fiction is characterized by a concern with the past and the enduring effect of it on the present. All three are novelists of memory, to a certain extent. Typically associated with innovative treatments of form and content, the transnational zeitgeist of the era seems at odds with the nostalgic impulse in their works, and yet, that very strain characterizes the American literary sensibility following World War I. To that end, Romantic music provided a significant means of inspiration.

Modernism in the United States was undergirded by vestigial elements of nineteenth-century prose and poetry from England and America. Specifically, the dual nature of life, the "truth and illusion" that would develop into irony in works by Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and William Faulkner, can be seen in the fiction of Poe, Hawthorne, and Herman Melville. The Romantic fascination with the "directly familiar" and quotidian was balanced by a concern for the "remote or the distant."¹²⁰ A penchant for the primitive similarly persisted in the early twentieth-century. Studies like James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough* and Jessie Weston's *From Ritual to Romance* underscored the popularity of it in Eliot's *The Waste Land*. In terms of the individual, John Keats's notion of *Negative Capability* highlights the particularly relevant concern of the early 1900s with the psychological and aesthetic nature of experience. Keats's ideal of existing in "uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts without any irritable reaching after fact and reason" applies to the protean quality of Romanticism across the arts.¹²¹ Moreover, the agony of suffering or the joy of beauty as sensational ends in themselves prefigures Impressionism.

Related to that movement, one thing Debussy's *Prelude to "The Afternoon of a Faun"* indicates is that nineteenth-century music tended toward a convergence with literary, specifically poetic, paradigms as it moved away from Beethoven's model of

instrumental composition. Antithetical to it were orchestral works based on a nonmusical idea such as the *symphonic poem* that used not just texts but also paintings for inspiration. Another example of the ways in which tone and word could be reconciled was the Lied. Compositions in this genre offered longer, more expressive melodies to suggest the infinite yearning that was characteristic of verse in the 1800s. More specifically, the intimate style of Lieder very much resembled that of Keats's lyric poetry in that these songs were utterances "not directed" at an audience but "overheard" by one.¹²²

The remnants of a lyrical persona reside in American Modernist fiction, for Jim Burden, Dick Diver, and Hemingway's characters all present, in varying degrees, utterances overheard. Narrative method that ostentatiously addressed an audience would not become standard until the Postmodernism of the latter half of the twentieth century. In the first part of it, point of view is still largely derivative of a nineteenth-century sensibility. The development of perspective lies in finessing the direct expression of emotion which, in the years surrounding World War I, became stylized by avoiding the documentation of Realism and Naturalism and tempering the idealism of Romanticism.

Compartmentalizing literary works does a disservice to the alchemy of art, which eschews rigid expectations. The success of

an interdisciplinary approach for Cather, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald lies in their borrowing from several movements and traditions. Music provided one inspiration since textual harmony is featured in the act of reading and connecting different parts of a story through memory. Thematically, the lyrical beauty of the Romantic repertoire translates easily to prose that explores experience and emotion recollected though Wordsworth's tranquility is no longer requisite, for in the Modern world such serenity was a luxury.

Notes

1. The interdisciplinary study of Modernism and music has been examined most recently by Mark Goble who uses media theory to emphasize how the movement "itself desired communication and the many forms it took, not just as a response to the power of media technologies in the twentieth century but as a way of insisting that this power was already modernism's own." Mark Goble, *Beautiful Circuits: Modernism and the Mediated Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010): p. 3. Different from Goble in his theoretical framework, Daniel Albright has explored the intra-artistic relationships of the early twentieth century in his book *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). Albright presents a lucid examination of the avant-garde. Similarly, Jed Rasula focuses on the ways in which Wagnerism undergirds the aesthetic principles of *fin-de-siècle* expression, which underlines Modernism. See Jed Rasula, "'Listening to Incense': Melomania & the Pathos of Emancipation," *Journal of Modern Literature*, 31 (2007): 1-20. In other places, Rasula also considers jazz one of the paramount cultural, not musical, influences on literature of the 1920s. See Jed Rasula, "Jazzbandism," *Georgia Review*, 60 (Spring 2006): 61-124. For works dealing with the novel, please see Alex

Aronson, *Music and the Novel: A Study in Twentieth-Century Fiction* (Totowa: Rowman & Littlefield, 1980) and Brad Bucknell, *Literary Modernism and Musical Aesthetics: Pater, Pound, Joyce, and Stein* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Though these last two studies focus on more traditional literary forms than either Albright or Rasula, they include writers such as Herman Hesse, James Joyce, Walter Pater, Thomas Mann, and Marcel Proust. A singular study of American Modernist fiction and the connection to Romantic music has yet to be explored.

2. Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (New York: Penguin, 1985): p. 228.

3. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981): p. 38. Carrie is, as the subtitle to Chapter 1 says, a "waif amid forces" and very much resembles Lears's description of the individual at the turn of the century as "subject to the play of unconscious or inherited impulses." Theodore Dreiser, *Sister Carrie* (New York, Penguin, 1980): p. 7.

4. James Nagel, "Literary Impressionism and *In Our Time*," *Hemingway Review*, 6 (1987): 19, 20.

5. Walter Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, ed., Donald L. Hill, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980): pp. 187, 186.

6. Henry James, *The Ambassadors* (New York: Penguin, 2003): p. 34.
7. James, p. 215.
8. Pater, p. 190.
9. Pater, pp. 189, 190.
10. Edgar Allan Poe, "The Oval Portrait," *Poetry, Tales, and Selected Essays* (New York: Library of America, 1996): p. 484.
11. Edmund Wilson, *Axel's Castle: A Study in the Imaginative Literature of 1870-1930* (New York: Scribners, 1969): p. 13.
12. Peter Nicholls, *Modernisms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): p. 35.
13. J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010): pp. 790, 792.
14. Pater, p. 106. Pater's famous maxim is in his essay "The School of Giorgione" (1877), which was added to the third edition of *Renaissance* in 1888. More recently, Brad Bucknell reiterates the connection between Poe and the Modernists via Symbolism in terms of a reliance on music and musicality.
15. Wilson, p. 12. Nagel, p. 19. Nagel underlines a thematic connection between Poe and writers such as Stephen

Crane by maintaining that the "truth-illusion theme in Impressionism represents . . . a continuation of the theme of ambiguity in the works of the Romanticists." James Nagel, *Stephen Crane and Literary Impressionism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980): p. 180n.

16. Ezra Pound, "A Retrospect," *Early Writings*, ed. Ira B. Nadel (New York: Penguin, 2005): p. 262.

17. Nagel, p. 20.

18. John Dos Passos, *One Man's Initiation: 1917* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969): pp. 114, 122.

19. Dos Passos, pp. 89, 75.

20. James Woodress, *Willa Cather: A Literary Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989): pp. 50, 462.

21. Matthew Bruccoli, *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, 2nd rev. edition (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002): p. 16.

22. Sheilah Graham, *College of One* (New York: Viking Press, 1967): p. 110.

23. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Malcolm Cowley, November 14, 1945] *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters*, ed. Carlos Baker (New York: Scribners, 1981): p. 605.

24. Edgar Allan Poe, "The Rationale of Verse," in *Poetry, Tales, & Selected Essays*, pp. 1393-94. The relationship between Poe's work and music goes both ways. May Garrettson Evans has

catalogued the long list, "no fewer than 252," of compositions that have grown out of Poe's writings. See May Garretson Evans, *Music and Edgar Allan Poe: A Bibliographical Study* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968): p. 22.

25. Woodress, p. 370.

26. Nicholls, p. 164. Scholarship on American Modernism has recently extended the chronology of the period back to the 1890s in order to expand canonical borders and include marginalized voices. In particular, see Walter Kalaidjian, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to American Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

27. Nicholls, p. 107.

28. Nicholls, p. 247.

29. Nicholls, p. 246.

30. Nicholls, p. 302. Chronologically short-lived, the Dada quintessence persisted in the American imagination. Composer Virgil Thomson expressed his belief that "all Americans are a little Dada-minded. What else is our freewheeling humor, our nonsense, our pop art?" Thomson insisted that the movement proved "a declaration of independence from commerce, the academies, and all other entangling alliances." Thomson is quoted in Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005): p. 440.

31. Nicholls, p. 301.

32. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The American Scholar," *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Selected Essays, Lectures, and Poems*, ed. Robert D. Richardson, Jr. (New York: Bantam, 1990): p. 82.
33. Nicholls, p. 258.
34. Nicholls, p. 163.
35. Lears, p. 142.
36. Randall Stevenson, "Remembering the Pleasant Bits: Nostalgia and the Legacies of Modernism," *NOVEL*, 43 (2010): 132.
37. Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* (New York: Scribners, 1954): p. 152.
38. Nicholls, p. 162.
39. Archibald MacLeish, "American Letter," *Collected Poems: 1917-1982* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985): line 23.
- Although Willa Cather never lived and wrote as an expatriate, she nevertheless consistently engaged themes of place and displacement in her fiction, from her prairie novels to her southwest works. Moving across the country as a young girl, from Virginia to Nebraska, and then from Nebraska to Pittsburgh, and later New York as an adult, granted her a perspective similar to her self-exiled contemporaries Hemingway and Fitzgerald. Like them, she created characters who struggled with dislocation and identity as Jim Burden does at the beginning of *My Ántonia* when he notices, after moving to Nebraska, that "between that earth

and that sky, I felt erased, blotted out." Willa Cather, *My Ántonia* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995): p. 8.

40. T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ed. Michael North (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001): line 430.

41. Burkholder, *History of Western Music*, pp. 787, 789.

42. Marshall Brown, "Origins of Modernism: Musical Structures and Narrative Forms," *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): pp. 80-81.

43. This manipulation of tonality is similar to a writer's craft. Most literature revolves around a central conflict that typically gets resolved, and everything leading up to and following that moment adds to the dramatic contour of the story. Similar to employing chromatic notes, some literary details can seem incidental, like the addition of a line of dialogue or the excision of it, but the whole picture appears very differently based on those changes. The counterpart to the dissonance and breakdown of convention in Modern music might more aptly be Postmodern fiction in which there is an acute meta-awareness of form and function as part of the thematic and philosophic aim of the work.

44. Brown, p. 84.

45. Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1989): p. 16.

46. Brown, p. 89. Before the war, Austria and Germany had provided iconic symphonic and instrumental standards. As the losers of the conflict, they were in no position to promote a nationalist art. Composers still "shopped around" among trends, however, as musicologist David Haas explains, but they were in a predicament as far as repairing the rupture that separated the great Austro-Germanic tradition from their present position amidst the consequences of the war. E-mail message to the author, November 13, 2011.

47. Albright, p. 31.

48. Albright, p. 29.

49. Robert P. Morgan, "Secret Languages: The Roots of Musical Modernism," *Critical Inquiry*, 10 (1984): 455.

50. Morgan, p. 451.

51. Brown, p. 90.

52. Morgan, p. 445.

53. Brown, p. 87.

54. Albright, p. 17.

55. Morgan, p. 456.

56. Pound, p. 262.

57. Dahlhaus, p. 18.

58. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The House of The Seven Gables* (New York: Penguin, 1986): pp. 1-2.
59. Burkholder, p. 603.
60. Leon Plantinga, *Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984): p. 21.
61. Plantinga, p. 21; Dahlhaus, p. 16.
62. Dahlhaus, p. 22.
63. Plantinga, p. 21.
64. Plantinga, p. 78.
65. Dahlhaus, p. 89. Dahlhaus posits that "the new insight that Beethoven thrust upon the aesthetic consciousness of his age was that a musical text, like a literary or a philosophical text, harbors a meaning which is made manifest but not entirely subsumed in its acoustic presentation," that it can "exist as an 'art work of ideas' transcending its various interpretations" (10). Aside from the association with intensely passionate and, therefore, subjective experience, Lawrence Kramer maintains that Romanticism offered occasion for contemplation. Noting that "Beethoven's career coincided with an unprecedented rise in the status of music in Western culture," Kramer attributes this "rise" to the capability to reveal "the truth and depth of feeling, even the substance of mind and spirit. Together with the other arts," instrumental composition had become "more than

merely functional or ornamental, and it had not yet fallen into the modern orbit of entertainment." Lawrence Kramer, "The Devoted Ear: Music as Contemplation," *Musical Meaning and Human Values*, ed. Keith Chapin and Lawrence Kramer (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009): p. 63. Dahlhaus similarly observes that music "was serving a psychological function rather than existing for its own sake" (89).

66. Schopenhauer is quoted in Bucknell, p. 22.

67. Dahlhaus, p. 92.

68. Bucknell, p. 20.

69. Hoffman is quoted in Plantinga, p. 14.

70. Bucknell, p. 27.

71. Plantinga, p. 269n.

72. Plantinga, p. 116.

73. Plantinga, p. 121.

74. Plantinga, p. 108. Plantinga notes also that "as early as 1736 a little volume of simple poems set to simple tunes appeared in Leipzig under the imposing title *Die singende Muse an der Pleisse* (The Singing Muse on the Pleisse River)." The composer was Johannes Sigismund Scholze (1705-50).

75. Plantinga, p. 123.

76. Dahlhaus, p. 268.

77. Plantinga, p. 78. Schubert was intimidated by Beethoven, for Schubert's first six symphonies seem to look back

to Franz Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, to Vienna's past, rather than compete with Beethoven's contemporary work.

Schubert uses the orchestration of the late eighteenth century in these pieces (Plantinga, pp. 83-84).

78. Plantinga, p. 17.

79. Dahlhaus, p.16.

80. Plantinga, p. 20. The notes of a chromatic scale include tones and semitones that otherwise would not exist in the diatonic scale, or the notes in a given key. So, the C major scale does not include C sharp. Using it in a piece designated as C major would therefore add a semitone that the listener does not expect to hear.

81. Plantinga, pp. 5-6.

82. Plantinga, p. 3.

83. Plantinga, p. 167.

84. Plantinga, p. 13.

85. Plantinga, p. 7.

86. Plantinga, p. 11.

87. Plantinga, pp. 92, 9.

88. Morgan, pp. 448-49.

89. Plantinga, p. 55.

90. Plantinga, p. 38.

91. Plantinga, p. 97.

92. Plantinga, p. 92.

93. Vocal soloists had been a "mainstay of Italian opera almost from its beginnings. Virtuoso instrumentalists, on the other hand, really came into their own in the nineteenth century, with the spread of public concerts designed to cater to the vast new middle-class audiences." See Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, comp., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (New York: Schirmer, 1984): p. 340.

94. Plantinga, p. 174.

95. Weiss, pp. 340, 342.

96. Aside from Paganini, virtuosity does not come to the forefront of audience demand until Liszt, mostly because charisma was a requisite component. For example, Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849) arrived in Paris in 1831, but "an apparent aversion to the concert stage really left him only a single means of addressing the musical public: through the printing of his works" (Plantinga, p. 203). Clara Schumann (1819–96) did not share Chopin's xenophobia: "Widely acclaimed for technical brilliance at a time when glittering pianism was everywhere to be heard, she was still more admired as an . . . interpreter of the best in the piano repertory" (Plantinga, pp. 254–55). Her husband, Robert Schumann, is better known though nineteenth-century audiences were more familiar with his critical writing than his compositions. Even Beethoven's greatest contemporary, Franz Schubert, "was not a public virtuoso, and the kind and

quality" of his work for keyboard "reflect this crucial distinction." Schubert performed "only for groups of his friends, or at most, provided music for the ubiquitous Viennese balls" (Plantinga, p. 103).

97. Fetis is quoted in Plantinga, p. 175.

98. George Du Maurier, *Trilby* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2003).

99. Plantinga, p. 180.

100. Plantinga, p. 185.

101. Plantinga, p. 184. By focusing on works by other composers, Liszt helped contribute to a growing awareness of an extant canon. Liszt's departure from typical performance strategies marked a sharp break from the repertoire of other soloists. For the most part, they "played their own music. . . . Concertos, sonatas, variations, rondos, and pieces of uncertain lineage with names like 'capriccio,' 'fantasy,' 'impromptu,' and the like" were presented by the composer on stage "and then promptly offered for sale (often in simplified versions) to a receptive public." Muzio Clementi (1752-1832) was "probably" the first to practice this profession (Plantinga, p. 92).

102. Horowitz, p. 332.

103. Hanslick is quoted in Horowitz, p. 332.

104. Horowitz, p. 125.

105. Horowitz, pp. 206-07.

106. Horowitz, p. 333.
107. R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966): p. 45.
108. Horowitz, p. 210.
109. Horowitz, p. 44.
110. Horowitz, p. 34.
111. Horowitz, pp. 152-53.
112. Horowitz, p. 307.
113. Michael Reynolds, *The Young Hemingway* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998): p. 150.
114. Horowitz, p. 305.
115. Hermione Lee, *Willa Cather: Double Lives* (New York: Vintage, 1991): p. 41.
116. Lee, p. 50.
117. Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 448.
118. Nagel, p. 19.
119. George Plimpton, "The Art of Fiction," *Conversations with Ernest Hemingway*, ed. Matthew Brucoli (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986): p. 120.
120. David Perkins, ed., *English Romantic Writers*, 2nd edition (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1995): p. 2.
121. John Keats, [Letter to George and Tom Keats, December 22, 1818], cited in Perkins, *English Romantic Writers*, p. 1185.
122. Dahlhaus, p. 10

CHAPTER 2

"A Homesick Heart": Antonín Dvořák's Symphony No. 9, *From the New World*, and Willa Cather's *My Ántonia*

Although Willa Cather's *My Ántonia* is bereft of the more explicit operatic allusions that punctuate *The Song of the Lark*, *Youth and the Bright Medusa*, and *Lucy Gayheart*, her 1918 novel resonates strongly with the Nationalist movement of the nineteenth-century, which demonstrated "a new enthusiasm" for peasant song and dance, for "the special . . . idioms that were thought to characterize a people."¹ One of the most famous composers in this vein, Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904), spent three years in the United States, from 1892-1895, and his sojourn produced one of his best-loved and most widely performed works, the Ninth Symphony in E minor, Op. 95, *From the New World* (1893). Willa Cather attended at least two performances of it and reviewed it for the *Lincoln Courier*.² Her familiarity with and respect for Dvořák's piece is best illustrated by the fact that she wrote about it for the *Courier* in 1897, used it as impetus for her illustration of the land in *O Pioneers!* (1913), described her heroine Thea Kronberg's emotional reaction to it

in *The Song of the Lark* (1915), and relied on it for thematic depth in *My Ántonia* (1918). Of all her early work, *My Ántonia* bears the strongest influential mark of the Ninth Symphony and an ethnic musical tradition. The book incorporates thematic elements dealing with the immigrant experience, as does Dvořák's piece, but, more importantly, the narrative as an aesthetic object resembles a protracted folksong, a major component of Nationalism.

Cather's appropriation of the Ninth Symphony in fiction prior to *My Ántonia* reveals her tenacious efforts to incorporate Dvořák's work into her writing. Associating it with the land provided a significant muse for *O Pioneers!* (1913). Describing the book to Zoë Akins in a 1912 letter, she said that "the setting is the character" in her new "longer story." She communicated a more developed sentiment to Elizabeth Sergeant in a 1913 missive by writing that she "has taken her themes from the long grass, as Dvořák did in the *New World Symphony*."³ She also posits that "probably very few people will like it." Elizabeth "Elsie" Shepley Sergeant, Cather's friend and co-worker at *McClure's*, discussed the author's appropriation of the Czech composer's work in her book *Willa Cather: A Memoir* (1963). Regarding *O Pioneers!*, she said that Cather dismissed all ideas of what "a novel 'ought' to be. . . . The country [in it] insisted on being the Hero and she did not interfere, for the

story came out of the long grasses, she felt, like Dvořák's *New World Symphony*.⁴ Creating a three dimensional character from "the hero" required an exaltation of "the country," a nationalist concept in any genre. Similarly, one of the epigraphs for *O Pioneers!* is a quotation from "the great exiled Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz's . . . epic of his lost land, *Pan Tadeusz*."⁵ The notion of a collective art culture was clearly evident in Cather's early works depicting the prairies upon which she matured. The reviews for *Pioneers* were "unanimously enthusiastic," granting Cather confidence to trust her experience as material for "serious literature" and go on "to create the best part of *The Song of the Lark*, *My Ántonia*, and *A Lost Lady* from the flood of memories of her early years."⁶ But *O Pioneers!* was not her first effort to integrate a musical idiom into her writing.

Just a year prior to her 1913 success, *McClure's* published her story "The Bohemian Girl" based on Michael William Balfe's mid-nineteenth-century opera by the same name. In fact, Antonín Dvořák acknowledged it in his 1895 article for *Harper's*, "Music in America." Discussing Nationalist music, he writes that "Balfe, the Irishman, used one of our most national airs, a Hussite song, in his opera, *Bohemian Girl*, though how he came by it nobody has yet explained."⁷ Cather saw a production of *Bohemian Girl* at the Opera House in Red Cloud, and the plot of

her story bears striking resemblance to that of its inspiration.⁸ Her appropriation of Balfe's piece for her love story detailing a Norwegian man's enduring ardor for the wild and carefree Czech girl from his childhood was not a singular example of a larger societal fascination with the Slavic peoples. The connection between Bohemians and the arts held sway in the popular milieu.⁹ In 1911, Robert Haven Schauffler's story "The Bohemian" depicted a main character, Vaclav, who violently turns on his boss in an effort to change his prejudices about Czech people. Among his enumerations of "the greatness" of his country's history, Vaclav shouts at his superior: "You got anybody ever wrote such music like our Smetana? Didn't you have to get Dvořák over here to write the '*New World Symphony*'?"¹⁰ Despite a pervasive belief that Czechs were gifted musicians, prevailing cultural attitudes towards them and other new immigrants such as Italians, Greeks, and Poles remained pejorative, partly as a result of the growing American nativism following the turn of the century.

Cultural biases and ethnic stereotypes flooded the print media, including *McClure's* magazine, for which Cather worked after 1906. Tim Prchal suggests that, as managing editor of the publication in 1910, she would necessarily have read her friend Elsie Sergeant's piece describing the "foreigners" from "central and southern Europe and Asia Minor," including "Bohemians." Sergeant writes that "these people differ fundamentally from the

more intelligent and efficient Northern races that preceded them . . . [such as] the English, . . . Germans, and Scandinavians."

There is no record of Cather's response to the illustration of Czechs as "passive, illiterate farmers," but certain thematic elements of *My Ántonia* complement this perception by lauding the musical talents of this ethnic group.¹¹ Of their artistic ability, the author could have few doubts. A strong acquaintance with music survived and even strengthened with her move east to Pittsburgh and, later, New York. Living there during her tenure at *McClure's*, she was exposed to the most recent symphonic and operatic trends, which she had been following since her days in Lincoln, writing reviews for the *Courier* and *Nebraska State Journal*.

After the success she had with *Alexander's Bridge* (1912), Cather told her colleague at *McClure's* about "an idea she had for a novel about an opera singer." It took another three years for her to write *The Song of the Lark*, if indeed "its genesis" occurred at this time.¹² Most critics agree that it is Cather's most personal work. Hermione Lee, for example, suggests that the book presents a symbiotic relationship between Cather's love of music and her attitudes toward writing. She states that "Thea Kronberg is a singer, not a writer. *The Song of the Lark* is an autobiography, but it is also a dramatization of Cather's credo."¹³ Cather's long-term partner, Edith Lewis, wrote of the

novel that "although Willa Cather was inclined to be critical of it in later years, it was a book that she took great pleasure in writing. . . . Perhaps the faults she found in [it] came in part from working too directly from immediate emotions and impressions. I think no other of her novels was written in this way."¹⁴ One of the immediate "impressions" Cather records is her response to a performance of Dvořák's Ninth Symphony.

In *Song of the Lark*, Thea's artistic maturation grows out of her reaction to the same experience. Instantly, she recognizes

music she could understand, music from the New World indeed! . . . When the first movement ended, Thea's hands and feet were cold as ice. She was too much excited to know anything except that she wanted something desperately, and when the English horns gave out the theme of the Largo, she knew that what she wanted was exactly that. Here were the sandhills, the grasshoppers and locusts, all the things that wakened and chirped in the early morning; the reaching and reaching of high plains, the immeasurable yearning of all flat lands. There was home in it, too, first memories, first mornings long ago; the amazement of a new soul in a new world; a soul new and yet old, that had dreamed something despairing, something glorious,

in the dark before it was born; a soul obsessed by what it did not know, under the cloud of a past it could not recall.

Thea physically *feels* the music, but, more importantly, it makes her remember her home: "It brought back to her . . . the grass-grown wagon-trails, the far-away peaks of the snowy range, the wind and the eagles."¹⁵ Sound undoubtedly renders homesickness. By identifying so closely with the work, Thea is able to recognize the longing within her to express the incommunicable, to become an opera singer. She is also cognizant of the need to fight for her desire. Coming out of the concert hall, she realizes that "there was some power abroad in the world bent upon taking away from her that feeling" she had after hearing Dvořák's Symphony No. 9. She resolves that "they should never have it. As long as she lived that ecstasy was going to be hers." Contemplating her fierce drive to hold tight to "it," to "what the trumpets were singing," Thea knows that her decision and her "heaving bosom" mark irrevocably her shift from innocence to artistic adulthood.¹⁶

Similar to Thea's passionate response to the Largo, Cather reacts emphatically to this movement in her review of its performance. Describing it as "placed in an altogether different atmosphere" from the Adagio, she states that it calls forth visions of "limitless prairies, full of the peasantry of all the

nations of Europe; Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Huns, Bohemians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Russians and Poles." The expansiveness of this image is tempered by the constricting loneliness that thrives on "the hungry plains of the Middle West," which bring forth the "song of a homesick heart." Finally, the "little staccato melody" that closes the Largo suggests to Cather that "morning [has] come, and the time for dreams was over, and the peasant was hurrying to his plow to master a strange soil and make the new world his own." Picturing the steady endurance of the immigrant through a connection with the earth underscores the image of Ántonia Shimerda and others in Cather's prairie novels, but the tunes "of a homesick heart" can be both inspiring and plaintive. Nevertheless, Cather describes "the ending" of the *New World* as full of promise, particularly "the long, high final note on the wind instruments" that seems "to rise out of that vortex of sound like an aspiration, seems to rise clear into the evening sky and tremble there like a star. It is like the flight of the dove over the waste of waters, that last note, there is all the hope of the new world in it."¹⁷ The final tone trembling "like a star" must have been a beacon for the young writer, one that signaled the nexus of the sound and sense of place.¹⁸

After a long apprenticeship of journalism, teaching, managing *McClure's*, publishing several short stories, and

experimenting with the immigrant experience in Alexander's *Bridge, O Pioneers!* and *The Song of the Lark*, Cather demonstrated her fullest expression of a Bohemian artistic idiom in *My Ántonia*. Recognizing the author's success with this novel, Edith Lewis wrote that Cather felt "it was the best thing she had done—that she had succeeded, more nearly than ever before, in writing the way she wanted to write."¹⁹ Her sense of accomplishment may have stemmed from the satisfaction of writing a book that incorporated Dvořák's Symphony No. 9 more fully than its predecessors. A musical interpretation of *My Ántonia* can be addressed on two levels, one explicit and the other implicit. First, the character of Mr. Shimerda represents the Old World, and the longing for his Bohemia and his role as a fiddler creates an obvious connection to the Czech cultural tradition. Second, the manner of Jim's recollections, not just what but how he remembers things, echoes fundamental principles of folk song, a major but not central component of Nationalist music.

The Nationalist impulse in music stems from efforts to unify people of a developing country, and the collective identity of a population is likely to be found in not only the songs they sing and the tales they tell but also the lexicon they use. Particularly in the nineteenth century, the "long struggle for freedom and unification in Germany and Italy reflected a growing conviction that states ought to be

coterminous with nationalities or languages." Subsequently, a growing fascination with indigenous speech and local knowledge replaced "the classicism and Francophilia that had dominated European culture since the seventeenth century." What Leon Plantinga calls "peripheral" idioms such as "Czech, Hungarian, and Russian" came into vogue.²⁰ In general, the use of the vernacular in art became popular across Europe. Probably the most famous composer with an oeuvre built from colloquial sources would be Richard Wagner who relied consistently on German legends as fodder for his theatrical operas. Quoting the German maestro, Benjamin Curtis writes that in myth "the Volk becomes the creator of art. [It] constitutes the communal poetic energy of the Volk." Fable reflects the most "artistic expression" of the common people.²¹

Music became a practical means to coalesce ethnic identity across the social strata. Because rural peoples represented an idyllic life, they became the agents of a particularly unifying expression. Curtis points out that in nineteenth-century compositions "nationalists *identify* with the peasants, whereas in earlier historical depictions" of them in opera, there is "no assumed unity between" them and the "spectators in the theater."²² Since going to the opera house or symphony hall was "one of the main forms of public entertainment, . . . it comes as close as anything the era had to a mass medium."²³ This

"medium" applied not only to performance but to print production as well. Curtis notes that folk song editions helped to "produce a *conception* of . . . cultural patrimony through the classification" of such tunes "according to the criteria of national provenance." Collating such relics was "a movement that penetrated virtually all the corners of the European continent, and the publication and dissemination of these collections was similarly widespread phenomenon."²⁴ The social fascination with the peasant as bearer of a unifying ethnic identity, expressed through the demand for such "collections," indicates a strange dichotomy. In contrast to symphonies and sonatas, which were considered "high" art, colloquial songs and dances were relegated to the position of "low" art. This ubiquitous belief existed alongside "the idealization" of the rustic population.²⁵ Although this group may have represented a strong brand of cultural characteristics to some composers, labeling those qualities as particularly Czech, for example, does not make sense because it implies an unconscious artistic impulse, an innate agency.

The notion of primordialism, that there is something like "Czechness" or "Italianness," for example, is generally dismissed by musicologists now even though collections of peasant songs in the late eighteenth century, such as those by Johann Gottfried von Herder, insisted on it. Even Dvořák lent

the idea credence when he wrote in 1895 that "all races have their distinctively national songs, which they at once recognize as their own, even if they have never heard them before." The main concern for Dvořák as a foreign-born leader of the new conservatory in the United States was discovering "what songs, then, belong to the American," and in so doing, he may have exaggerated what Curtis refers to as the *Volksgeist* of the very "songs" he sought to acknowledge and appropriate in his own work.²⁶ This German term translates as "the immutable national identity of a people that finds expression through music," or, for example, as an inherent Norwegianness in the work of Edvard Grieg. Since there is no such "innate expression" of ethnicity, composers endeavored to create it by carefully choosing names for their compositions and promoting them as distinct products of their region or country. As Wagner suggested, one key to this endeavor lay in the revelation of a folk tradition.

A knowledge of rural traditions, not just songs but fables as well, helped composers to create an ethnic music. Just as Cather's fiction consistently relies on mythic imagery, the plow against the sun in *My Ántonia* for example, Curtis writes that the use of legends and historical figures in . . . art unifies the nation's present with its past in the artwork: the past is alive in the contemporary nationalist culture being fashioned, and that past, no

matter how remote, belongs to all present living members of the nation precisely because of their nationality.²⁸

At one point, Jim tells Ántonia the story of Coronado and his "search for the Seven Golden Cities" (155).²⁹ He concludes it by recalling the "schoolbooks said he 'died in the wilderness, of a broken heart'." Ántonia responds by remembering that her father had done just the same thing (155). She conflates a folkloric past with her personal memories. Nostalgia proves fundamental to creating a collective cultural heritage. To that end, drawing from rural sources celebrates a perception of pastoral simplicity that was quickly eroding in the nineteenth century as more people moved into urban areas.

The revolutionary zeal that swept Europe in 1848 also undermined any sense of Arcadian contentment. Plantinga points out that "French political developments were followed with fascination in Dresden, Buda-Pest, and Prague, inspiring enthusiasm for German, Hungarian, and Bohemian autonomy and unity."³⁰ In particular, the Czech lands were fraught with tension, divided under the Austro-Hungarian Empire and granted neither autonomy nor, in some cases, their own language. Czechs living under Austrian rule and Slovaks under a Hungarian one yearned for a voice of their own. National music assumed great importance for obvious political reasons. Not unified until

1918, Czechoslovakia discovered its collective expression in the work of Bedřich Smetana (1824–84) who is “often considered the founder of Bohemian nationalist music.”³¹ Articulating patrimonial characteristics did not grow from the performance of folk songs in the concert halls, however.

Composers faced major disadvantages when using rural sources. In some cases, Curtis argues, relying on them was simply a novelty, meant only to add originality. Smetana used extreme care when incorporating them but avoided sole reliance on them, fearing that “the resulting composition would be no more than a pastiche.”³² His aims to establish a Czech idiom combined “high” and “low” art. Smetana wrote to his publisher in 1879 that “my efforts are directed towards *idealizing* the polka in particular, as Chopin did with the mazurka.” Avoiding a “mere imitation” of the dance, his music presented “a *transfiguration* of it, elevating it so that it could serve as a plank in the national high culture.” The degree of alchemy he used to achieve such ends is evident in the noble position he holds as his country’s foremost unifying composer.³³ Probably the most significant example of Smetana’s attitude toward his vocation is “his epic cycle of six symphonic poems, *Má Vlast* (My Fatherland, c. 1872–79). . . . There is vigorous ‘peasant music’ with polka rhythms, and one form of the principal theme of *The Moldau* suggests folk origins in its combination of a major third and

minor sixth." Less than a decade before he composed *Má Vlast*, Smetana became director of Prague's Provisional Theater in 1866, and the principal violinist performing under his baton "was a young musician from a village to the north," Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904).³⁴

Dvořák's initial success grew out of his use of Bohemian folk elements. His *Slavonic Dances*, published in 1878 and 1886, precipitated his popularity. Smetana responded to these works favorably, saying that "every Czech, at least who loves music, should know these remarkable original dances."³⁵ Other great composers helped create Dvořák's notoriety as well. When Johannes Brahms urged his publisher, Simrock of Berlin, to print the young Czech's work, he ensured the latter's rare and enduring success. Plantinga argues that a "strong ingredient in the formation of Dvořák's style was the folk music of his native Bohemia and surrounding regions. Like [Frédéric] Chopin [and his mazurkas], he initially struck the wider public as a sort of romantic exotic."³⁶ Nevertheless, his acclaim gained him an invitation to direct the National Conservatory of Music of America from Mrs. Jeannette Meyer Thurber on June 5, 1891. Dvořák "had little inclination to travel" to the United States and "at first declined."³⁷ The attractive \$15,000 yearly salary ultimately convinced him to sign Thurber's contract on December 23, 1891 despite his distress over breaking up his family. He,

his wife, and two of their children arrived at "Sandy Hook on the *SS Saale* on their way to the New Jersey port of Hoboken" on September 26, 1892. Work on the *New World* began on January 10, 1893 and was finished on May 24 that same year.³⁸ Regardless of his enthusiasm for a nascent school in the New World, his promising sojourn there was tempered by longing and punctuated by visits to Prague, for which he was quite homesick.

Suggesting a missive sent home, the preposition *from* in the title of his Ninth Symphony indicates one way to communicate with Old World family and friends. Some critics have credited Mrs. Thurber with naming the *New World* since she had encouraged him to compose it in the first place.³⁹ However, during the time he was at work on the piece, Dvořák had written in an April 1893 letter that "his wish to return to Bohemia will not be realized this year," underlining his homesickness and pointing to his compositional practice as a means of connecting with those whom he left behind.⁴⁰ Aside from many friends, Dvořák missed his other four children and an elderly father.⁴¹ Dvořák's secretary, Josef Jan Kovařík, clarified the composer's titular choice in his *Reminiscences*. Kovařík remembered that

the Master wrote at the last minute on the title-page, "Z Nového světa" ("From the New World"). Till then there was only E minor symphony no. 8 [sic]. The title "From the New World" caused . . . much confusion and

division of opinion. There were and are many people who thought and think that the title is to be understood as meaning the "American" symphony, i.e., a symphony with American music. Quite a wrong idea! This title means nothing more than "Impressions and Greetings from the New World"—as the Master himself more than once explained.

After the premiere and subsequent reports of whether it was representative of a national music, Kovařík describes Dvořák's response: "He said, 'It seems that I have got them all confused' and added: 'at home they will understand at once what I meant'."⁴² What "they" would have recognized is that the great composer used the only real means at his disposal to express his nostalgia for Bohemia, an impulse that assumed greater importance than even he may have comprehended.⁴³

The title *From the New World* suggests the deliberate construction of an American idiom. Many critics believed that Dvořák relied solely on what he called "Negro spirituals" because he extolled their virtue as untapped fodder for a national artistic voice. He emphasized that the new sound of the United States "must strike its roots deeply into its own soil."⁴⁴ However, in an interview for the *Herald* on December 15, 1893, the day before the premiere, Dvořák explained that he did "not

actually [use] any of the melodies" he heard from indigenous sources. Instead, he sought to reproduce what he called the "spirit" of a given race, the American Indian in particular, by replicating the peculiar qualities of their music such as "the absence of the fourth and seventh, or leading tone."⁴⁵ An immediate success, his Symphony No. 9 was reputed by critics to have grown largely from black songs, but scholarship on the piece, including comments from Dvořák himself, indicate that the work grew more from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* and from a Bohemian idiom than anything else.

Despite his comments and claims of Native and African influence, Dvořák could not abandon his Old World material. The *Chicago Tribune* quotes him in August of 1893 as saying that "my new symphony [No. 9] is . . . an endeavor to portray characteristics, such as are distinctly American," but from his letters and Kovařík's *Reminiscences* it would seem that discerning such qualities had more to do with expressing how an immigrant may have felt in the United States than reproducing an indigenous sound.⁴⁶ A well-trained ear could hear as much; respected critic Henry Krehbiel "admired the symphony" and conceded "that it might be Indian in spirit, but he was clear-sighted enough to recognize that it was Bohemian in atmosphere." Krehbiel said that "Dr. Dvořák can no more divest himself of his nationality than the leopard change his spots."⁴⁷ John Clapham

insists that "beyond some superficial correlations, . . . there is no conclusive evidence of any significant cultural borrowing."⁴⁸ He also notes that when Dvořák wrote the *New World* "his knowledge of such music was limited, and it is certain he had made no 'serious study'" of it. His summer vacation in Spillville, Iowa in 1893 was the first time Dvořák "came into close contact with Indians."⁴⁹ He completed a draft of the Ninth Symphony in May before leaving New York City.

In order to create aural characteristics that he felt were "distinctly American," Dvořák approached his subject matter like a writer, by observing his surroundings. He published some of his findings in *Harper's* and the *New York Herald*. Immediately upon his arrival, he wrote of being "startled by the strength and the depth of the voices in the boys who sell papers on the street, and I am still constantly amazed at its penetrating quality." Noticing all the pitches around him, he described the collective sound as "like a rare and lovely flower growing amidst encroaching weeds. Thousands pass it, while others trample it under foot, and thus the chances are that it will perish before it is seen by the one discriminating spirit who will prize it above all else." Drawing from the quotidian remained a priority for Dvořák who claimed that "the inspiration" for his New World compositions "should come from the right source, and that the music itself should be a true

expression of the people's real feelings." Articulating such genuine emotion meant being motivated by many possible influences, for the Czech maestro stated that "it matters little whether the inspiration . . . is derived from the Negro melodies, the songs of the creoles, the red man's chant, or the plaintive ditties of the homesick German or Norwegian." The objective was to create an indigenous sound, success with which stemmed from Dvořák's scrutiny of his environment. According to him, the musician must "prick his ear for music. Nothing must be too low or too insignificant" for him.⁵⁰ Similarly, the writer's faculty must be piqued by the most pedestrian things. Beginning her career as a journalist, Willa Cather's apprenticeship would have sprung from this principle. Though it is not certain she read any of Dvořák's essays, particular elements of his vocation in the United States align with her fictional explorations of the immigrant pathos.

In much of Cather's early work, music helps define an ethnic group. Moreover, it offers a voice for the immigrant who has none because of a language barrier. Granting utterance, whether fictional or musical, to an otherwise mute population helps to create a sense of unity among natives and foreigners alike. Dvořák expresses the paramount importance, for the artist, of getting "into touch with the common humanity of his country."⁵¹ His concern with creating a cultural idiom contains

remarkable similarity to Cather's handling of the same concept in her prairie novels. Both of them reflected the New World experience in their work. Cather's interest in articulating a kind of populist sentiment dates back at least to 1897, when she lauded the talent of John Philip Sousa (1854-1932), the marching band composer, in a review for the *Lincoln Courier*. She stated that great compositions "live," possessing an agency of their own when they are part "of the people."⁵² She wrote that in 1897, two years after Dvořák had returned home and four years after the *New York Herald* published his observation that "the country is full of melody. . . . It is a rich field. America can have great and noble music of her own, growing out of the very soil and partaking of its nature."⁵³ Part of his mission upon coming to the United States lay in cultivating such "fields."⁵⁴

Tantamount to what Dvořák articulated about a national art culture, his place of employment also embraced a similar mission of discovering native talent. After more than two years serving as Director of the National Conservatory, he wrote a letter to the editor of the *New York Herald* in May of 1893, lauding the institution. His praise stemmed from the fact that, as a burgeoning artist, he was not granted the appropriate tools to develop his talent. The Conservatory, however, presented the advantage of accessibility. He said that had he gained access to a similar school during his early years he may have been "spared

many of my hardest trials and have accomplished much more. Not that I was unable to produce music, but that I had not technique enough to express all that was in me. I had ideas but I could not utter them perfectly."⁵⁵ Cather, too, had a long and arduous apprenticeship during which she tried, through several mediums, to hone her skills, to "utter" her artistic impulses.

Recognizing how a lack of pedagogical instruction may have compromised his earliest artistic expression, Dvořák makes clear that his job at the Conservatory was to "discover what young Americans had in them and to help them to express it."⁵⁶ To this end, the scope of the institution was "truly national." It was the only "school of the arts in America" to win a Congressional Charter in 1891, and it extended a wide reach. Besides "notices in national journals, like *Etude*, *Musical America*, *Musical Courier*, and so on, announcements and paid advertisements of the school's New York auditions appeared in local newspapers all across the country—not only in large metropolitan centers, but in many smaller cities as well." Moreover, it became the "first such institution in the United States to make a special mission of seeking out and encouraging women, minorities, and the handicapped."⁵⁷ It presented a unique musical environment that embraced peripheral groups such as those represented by Antonín Dvořák who, as an immigrant, was a marginal figure. Some of Willa Cather's characters can also be categorized this way.

Struggling with the threat of displacement, Jim Burden, the narrator in *My Ántonia*, describes "the feeling that the world was left behind. . . . Between that earth and that sky I felt erased, blotted out" (8). Jim's sense of his liminal existence echoes that of the immigrant who arrives in a new country without the necessary tools, like language, to help him feel that he truly belongs there. Cather's prairie novels and Dvořák Ninth Symphony describe this metaphorical no-man's land well. In Dvořák's work, Cather heard "the exile song of many nations," an observation she articulates in her 1897 review. Moreover, she suspected, when many critics did not, that the Czech composer drew mostly from his own ethnic idiom. She writes in a 1913 letter to Elizabeth Sergeant that the *New World* "was not made from Negro songs as people say."⁵⁸ Sergeant confirms this in her memoir of Cather by recalling the author's appropriation of Dvořák's piece for *O Pioneers!*. Sergeant also points out that Cather suspected Dvořák's work was not inspired by African-American sources, to "which program notes always" attributed it. Sergeant remembers that Cather "knew better."⁵⁹

Cather responded to the "song of homesickness" in the *New World* more than Black or Native American melodies and rhythms. The nostalgic emphasis was so great for her that she reiterates it three times in her short commentary. In contrast, she writes of Dvořák's "African theme" that it becomes "pretty well

exhausted" by the end of the first movement. What stirred her emotive response was hearing "the peasantry of all the nations of Europe" and picturing "each of those far scattered lights that at night mark the dwellings of these people on the plains."⁶⁰ Even though Dvořák's influence on Cather's fiction is not articulated neatly by her, great writers sometimes do not name their most significant muses, the affinities between their respective works dealing with Nationalist and immigrant themes bear striking resemblance.

Dvořák's *New World* seems to have left an invaluable impression upon her early work, specifically those books and stories that address the immigrant experience and the isolation that comes with dislocation. The strongest effects of Dvořák's piece are demonstrated in *My Ántonia*. Arguing that the book "achieves symphonic unity and wholeness from many cultures," Ann Moseley posits that Dvořák's work provided the primary emblem of cultural pluralism from which the novel grows.⁶¹ Marion Fay suggests that, in a general way, Cather uses "Symphony No. 9 to speak figuratively of frontiers and pioneers in juxtaposition with homelands and native peoples."⁶² In particular, *My Ántonia* is a kind of symphony; it celebrates many types of people and the different experiences that bring them together. Similar to Dvořák's success, Cather's novel remains her great Nationalist opus.

If *My Ántonia* bears the mark of appropriation, then the titular character's father is the key to illuminating how Cather integrated an Old World artistic identity. Mr. Shimerda provides the impetus for many of Jim's reflections years after leaving Nebraska. The old man's name recurs throughout the work "like a star" that rises "clear into the evening sky," as Cather described the "striking" last note of the Ninth Symphony, in which she heard "all the hope of the new world."⁶³ Jim recalls Mr. Shimerda at some of the most important milestones of Jim's young life. Ántonia's father is a beacon for Jim's endeavors. Since Mr. Shimerda largely determines the tenor of Jim's reminiscence, the Czech fiddler seems to undergird the musical element of the novel more than the Blind d'Arnault episode credited for the same effect by critics such as Ann Moseley and Richard Giannone. First and foremost, a Bohemian idiom drives thematic tension.

Cather's earliest fictional experimentation with the Czech musical pathos, and a strong precedent for *My Ántonia*, is her story "Peter," which first appeared in *The Mahogany Tree* in May of 1892. Cather reprinted it in *The Hesperian* on November 24 that same year, almost exactly two months after Dvořák arrived in America on September 26. She rewrote it before this second publication.⁶⁴ James Woodress augments the history of "Peter" by stating that Cather

additionally "republished it twice before using it a fourth time" in *My Ántonia*. He also indicates that she revised it for publication in a "short-lived, five-cent weekly paper called the *Library*, . . . [which] lasted only six months." Most important, however, Woodress discusses Cather's resistance to "resurrecting" it and other stories from the 1890s. She was obviously not happy with her early work, comparing it to a "bad" apple. Woodress observes that "she was sorry her apprentice pieces still existed in the musty files of old periodicals and would have liked to destroy them all."⁶⁵ Even though a mature Cather viewed her novice compositions with a disdainful eye, the influence of this particular tale remains central in discussions of *My Ántonia*, especially in an effort to recognize how Dvořák's life may have inspired her fictional characters.

Though Cather acknowledged Peter as a model for Mr. Shimerda, both men resemble the real Czech violinist Antonín Dvořák. In a September 1931 interview for *Good Housekeeping*, the author indicated a lineage from the titular character of "Peter" to Ántonia's father, Mr. Shimerda. She tells the interviewer, Alice Booth, that some of her early work was only a "little different" from her later fiction, naming the "old man she used" in *My Ántonia*. She articulates the connection by remembering that

in those days, . . . I was afraid that people, just as they were, were not quite good enough. I felt I had to trim them up, to "prettify" them. I had just heard Bernhardt, and the magic of her voice was still in my ears—and so I made my old man a violinist—a good violinist, who had once played an obligato with a great singer, when she came to the little theatre in which he was first violin in the orchestra. I made that a frill for him . . . and did not realize that old *Shimerda*, just as he was, was good enough for anybody. He was not a violinist. He was just a fiddler—and not even a very good fiddler. He did not need to be. He was enough just as he was.⁶⁶

Peter and Mr. Shimerda are "fiddlers," and the next most striking resemblance between them is the homesickness each experiences, represented most explicitly by his violin.

Both men live and die by their instrument. Peter remains unwilling to sell it at his son's request. The son, Antone, tells his father he needs money and that it no longer serves a purpose anyway since his father cannot play it without his hands shaking. As the sole comforting presence in his life, Peter hesitates to get rid of it. Having emigrated, he recognizes that life "was all different now." The only things he still loves are "his

violin and the holy Mary, and above all else he feared the Evil One, and his son Antone." Peter ultimately kills himself in much the same way Mr. Shimerda does, with a shotgun out in the barn. Before ending his life, however, he plays the "Ave Maria," embraces his fiddle under his chin "where it had lain so often," and finally snaps it in two. Antone carries to town the bow "which Peter had forgotten to break" in order to sell it before the funeral.⁶⁷

Unlike Dvořák or Mr. Shimerda, Peter is portrayed as practically "worthless. . . . He did not like the country, nor the people." Alternately, very much like Dvořák, Peter "had been second violinist in the great theatre at Prague [and] . . . was very homesick for Bohemia."⁶⁸ Peter's nostalgia for home and his occupation as "second violinist" at the Prague theatre seems more than coincidental, for Dvořák possessed those same characteristics except that he worked as principal, not second, player in the orchestra. Cather's mistaken 1931 remark that Peter was "first violin" could suggest just how far removed her memory was from her earliest published fiction, or, perhaps in an effort to hide her sources, she confused the real musician's post in Prague's national theatre with that of her protagonist's.

Conflating the real and the imagined came naturally to Cather. When Lee claims that "all Cather's writing is a kind of memorizing and memorializing," then seeing Dvořák as an inspiration for her first fictional musician makes sense, especially if she was impressed with him, a fact that her 1897 review of his Ninth Symphony makes clear.⁶⁹ Lee points out that Cather combined actual events with fabled ones quite often. In the case of *My Ántonia*, for example, the author's father had "reminded her that several of the episodes in the book were things that they had seen or done together. Until then, Cather believed she had invented them."⁷⁰ In a sense, her 1918 novel provided a way to eulogize or immortalize the Czech composer she so admired some fourteen years after his death in 1904, an event that may have helped shift the way she fictionalized the suicide of her childhood friend's father.

Though "Peter" explores the basic story of the suicide of Annie Pavelka's father, Cather's appropriation of that literal event clearly shifted when she wrote *My Ántonia*. Mr. Shimerda is a deeper, more developed character. However, like Peter, he too resembles certain popular conceptions of Antonín Dvořák. The composer paid special attention to his physical appearance, indicated by "his ostentatious emerald-green necktie, silk vest, ulster coat, and homburg hat, which he wore at a rakish angle."

One newspaper reporter described him when he first arrived in New York by writing that "he is much taller than his pictures would imply, . . . of great natural dignity, a man of character."⁷¹ These same qualities strike Jim Burden first when he meets Mr. Shimerda. He remembers that "everything about this old man was in keeping with his dignified manner. He was neatly dressed" (18). The old man's care in his presentation underlines the thoughtful attention he paid to most things, even his own death. After his suicide, Fuchs talks to Mrs. Burden about it, saying that Mr. Shimerda was "always sort of fixy, and fixy he was to the last" (63). In addition to shaving and bathing "hisself all over," Fuchs is referring to the old man's attire, the preparation of which seems almost ritualistic. Fuchs says Mr. Shimerda's "coat was hung on a peg, and his boots was under the bed. He'd took off that silk neckcloth he always wore, and folded it smooth and stuck his pin through it." When the men found him in the barn, "everything was decent except . . . what he couldn't nowise foresee" (63). Until his end, Mr. Shimerda prioritized decorum.

The old man's quiet sense of propriety continued to impress Jim despite the burden Mr. Shimerda's suicide placed on his family and on the Burdens. Jim remembers his mother exclaiming, "how could he . . . bring this on us!" (63). Well after the situation, after the Burdens move into town, and after Jim's

shift from innocence to adolescence, Jim remembers Mr. Shimerda's poise.⁷² Addressing the belief that "all foreigners were ignorant people who couldn't speak English," Jim observes that "there was not a man in Black Hawk who had the intelligence or cultivation, much less the personal distinction, of Ántonia's father" (129). Similar to Peter, his literary forbear, Mr. Shimerda capitulates to his isolation and despair on the prairie, but this surrender does not diminish his grandeur from Jim's perspective.

Maturity, perhaps, has yielded a similar kind of loneliness to Jim, one that confirms for him the fact that "it was homesickness that had killed Mr. Shimerda" (66). Not incidentally, the same impetus prompts Jim to write his memoir. His work as "legal counsel for one of the great Western railways" keeps him removed from his "office" and his home for "weeks together" (1). The third-person narrator in the Introduction describes Jim's disposition as "romantic," saying that "disappointments have not changed him," but Jim's faith in his "great country" and the railroad for which he works belies a longing that is apparent in the fact that, on "long trips across the country," he amuses himself by "writing down what [he] remembers about Ántonia," a subject that represents his childhood (2). Jim and Mr. Shimerda seem to share a sense of displacement made manifest as a kind of wanderlust in one and as

a static dissolving force in the other. Neither a wanderer nor a suicide, Antonín Dvořák's American tenure was precipitated by financial need, but isolation from his greater ethnic community prompted his return to Bohemia. His exciting arrival in the New World and all the promise that it offered was truncated most of all by his nostalgia. Coupled with the "Conservatory's fiscal instability," his departure was "inevitable."⁷³ After three years, he went home. Mr. Shimerda's final choice was predicated on a similar feeling of dislocation.

Homesick for his Bohemia, Mr. Shimerda's longing emphasizes the nostalgic tone of *My Ántonia*. His memories are sharply punctuated by musical anecdotes, suggesting that Mr. Shimerda's ethnic identity is informed by his talent. Ántonia tells Jim one day that "my papa sad for the old country. He not look good. He never make music any more. At home he play violin all the time; for weddings and for dance. Here never. When I beg him for play, he shake his head no. Some days he take his violin out of his box and make with his fingers on the strings, like this, but never he make the music. He don't like this kawn-tree." More importantly, "he cry for leave his old friends what make music with him." When Ántonia tries to explain this to Jim, he listens "unsympathetically" (59). That he remembers this exchange decades later, however, reveals not just his sympathy but his empathy for the loneliness that accompanies an uprooted life.

Ántonia's repetition of the word *music* three times could no doubt have impressed upon Jim part of the reason behind the seriousness of Mr. Shimerda's condition. As a representation of community and communion, of a secular and a sacred space, Mr. Shimerda's violin becomes a powerful metaphor for all that he once had in the Old World and subsequently sacrifices in the new one. The old man had used it as a means of social and spiritual currency, one that encouraged relationships with others around him. In the New World, he "never" plays it. Ántonia's description of her father's emptiness is juxtaposed with his suicide in the next chapter. A little over three weeks pass in between her concern and his death (60).

His death may have been the result of a number of disappointments, not least among them financial concerns for his family. Not at all familiar with farming, Mr. Shimerda came to America as a weaver by trade. According to Otto Fuchs, a farmhand for the Burdens, the patriarchal Czech "had been a skilled workman on tapestries and upholstery materials. He had brought his fiddle with him, which wouldn't be of much use here, though he used to pick up money by it at home" (16). His vocation and his music provided a livelihood and a substantial sense of being alive. Without them, he despairs. Mr. Shimerda's ultimate decision makes a lasting impression on Jim's own struggles with identity on the vast Nebraska plain, the

"material out of which countries" and people are "made" (7). People are also broken on the divide, however, and the pastoral quality in Cather's novel is complicated by the demanding reality of life on the prairie. Interspersed with the practical and emotional difficulty of Mr. Shimerda's new situation are particular scenes that emphasize Old World customs used to create social identity and security, systems that fail to translate to the Nebraska plains.

The customs that the old man relied on in Bohemia to foster relationships involve music. Early in Book I, not long after Jim starts to teach Ántonia to read and speak English, he learns the history of Mr. Shimerda's gun. Jim remembers picking up the weapon, a "queer piece from the old country, short and heavy, with a stag's head on the cock." The old man "turned" to Jim and "spoke kindly and gravely." Ántonia translated: "My *tatinek* say when you are big boy, he give you his gun. Very fine, from Bohemie. It belong to a great man. . . . My papa play for his wedding, and he give my papa fine gun, and my papa give you" (29). Her father earned the gun from a "great man" by performing for the man's nuptial celebration, an occasion that exalts communion and fellowship. He wanted to give it to Jim as a gift for teaching his daughter the language that will help grant Jim's Bohemian neighbors a sense of unity in their otherwise isolated lives. As Jim notes early on, the Shimerdas "could not

speak enough English to ask for advice, or even to make their most pressing wants known" (16). By instructing her, Jim encourages Ántonia and her family to be a part of their community. Mr. Shimerda recognizes this and seeks to repay it in a way most familiar to him. Unlike the New World capital exchange of money for services, Ántonia's father seeks to satisfy his debt through a more genuine transaction. An Old World relic, the firearm represents folk tradition mostly in the way it was acquired. The reciprocity between the "great man" and the violinist reflects a pastoral kind of barter. Retrospective consideration of this scene, however, erodes any Arcadian connotations Jim might have initially developed. His association with the gun would necessarily shift from cultural heirloom to agent of destruction after the old man's death.

Just as the gun scene reverberates in the connection between sound and sentiment, the grasshopper episode suggests a similar symbiotic relationship. Trying to acclimate herself to the indifferent Nebraska landscape, Ántonia finds beauty wherever she can. After locating a grasshopper, she "made a warm nest for him in her hands; talked to him gaily and indulgently in Bohemian. Presently he began to sing for us—a thin, rusty little chirp." Jim sees that "there were tears in her eyes." Ántonia tells him the story of the "old beggar woman," Old Hata, in her village at home who "if you took her in and gave her a

warm place by the fire, she sang old songs to the children in a cracked voice, like this" (27). As with the example of Mr. Shimerda's gun, occasions for music in the Old World provide community. Moreover, Old Hata's singing is predicated upon a barter system similar to the one that granted Mr. Shimerda his weapon. Her entertainment is a reward, provided in exchange for a "warm place by the fire." Ántonia, empathizing with creatures living in the phlegmatic country, gives the insect a "warm place" first in her hand and then in her hair. The serenity granted her through its singing translates to her father as well. When Mr. Shimerda "put his hand on her hair," Jim notices the "name of Old Hata." Mr. Shimerda "untied the handkerchief, separated her hair with his fingers, and stood looking down at the green insect. When it began to chirp faintly, he listened as if it were a beautiful sound" (29). What the old man hears results partly from his nostalgia; he listened "as if" the song were more than just an insect chirping, as if it were, perhaps, a tune from his "kawn-tree."⁷⁴

The desire to reconnect with elements of the Old World is temporarily realized in the relationship Mr. Shimerda develops with his Russian neighbors, Peter and Pavel. Until meeting them, the only immigrant company he keeps is with "a fellow countryman, Peter Krajiek," who was their sole "interpreter, and could tell them anything he chose" (15-16). His cunning rewards

him when the new Czech family buys a homestead from him, paying him "more than it was worth" (15). Krajiek's duplicitous interactions and transactions with the Shimerdas are further emphasized by the good-natured exchange between the Russians and Ántonia's father. Jim recalls the first time Ántonia sees her father laugh "in this kawn-tree." She announces one afternoon that her "papa find friends up north, with Russian mans. . . . One is fat and all the time laugh. Everybody laugh. . . . Oh very nice!" (23). Having come "from a part of Russia where the language was not very different from Bohemian," Peter and Pavel forge a strong relationship with Mr. Shimerda, who could communicate with them easily. Jim remembers that the old man "went to see them almost every evening" (24-25). The relief of having found kindred spirits was reciprocal.

Similar to the social currency Mr. Shimerda's violin grants him, Peter's harmonica offers him comparable opportunities. More gregarious and congenial than his companion Pavel, Peter extends his friendship to Jim and Ántonia when he seeks to lengthen their visit one afternoon. Nostalgic for home and thinking that, had he stayed in Russia, he "would have had a pretty daughter of his own" like Ántonia, Peter wants the children to keep him company just a little longer. He "looked about in perplexity for something that would entertain [them]. He ran into the storeroom and brought out a gaudily painted harmonica, sat down on a

bench, and spreading his fat legs apart began to play like a whole band. The tunes were either very lively or very doleful, and he sang words to some of them" (26). Peter's instrument is used extensively in European folk traditions rather than more formal artistic ones. Though it is uncertain whether he was a professional musician in his own country, his behavior here suggests that he gets more enjoyment from the camaraderie his talent offers him than anything else. Likewise, Mr. Shimerda is also just a fiddler, not a "violinist," as Cather notes in her 1931 interview.⁷⁵ He, too, seems to appreciate the social advantages of his particular skill instead of the more pragmatic ones.

Sound soothes the proverbial beast by easing the despairing soul and providing solace to the lonely. Additionally, in *My Ántonia* it seems to encourage the Old World system of bartering, which codifies trust and loyalty in a community. Immediately after Peter's performance, he "put ripe cucumbers into a sack for Mrs. Shimerda and gave [Jim and Ántonia] a lard-pail full of milk to cook them in." His actions imply that giving them the produce and dairy is a way to thank them for indulging the afternoon's festivities. Even though Jim is suspicious about the foreign dish suggested by Peter's ingredients, Ántonia assures him that it was "very good" (26). Whether through food, warmth, gifts, or company, music brings comfort. Old Hata received a

warm place by the fire in return for her singing; Mr. Shimerda was given a cultural heirloom for his talent; Peter is granted a temporary relief from his loneliness by the company of Jim and Ántonia.

Stories from the Old World are replete in Book I, the longest section of the novel. Together, these tales cohere into a kind of folk repertoire, a base from which the symphony of Jim's childhood can be composed. The tenor of these sources resound of a specifically Czech pathos since Mr. Shimerda's influence lasts throughout *My Ántonia*, underscoring Jim's identity and highlighting the milestones in his young life. Upon graduating from high school, Jim gives his commencement speech at the Opera House in Black Hawk. Running to catch up to Jim afterward, Ántonia was "breathing hard, as she always did when her feelings outran her language." She says of Jim's performance that "it was splendid! . . . There was something in your speech that made me think so about my papa!" Jim admits that "I thought about your papa when I wrote my speech, Tony. . . . I dedicated it to him." He later realizes that he has had "no other success that pulled at [his] heartstrings like that one" (147). The old man's profound impression on Jim leads to some of his most emotionally satisfying achievements. Moreover, it may have been the impetus behind his travel to Bohemia years later and his decision to send "Ántonia some photographs of her native

village" from Prague (211). Connecting with her "native village" in this way may have provided for Jim a feeling of coming home, mimicking the fulfillment of one of Mr. Shimerda's wishes.

Book I culminates in the old man's suicide, an act that grows more from his despair than his frustration as a farmer. Ántonia explains that Mr. Shimerda capitulated to his wife, that he did not want to come to America. She says, "'my *mamenka* make him come. . . . He love very much the man what play the long horn like this'—she indicated a slide trombone. 'They go to school together and are friends from boys. But my mama, she want Ambrosch for be rich, with many cattle'" (59). Along with the deep sense of connection her father feels toward music and his countrymen, this passage especially illustrates the difficult tension between art and capital in America, a topic that Cather also explored in "Peter."

Dvořák also considers this conflict in an 1895 essay he wrote for *Harper's*. After exposing the embarrassingly low demand for music in the United States as compared to other nations, he substantiates it by pointing out that

our common folk in Bohemia know this. When they come here, they leave their fiddles and other instruments at home, and none of the itinerant musicians with whom our country abounds would ever think of trying their luck over here. Occasionally, when I have met one of

my countrymen whom I knew to be musical in . . . the West, and have asked him why he did not become a professional musician, I have usually received the answer, "Oh, music is not wanted in this land." This I can scarcely believe. Music is wanted wherever good people are.⁷⁶

If the composer really met Czechs in the American West who felt this way, especially in Omaha where he visited in 1893, then Cather probably did too. Moreover, the decision to deny any artistic talent would compromise an immigrant's voice. A foreigner who struggles with a language barrier is left almost no form of articulation. This is Mr. Shimerda's predicament. Married to a controlling woman with whom his relationship seems at best strained, the old man is naturally isolated by his inability to speak English and implores young Jim to teach it to his daughter. Ántonia becomes the communicative conduit for her father, and, by telling his story, so does Jim.

Jim tells his story in an admittedly loose fashion, filling it with unrelated episodes such as the Russian wolves. Citing Cather's "method of inserting stories throughout the novel" as the result of Virgilian influence, John J. Murphy defines these episodes as epyllionic: small stories within larger epic ones. Cather's borrowing from Virgil has been expertly established, but the episodic nature of *My Ántonia*, like a Russian Matryoshka

doll, resembles the methods of peasant song in its non-linearity.⁷⁷ This quality applies to folk music in the sense that, as Walter Ong puts it, "redundancy characterizes oral thought and speech, [and] it is in a profound sense more natural to thought and speech than is sparse linearity."⁷⁸ Jim repeatedly interrupts his narrative with stories about people and life on the Nebraska prairie. He remembers, for example, that "Fuchs could be persuaded to talk about the outlaws and desperate characters he had known. I remember one funny story about himself. . . . It was like this" (45). Explaining why he thinks Ántonia assumed a superior tone with him from time to time, Jim says that "this change came from an adventure we had together" and follows with a description of the "adventure" (30). Recalling the difficult relationship between the Burdens and the Shimerdas, Jim describes the "distinct coldness between us and the Shimerdas. It came about in this way" (82). The wolves episode especially underscores the rural tradition of storytelling, a major component of a collective ethnic art, and Jim's decision to tell such tales throughout the book resembles a composer's reliance on similar sources to construct a Nationalist work.

Jim's singular memories cohere and create a greater narrative of Ántonia, the hero of his memoir, just as individual folk elements guide larger instrumental or operatic works in a

national idiom. Creating "high" art such as symphonies and sonatas demanded a kind of "transfiguration" of rural song and dance. Similarly, the legends of Jim's personal past transform incidental events into moments of redemptive and unifying power. The scene in which Peter plays the harmonica for Jim and Ántonia, for example, allows the Russian a brief but potent atonement, a respite from exile wherein he finds companionship.

One very singular unifying moment is the scene in which they bury Mr. Shimerda. Jim recalls that his grandmother "turned to Otto and whispered, 'Can't you start a hymn, Fuchs? It would seem less heathenish.' Fuchs glanced about to see if there was general approval of her suggestion, then began, 'Jesus, Lover of my Soul,' and all the men and women took it up after him" (76).

More than what Fuchs sings, Jim recalls the sense of communion the song creates. Whenever Jim has "heard the hymn since, it has made [him] remember that white waste and the little group of people" (77). Picturing the "little group of people" underlines the function of music in the book: it creates fellowship through shared experiences. Regardless of his successes and disappointments, travels and discoveries, Jim "never came up on the place without emotion." He thinks that "in all that country it was the spot most dear to me. I loved the dim superstition, the propitiatory intent, that had put the grave there" (77).

Before Jim's long departure of twenty years, during his

penultimate visit with Ántonia, the two friends "walked toward that unploughed patch at the crossing of the roads as the fittest place to talk to each other. [They] sat down outside the sagging wire fence that shut Mr. Shimerda's plot off from the rest of the world" (205). Having lost touch with each other after Jim leaves for the East and his education, the two are joined by their powerful memories of the old man. Like Dvořák's symphony, Mr. Shimerda's grave acts as a kind of missive, a signal, to those he left behind.

The notion of looking back toward home informs the *New World* symphony as much as it does Jim's memoir. After all, a long absence from the Nebraska prairie and the friend of his youth is what prompts Jim to record his memories. Seeking to reconnect with Ántonia, Jim's purpose resembles that of Dvořák's desire to reach those "at home," sending greetings from the United States. The Czech maestro's work undergirds the narratology of *My Ántonia* though some critics connect the Ninth Symphony to illustrations of the land and not to the emotional lives of the characters. John Ditsky describes this relationship when he suggests that Dvořák's piece credits "the American landscape with the capacity to reinvigorate the best of an ethnic tradition in combination with native influences."⁷⁹ However, Jim's memoir is more deliberate than that. It is not the land but the people who "reinvigorate" the voice of cultural

heritage on the divide. Though the novel takes place on the Nebraska prairie, Cather denied that it was a "book about the soil" in a 1924 interview with Rose C. Feld for the *New York Times Book Review*. Instead, she explicitly stated that it was a story of people I knew. I expressed a mood, the core of which was like a folksong, a thing Grieg could have written. That it was powerfully tied to the soil had nothing to do with it. Ántonia was tied to the soil. But I might have written the tale of a Czech baker in Chicago, and it would have been the same.⁸⁰

Cather's allusion to the Norwegian nationalist composer Edvard Grieg explicitly connects her 1918 novel to the ethnic trend in music that was still swelling after the turn of the century.

The character of Ántonia is the "core" of Cather's "folksong" although Jim is the one who sings it. Cather's confidant Elizabeth Sergeant, a friend from her *McClure's* days in Pittsburgh, described the author's approach to her protagonist. In what is now a famous anecdote, Sergeant explained that Cather put an

old Sicilian apothecary jar . . . filled with orange-brown flowers of scented stock, in the middle of a bare, round, antique table. "I want my new heroine to be like this—like a rare object in the middle of a table, which one may examine from all sides. . . . I

want her to stand out—like this—like this—because she is the story.” Saying this her fervent, enthusiastic voice faltered and her eyes filled with tears. Someone you knew in your childhood, I ventured. She nodded, but did not say more.⁸¹

The childhood friend was Annie Pavelka, the prototype for Ántonia Shimerda, and Annie’s father killed himself in much the same way Mr. Shimerda did. The oft-cited 1955 letter from Pavelka to a Nebraskan student admits that “most all is true that you read in the Book thoug [sic] most of the names are changed.”⁸²

In a 1921 interview for the *Lincoln Sunday Star*, Cather discussed the “details of the conception of *My Ántonia*.” She said that “one of the people who interested me most as a child was the Bohemian hired girl of one of our neighbors, who was so good to me. She was one of the truest artists I ever knew.”⁸³ That Cather was working from memory and experience is clear, but her incorporation of particular components of Nationalism is not. The element of folk song underscores the thematic trajectory of her novel. Just as oral cultures rely on telling as a means to preserve their unique identity, so peasant music similarly uses aural memory instead of notation. In this way, Jim’s manner of recollection becomes tantamount to what he remembers.

In Jim's case, sound summons memory. By insisting on music as "a mnemonic device" for Jim's recollections, Richard Giannone suggests that it structures the novel.⁸⁴ In the Introduction, Jim says that his memoir is a loose record of events. He claims that he "didn't take time to arrange it; I simply wrote down pretty much all that her name recalls to me. I suppose it hasn't any form" (2). Using her name as impetus suggests the power that the sound of it has for him. In addition, hearing the Shimerdas speak impresses young Jim. He remembers that "it was positively the first time I had ever heard a foreign tongue" (6-7).

Actively listening to the world around him, Jim acknowledges certain aural pitches as an integral part of his maturation. He remembers his grandfather reading from the book of Psalms and describes the old man's voice as "sympathetic," but, above all, Jim was "awed by his intonation of the word 'Selah.' 'He shall choose our inheritance for us, the excellency of Jacob whom He loved. Selah.' I had no idea what the word meant; perhaps he had not. But, as he uttered it, it became oracular, the most sacred of words" (11). Utterance proves "sacred," highlighting the deficiency under which Mr. Shimerda operates as an immigrant who cannot express his needs or concerns in a way others can understand. *Selah*, the lexeme that awes Jim, is a Hebrew word, occurring frequently in the Psalms. The OED explains that it is "supposed to be a musical or liturgical direction of some kind,

perhaps indicating pause." To rest during a performance means to listen actively to others so that the composition can be rendered whole with each performer taking or waiting a turn.

The term *Selah* in a musical sense suggests the importance of muted elements in a composition. Jim's narrative stresses similar pauses. He remembers the ritualistic devotion of Ambrosch praying for his father's soul after Mr. Shimerda's suicide. Jim recalls Ambrosch "now silently, now aloud. He never looked away from his beads, nor lifted his hands except to cross himself" (65). After moving to town, Jim thinks back to "every morning." Before he awoke, he "could hear Tony singing in the garden rows" (124). More than "Tony's singing," Jim fondly describes the Vanni's dancing tent as "a place . . . where one could laugh aloud without being reproved by the ensuing silence. That silence seemed to ooze out of the ground. . . . Now it was broken by lighthearted sounds" (126). Finally, Jim sees and perhaps hears his life as a song when he remembers meeting with Ántonia just after she gives birth to her first child, the product of her jilting by the railroad worker: "The next afternoon I walked over to the Shimerdas'. We met like the people in the old song, in silence, if not in tears" (205). "Silence" is just as important as sound; it can revivify emotion as quickly as music.

Much of Jim's telling involves his own listening. Sitting by the water's edge, Ántonia explains to Jim that the smell of a particular flower makes her homesick because it exists also in Bohemia. She explains that, when it bloomed in summer, her father "used to sit there with this friend that played the trombone. When I was little I used to go down there to hear them talk—beautiful talk, like what I never hear in this country." When Jim inquires about the nature of their dialogue, she clearly recalls that they talked "about music, and the woods, and about God, and when they were young" (150). The topic of "music" leads easily into considerations of nature, religion, and life, according to Ántonia's memory. More than what they discussed, Ántonia misses the sound of them doing so. Jim is similarly drawn to hearing "them talk" despite his inability to comprehend, suggested by his very first experience with the Shimerdas and also his habit of stealing into "handsome" Anton Jelinek's saloon to "listen to the talk" of German and Bohemian farmers (139). Jim builds his story not only from his own words but also those of others, giving a voice to as much of the "beautiful talk" as he can remember. His weaving of tales makes him an artistic heir of Mr. Shimerda who "had been a skilled workman on tapestries" (16). Ultimately, Jim's entire narrative becomes an aesthetic object.

Matching the extemporaneous quality of Jim's narrative style, there is an actual soloist in the novel who plays by ear, not by rote. Blind d'Arnault possessed "absolute pitch and a remarkable memory. . . . No matter how many wrong notes he struck, he never lost the intention of a passage" (121). Considered a "Negro prodigy," d'Arnault's playing "was perhaps abominable," but it was also "something real, vitalized by a sense of rhythm that was stronger than his other physical senses" (121).⁸⁵ Based on a composite of two actual blind black pianists, one of whom played Ragtime, d'Arnault's repertoire is highly colloquial, suggesting the requisite "low" art component of a Nationalist aesthetic. More importantly, d'Arnault's performance fosters a shared experience thereby reinforcing the primary function of music in the book. As with Fuch's singing of hymns at Mr. Shimerda's funeral, d'Arnault creates a sense of community when he asks his audience to accompany him. He says "I expect you've all got grand voices. Seems like we might have some good old plantation songs tonight," and the "men gathered" around him and sang (118-19). The image in this scene correlates to the "little group of people," the emblematic circle of fellowship, that hovered around Mr. Shimerda's grave.

Partly because Ántonia dances in response to d'Arnault's piano playing, many critics credit the episode for granting the book whatever musicality it possesses. Richard Giannone posits

that "the Blind d'Arnault passage is the pulsating center of *My Ántonia*. Occurring as it does in the very middle of the novel, it gives off the . . . impulse which reverberates throughout."⁸⁶ Ann Moseley maintains that in *My Ántonia*, the "emphasis on cultural pluralism and on the symbolic association of music with specific cultures is most clearly presented through the piano imagery of African American Blind d'Arnault and the violin imagery associated with the Bohemians." That Blind d'Arnault represents Cather's perspective of artistic multiculturalism "most clearly" is true, but the "association of music with specific cultures" is better suggested by Mr. Shimerda and his violin, a much stronger and longer-lasting influence on Jim than the "Negro prodigy." Understandably, Moseley is misled by her perception that d'Arnault's "presence contributes" to *My Ántonia* the "folk element of African American culture that influenced Dvořák's work." She subsequently argues that the figure of d'Arnault shows that Cather's "humane commitment to the New World Symphony of cultural pluralism was serious and thorough."⁸⁷ Cather's "commitment" to ethnic diversity was no doubt "serious," but she did not subscribe to the media's representation of Dvořák's influences.

Cather repudiated the popular misconception of Dvořák's sources. Using the d'Arnault episode to reiterate the Czech composer's debt to African-American material would expose a

grave misunderstanding of a piece she loved so well. Instead, the black pianist supports her appropriation of a Nationalist edict by representing the role of folk song through his improvisation and, further, his performance of "plantation" pieces. His talent, not his race, signals his function in the novel.⁸⁸ Moreover, his handicap highlights the redeeming power of music, that it can create wholeness from fragmentation. Like Mr. Shimerda, Blind d'Arnault approached his "instrument through a mere instinct, and coupled himself to it, as if he knew it was to piece him out and make a whole creature of him" (120). Without this sense of completeness, Mr. Shimerda dies; with it, Blind d'Arnault is not only able to live, but he is also able to transcend his disability.

Because he plays by ear, the disadvantaged pianist can invent from what he knows. Lee sees the d'Arnault episode as indicative of the extemporaneous element of the novel rather than a kind of protracted racial epithet or fictional comment on multiculturalism. She observes that "Blind d'Arnault survives by improvising," which is one of the "most insistent expressions of energy" in *My Ántonia* and that "under duress, people make something out of whatever comes to hand." Lee claims Ántonia as the most skilled character in this respect and identifies her as "a story-teller, inventor, translator, namer of names and recapitulator of memories."⁸⁹ Ántonia's facility mimics

d'Arnault's playing, but she needs no instrument. She is a proverbial one-man band, and her talent is consistent with that of everyone else in the Harling house; they are all fairly musical. This ability forges unity within the home as well with those outside of it. Jim remembers that "on Saturday nights, Mrs. Harling used to play the old operas for us—'*Martha*,' '*Norma*,' '*Rigoletto*'—telling us the story while she played" (113). The act of "telling" accompanies performance, but tales are not always told at the piano. Jim recalls many times when he "sat in the kitchen waiting for the cookies to bake or the taffy to cool, Nina used to coax Ántonia to tell her stories. . . . We all liked Tony's stories. Her voice had a peculiarly engaging quality; it was deep, a little husky, and one always heard the breath vibrating behind it. Everything she said seemed to come right out of her heart" (113). Fellowship grows from both sharing stories and listening to them, a pattern carefully crafted in Book I and continued throughout *My Ántonia*.⁹⁰

In the space between Jim's adolescence and his visit to Ántonia twenty years later, he goes abroad and visits Bohemia, including Prague. He also stops in London and Vienna, where he attends vocal concerts given by Maria Vasek, who comes from the same part of Prague as Ántonia's husband, Anton Cuzak. He is "delighted" to know that Jim heard her sing (230-31). Anton and the couple's oldest son have also just returned from a

relatively long journey, for they are gone when Jim comes to visit. He meets them upon their homecoming the next day, when "Papa" began "at once to talk about his holiday" (229). Coloring his recollections of the reverie are circus-like events such as a "lady" who dances "on the slack-wire in the street at night," the "dancing bear, like in the old country," and a "Ferris wheel." More than this, the environment offers a sense of camaraderie for the two Bohemians. Rudolph the son admits that they "didn't hear a word of English on the street," and Anton tells his wife that "very many" Czechs "send word" to her (229). Finally, Jim notices that Anton had "brought home with him a roll of illustrated Bohemian papers" (230).

Based on the chronology of the novel, Anton is describing the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. It boasted a number of unique attractions, such as the Ferris Wheel, but, foremost, it staged Theodore Thomas's Orchestra, the same ensemble that performed Dvořák's *New World* symphony the first time Willa Cather heard it.⁹¹ The festivities spanned six months, from May through October. Vacationing in Spillville, Iowa at the time, Antonin Dvořák took his two oldest daughters "on a week's trip" in August to the Chicago World's Fair where he was a guest conductor. The maestro "joined in the 'Bohemian Day' celebrations by conducting his Eighth Symphony in Jackson Park to an audience of twelve thousand people. Earlier there was a

huge procession wherein thirty thousand Czechs and Moravians marched the three miles from the downtown district to the fairgrounds." He wrote many letters home that summer in which he explained that "being among our own people, our Czech countrymen, . . . gave us great joy."⁹² Anton Cuzak must have experienced a similar comfort.

Cuzak's sense of homecoming among thousands of Czechs at the Chicago World's Fair suggests Jim's comfort and ease at finally being reunited with the friend from his youth. When Jim visits Ántonia two decades after promising her of his return, he happily finds her to be "a rich mine of life, like the founders of early races" (227). This view assuages his fear that he would "find her aged and broken." Instead of surviving, Jim finds the Cuzaks to be thriving in their contentment. Part of that joy is their ability to create "a kind of physical harmony," as Jim puts it (224). Completing that metaphor is Leo's performance of some "Bohemian airs" on Mr. Shimerda's violin, which Ántonia has preserved all these years (224). Jim notices that it was the old man's "instrument, which Ántonia had always kept, and it was too big for him. But he played very well for a self-taught boy" (223). Music not only rounds out Jim's life, but it also completes the lives of others by helping them realize "what a little circle man's experience is" (238). Just as Old Hata, Peter, and Mr. Shimerda before him, it is now Jim's turn for a

"warm place by the fire" in exchange for his enduring loyalty and friendship. Jim finally "had the sense of coming home to" himself (238).

The figures of the singer and the composer offered a paradigm for the artist in Willa Cather's fiction. Giannone suggests that Cather "defines a moral atmosphere through music," but her use of it seems to encompass much more than that.⁹³ Looking back toward home and the past is a sentiment that persisted in all her work. Writing about Nebraska in a 1923 essay, she addresses modernity and its deficiencies when she comments that the "generation now in the driver's seat hates to make anything, wants to live and die in an automobile. . . . They want to buy everything ready-made: clothes, food, education, music, pleasure. Will the third generation—the full-blooded, joyous one just coming over the hill—will it be fooled? Will it believe that to live easily is to live happily?"⁹⁴ Triumph must be accompanied by hardship. Nationalist music paradoxically celebrates the cultural fragmentation and, often, adversity that is requisite for the unifying force of an ethnic art.

Notes

1. Leon Plantinga, *Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984): p. 342.
2. Willa Cather, *The World and The Parish: Willa Cather's Articles and Reviews, 1893-1902*, vol. 2, ed. William M. Curtin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970): p. 413. Though most critics admit Cather's familiarity with Dvořák's Ninth Symphony, they do not agree on the specifics of that acquaintance. Marion Fay cites 1894 and 1897 as dates that Cather attended performances of it but does not include the source for her information. See Marion Fay, "Making Her Work Her Life: Music in Willa Cather's Fiction," *Literature and Music*, ed. Michael J. Meyer (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), p. 35. Cather writes that she saw it "in Lincoln in 1894 played by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra conducted by Theodore Thomas." Her review of it on December 25, 1897 similarly mentions that she "first heard Theodore Thomas' orchestra play the symphony in Lincoln several years ago" (*The World and the Parish*, p. 413). Despite this statement, Ann Moseley gives 1898 as the only possible date, citing biographer James Woodress. See Ann Moseley, "A New World Symphony: Cultural Pluralism in *The Song of the Lark* and *My Ántonia*," *Willa Cather Pioneer Memorial Newsletter*, 39 (1995):

8. However, Woodress actually states that "Cather first had heard it in Lincoln the [year] following" its composition, 1894. See James Woodress, *Willa Cather: A Literary Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987): p. 133. That scholarship on the novel has not included a thorough consideration of its relationship with the *New World Symphony* is not surprising given the inconsistency of details surrounding Cather's first-hand knowledge of Dvořák's work.

The most extensive treatment of Cather's use of music is Richard Giannone's invaluable study *Music in Willa Cather's Fiction* (1968). However, much of his project, and the chapter on *My Ántonia* in particular, is concerned with broad definitions of the term *music* and avoids specific arguments of influence or appropriation. Giannone's wide dialectic refers to "all the materials Willa Cather uses to create this [aural] environment." See Richard Giannone, *Music in Willa Cather's Fiction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968): p. 3. Just as Giannone's focus covers too broad an area, other critics similarly avoid a specific reading of the novel that relies on Dvořák or musical Nationalism as a guiding thematic influence. Marion Fay argues that "much of Cather's fiction reflects the mix of feelings she identified in Dvořák's *New World Symphony*: the despair of immigrant farmers struggling to survive on arid Midwestern plains, along with the sense of uprootedness that plagued

pioneer women, but also the deep-seated aspirations that motivated these people" (36). Fay does not offer specific ways in which the concerns for a national art come to bear on the book. Instead, her comments apply to the author's oeuvre and not to any specific text. Ann Moseley cites the *New World* as a unifying influence on *My Ántonia* because it celebrates a kind of cultural pluralism, and this helps defend Cather, in Moseley's view, from critical attacks of racism and narrow-mindedness (10). Different from Fay, Moseley examines the relationship between the two works through a kind of apologia for Cather's anachronistic multiculturalism. Other critical inquiries into the connection between Cather and Dvořák focus largely on *The Song of the Lark*. *My Ántonia* has, for one reason or another, not been given a rigorous musical interpretation.

3. Willa Cather, [Letter to Zoë Akins, October 31, 1912] and [Letter to Elizabeth Sergeant, early 1913?, per E. S. S. note]. Willa Cather's letters will not be in the public domain until 2017. However, an expanded digital archive indexes over two thousand missives. This resource provides close paraphrase of the detailed content of each letter. Originally published in 2002 by the University of Nebraska Press, the electronic version of this catalogue is an invaluable resource. Please see Andrew Jewell and Janis P. Stout, eds., *A Calendar of the Letters of Willa Cather: An Expanded, Digital Edition*. Willa Cather

Archive. <http://cather.unl.edu/index.calendar.html> (accessed December 16, 2010).

4. Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, *Willa Cather: A Memoir* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963): p. 92.
5. Hermione Lee, *Willa Cather: Double Lives* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989): p. 90.
6. Woodress, p. 241.
7. Antonín Dvořák, "Music in America," *Dvořák in America: 1892-1895*, ed. John C. Tibbetts (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1993): p. 378. Originally appeared in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 29 (February 1895): 428.
8. Lee, p. 37.
9. This popular conceit was encouraged by literature of the time. For example, George Du Maurier's immensely successful 1894 novel, *Trilby*, depicts the talented Svengali as "well-featured but sinister. . . . His thick, heavy, languid, lusterless black hair fell down behind his ears. . . . He had bold, brilliant black eyes, . . . and his voice was very thin and mean and harsh, and often broke into a disagreeable falsetto. His companion was a little swarthy young man—a gypsy, possibly" (12). A descendent of Austria, Svengali's manner and appearance resonate of the Central European Other, especially in the recognition of his "Jewish aspect" (55, 12). That his companion is possibly a "gypsy" further emphasizes the cultural

trope that joined otherworldly talent with ethnic identity, for Svengali is no ordinary musician. His "playing [of] Chopin's impromptu in A flat" nearly causes Little Billee's heart to burst "with suppressed emotion and delight," but Svengali is "not a nice man," and his one virtue is "his love of himself as master of his art" (13, 55, 56). Not possessing any singular artistic talent, the titular character learns to sing under the hypnotic force of the mystical and mysterious Svengali though she soon dies. George Du Maurier, *Trilby* (Toronto: Broadview, 2003).

Not incidentally, Cather's early journalism includes two references to Du Maurier and his sensationalist work. In an 1894 piece for the *Nebraska State Journal*, Cather calls *Trilby* the "great book of the year," admiring the fact that its author is a man "who never wrote a novel until he was fifty." See Willa Cather, "Utterly Irrelevant," *Nebraska State Journal* (October 28, 1894): p. 13. Upon Du Maurier's death, Cather wrote an obituary for *The Home Monthly*, calling attention to the fact that, though "he had no literary training and the highest value of his work is not a literary one," the enduring quality of his prose grows "out of the fullness of his experience and the greatness of his heart. He wrote not for scholars or men of letters, but for the people." See Willa Cather, "Death of George Du Maurier," *The Home Monthly*, 6 (November 1896): 11. This

vernacular appeal and "delightful" simplicity of style perhaps influenced Cather's own fiction, especially *My Ántonia*, a novel about "the people" she grew up with. Importantly, Du Maurier's novel about the high cost of art was made "into a play by Paul Potter (1895) and into movies—shorts in 1896 and 1898—and feature films in 1914 (Britain), 1915 and 1923 (U.S.)." The cultural reach of *Trilby* was long indeed. Please see the first note to Willa Cather, "Utterly Irrelevant," *Nebraska State Journal* (October 28, 1894): p. 13 in the Willa Cather Archive, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. <http://cather.unl.edu>. For a different approach to the connection between Du Maurier and Cather, please see Mary Titus, "Cather's Creative Women and Du Maurier's Cozy Men: 'The Song of the Lark' and 'Trilby,'" *Modern Language Studies*, 24 (1994): 27-37. Titus addresses Cather's aesthetic shift from equating "masculine authority" with "creative potency" to the "reconciliation with gender and vocation through recognition of female creative potential" in *The Song of the Lark* (27). Brief treatment of Cather and Du Maurier is also in Woodress, pp. 81, 123.

10. Robert Haven Schauffler, "The Bohemian," cited in Tim Prchal, "The Bohemian Paradox: *My Ántonia* and Popular Images of Czech Immigrants," *MELUS*, 29 (2004): 17. Originally appeared in *The Outlook* (March 11, 1911): pp. 558-61.

11. Prchal, p. 6. Prchal similarly posits that "it is tempting to speculate about how she might have reacted" to Sergeant's piece and that *My Ántonia* "certainly contradicts this view" of Czechs as "passive, illiterate farmers [who stand] in stark contrast to those bright and capable Scandinavians and other groups who tamed the plains" (6). Prchal also makes clear that Sergeant's memoir of Cather acknowledges the incident of Elsie's having brought the article into her friend's office and that Cather was preoccupied with the horrible living conditions of immigrants in New York (Prchal, p. 22n).

12. Woodress, p. 226.

13. Lee, p. 120.

14. Edith Lewis, *Willa Cather Living* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1953): p. 93.

15. Willa Cather, *The Song of the Lark* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988): p. 181.

16. *The Song of the Lark*, p. 183. The maestro that day was partly responsible for Thea's "ecstasy"; his interpretation of the work is, in some ways, just as important as the composition itself. Since Theodore Thomas is mentioned not long before this scene and because Thea sees the performance in Chicago, placing Thomas as conductor makes fictional and biographical sense. He conducted the Ninth Symphony when Cather first heard it, and her response is very similar to that of her

heroine. Thomas was very familiar with Dvořák's works and could partly be credited with solidifying the composer's reputation on this side of the Atlantic. Eager to orchestrate *The Slavonic Dances*, Thomas performed No. 4 in New York on October 6, 1879; the *Third Slavonic Rhapsody*, Opus 45, was conducted by him in Cincinnati on February 4, 1880. He also rendered the complete form of the *Stabat Mater* in New York on April 3, 1884, and he premiered the Seventh Symphony in New York on January 9, 1886. Please see Graham Melville-Mason, "From London to New York: Dvořák's Introduction to America," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 29. This list is in no way comprehensive; it serves only to suggest the German maestro's extensive familiarity with touchstones of Dvořák's oeuvre. On August 4, 1893, just eight days before the composer's arrival at the Chicago Fair, Thomas directed Dvořák's *Suite Creole* for string orchestra. Please see Adrienne Fried Block, "Dvořák's Long American Reach," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 169. He and "a delegation of local Czechs" offered Dvořák a "warm welcome" upon his arrival on August 12. Please see John C. Tibbetts, "Dvořák's Spillville Summer: An American Pastoral," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 94. Not incidentally, Thomas also conducted works written by those who studied with Dvořák at the World's Fair in July, 1893. Please see Block, p. 170. Clearly, he felt that Dvořák could inspire a new American music, and his efforts helped to create

an extremely welcoming environment for the Czech maestro once he arrived in America in 1892.

17. Cather, *The World and the Parish*, pp. 413-14.

18. Strangely enough, Cather's review of this performance, a mixture of optimistic promise and nostalgic loss, bears an eerie resemblance to Dvořák's response to the Midwest, a place he visited after completing work on his Ninth symphony. In a letter to a friend back home, he describes his stay in Spillville, Iowa during the summer of 1893. He notes it is "very strange here. Few people and a great deal of empty space. . . . In the prairies (I call them the Sahara) there are only endless acres of field and meadow [and that is all you see]. . . . And so it is very 'wild' here and sometimes very sad-sad to despair." Antonín Dvořák, [Letter to Dr. Kozanek, September 15, 1893], in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 399. Providing a stark contrast to his experience of living in New York City, Dvořák is arrested by the isolation he finds in the American Midwest and even the company of fellow Czechs does not mitigate the effect. Of course, Ántonia's father seems to have a similar experience when the Shimerdas finally arrive in Nebraska although he has no home to return to and, subsequently, kills himself. Cather would not have read Dvořák's letters, but, if his sentiment was common among immigrants who were not used to the expansive, "empty

space" of the West, then she would have known that through her childhood experiences with such people.

19. Lewis, pp. 106-07.

20. Plantinga, pp. 341-42.

21. Benjamin Curtis, *Music Makes the Nation: Nationalist Composers and Nation Building in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008): p. 112. Among other things, Wagner was known for being contradictory. Curtis writes that Wagner criticizes the "national" for exploiting the folk, but the argument also stands that he is guilty of the same thing. Moreover, Wagner "praises legitimate depictions of nationality in art (such as his own) while attacking nationality in art where it is only exploitation, proceeding from no genuine national feeling" (114-15). Regardless, the German maestro argued that using folk tunes must serve a noble end and not be mere decoration (Curtis, p. 118).

22. Curtis, p. 95.

23. Curtis, p. 26.

24. Curtis, pp. 97-98.

25. Curtis, p. 105. Curtis discusses the wide gap between "high" and "low" art forms and how negotiating this tension was central to creating a national art. He writes that "even if the peasants, in their idealized form, embody the 'soil of the culture-nation,' in reality those same peasants were often

rather too smelly and coarse for the intellectuals advancing the idea of nationhood" (103). Blending the two ends of the artistic spectrum required strong alchemy and finesse, as the example of Bedřich Smetana shows. But, the appeal of a unified ethnic heritage lay in the fact that "the folk traditions appealed to the lower classes who may have recognized those traditions as 'their own,' as well as to the bourgeoisie who were becoming more familiar with these rural forms of cultural expression" (Curtis, p. 104).

26. Dvořák, "Music in America," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 376.
27. Curtis, pp. 28, 31.
28. Curtis, pp. 108-09.
29. Willa Cather, *My Ántonia* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1995). All quotations will be cited from this edition.
30. Plantinga, p. 342.
31. Plantinga, p. 351. Smetana had some precedents to follow in terms of creating or imitating a national art culture. For example, Plantinga cites a later eighteenth-century Hungarian idiom "with its roots in indigenous folk music: . . . this was the *Verbunkos*, a style of dance music sometimes used for military recruiting (its name derives from the German *Werbung*, 'recruiting')" (344). Subsequently, "traditional Hungarian idioms came to be known in the rest of Europe when

they were taken up by foreign composers. Beethoven and Schubert both made . . . attempts to imitate the *Verbunkos* style. . . . [Liszt] wrote a series of National melodies and Rhapsodies whose revisions are the well-known Hungarian Rhapsodies" (345). In contrast, Smetana's music seems to reflect the political desires of his country more than to imitate those of another as in the examples of Beethoven, Schubert, and Liszt. In Smetana's repertoire, the "peasant dance becomes a symbol evoking the entire nation" (Curtis, p. 95).

32. Curtis, p. 126.

33. Curtis, pp.130, 127. Curtis observes that "Jaroslav Jiránek actually credits Smetana with being the one who transformed this 'artificial societal dance of the 1830s' [the polka] into a widely accepted 'symbol of the Czech people and nation' " (123).

34. Plantinga, p. 350-51. The Czech attitude toward creating and preserving an art of their own is evident in their word "*národ*, a term that fuses a variety of ideas such as 'folk,' 'people,' and 'nation,' making translation also quite complicated" (93). National music has always figured prominently in the Czech pathos. Moreover, the fierce desire to preserve language and any attendant cultural identity is a force that continues to grip much of Europe under the current pressure of globalization. Not surprisingly, attempts to maintain ethnic

distinction have taken place in the musical milieu in places like Corsica. In a 2010 *New York Times* article, Michael Kimmelman records that, in the 1970s, Corsican bands combed "the island, recording locals singing traditional songs. The Corsican group I Muvrini was among those capitalizing on this rediscovered music, briefly reaching the crest of the world-music wave by marrying Corsican folk to global pop, and recording hits like 'Fields of Gold' with Sting." Observing the "cyclical upheavals" that have plagued Europe over the past two hundred years, Kimmelman somewhat incorrectly notices that "in the 19th century, rising modern states obliterated local cultures to fortify national identities only to pave the way for their revival at the end of that century." Please see Michael Kimmelman, "In Corsica, Clinging to a Regional Identity," *New York Times* (November 14, 2010)

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/14/arts/14abroad.html> (accessed November 14, 2010). In the 1800s, efforts to unify particular nation-states through collective artistic expression required a reliance on language and folk knowledge. Sources were not so much "obliterated" as they were appropriated. Now, that formula has reversed itself. Globalization, which targets a world community, threatens the unique linguistic qualities of indigenous peoples. With the advent of stronger and faster technological means in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries,

the lexicons and autochthonous sources that define particular groups, such as the Corsicans, Catalans, or Basques, are quickly dissolving as certain national cultures dominate the global arts and entertainment stage.

35. Smetana is quoted in Curtis, p. 128.
36. Plantinga, p. 353.
37. Emanuel Rubin, "Dvořák at the National Conservatory," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 67.
38. John C. Tibbetts, "A Dvořák American Chronology," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 14, 16.
39. Emanuel Rubin suggests that Thurber encouraged the writing of symphony No. 9, and that she "may also be credited with its subtitle, 'From the New World,'" in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 68.
40. Antonín Dvořák, [Letter to Dr. Emil Kozanek, April 12, 1893], in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 394.
41. Feder, in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 187.
42. Josef Jan Kovařík, *Reminiscences*, in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 400. Originally appeared in Otakar Šourek, *Antonín Dvořák: Letters and Reminiscences*, trans. Roberta Finlayson Samsour (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985).
43. Incidentally, Antonín Dvořák was not the first Bohemian composer to come to the United States, nor was he the first to suggest an American idiom in his compositions. J.

Bunker Clark discusses the role Anthony Philip Heinrich (1781-1861), a Bohemian composer, played in developing a New World voice and anticipating Dvořák's success. Although Dvořák likely did not know of Heinrich, who "died in poverty, in New York, in 1861," the elder Czech wrote "music with an even more fervent expression of American nationalism than can be attributed to Dvořák's 'American' works." Please see J. Bunker Clark, "Anthony Philip Heinrich: A Bohemian Predecessor to Dvořák in the Wilds of America," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 22, 20. Clark notes that, "although his stay in the west was only some three or four years, [Heinrich] continued to claim that his roots lay in the wilds of Kentucky" (21). Perhaps most interesting is that he had a daughter named Ántonia, from whom he had been separated for some years. Their long-awaited reunion marked the beginning of the final period of his life. Whether Cather knew of this Czech composer living in the Wild West is uncertain. Possibly word had spread through the Czech settlements on the frontier after mid-century, describing the Bohemian musician who called Kentucky home.

44. Antonín Dvořák, "Letter to the Editor," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 359. Originally appeared in *New York Herald* (May 28, 1893): p. 31.

45. "Dvořák on His New Work," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 362-63. Originally appeared in *New York Herald*

(December 15, 1893): p. 11. His reputed reliance on such folk material was somewhat exaggerated by the media. The impetus behind a collective ethnic music has more to do with politics than aesthetics, especially as it can be made manifest as a sort of jingoism. By sensationalizing Dvořák's sources, the media could grant the piece even more nationalistic credence than its title imposed. That the media emphasized the nativist qualities of Dvořák's symphony is not surprising given the fact that, as late as 1918, journals were publishing perspectives on "what the word 'nationalism' means." One critic came to the conclusion that "the only broad, general basis for nationalism, is . . . not aesthetic at all but social, economic" and that "the only sense in which the word has any real musical meaning is as signifying music and musicians in relation to the particular community wherein they exist." See Francis Toye, "A Case for Musical Nationalism," *The Musical Quarterly*, 4 (1918): 18, 12. Incidentally, it did not take Dvořák long to notice what he called "*sensational gossip*" in the newspapers, indicated by a letter home in 1893 in which he writes that, although he had "not met with opposition, . . . the papers here are terribly fond of gossip." Antonín Dvořák, [Letter to Dr. Emil Kozanek], in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 393).

46. "For National Music," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 362. Originally appeared in *Chicago Tribune* (August 13, 1893): p. 29.

47. Krehbiel is quoted in John Clapham, "Dvořák and the American Indian," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 116-17.

48. Tibbetts, "Dvořák's Spillville Summer," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 89.

49. Clapham, "Dvořák and the American Indian," p. 115.

50. Dvořák, "Music in America," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 375, 377-78.

51. "The Real Value of Negro Melodies," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 356. Originally appeared in *New York Herald* (May 21, 1893): p. 28.

52. Cather, *The World and the Parish*, p. 388.

53. Dvořák, "Letter to the Editor," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 361.

54. Aside from Dvořák's published comments and essays on music, Willa Cather certainly could have read about him in several places. As a young writer, she may have read about Dvořák's post under Smetana's baton at the "great theatre at Prague." It was publicized in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, the oldest continuously-published music journal in the world, founded in 1844. Although the journal has always been based in London, it started incorporating articles

detailing musical trends in major European and North American cities such as New York in 1877. In 1903, the name of the journal was shortened to *The Musical Times*. Several articles on Dvořák were written by Joseph Bennett, a British music critic and the most prolific contributor to the publication, and they granted the Czech composer much publicity. He wrote at least three pieces on Dvořák, published between 1881 and 1884, describing his reliance on folk sources and also pointing out that, since Wagner's death in 1883, "no more interesting figure than Dvořák remains for the contemplation of music-lovers" (189). See Joseph Bennett, "Anton Dvořák," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Quarterly*, 25 (April 1884): 189. By the time Dvořák arrived in the states in 1892, the proverbial stage had been set for his immense popularity. This fanfare would not have escaped the precocious, young, Nebraskan "music-lover." Unfortunately, the *Musical Quarterly* cannot dispense information on its subscribers, so Cather's ownership of the journal remains uncertain. However, her enduring passion for music and especially her journalism that focuses on it during the 1890s point to the fact that she may have indeed been reading the oldest circulating musical journal in America and other similar publications.

55. Dvořák, "Letter to the Editor," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 360.

56. "The Real Value of Negro Melodies," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 357.
57. Rubin, "National Conservatory," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 60, 57. The musicians and artists in *My Ántonia* represent the same marginal groups encouraged by the National Conservatory. They are women, minorities, and the handicapped, signaled by Ántonia, Mr. Shimerda, and Blind d'Arnault, respectively.
58. Willa Cather, [Letter to Elizabeth Sergeant, early 1913?]. See Andrew Jewell and Janis P. Stout, eds. *A Calendar of the Letters of Willa Cather: An Expanded, Digital Edition*. Willa Cather Archive. <http://cather.unl.edu/index.calendar.html>.
59. Sergeant, p. 92.
60. Cather, *The World and the Parish*, pp. 413-14.
61. Moseley, p. 10.
62. Fay, p. 27.
63. Cather, *The World and the Parish*, p. 414.
64. The *Mahogany Tree* edition does not appear to have survived, but the second, revised version of the story that appeared in *The Hesperian* does.
65. Woodress, pp. 41, 146, 79.
66. Alice Booth, "Willa Cather, Who Believes there is Nothing in the World Finer to Write About than Life, Just as It Is, and People, Just as They Are," *Willa Cather in Person*:

Interviews, Speeches, and Letters, ed. L. Brent Bohlke (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986): pp. 123-24.

67. Willa Cather, "Peter," in John J. Murphy, *My Ántonia: The Road Home* (Boston: Twayne, 1989): pp. 119, 120.

68. Willa Cather, "Peter," in Murphy, p. 118.

69. Lee, p. 19.

70. Lee, p. 22.

71. John C. Tibbetts, "Dvořák's New York: An American Street Scene," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 34-35. The chronology of Willa's engagement not only with Dvořák's Ninth Symphony but also the Czech pathos in general poses an interesting hypothesis of influence. The notion of a heroine developed from the memories of a Bohemian childhood friend and the enduring fascination with an American symphony written by a Czech both captured her artistic attention for decades. Citing her letters, Cather biographer Hermione Lee argues that the author was "destined" to write *My Ántonia* "from the moment she came to Nebraska at the age of eight, and kept hearing details of an old Czech immigrant's recent suicide" (20). James Woodress refers to the story of Annie Sadilek's father's suicide as "one of the first stories [Cather] heard in Nebraska" (289). Lee argues that holding on to ideas and experiences, letting them develop before treating them in a fictional sense, was a consistent artistic strategy of Cather's; she "saved herself up,

and projected her time past in to the fictive time of her novels" (224). Like Lee, Woodress also posits that "Cather had been preparing to write *My Ántonia* for a third of a century. She had known the model for its fictional heroine, Annie Sadilek, later Pavelka, ever since she was a child in Red Cloud" (288-89). Being exposed to Czech people and especially their music in her adolescence would easily have contributed to her adult interest in their cultural achievements.

72. Susan Rosowski observes that the move into town "signals the transition from childhood to adolescence, from receptivity to irrepressible energy. . . . Music announces the change in mood." Please see Susan J. Rosowski, *The Voyage Perilous: Willa Cather's Romanticism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986): p. 82.

73. Rubin, "National Conservatory," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 72.

74. Richard Giannone argues that one function of music in the novel is to provide a "bridge to a . . . more distant [European] past. Mr. Shimerda's music, unheard in America but frequently heard in Europe, is altogether of that distant world. But for Ántonia that world is not lost. She transplants its traditional values" (Giannone, p. 122).

75. Booth, "Willa Cather," in Bohlke, *Willa Cather in Person*, p. 124.

76. Dvořák, "Music in America," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, p. 376.

77. Murphy, p. 41. For example, Murphy devotes a short section in his book to "Classical Backgrounds" in which he discusses not only Cather's use of the pastoral and Virgilian traditions in *My Ántonia* but also major critical treatments of her reliance on such sources (14-16). In addition, Hermione Lee provides deft and insightful comments on Cather's appropriation of the pastoral tradition in her biography *Double Lives*, especially in her chapter "A Wide, Untried Domain."

78. Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London: Routledge, 2004): p. 40.

79. John Ditsky, "'Listening with Supersensual Ear': Music in the Novels of Willa Cather," *Journal of Narrative Technique*, 13 (1983): 160.

80. Rose C. Feld, "Restlessness Such as Ours Does Not Make For Beauty," in Bohlke, *Willa Cather in Person*, p. 72.

81. Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, *Willa Cather: A Memoir* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1953): pp. 139-40.

82. Annie Pavelka, [Letter to Frances Samland, February 24, 1955], in Murphy, *My Ántonia: The Road Home*, p.116.

83. Eleanor Hinman, "Willa Cather, Famous Nebraska Novelist," in Bohlke, *Willa Cather in Person*, p. 44.

84. Giannone, p. 3.

85. James Woodress notes, as several other Cather scholars have, that the "black pianist, Blind d'Arnault, . . . was drawn from a real Blind Tom, whom Cather heard in Lincoln, and a Blind Boone, whom she probably heard in Red Cloud" (pp. 291-92).

86. Giannone, p. 120.

87. Moseley, p. 10.

88. Along similar, apologetic lines as Moseley, John Ditsky is "afraid that one can no longer allude to this episode without making apologies for Cather, who creates in d'Arnault a pianist whose strong suit is rhythm. . . . Yet Cather is right on track as far as ethnic richness of musical sensitivities are involved" (159). A late twentieth- and even twenty-first century audience would undoubtedly hone in on the racial elements of the d'Arnault scene, but, at the time the novel was written, social prejudice toward Bohemian immigrants was a reality, and blaming Cather for her ostensibly demeaning description of d'Arnault seems anachronistic and incorrect. Cather acknowledges the musician's dignity when he is first described. Jim notices that "the door from the office opened, and Johnnie Gardener came in, directing Blind d'Arnault—he would never consent to be led" (118). Failing to read the book from this perspective, Blanche Gelfant suggests that the Blind d'Arnault scene really highlights Jim's ignorance, prejudice, and fear. In "The Forgotten Reaping Hook: Sex in *My Ántonia*," she writes that, in

order to "attenuate his portrait of d'Arnault, Jim introduced innuendoes of sexual incompetence. He recognizes d'Arnault's sensuality but impugns it by his image of sublimation." Please see Blanche H. Gelfant, "The Forgotten Reaping Hook: Sex in *My Ántonia*," *Willa Cather's My Ántonia*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House, 1987): p. 96. Understandably, critics have seized upon Blind d'Arnault as evidence of Cather's own hidden prejudices toward race and sexuality, but as far as music in the novel, he is a distinguished and talented artist, a messenger of what Wagner would term the Volk and, subsequently, a kind of icon for a Nationalist art.

89. Lee, p. 149. Lee does not point out that Jim is also a "story-teller" and "inventor" of memories as the title of the novel indicates. Like Ántonia and Blind d'Arnault, Jim improvises from "whatever comes to hand" though his creativity does not surface until years later when he tries to recall his youth.

90. For a slightly different take on the role of storytelling and questions of authorship, please see Bridget Bennett, "Whose Ántonia? Appropriations in *My Ántonia*," *Willa Cather and European Cultural Influences*, ed. Helen May Dennis (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996): pp. 67-77.

91. Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of Its Rise and Fall* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005): pp. 167-69.

92. John C. Tibbetts, "Dvořák's Spillville Summer: An American Pastoral," in Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 94-95.
93. Giannone, p. 242.
94. Willa Cather, "Nebraska: The End of the First Cycle," cited in Lee, p. 8. Originally appeared in *The Nation*, 117 (September 5, 1923): pp. 236, 238.

CHAPTER 3

The Distant Past: Musical Content and Form in Ernest Hemingway's
"God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" and "Homage to Switzerland"

Two of Ernest Hemingway's most neglected stories, "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" and "Homage to Switzerland," appeared in *Winner Take Nothing* (1933), just four years later than *A Farewell to Arms* (1929).¹ Hemingway told Lillian Ross in 1950 that in the first paragraphs of *Farewell* "I used the word 'and' consciously over and over the way Mr. Johann Sebastian Bach used a note in music when he was emitting counterpoint. I can almost write like Mr. Johann sometimes—or, anyway, so he would like it."² Bach, famous for his command of "counterpoint," provided a paradigm for the writer who became equally well known for his paratactic style perfected by his use of conjunctions in a manner similar to the Baroque composer's notation. Hemingway began work on "Homage to Switzerland" and "God Rest You" not long after *Farewell*. On the periphery of scholarship since their publication, these two pieces highlight his burgeoning interest in using a musical idiom. It functions on two distinct levels: as inspiration for the thematic content and strange narrative

perspective of "God Rest You" and as an influence on the form of "Homage."

Hemingway's artistic credo places great importance on omission as a means of creating depth and texture in his fiction. As the author told George Plimpton, much of the meaning in his work lies beneath the surface of it. Hidden thematic elements often contribute to the emotional dimension of a story or novel. Articulating his quintessential theory in a 1958 interview with Plimpton, Hemingway used the image of an iceberg. He said "there is seven-eighths of it underwater for every part that shows. Anything you know you can eliminate and it only strengthens your iceberg. . . . The knowledge is what makes the underwater part" of it.³ Subsequently, Hemingway argues, the "measure" of what is "brought to the reading" indicates how much the reader will get out of it.⁴

Part of the iceberg is music, and Hemingway clearly expressed his artistic debt to it. Answering Plimpton's inquiry about his "literary forbears," Hemingway replied at length, including J. S. Bach and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: "I should think what one learns from composers and from the study of harmony and counterpoint would be obvious."⁵ Despite his overt remarks, Hilary K. Justice remains the only scholar who has looked closely at Hemingway's audio collection at the Finca Vigía. Justice maintains, however, that her compilation is only

a "preliminary catalog . . . whose full development must await the eventual publication of [Maria] Valdes's full version."⁶ Even as an initial assessment, Justice's "catalog" provides evidence of Hemingway's interest in Ludwig van Beethoven, Sergei Rachmaninoff, and Johannes Brahms, for example, along with the more popular recordings of Cole Porter, Jelly Roll Morton, and Benny Goodman. However, Valerie Hemingway, the author's personal secretary and, later, daughter-in-law, said that Hemingway's fourth wife, Mary, was really responsible for the jazz and popular music like Frank Sinatra that she liked to play while they were having aperitifs before dinner. Much of the classical repertoire, Valerie continued, was brought to the house and listened to by Ernest.⁷

Hemingway's interest in music stemmed from his childhood. His mother, Grace Hall Hemingway, taught it. She had trained as an opera singer and published her compositions.⁸ Under her tutelage, Ernest learned to play the cello, which he continued to do in his high school orchestra.⁹ She also directed him in the church choir and took him to the opera during his early years. Besides outings to the big city, Hemingway's home town hosted its own cultural events. The Chicago Symphony "played an annual benefit series in Oak Park, where a high percentage of the middle-class gentry were not only musically conversant but actually skilled musicians," as Michael Reynolds points out.¹⁰

Founded in 1891, the group was led by one of the country's most famous conductors, Theodore Thomas, whose popularity was tantamount and even paramount to many touring singers and virtuosi.¹¹

Considered one of the "founding fathers" of classical music in the United States, the German-born maestro anchored many of his programs with Beethoven and more "modern" composers like Franz Liszt, Richard Wagner, and Antonín Dvořák.¹² After Thomas's death in 1905, his thirty-three-year-old assistant, Frederick Stock replaced him. He continued his mentor's legacy. Even though, like Thomas, he was "predisposed to . . . a burnished Germanic sound," he was "quick to introduce" recent work by "Debussy, Ravel, Scriabin, Mahler, Prokofiev, and Stravinsky."¹³ Also akin to Thomas, Stock strove to emphasize the central role of the ensemble in its cultural and geographical surroundings. He kept the Chicago Symphony local.¹⁴ Broadcasts and recordings held primarily regional "interest, meaning the larger Midwest, which the orchestra toured exhaustively."¹⁵ As a musical city, Chicago, along with the greater area, cultivated a very Germanic palate under the batons of Thomas and Stock, perhaps forming the first biases of aesthetic taste in young Hemingway.

Hemingway's childhood training in music was reawakened in adulthood when, in 1920, he met Hadley Richardson, who became his first wife. Reynolds notes that, although Hemingway was

"well-schooled" in the classical tradition, Hadley possessed talent that "outstripped his"; she was "a pianist of concert ability." Thanks in part to her influence, he was not only listening to soloists, he was "also judging their quality."¹⁶ In a 1921 letter to his mother, Hemingway describes a performance he attended, naming the pieces and indicating that he preferred Romantic works by Debussy and Liszt over the "modern stuff that I forget the names of."¹⁷ Moreover, Reynolds points out that Hemingway's Chicago tenure, which took place during the 1920-21 musical season, would have represented the last time he had "such easy access" to opera, "for he would never again reside in an American cultural center."¹⁸ Despite this geographical fact, Hemingway's curiosity in the arts continued.

After he and Hadley moved to Paris in late 1921, Hemingway served a brief term as editor of the *transatlantic review* in 1924. Doing so involved him intimately with the artistic milieu. There was a great deal of debate about the roles of melody and rhythm, poetry and form in both operatic and symphonic pieces. Hemingway's friend and mentor Ezra Pound was instrumental in discovering and disseminating theories of the avant-garde. He contributed regularly on the subject as did George Antheil, composer of the controversial *Ballet Mécanique* (1924). In a brief literary exchange with Antheil, who called himself the "Bad Boy of Music," Hemingway wrote to him that he "preferred my

Stravinsky straight." Subsequently, in a piece the author wrote for the review on Joseph Conrad's death and his unpopularity, he maintained that

living in a world of literary politics where one wrong opinion often proves fatal, one writes carefully. I remember how I was made to feel how easily one might be dropped from the party, and the short period of Coventry that followed my remarking when speaking of George Antheil that I preferred my Stravinsky straight. I have been more careful since.¹⁹

Hemingway was well aware that the musical world was as fraught with politics as the literary one. He learned an invaluable and diplomatic lesson, one that dictated he keep his truest opinions to himself lest others jump to conclusions and drop him "from the party."²⁰ This statement makes it particularly difficult to determine the influences on Hemingway, especially among the modern set of composers in Paris in the 1920s. He was aware of them, however. From forthcoming volumes of the Hemingway letters project, there is a recommendation written on behalf of George Antheil for a Guggenheim in which Hemingway mentions Stravinsky and one of his contemporaries, Ernest Bloch.²¹ Whether Hemingway enjoyed or disliked this particular set of peers remains somewhat of a mystery for the reasons he outlines in the 1924 *transatlantic* review piece.

Regardless of his knowledge of Modern music, Hemingway maintained his preference for an older aesthetic, especially in his fiction. As he told Lillian Ross, Bach's mastery of counterpoint provided one muse for the opening paragraph of *A Farewell to Arms*. Just a couple of years later, he started writing the fourteen stories for *Winner Take Nothing*, ten of which were "begun and revised over a period of one or two years." The new collection received lukewarm reviews despite the fact that it represented the ways in which Hemingway was "testing the limits of his art," according to Paul Smith.²² Clifton Fadiman observed in the *New Yorker* that the stories were "unsatisfactory" and described the shame of Hemingway's "wide-open and penetrating eyes" that seemed to fix only on "coldly shocking tales of self-mutilation and sacrilege."²³ Horace Gregory asserted that Hemingway's works "have a single protagonist, himself," and that the author had matured into the role of "distinguished spokesman" for his middle-age generation.²⁴ Gregory's remark angered Hemingway who then wrote to his publisher, Max Perkins, that he was "just 30 years old" when he began *Winner*.²⁵ His relatively young age seemed antithetical to the sentimentality to which reviewers responded. William Troy saw the book as an indulgence of all of Hemingway's "old nostalgias" for Europe, the church, adolescence, and death.²⁶ Critics generally singled out "God Rest You" and

"Homage" as stories that left them "a bit cold."²⁷ That they consistently recognized them as the least appealing elements of the collection suggests their unique position in it. Moreover, the "nostalgia" Troy articulates is particularly evident in the European musical tradition that informs them.

Expressing his scope for *Winner Take Nothing*, Hemingway wrote that he wanted to make "a picture of the whole world—or as much of it as I have seen." He did not "expect anybody to like the present book of stories. . . . These stories are mostly about things and people that people won't care about—or will actively dislike."²⁸ Although his prescient sentiments were written to his mother-in-law, they proved all too true in the reception of the book. In response to critical attacks, Hemingway wrote to Max Perkins explaining his collection by saying

I write some stories absolutely as they happen ie.

[sic] Wine of Wyoming-The letter one, A Day's Wait The Mother of a Queen, Gambler, Nun, Radio, and another word for word as it happened, to Bra, After the Storm.

. . . [O]thers I invent completely. . . . Nobody can tell which ones I make up completely. The point is I want them all to sound as though they really happened.

Then when I succeed those poor dumb pricks say they are all just skillful reporting. . . . A fool like

Canby thinks I'm a reporter. I'm a reporter and an
imaginative writer.²⁹

Because Hemingway does not mention "God Rest You" or "Homage" here, sources for them remain debatable.

In his consideration of "Homage to Switzerland," Paul Smith acknowledges the biographical parallels of divorce, suicide, and sexual flirtation in Hemingway's past and present as possible inspiration. However, Smith gives more credit to Hemingway's knowledge of an established literary tradition in which "fictional collations of simultaneous narratives gathered about a shared thematic center had been around at least since Browning's *The Ring and the Book* . . . and most recently Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*, which Hemingway praised in January 1932." Composed in late Spring of 1932, "Homage" certainly drew from the author's experience, but Hemingway's remarks upon sending it to Bill Lengel at *Cosmopolitan* in August of 1932 highlight another aspect of it.³⁰ Describing it as "damned good," he stressed that it represented "a new form for a story."³¹ Hemingway's comments underline the experimental quality of "Homage," emphasizing his "imaginative" agency and drawing attention away from the similarities it shares with events in his life.

Unlike "Homage," "God Rest You" exhibits no parallels with Hemingway's biography except for the fact that the author lived

in Kansas City briefly in 1917-18. Also suffering from critical neglect, "God Rest You" is often grouped with "One Reader Writes," what the author referred to as "the letter one" because of Carlos Baker's suggestion that both stories grew out of a "sheaf of six" missives sent to Hemingway by Dr. Logan Clendening of Kansas City. The epistles were directed to his medical column, and the general assumption among scholars is that Hemingway morphed one such example from "a youth in West Englewood, New Jersey, who had spent many years worrying about the problem of sexual desire."³² Smith posits that there are a "variety of sources," though he remains loyal to Baker's formulation but adds that Charles Fenton believes it to derive "from a 'memorable harvest of his {Kansas City} Star assignments' and suggested that it was one of those stolen from Hadley in 1922."³³ A good possibility exists that "God Rest You" belongs in the second category of "others I invent completely." If Hemingway's letter to Perkins is honest regarding the origins for a plethora of pieces in *Winner Take Nothing*, then there seems no reason for his secrecy surrounding "God Rest You," which he never made much of in his private or public correspondences. Rather than accept the notion that Hemingway forgot to mention "God Rest You" with "the letter one" as instances of "reporting," a more natural conclusion is that the tale grew out of his "imaginative" agency.

Although Hemingway's silence concerning "God Rest You" seems dismissive, his decision to have Louis Cohen publish it separately from the rest of the collection highlights his favorable opinion of it. Cohen had petitioned Hemingway "for a story for a limited edition to offset the recent negative reviews of *Death in the Afternoon* in January 1933."³⁴ Hemingway expressed his cynical idea that Cohen wanted to "maintain the market value of his first editions," but the author succumbed to the request nonetheless.³⁵ There were three hundred copies of "God Rest You" published by House of Books in early 1933. *Winner Take Nothing* appeared later that year in October. Despite the distinguished lone publication of the tale, it neither impressed nor fascinated the critics. This is still the case as it goes largely unnoticed in Hemingway scholarship because of its obscure sources, perplexed meaning, or both.

Augmenting the obscurity of the story is the analogy in its opening line. The narrator, Horace, notices that "in those days the distances were all very different, the dirt blew off the hills that have now been cut down, and Kansas City was very like Constantinople." He recognizes that this simile lacks credibility when he says "no one believes this; but it is true" (*Stories* 298).³⁶ Indeed, the analogy is difficult to accept, but the subsequent emphasis on castration and Christianity may help connect Kansas City to Constantinople via an obscure fact: the

use of castrated boys in church choirs and the subsequent tradition of employing them in Italian opera had their inception in fifth-century Byzantium. Music and its historical relation to the church, alluded to in Hemingway's titular choice, create a powerful means of understanding this strange account of a boy's defeat by "the flesh."

The boy's piety is linked to his suffering. He seeks to rid himself of the sin of lust. As George Monteiro has noted, the title of "God Rest You" derives from a Christmas carol whose scriptural source is "the physician Luke's account of Satan's power over the flesh and the Savior's role in keeping men safe from that power."³⁷ The boy's attempt at castration and his critical condition from "loss of blood" incite a tense but engaging dialogue between two doctors who disagree about the meaning and importance of his self-mutilation (300). Monteiro makes a cogent point by suggesting that "if it were only his story, we would be hard pressed to account for the particular narrative structure Hemingway employs."³⁸ Yet the boy's desire for "eunuch-hood" and the artistic significance of that condition is at the literal and metaphorical core of this brief tale (299). Illuminating the connection between Kansas City and Constantinople further is the way in which Hemingway's matriarchal ancestry connects to the musico-historical context in "God Rest You."

Beyond Grace's influence and Hadley's talent, Hemingway's reading also strengthened his adult understanding of the sacred tradition in Western music. In Key West, his residence between 1928 and 1939, Hemingway kept a copy of Edward Dickinson's *Music in the History of the Western Church* on the second floor of the pool house and garage apartment where he "withdrew in order to write."³⁹ Published in 1902 by Scribners, Dickinson's history investigates the development of melody and harmony in both Protestantism and Catholicism. After Hemingway's technical conversion to the latter with his marriage to Pauline Pfeiffer in 1927, the subject may have proved especially interesting to him. It would be another five years, however, before he began composing "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen." This enigmatic tale of violence, frustration, and misunderstanding would depend both on Hemingway's erudition and his realization that his own heritage was closely linked to religious song and, remotely, to its use of castrati.

Hemingway's nephew John Sanford writes that the author's great, great, great-grandfather, Dr. Edward Miller (1731?-1807), and his son, William Edward Miller (1766-1839), were "prominent musicians" in England.⁴⁰ Hemingway family lore describes the younger Miller as a "beloved Methodist minister" and the first organist at St. James Chapel in Sheffield. W. E. Miller was also a talented violinist who may have studied with

Niccolò Paganini.⁴¹ The elder Miller held a more notable position as a scholar, composer, and author of several books about sacred music. He studied with famed historian Dr. Charles Burney (1726-1814), played flute with Handel's Oratorio Orchestra, was a gifted harpsichordist, and served Doncaster Church as organist for fifty years. In her 1928 article "Edward Miller," published in *Music & Letters*, Elisabeth Lockwood describes him as "something of a celebrity . . . during the latter half of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth."⁴² She also notes that Dr. Miller's already "considerable fame" rose with the publication of his *Institutes of Music*, called by some "the first attempt to reduce" the study of the art to "something like rule in the nature of grammar."⁴³ Today, his best-known contribution to the canon is an adaptation of the hymn "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross." He arranged the words of it to a tune called "Rockingham." Although Dr. Miller "never claimed 'Rockingham' as his own," he gave it "to the Christian world."⁴⁴ He achieved notable success.

Grace Hall Hemingway was proud of her artistic ancestry. Touring England with her father in 1896, she met several Miller relatives and viewed a portrait of W. E. Miller, depicted lounging by his piano, surrounded by books and sheet music. In 1903 she commissioned a life-size copy of the painting, which she subsequently hung "in her music room at North Kenilworth

Avenue in Oak Park. . . . During his music lessons, boxing sessions, and parties in the Hemingway music room, Ernest would have seen that portrait staring down at him. No doubt his ambitious mother frequently reminded him of his illustrious Miller musical heritage." Hemingway may not have been as aware of the elder Miller's contributions. Nevertheless, Sanford notes that in December of 1937 in Madrid, Hemingway "received a clipping from the editor of the local paper of Doncaster, England about a Miller ancestor. Later Ernest discussed the clipping with his mother when she visited him in Key West." He lost the piece but "remembered that it concerned 'a legend that . . . [Miller] had written a very famous hymn (which it seemed he had been credited with writing but had not written)'."⁴⁵ According to Sanford, the article described a "memorial service in Doncaster, England in honor of Dr. Edward Miller" on Sunday, October 24, 1937. Hemingway may also have read about his ancestor in Lockwood's 1928 article, published shortly before he started composing "God Rest You," or he may have learned more about Edward Miller obliquely by reading Dickinson.

When Miller arranged the music for "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross," he became part of the "rise of an English hymnody" that had been "delayed" by "Puritans" for one hundred and fifty years.⁴⁶ The words to "Wondrous Cross" were written by Isaac Watts (1674-1748), and after seventeenth-century Calvinist

attacks on religious song and efforts to destroy church organs throughout England, Watts was partly responsible for revealing "the power that lies in popular" tunes, according to Dickinson.⁴⁷ An ancestral achievement with such historic importance would have impressed Hemingway. Certainly, sacred works captivated his interest for artistic if not for pious reasons. His audio collection at the Finca Vigía indicates a preference for Johann Sebastian Bach, the "greatest" name in Protestant music.⁴⁸ Hemingway also listened to that other successful Baroque composer, George Frideric Handel, known for his oratorios, devotional pieces written for the public stage.

Handel sated audience demand for virtuosity and purity by using *castrati*, boys castrated before adolescence to produce a specific singing voice, and Hemingway's ancestor, Edward Miller, was connected to this tradition through his ties to Handel's Oratorio Orchestra. In Dr. Miller's *History of Doncaster* (1804), he "lapses into autobiography" and tells an anecdote from his time playing the "German Flute in Handel's Oratorios."⁴⁹ During the Lent season, a young man asked to sing a solo in one of Handel's works; he sang so poorly that the audience "hissed him." Handel "consoled" the boy but told him to return to the country choir from whence he came because "dese wicked people in London, dey will not forgive you."⁵⁰ Dr. Miller's recollection

implies that, in his experience, competing with the angelic voices of emasculated performers was a futile endeavor.

Miller was certainly acquainted with Handel's use of castrati as he included a number of compositions by Handel in his published works on technique, but Hemingway may never have known how close this obscure tradition came to his own ancestry.⁵¹ The history of these singers has not been very accessible in English. Throughout several centuries, much of Europe heard and praised them on the stage but knew little of the practice that produced them. While Handel's use of these virtuosi contributed to the fusion of Christianity and popular culture in seventeenth-century England, their musico-religious function was established centuries before in Constantinople. In the annals of this uniquely talented group lie some of the deeper contextual layers of "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen."

Castrati, also called *evirati* and *musici*, were males castrated before puberty to produce a singing voice with the range of a female soprano. They were indispensable to the music, religion, and even politics of the Byzantine Empire. Neil Moran explains that, although the general population "harboured a certain antipathy or abhorrence" towards them, the state "could not have functioned without" them.⁵² One celebrated figure of this select group was the late fourth and early fifth century choirmaster Brison, who is accredited with having a "formative

influence" on sacred song, introducing both "antiphony between two choirs of singers" and the use of eunuchs "at court and in the churches."⁵³

Conflict between opposing Christian factions within the Empire granted sacred music an astounding importance. Most notably, Arians attracted "many Orthodox converts by their impressive chanting of the psalms in antiphony with two choirs of singers."⁵⁴ Edward Dickinson explains that the Gnostics used similar means to the same end, and he argues that such methods "showed clearly the danger of unlimited license in the production and singing of hymns, for these formidable heretics drew large numbers away from the faith of the apostles by means" of the choral works which "they employed everywhere for proselyting purposes."⁵⁵ Religious songs and the way they were performed became central to the strength of the church. Consequently, the repertoire of the castrati was rich indeed.⁵⁶

The need to use *evirati* in a sacred setting can be traced to the decree of the Council of Laodicea (343–381 A. D.), which stated that "besides the appointed singers . . . others shall not sing in the church."⁵⁷ Enid and Richard Peschel cite St. Paul, who proclaimed "let your women keep quiet in church" (I Cor. 14:34), as the main impetus behind the practice. Roman Catholicism "forbade female" choristers; "therefore, when high voices were needed, young boys, falsettists, or eunuchs came to

be used."⁵⁸ However, these substitutes lacked extensive training and power; because they did not sing in the full or chest voice, their music was weak and unconvincing. These poor alternatives, combined with the desire for acoustic purity, led to the practice of castrating prepubescent boys so that their vocal chords would ultimately produce the most beautiful, preternatural of sounds, described by many as angelic. "Manuscript illustrations and wall paintings" indicate the presence of *musici*, identified by their lack of facial hair, in early choirs.⁵⁹

The use of castrati in Byzantine basilicas such as the Hagia Sophia ended with the conquest of 1204 and the "conversion" of the Great Church "to a Latin cathedral."⁶⁰ The disappearance of these professional singers had "wide-reaching consequences," creating a need for "new melodies to be composed" and altering the "musico-cultural situation."⁶¹ The diaspora of eunuchs stretched into "the countryside . . . [of] Russia, Trepezunt . . . [and] southern Italy," which would provide a haven for them and lead to their resurfacing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both in sacred music and the rising art form of opera.⁶² The angelic quality of their sound also impressed Pope Clement VIII, who enlisted them in the service of the Sistine Chapel. Famous composers such as "Monteverdi, Scarlatti, Handel, Porpora, Hasse, the early Gluck, and Mozart"

began writing for this artistic group. A compositional trend grew out of the outstanding ability of these performers to blend "melody, emotion, and extraordinary technical skill." Peschel quotes an early source, Charles Ancillon's 1707 *Traite des eunuques, or Eunuchism Display'd* (anonymous 1718 English translation). The English translator writes that "there can be no finer Voices in the World. . . . It is impossible to give any tolerable Idea . . . [of] the Beauty of their several Voices; In short, they are above Description."⁶³ The indescribable talent of the *evirati* seduced almost everyone who heard them.

Because the practice of castration was condemned by the Church that benefited from it, information on the *musici* is extremely difficult to locate, especially in English. Scholars have come to rely on older, European accounts of the vocal tradition. Angus Heriot, the leading British expert on the subject, describes the church's stance on the use of mutilated boys as a "hopeless paradox" that has helped obfuscate their history. Heriot calls the position

absurdly inconsistent and unreasonable. . . . Anyone known to have been connected with such an operation was punishable with excommunication, yet no attempt was made to discourage the use of *evirati*. Every church in Italy, including the Pope's own private chapel, had castrati on its staff—in the 1780s, there

were reckoned to be over two hundred of them in churches in the city of Rome alone.⁶⁴

Yet despite the controversy surrounding their employment, these performers had unparalleled ability as "masters of technique."⁶⁵ Their popularity was unquestionable, and their vocal talents would keep them in demand for three centuries. The use of their voices in opera existed not just in Italy but also in "Germany, England, Spain, Russia, Austria, and wherever Italian opera was being written and produced." In the eighteenth century, "seventy percent of all male opera singers" were eunuchs.⁶⁶

Even in an era when the use of *evirati* was pervasive, information about them was not readily available. Music historian Dr. Charles Burney, who taught Hemingway's great, great, great-grandfather Edward Miller, traveled throughout Italy looking for such knowledge. He remembers enquiring "throughout Italy at what place boys were chiefly qualified for singing by castration, but could get no certain intelligence. I was told at Milan that it was at Venice; at Venice, that it was at Bologna; but at Bologna the fact was denied, and I was referred to Florence; from Florence to Rome, and from Rome I was sent to Naples."⁶⁷ Peschel cites two other eighteenth-century travelers who maintained that "many boys" underwent the surgical procedure "in Naples," and the Vesuvian city seems to have been home to more than one music conservatory that trained eunuchs.⁶⁸

Moran posits that doctors assigned to orphanages there were informed by Paul of Aegina's seminal medieval work, *Epitome of Medicine*, which described the "operations" as well as contained "aural memories of the castrati in the Italo-Greek cloisters."⁶⁹

Burney disapproved of the "practice," noting that "the operation most certainly is against law in all these places, as well as against nature; and all the Italians are so much ashamed of it, that in every province they transfer it to some other."⁷⁰ Despite his criticism, however, Burney writes of the most famous castrato, Farinelli, that he was an "extraordinary musician" who "mixed the pathetic with the spirited, the simple with the sublime, and . . . delighted as well as astonished every hearer."⁷¹ Frenchman François Raguenet (1660-1722?) similarly illustrates his wonder at the new operatic trend of using *evirati* when he observes that "no Man or Woman in the World can boast of a Voice like Theirs. . . . They are moving, and affect the Soul itself. . . . Their long-winded throats draw you in a manner out of your Depth, and make you lose your Breath."⁷² Raguenet's account, like other witnesses to the power of these talented eunuchs, suggests the difficulty of describing voices that seemed supernatural, beyond human comprehension.

Appropriately, the castrati sang *arias*, that "part of the music which crystallizes or dwells on a particular emotional situation."⁷³ As such, they could evince both feeling and

virtuosity in this compositional practice particular to the seventeenth and eighteenth century Italian *opera seria*, tragic or grand opera. By the nineteenth century, the aria had metamorphosed into the *Bel canto*, or beautiful song. One of the last great evirati, Giovanni-Battista Velluti, retired in the early 1830s and with his disappearance from the stage, the operatic tradition of the *musici* vanished as well.⁷⁴ Yet the residual effect of their technical virtuosity endured past their decline. Famous female sopranos such as Adelina Patti (1843-1919) and Maria Malibran (1808-1836) used similar techniques such as *fioriture*, or embellishment, to emulate the impressive sound of their male forerunners.⁷⁵

The sacred tradition continued, however. Most castrated boys lacked the talent to succeed as opera singers and so joined the Papal church by becoming priests or singing in its choirs. Their humble position did not diminish their impact. The late nineteenth-century writer Enrico Panzacchi recorded his impression of "one of these" performers and describes "a voice that gives the immediate idea of sentiment transmuted into sound, and of the ascension of a soul into the infinite on the wings of that sentiment." The last such "church" castrato was Alessandro Moreschi, who "joined the choir of the Sistine Chapel as a soloist in 1883" and became "the musical director of the Sistine Choir around the turn of the century." Moreschi was

something of a celebrity; he sang at the funerals of Umberto I and Victor Emmanuel II. Recordings of him have both fascinated and repulsed listeners. He retired in 1913 and stayed on with the Giulia Chapel until he died on April 21, 1922.⁷⁶

Although Moreschi's death probably would not have been covered in English-speaking papers, famous *evirati* never gained New World admiration, news of his passing would definitely have circulated in Italy, where Hemingway spent much of April of 1922 in Genoa covering the Conferenza Internazionale Economica for the *Toronto Star*.⁷⁷ The writer visited the country again in June of that same year, bringing his wife to see where he had served during World War I.⁷⁸ Hemingway's connection to Italy was strong, and its musical traditions would not have escaped him.

Familiarity with them undoubtedly grew during his period of convalescence in Milan in 1918. He wrote to his family that he was passing the "lonely" time by going La Scala, an easy walk from the hospital. Milan's opera house is "one of the world's" most famous, and Hemingway reports seeing productions of "*Aïda*," among others, "with Toscanini conducting." Though he lists an impressive array of performances, he wished "they'd give *Carmen* and *La Bohème* or something interesting."⁷⁹ Because Moreschi retired before Hemingway's 1918 arrival on the front, the author would not have heard him sing. Learning of Moreschi's death during his coverage of the Genoa Economic conference, however,

could have sparked Hemingway's nostalgia for Milan and Italian art music, a topic in which he was very conversant. His judgment of opera, its performers, and its standard repertoire suggest the good possibility that he was also aware of the castrati tradition.

Knowledge of it could have surfaced for Hemingway in another country as well. He traveled to old Byzantium in late September of 1922. The managing editor of the *Toronto Star* "cabled Hemingway to go to Constantinople. . . . A Greek army had been routed by the Turks; Smyrna had been burned."⁸⁰ Hemingway contracted malaria while in Asia Minor, but he wrote engaging dispatches that captured his impressions of the city.⁸¹ Most notable is his October 28, 1922 rendering of it. He records that "in the morning when you wake and see a mist over the Golden Horn with the minarets rising out of it slim and clean toward the sun and the muezzin calling the faithful to prayer in a voice that soars and dips like an aria from a Russian opera, you have the magic of the East."⁸² In a single sentence, he conflates religion, the operatic standard of aria, and one of the early outposts and, later, regular stages for the *musici*, Russia. The "faithful" are called by the "muezzin," Islam's musical, if not asexual, counterparts of their Byzantine Christian precursors. They served the same function of singing

the early prayers, or hymns, and of calling back worshippers who had strayed from the church.

The religious diversity in Constantinople was as evident during Hemingway's stay as it was a millennium before his arrival, when the capital of the Byzantine Empire contained different Christian sects that used hymnody as a way to proselytize. In the October 28 dispatch, Hemingway observes that "there are one hundred and sixty-eight legal holidays in Constan. Every Friday is a Mohammedan holiday, every Saturday is a Jewish holiday, and every Sunday is a Christian holiday." More than this pietistic variety, the writer was struck by the sounds of devotion, for he ends his brief narrative by contrasting "drunken laughing" with "the muezzin's beautiful, minor, soaring, swaying call to prayer."⁸³ The juxtaposition of the ugly and the beautiful, the sinners and the faithful helped create what Hemingway called a "vision of the whole world—or as much of it as" he had seen by 1922. This "world" provided some of the fodder for *Winner Take Nothing*.

Enlarging that "vision" even further was a cultural heritage that Hemingway would have read about in Dickinson's book. *Music in the History of the Western Church* informed him about conflicting religious factions in early Constantinople and the central function of sacred song. Hemingway may also have encountered the obscure tradition of the castrati through his

familiarity with Italian opera. Finally, his Miller lineage touched on all these things, including the development of hymnody. This string of biographical interests and coincidences offers a new way of interpreting "God Rest You," which has confounded most critics. Nancy Comley and Robert Scholes suggest that the subtle connection between the Byzantine Empire and "eunuch-hood" is a complex one signaling, among other things, "violent denials of procreative activity."⁸⁴ Their observations are pointed, but the addition of a musical context provides a new, more thorough understanding of this strange story with sexual outrage at its core.

Sexual intercourse was not necessarily ruled out for castrati; stories of their heterosexual love affairs exist. Peschel stresses the evidence of both "partial" and "complete" operations. Particularly as a result of the former and "because there is no way to ascertain the procedure" used, coitus may have been possible.⁸⁵ Although many *evirati* "received a certain degree of preferential treatment" as a result of the brutal surgery, they also endured "tremendous psychological, social, and emotional sufferings."⁸⁶ Documentation reveals the angst and self-loathing of many of them. Even Farinelli, the most famous of these performers, told Dr. Charles Burney that "if you have a mind to compose a good work never fill it with accounts of such despicable beings as me."⁸⁷ Although medicine still has not

explained the incongruities in their history, it played an important role in creating them during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Because the church forbade the mutilation that produced such remarkable singers, people "gave all sorts of medical . . . reasons to explain why a boy had been emasculated." Each one had a story that explained his situation. One of the young boy's "reasons" in "God Rest You" is his piety, but rather than a response to Puritanical ideology, his desire for castration may signal his interest in artistic servitude to God. Compared to the *musici*, he is too old for the operation being "about sixteen," the age when most of them "would leave the conservatory to go onto the stage," but his devotional aims resemble those of his historical counterparts who endured the "procedure" at another's hand (299).⁸⁸

Told from an indeterminate temporal remove, the account of the young boy's situation in "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" is given by a second-hand witness to it. Horace, the narrator, begins by explaining that "in those days the distances were all very different." The geography has clearly shifted in the interim, for now Horace notices that the "hills . . . have been cut down" (298). His tale takes place before the landscape has been razed, in the "city hospital," which was "on a high hill," suggesting that it no longer exists since many, if not all, such landmarks are gone. Despite the opening focus on Horace's

perception of the world around him, the center of "God Rest You" contains another story, told by Dr. Fischer to Horace. Fischer reveals the case of a young boy who, after complaining of incessant lust, asks Fischer and his colleague, Wilcox, to emasculate him. Wilcox dismisses the kid, but Fischer tries unsuccessfully to assuage him after denying his request. Less than twenty four hours later, the boy arrives at the hospital "self-mutilated with a razor." More troubling, perhaps, than the boy's violent act is his confusion, for he was not "castrated," according to Fischer. The boy "didn't know what" that word "meant" (300). The boy's dire position is at the core of "God Rest You," but Horace's nostalgic perspective augments the theme of misunderstanding. Although he tells the tale long after it has happened, Horace inadvertently admits that he does not comprehend it since time has not resolved the most puzzling of queries for him such as why the boy would want to cease his sexual desire altogether.

Acknowledging the boy's yearning for religious purpose, Carlos Baker inaccurately terms his piety as "mistaken."⁸⁹ Yet the narrative clearly indicates the boy's "dignity" and desire for "purity," characteristics of genuine devotional sentiment (300). George Monteiro assigns a more noble purpose to the boy's action, comparing it to Matthew: "There are some eunuchs . . . which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's

sake (19:12)."⁹⁰ This biblical context recalls a long tradition of mutilation in order to serve God through song. The story of the castrati begins and ends in the church, a fitting path for a practice that evolved out of sanctity into operatic entertainment and then faded away with the faint angelic chords of that last *musico*, Alessandro Moreschi. The unique, and obscure, record of these singers is integrally woven into the history of religious music.

The quintessence of Christianity is signaled in the titular allusion to the Christmas carol "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen." The last verse explicitly asks for harmony among mankind:

Now to the Lord sing praises,
All you within this place,
And with true love and brotherhood
Each other now embrace.

The need to "embrace" others with "true love" is both at the very core of "God Rest You" and one of the central functions of hymnody in the church. Dickinson explains that early religious songs strove to be a uniting factor for a humanity struggling to define devoutness.^{⁹¹} Unlike the aria in opera, they articulated above all "the universal mood of prayer, rather than the expression of individual, fluctuating, passionate emotion" found in the secular repertoire. They represented the "fundamental sentiments of humility, awe, hope, and love which mingle all

particular experiences in the common offering that surges upward from the heart of the Church to its Lord and Master.”⁹² This function of sacred music undergirds Hemingway’s tale in the emphasis on charity over selfishness.

The differences between the two doctors highlight the modern lack of brotherhood and tendency towards selfish entitlement. Dr. Wilcox demonstrates his feelings of religious distinction and superiority to Dr. Fischer when he sarcastically asks “Our Saviour? Ain’t you a Jew?” (301). By contrast, the young boy uses the possessive plural pronoun when he talks about “our Saviour” to indicate inclusion of Fischer (300). Different from Fischer and the boy, Wilcox’s adherence to technicalities impedes any meaningful connection with others. Moreover, his lack of compassion contradicts the important Christian principle of serving a community. One of Wilcox’s former professors had asked him to obtain a medical guide “in the name of humanity,” but the story demonstrates that Wilcox does not comprehend what that phrase means (298). Hemingway, however, did understand it, as he illustrated in *A Farewell to Arms* where the priest declares that “when you love you wish to do things for. You wish to sacrifice for. You wish to serve.”⁹³ Dr. Fischer conforms to this maxim; Dr. Wilcox does not. Wilcox’s obtuseness affects the

boy most of all. Because Wilcox cannot locate this particular emergency in his book, the boy "may die" from loss of blood (300).

Wilcox's reliance on the medical manual echoes the familiar theme in Hemingway's work that derides the educated individual who, despite erudition, does not have knowledge. Underlining this distinction is the entire third paragraph of "God Rest You" that is devoted to the subject of Wilcox's use of *The Young Doctor's Friend and Guide*. Highlighting his benightedness even more is the contrast with Fischer's comprehension of the boy's suffering that is based on experience, not theory. Fischer's "gambler's hands" and "lack of respect for Federal statutes" that had "made him his trouble" suggest he may have performed an illegal abortion. Factors precipitating this service would have involved some level of anguish for both patient and doctor, for Fischer expresses his moral culpability when he tells Horace and Wilcox that if there is "such a place" as hell, he will "certainly visit it" (301). Fischer recognizes distress because he empathizes with it.

Fischer tells Horace what the boy said as he was brought in: "Oh I asked you to do it. I asked you so many times to do it"; and Wilcox can only respond by complaining that it was "on Christmas Day, too." The date is a technicality, an inconvenience for Wilcox. Dr. Fischer, however, hears the boy's

pleas and knows that "the significance of the particular day is not important" (301). Minor details do not impress Fischer, suffering does. The Jewish doctor's desire to console the boy signals Fischer as a true "Christian," in the spiritual if not doctrinal sense of the word. In this way, Fischer resembles Frederic Henry, who tells the priest in *A Farewell to Arms* that "it is in defeat that we become Christian. . . . I don't mean technically Christian. I mean like Our Lord."⁹⁴ Fischer has been professionally defeated by granting an abortion, and he has been overcome in his efforts to persuade the boy against castration by Dr. Wilcox's interference and rude dismissal (300). The boy has been beaten, too, by his own self-proclaimed sin of "lust" despite Fischer's explanation that it is "no sinful state but the means of consummating a sacrament" (300). The boy's pleas for castration convey his disappointment and humility in his "sin against purity" and, consequently, "our Lord and Saviour" (300). His subsequent actions reveal his desire to be reconciled with God.

The boy's willingness to communicate his intention before it is carried out, whether by the doctors or the boy himself, is a confession, a central agent in reconciliation. By seeking understanding in this way, the boy's pleas resemble what Dickinson calls the "universal mood of prayer" in successful hymns.⁹⁵ Even though the boy's self-mutilation is cause for

dismay, the titular allusion to the carol paradoxically affords comfort: "God rest you merry, gentlemen / Let nothing you dismay / Remember Christ our Saviour was born on Christmas Day." In the biblical source for the carol (Luke 2:10), the angel's injunction, "Fear not," accompanies news of the Saviour's birth. In other words, surrender to God's will in the knowledge that He will keep men merry, safe from despair. The youth's sexual mutilation presents every reason to be dismayed but only when taken out of musical context.

Ultimately, the structural brevity of "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" along with its thematic focus on the dilemma of faith resembles a modern prose hymn. As a "song of praise," the story celebrates a necessary defeat that precipitates or even accompanies belief, just as Christ's crucifixion was the necessary prelude to the resurrection.⁹⁶ Reading the narrative as a religious song also explains Horace's disappearance as a first-person narrator. By withdrawing himself, Horace puts the focus on other people, instituting two major tenets of Christianity: humility and service to others. He never returns to any evaluation of himself or reveals any personal growth or change. The events in "God Rest You" do not lead to any epiphanic truth for him. He is merely a chorister and not the subject being sung.

The musico-religious context in "God Rest You" illuminates the opening analogy of Kansas City to Constantinople, bridging the metaphorical distance between the two cities with the history of castrati in the sacred and secular traditions of Western music. Reading the story as a hymn implies the universality and timelessness of the human condition in a modern age of violence and tenuous faith. The boy's genuinely pious desire to reconcile with God throws the doctors' disagreement into relief. In a paradoxical turn, his violent act signals faith, but their civilized disagreement emblematizes sectarian fragmentation and its attendant frustration. Because the doctors never reach an accord, the boy's life is endangered. That he "may die" is not important, however, because corporeal concerns cannot assume primary importance in matters of faith (300). According to Christian doctrine, the soul endures forever while the body does not. The boy's insistence on mutilating himself after his pleas are dismissed by the doctors underlines a more pervasive problem, one that grows out of the frailty of communication and misunderstanding.

The inefficacy of communication is also highlighted in "Homage to Switzerland." The story, a triptych, focuses on three different characters waiting for the Simplon-Orient Express at three distinct Swiss stops: Montreux, Vevey, and Territet. Each portrait begins in almost the same way, against similar

backdrops. Isolation marks the tone in each situation: Mr. Wheeler ironically solicits sex from his waitress, knowing there is no time and, further, not desiring it in the first place; Mr. Johnson talks about his divorce in an effort to "blunt" his pain but then realizes that discussing it makes him feel "nasty" (328); and Mr. Harris appeases a Swiss member of the National Geographic Society with banal chat only to end up disclosing his father's suicide the previous year, saying that he "shot himself, oddly enough" (331). More interlocutor than conversationalist, each man's attempt to connect with people around him reveals only his figurative distance from them.

The scant critical opinions on "Homage" all seem to agree that, regardless of each man's particular emotional distress, communication is difficult for all of them. Lucas Akroyd suggests that "language proves inadequate to express anguish; reticence emerges as the best answer."⁹⁷ Arguing that Hemingway "clearly had both Fitzgerald and *Gatsby* in mind" when he wrote "Homage to Switzerland," Richard Davison labels its tone "as Hemingway's fictional embodiment of Fitzgerald's vulnerabilities."⁹⁸ Proposing that it deals with "universal homelessness" and "isolation," Erik Nakjavani observes the setting when he writes that "outside, the snow is now falling heavily. Inside, the deaf talk at one another. Isolation and incomprehension reign everywhere."⁹⁹ Snow imagery in the tale

proves important to Bern Oldsey, who notices that "in each of the three parts, snow, along with the almost antiseptic cleanliness of Switzerland, is made to act as an ironic complement to psychic wounds that have come unbound."¹⁰⁰ Finally, labeling the story "cryptic," Michael Reynolds pointedly asserts that "Hemingway was trying the limits of the short story genre, still learning, still growing as an artist."¹⁰¹ Although Reynolds addresses the interesting form of "Homage," using Albert Einstein's *Theory of Relativity*, other considerations have overlooked that most obvious feature.

The structure of "Homage" is the most striking characteristic of it, and yet, many critics dismiss the "formal experiment" as "trivial," according to Paul Smith. Also delaying "any serious consideration of the story" is the general consensus that Mr. Johnson's divorce is of paramount importance thereby muting other thematic elements.¹⁰² Michael Reynolds supports this notion and asserts that situating Johnson's predicament in the middle of "Homage" augments its distinction.¹⁰³ Certainly, the manuscript changes and deletions underline the fact that Hemingway spent the most time writing and revising the second part. However, Johnson's tale and other issues of plot seem subordinate to the way in which "Homage" was constructed. What Hemingway called the "new form" of it, three

similar but not identical parts, aligns it with the compositional practice of *variations*.

Hemingway's ease with appropriating this musical form in his fiction would stem from his familiarity with Bach. Among his audio collection at the Finca are some well-worn recordings of Bach's *Prelude and Fugue in E Flat Major* and Books I and II of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*. Taken from the Italian *fuga*, or "flight," the term *fugue* applies to the "name of a genre of serious pieces that treat one theme in continuous imitation."¹⁰⁴ The *theme*, or subject, remains the same and is imitated in different pitches. Often associated with "rigorous, strict style" and "dry academicism," fugues exist at the opposite end of the spectrum from *variations*, which have traditionally represented pieces for "polite diversion." However, Leon Plantinga argues that both extremes place "severe restrictions upon the composer, and therein, perhaps, lay" the challenges of writing them.¹⁰⁵

Predating Bach, *variation* form originated in the sixteenth century. It presented a means for instrumentalists to showcase technique and provide entertainment to the listener. This structure was meant to display "the variety that could be achieved in embellishing a basic idea." Simply put, composers would "combine change with repetition" on a given *theme* by using ornamentation, augmentation, "imitation, change of tempo, and

rhythmic alteration of various kinds." Most importantly, "melody, harmony, and phrase structure" played an essential role in such pieces because recognizing the "original material" helps distinguish deviations from it.¹⁰⁶

As an example of variation form, the opening paragraphs of all three parts in "Homage to Switzerland" demonstrate some of these techniques. The "original material" is the setting, a central feature of the story as the title suggests. In all three episodes it remains similar: inside the station café it is warm and light; baskets of pretzels are on the shiny tables; there is a bar at the far end of the room, and outside it is snowing. This information provides the basis for points of departure and degrees of the requisite "change and repetition" achieved in part by *ornamentation*, which involves embellishment. For example, in Part I "there was a carved wooden clock on the wall and a bar at the far end of the room." The same description in Part II modifies "bar" with "zinc," but the words "carved" and "wooden" are removed in both Parts II and III. In the final excerpt, only the modifier "zinc" is eliminated; the rest of the sentence remains unchanged.

Enough of the initial statement remains the same in all three parts, prompting dismissal of alterations of it, but the fact that Hemingway carefully made these adjustments, shown in the manuscripts, indicates his manipulation of detail for a

desired effect. He added modifiers, *carved* and *wooden*, to the clock in Part I, suggesting he would alter it thereafter. He also changed "baskets with pretzels" to "baskets of pretzels," and by doing so, established a referent for the difference in subsequent descriptions. Shifting prepositions and conjunctions works not just to indicate ornamentation, but it also helps identify another technique of *variations*: tempo alteration. The addition or deletion of monosyllabic words varies the rhythm and pace of each paragraph.

Change and repetition are also achieved through *augmentation*. That each paragraph gets longer than the preceding one signals the musical corollary, which is the "presentation of a subject in doubled values . . . so that a quarter note becomes a half note."¹⁰⁷ An integral feature of variation and fugal writing, augmentation is demonstrated in the opening paragraphs of "Homage" by additional information. The porters drinking wine and the old man drinking coffee are both situated "under the clock" thereby lengthening the second and third excerpts and expanding the original material. The inclusion of others and especially of Mr. Harris in Part III illustrates development of the setting, an important element of the story since the title suggests these three portraits pay homage to the place itself. Read out loud, these paragraphs sound like variations on a theme by Hemingway. The narrator describes the scene:

Inside the station café it was warm and light. The wood of the tables shone from wiping and there were baskets of pretzels in glazed paper sacks. The chairs were carved, but the seats were worn and comfortable. There was a carved wooden clock on the wall and a bar at the far end of the room. Outside the window it was snowing. (322)

The narrator's opening description for Part II is similar but deviates slightly with additional features, including the two porters. He sketches a comparable picture:

Inside the station café it was warm and light; the tables were shiny from wiping and on some there were red and white striped table cloths; and there were blue and white striped table cloths on the others and on all of them baskets with pretzels in glazed paper sacks. The chairs were carved but the wood seats were worn and comfortable. There was a clock on the wall, a zinc bar at the far end of the room, and outside the window it was snowing. Two of the station porters sat drinking new wine at the table under the clock. (324)

The narrator's third illustration of an approximate setting is longer than the first two and includes much more information. He outlines the backdrop for the final section of the story:

In the station café at Territet it was a little too warm; the lights were bright and the tables shiny from polishing. There were baskets with pretzels in glazed paper sacks on the tables and cardboard pads for beer glasses in order that the moist glasses would not make rings on the wood. The chairs were carved but the wooden seats were worn and quite comfortable. There was a clock on the wall, a bar at the far end of the room, and outside the window it was snowing. There was an old man drinking coffee at a table under the clock and reading the evening paper. A porter came in and said the Simplon-Orient Express was an hour late at Saint-Maurice. The waitress came over to Mr. Harris's table. Mr. Harris had just finished dinner. (328)

Because the modifications among the three paragraphs resemble *variations*, they also signal some characteristics of a jazz performance. The popular New Orleans style following World War I centered on group alteration "of a given tune, either improvised or in the same spontaneous style. The result is a counterpoint of melodic lines, alternating with solos during which the rest of the ensemble provides a rhythmic and harmonic background."¹⁰⁸ Similar in a way to classical *variations*, those in jazz relied mostly on changes to melody.

Jazz, however, could not have provided a structural paradigm for "Homage." Even though much of its standard repertoire is written down, its musicians were not exclusively faithful to notation; variation for these performers grew out of improvisation. By contrast, the careful orchestration of "Homage," indicated by Hemingway's manuscript changes, is antithetical to the extemporaneous element of jazz. Most of all, his excisions and revisions highlight his careful attention to conjunctions. They helped him create "harmony and counterpoint" in his fiction as he told Ross. He owes his interest in this compositional practice to the classical tradition. Incorporating an idiom in his writing stemmed from Bach's influence and also Hemingway's preference for later composers such as Brahms, whose work grows out of the earlier music.

Brahms had a "fascination with Baroque music," and his talent deemed him "the true successor of Beethoven," another of Hemingway's favorites.¹⁰⁹ Accomplished in many genres, one of Brahms's most well-known pieces remains his *Variations on a Theme by Haydn* of which Hemingway owned a recording. Written in 1873 first for two pianos (Op. 56b) and then for orchestra (Op. 56a), Brahms's work endures as a benchmark example of the form. Noting that the piece is "more dependent upon Bach, perhaps, than upon Beethoven," Plantinga suggests that it seeks "new levels of intricacy in the employment of received techniques"

rather than using that particular structure "as a point of departure for the exploration of uncharted territory." Brahms was skilled in appropriating tradition and using it to augment his ideas, and the "circumscribed arena" of *variations* proved a "vital testing ground for the development of style."¹¹⁰ Brahms's engagement with this particular compositional practice covered a span of forty years, and despite his reputation as a "conservative," he "was actually a pathbreaker."¹¹¹

Johannes Brahms's (1833-1897) innovative use of rhythm and harmony heralded a new era around the turn of the century. Characterizing him as "the most imitated of composers of the latter nineteenth century," J. Peter Burkholder begins the Modernist movement with him.¹¹² Defining the "Brahmsian model" as that which achieves "originality through selective reinterpretation of existing music," he identifies one of the composer's greatest talents as his ability to analyze and synthesize his influences in order to create something new.¹¹³ Brahms's tendency was to work within defined conventions, to embrace rather than reject them. He did not create so much "out of the void" as he did from "available elements." Burkholder adds that Brahms's voice "is recognizable, even when his debt is most obvious."¹¹⁴ Like Hemingway, Brahms achieved innovation through tradition. In particular, Brahms's variation canon illustrates how his style "evolves from and extends the

practices of classical composers," according to one of his biggest admirers, Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951).¹¹⁵

Schoenberg identified one aspect of Brahms's oeuvre in particular, what he came to call *developing variation*, which he distinguishes from the traditional *variations*. The difference lies in a "more flexible compositional procedure" rather than a given theme "and a series of discrete" alterations of it.¹¹⁶ Schoenberg's paramount contribution to his art lay in moving away from conventional Western tonality and this is one reason why he found Brahms's reliance on aspects other than melody particularly liberating. In his critical writings and radio talks, Schoenberg expressed his belief that this newer genre was "one of the most important" in Western music "from the common-practice era to his own day." He also claims J. S. Bach as the original master of it.¹¹⁷ Schoenberg wrote that Brahms was an innovator despite his frequent association with drier classicism as the title of his essay "Brahms the Progressive" suggests.¹¹⁸

According to Schoenberg, "compositional procedure" is the main indication of *developing variation*, and Brahms's "manipulation" of a subject's "internal rhythm and meter is one" of his most "powerful tools."¹¹⁹ He dismissed examples of the form "that featured purely melodic display," and his letters suggest that only himself, Beethoven, and Bach were in the category of those who could actually create in the genre.¹²⁰ Four

years before he composed *Variations on a Theme by Haydn*, Brahms wrote to Adolf Schubring that "if I vary only the melody, then I cannot easily be more than clever or graceful. . . . On the given bass, I invent something actually new, I discover new melodies in it, I create."¹²¹ In her article "Brahms and the Variation Canon," Elaine Sisman uses the composer's letters to highlight his conviction that in a musical idea "the bass was the most important element."¹²² Suggesting it as the "agent through which the implications of the theme may be explored and revealed most fully, Brahms immediately staked a claim in appropriating the past."¹²³ This view is precisely what draws the late nineteenth-century composer closer to his forebears like Bach. However, Brahms's emphasis on aspects other than melody also strengthened his appeal to progressives like Schoenberg.

Schoenberg and many of his peers were writing *variations* with great dexterity in the 1920s and 1930s, for skill in this area represented one way in which they could be part of the tradition that preceded them. For example, citing Brahms as an inspiration was a boon for Schoenberg who, in a radio talk of 1931, was trying to "defend the theme of his own *Orchestral Variations*, op. 31, against charges of incomprehensibility."¹²⁴ Written in 1928, Schoenberg's Opus 31 provides only one example of the ways in which the form was being explored. When Hemingway was working on "Homage" in the "late Spring of 1932," Aaron

Copland had just finished and premiered his *Piano Variations*.¹²⁵ In it, Copland had produced a new indigenous expression since the “angular rhythms and dissonant tonal shards vibrated with the intensity and nervous energy of Copland’s New York.” Joseph Horowitz maintains that no previous composer in the United States “had achieved such concise freshness of style.”¹²⁶ The stark austerity of Copland’s piece was a sharp departure from his concern with jazz in the 1920s, for he moved on to “cowboy tunes” and “to the stage” in the 1930s to sate his “hunger for a usable American past and his quest for a bigger . . . musical public.” Copland’s sound soon became synonymous with a national identity. Many similarities exist between him and Hemingway, both of whom lived in Paris in the 1920s and courted a more “populist accommodation” than their Ultra-Modern counterparts. However, Hemingway’s taste consistently lay in a more Romantic idiom.¹²⁷

Schoenberg emancipated dissonance with his twelve-tone system, Copland came out of a neo-classicist background, but Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873–1943) was considered a “Romantic giant.”¹²⁸ In the early 1930s he experimented with style by departing from his “trademark long melodies.”¹²⁹ Rachmaninoff composed and premiered his *Corelli Variations* on October 12, 1931 in Montreal, receiving only a “lukewarm” reception.¹³⁰ Hemingway’s acquaintance with the Russian-born composer dates

back at least to 1921 when, in a letter to his mother, he describes a concert he attended in Chicago: He "went to hear Benno Moseiwitch [sic] play at orchestra hall. . . . [He] is the best pianist there is now I think. He's infinitely superior to Levitski or Jeosh [sic] Hoffman and I think he has it on Rachmaninoff or Gabrilowitch—he's in the first four anyway."

Benno Moiseiwitsch (1890–1963) was a Ukrainian-born pianist "who later became a British citizen, debuted in New York in 1919 and performed at Orchestra Hall in Chicago" on January 9, 1921.¹³¹ In addition, his reputation as a profound interpreter of Rachmaninoff's works endured throughout his career. The elder Russian "considered him his artistic heir," for Moiseiwitsch "represented the last vestiges of Romanticism."¹³² Besides the acquaintance with Rachmaninoff's music early in his life, Hemingway's audio collection at the Finca contains at least two compositions of the Russian virtuoso: *Concerto No. 2 in C Minor* and *Song No. 2 for Piano*.¹³³ Moreover, Hemingway may have owned one or more of these recordings as early as the thirties since he wrote to his lawyer, Maurice Speiser, in an unpublished 1935 letter, thanking him for the Bach and Rachmaninoff albums.¹³⁴

Variations were a vogue in the time leading up to and during Hemingway's composition of "Homage." The media coverage garnered by performances of those written by Copland, Schoenberg, and Rachmaninoff could have caught his attention,

but his audio collection suggests he had little interest in early twentieth-century composers. The Finca catalogue lists only Igor Stravinsky, Manuel De Falla, and Sergei Rachmaninoff from the Modern period.¹³⁵ The first was a neo-classicist, the second a Spaniard who relied heavily on folk music, and the third was considered an anachronistic "Romantic giant." Hemingway never developed a taste for more progressive trends, for the "modern stuff" he forgot "the names of," as he wrote to his mother in 1921. Conversely, Brahms remained approachable to the writer who "possessed an ear extremely sensitive to formal, structural elements," as Justice puts it. This interest signals more than his "bourgeois" taste, as she maintains, and points to a natural inclination toward a German-Romantic aesthetic that grew out of his childhood in Oak Park and his concert attendance as a young adult, when most programs featured nineteenth-century pieces by Beethoven and Brahms.¹³⁶

Hemingway's interest in Brahms became stronger under Hadley's influence, for his first wife demonstrated an exquisite talent for performing the German master's work. Writing to James Gamble in 1923, Hemingway described his recent marriage to "Hadley Richardson . . . in September of 1921." He told his friend that "you would like her tremendously. . . . [She] plays Ravel, Brahms, or Scriabine [sic] equally well."¹³⁷ Hemingway's acquaintance with Hadley's repertoire likely grew out of his

tenure in Chicago. While the author lived there during the 1920-21 musical season, Frederick Stock conducted the symphony and routinely anchored his programs with newer compositions by Maurice Ravel (1875-1937) and Alexander Scriabin (1872-1915), along with the more Germanic tradition that included Brahms. Moreover, Hadley's playing figures prominently in the author's recollections of his artistic apprenticeship in Paris in the early 1920s. Hemingway remembers years later in *A Moveable Feast* (1964) that Hadley would go "to work at the piano in a cold place and with enough sweaters keep warm."¹³⁸ Aside from their shared enthusiasm for Brahms, the young couple also enjoyed winter sports, a passion he describes in the same 1923 missive to Gamble. Hemingway writes of the couple's trip to Switzerland, where he "discovered ski-ing which I intend to take up as my life work."¹³⁹ The association between music and Switzerland via Hadley and "ski-ing" could have provided material for "Homage," a story with some parallels to the life of its author.

More interesting than the biographical corollaries, the title of the story is especially important for the way in which it connects the structure of "Homage" to musical variations. They have always been one of the composer's foremost ways to pay homage to, to remember, another artist. Brahms's works in the genre "enabled him to assess his relationship to his . . . forebears and contemporaries," according to Sisman. In

particular, Brahms honors Joseph Haydn's St. Anthony Chorale in his *Variations on a Theme by Haydn*.¹⁴⁰ Just as Brahms exalts those who inspired him in this way, so Hemingway's "Homage to Switzerland" presents a kind of memorial of his engagement with the country from a personal and professional standpoint.

Switzerland signified not only his marriage to Hadley but also, as H. R. Stoneback points out, Hemingway's fomenting belief in "grace under pressure," his famous credo made manifest in his love for winter games and realized over four decades through his *afición* for the bullfight.¹⁴¹ Many of his dispatches for the *Toronto Star* from February of 1922 through January of 1924 address Switzerland and the recreational opportunities it offered. However, his dispatch "Swiss Avalanches" from 1924 suggests one reason why he eventually abandoned his avid enthusiasm for writing about and participating in such seasonal activities. He realized that the "winter sport," typically skiing but also lugeing, bobsledding, and toboggoning, served only the young, according to Stoneback.¹⁴² In "Swiss Avalanches" a priest discusses "the crosses" that mark people who have died on the mountain. He tells the narrator that "when one is young one goes always into the high mountains. These are all young men." Then he "pointed at the crosses" and continued by saying that "when one is older one knows better."¹⁴³ The men in "Homage" are all "older," mature as a result of emotional wounds, though

whether they "know better" remains uncertain. Writing in 1932, a more experienced Hemingway could reflect on the events in his earlier journalism with a skeptical but nostalgic eye.

More sketch than story, each Part of "Homage to Switzerland" contributes to the overarching thematic concern with nostalgia: Mr. Wheeler "had been in that station before" (324); Mr. Johnson tells the porters that his wife does "the sport" Switzerland is famous for, most likely indicating that, despite his ineptitude at it, he must have at least accompanied her there previously (327); and the fact that Mr. Harris's father was also a member of the National Geographic Society creates a strange if not awkwardly sentimental connection between Harris and the Swiss member and, therefore, between Harris and Switzerland. The disproportionate thematic weight among the three situations, favoring Mr. Johnson's divorce over Mr. Harris's father, contributes to the perpetual dismissal of "Homage" by critics, according to Paul Smith. Subsequently, the form of it, which complements the content, is rarely addressed.

All the Parts of "Homage" express a sentimental urge. Nostalgia prompts each man to engage in conversation with those around him as he waits for his train. The problem arises when those exchanges yield confusion and misunderstanding. Recognizing, in varying degrees, that they have nothing to gain, each man's colloquy becomes a game to him. Contest connects

easily to the entirety of *Winner Take Nothing*, for the epigraph stresses it as an inspiration for the stories therein. "Homage to Switzerland" engages this topic in a particularly thoughtful way by providing different, nuanced versions of it. The pattern of changes in the opening paragraphs resembles traditional variations, especially in the ornamentation, augmentation, and rhythmic alterations that apply. However, the straightforward "change and repetition" of the "original material," the setting, suggests Hemingway's fuller treatment of thematic concepts such as sport and language.

The "compositional procedure" that signified Brahms's developing variation applies to the way Hemingway actualized "Homage." The Parts of his story progress in a way similar to Brahms's music that "unfolds by a unique and characteristic process of continuous . . . development."¹⁴⁴ Manuscript modifications show that Hemingway began "Homage" with one character, Mr. Wheeler. He then scribbled through the name, vigorously in places, in Parts II and III, writing Johnson and Harris instead. Altering the scene and situation dealing with the original protagonist, Wheeler, varies only melody. Likewise, the surface issues of sex, divorce, and death represent superficial alterations. Instead, changing the identity of the man in each section forces the three panels of this triptych to take on a slightly different tone. Just as Brahms relied on the

bass line for artistic discovery, the fundamental aspect of narrative perspective provides points of departure. Granting three outlooks increases dimensionality; manipulating them generates a variant of underlying themes. The futile sport of communication that leaves each man alone coheres the distinctly separate sketches.

Isolation stems from misunderstanding in "Homage." The misuse and abuse of dialogue as a sport heightens the sense of disconnection for all three men. Moreover, the play with words in the story ironically serves to underline the inefficacy of them. The three men all ask their waitress the same question: "Do you speak other languages besides English?" The waitresses' response also remains quite similar: "Oh, yes, sir. I speak German and French and the dialects" (322, 324, 328). The waitress in Part II does not use "sir" in her answer; the other two do. Suggestive of a melodic line in its one-dimensional simplicity, the short exchange between the man and his server follows a similar pattern in all three sections, changed only slightly by adding or removing a lexeme like "sir." The implications of these brief exchanges go beyond simple pleasantries, however. The consequences of not being able to speak another's language, metaphorically and literally, vary and resonate more deeply as each conversation continues.

No one understands each other and yet they all seem to speak the same language. Whatever incomprehension exists quickly translates into a more devious game, a way to manipulate and deceive others. In Part I, the waitress becomes flustered by Mr. Wheeler's salacious advances, and he could see that she was "losing her English" (323). The conversation turns into a contest for Mr. Wheeler. The banter between him and his waitress signals his rude playfulness and not a little competitive edge. With no serious intention behind his overtures, he offers her "three hundred francs for a thing that is nothing to do," knowing "there was no upstairs to go to" in order to fulfill his request. She denies him and then thinks of her own indiscretions, remembering "how many times have I done that for nothing." In an ironic twist, Mr. Wheeler emerges as the more morally sound since his proposal was only a play with words, a surface endeavor. Conversely, the girl possesses experiential knowledge of such negotiations, perhaps explaining why her English suffers under duress. Her understanding of them is purely physical, unlike Wheeler's, which appears calculated. He thinks, as he waits for his train, that "it was very inexpensive sport" (324). As a man who "never took chances," empty flirtation allows him the opportunity for amusement at no cost to himself, except for the nominal fee of wine and a tip for the girl. Whether he is a homosexual, as some critics have

suggested, seems subordinate to his enjoyment of this kind of game.¹⁴⁵ He retains control of her and the situation and is in no danger of losing the match; it has a foregone conclusion.

Mr. Johnson's game poses more personal risk. His tenuous control erodes quickly. He asks his waitress if she "wouldn't like to play with" him, but his overture has more social than sexual connotations. In their brief exchange, he uses her experience at the Berlitz school to poke fun, to add some levity to his mood made somber by his impending divorce. Criticizing the internationally renowned language school also provides another kind of semantic play. He asks if "the Berlitz undergraduates" were "a wild lot? . . . Were there many smoothies? Did you ever run into Scott Fitzgerald?" Though he and the server speak English with each other, his sarcasm escapes her as she inquires earnestly, "Please? . . . You are joking, sir?" (325). Tone, as a matter of varied perspective, provides the opportunity for sport though this contest is more lighthearted than Wheeler's. Johnson's efforts to use colloquy as a way to "blunt" the pain he feels over the dissolution of his marriage, however, turn against him.

From his exchange with the waitress, he moves on to the porters by asking them to drink with him. These are the same porters that augmented the setting in the opening paragraph, highlighting their structural function as a means of variation.

In this case, Johnson's exchange with them underlines a different kind of sport from Wheeler's. After asking the men to drink with him and then for their recommendation, Johnson chooses two bottles of the *Sportsman* champagne, considered "the best" by his present company (326). The name of it is repeated seven times on one page, emphasizing Johnson's role in a contest he neither understands nor stands to win. To begin with, the wine is not what it seems to be. It "tasted like sweet pink cider." Moving on to a toast, they all contribute in different languages: "'*Prosit*,' said Johnson. '*A votre santé, monsieur,*' said the porter. The other two porters said '*Salut!*'" (327). More interloper than insider, Johnson asks one porter if it is "a system always to respond in a different language in Switzerland?" (327). The lexical distinctions suggest a cultural divide between Johnson and the men that cannot be bridged.

Stretching the distance even further is the topic of divorce, which is not a commonplace in Switzerland though Johnson tries to explain it. None of them seem to comprehend since their perspective of the "married state" is "*oui. C'est normale*" (327). Mr. Johnson admits that, for him, it is not normal. His wife is leaving him. He feels "nasty" about it, and nothing he or others can say will bring relief. Reminiscent of Frederic Henry's idea that "they threw you in and told you the rules and the first time they caught you off base they killed

you," Johnson gropes for understanding, and his dialectic produces only bitterness, evidenced more clearly in the manuscript than the published text.¹⁴⁶ An excised paragraph in the typescript shows Johnson at a great disadvantage as an author who, owing to the breakup of his marriage, has lost his heart without which he knows he cannot write. Similar to Fischer and the boy in "God Rest You," Johnson has been professionally and personally defeated. Having given up on conversation with the porters since accord cannot be reached, Johnson goes outside for a "little walk." He sees the waitress return the unopened bottle he had already paid for to the bar, which means his companions just made "three francs something apiece." This minor loss echoes his greater failure under the snow "falling heavily" (328).

If Wheeler remains in total control and Johnson cannot understand how he lost it, then Harris represents a contestant who knows he has failed and contends merely to soften the defeat. The exchange between client and waitress also contains echoes of flirtatious play but in a far more allusive way than the previous two sections, providing another tonal variant. Harris asks the girl if she "wouldn't take a cigar," perhaps a sexually charged inquiry, as Richard Davison points out, but a far subtler one than that issued forth by the other two men.¹⁴⁷ If Harris's cigar is just a smoke, then the irony in his request

poses a play on gender. His question suggests that he treats his server as though she were a gentleman dining at the club. Harris's conversational skill exposes the weakness in his opponent, for he admits that he does not smoke and then makes a reference to David Belasco, a figure with which she is not familiar. Not knowing how to converse with him, she excuses herself (328-29).

The truncated dialogue between Harris and the server gives way to a more protracted one between Harris and a "fellow member" of the National Geographic Society (328). Just as the porters augmented the original material in the beginning of Part II, so the "old man drinking coffee under the clock" functions as a means of structural and thematic variation in Part III. The "fellow member" adds to the opening paragraph, but, more importantly, he introduces the main variant for conversation in Part III. More than the colloquy in Parts I and II, both of which were more straightforward, that of Part III is an exercise in irony. Harris' command of tone allows him to play freely with it whereas Wheeler and Johnson, for different reasons, cannot achieve a similar flexibility.

Harris's tone strikes Wyer, who takes the whole introduction to a fellow member very seriously, as genuine. Just as the waitress in Part II cannot comprehend Johnson's playful talk, Wyer fails to become the proverbial sparring partner in

Harris's repartee. Discussing different issue numbers of the National Geographic Society's magazine, Wyer sincerely tells Harris that he "enjoyed very much, too, the wild animal photographs of George Shiras, three." Harris's response that the images were "damned fine" arrests Wyer, who begs the other's pardon. Sensing his advantage, Harris continues by saying that "they were excellent. That fellow Shiras—" (330). Instead of incredulity, Wyer expresses astonishment by asking Harris if he calls Shiras "that fellow." Clearly, the photographer and the traveler are not "old friends," as Harris claims, but he seems to enjoy the impish humor in deceiving a "fellow member" who assumes such familiarity with him in the first place. The advantage appears to slip from Harris when he reveals to Wyer the unexpected suicide of his father the previous year. Wyer's words seem sincere as he obtusely expresses his condolences, sure that Harris's "loss was a blow to science as well as to his family," but the latter's composure never falters. Wyer, like Wilcox, presents another of Hemingway's variations of the educated man who, for all his erudition, has no knowledge. Wyer seems insensitive to Harris's suffering, which the latter cleverly masks with conversation. Harris has experienced loss before and of a much greater magnitude than to allow this colloquial game any more weight than it deserves. In fact, he is

ironic until the end, when he takes Wyer's card, telling him that he will "keep it very carefully" (331).

Language provides the ability to engage in contest since it is full of empty signifiers and miscalculated expectations. The variations on sport in "Homage" develop from the invention of character, underlining Hemingway's decision to change his singular protagonist into three individuals. One man could not have provided such distinctly different attitudes toward verbal play, and the development of type and tone of conversation from one part to the next creates a multi-dimensional view of colloquial athleticism. Furnishing another, more literal, version of that aspect of the story is the location of it. Set against the physical background of one of the world's greatest destinations for winter games, the topography of Switzerland suggests recreational associations for any traveler. The downhill rush of skiing provides an imagistic sense of motion in conflict with the stasis each character experiences as he waits for a train to arrive out of a static white landscape.¹⁴⁸ Unlike Nick Adams in "Cross-Country Snow," Wheeler, Johnson, and Harris cannot perform any better as a result of having their minds plucked out by action, which is the way Nick describes his vigorous activity.¹⁴⁹

Cognitive dissonance handicaps each man, exposing certain weaknesses. For Mr. Wheeler, sex, particularly flirtation, is

very "inexpensive sport." He loses nothing, but neither does he really gain. Mr. Johnson's miscalculations, about his wife, the waitress, and even the porters, reveal that life is a game of which he has not yet learned the rules. Not incidentally, his wife does the "winter sport," skiing, suggesting her triumph against his defeat. Alternately, competition is inherent in Mr. Harris's conversation though there seems not to be any winner since, at the very end, Harris reveals a vulnerability that ends their match in a stalemate. All three men engage in degrees of contest, and all three achieve only Pyrrhic victories, perhaps echoing the title of the collection to which the story belongs, *Winner Take Nothing*.

The futility expressed in the title of the collection connects with the idea in "Homage" and "God Rest You" that communication disappoints. Hemingway's epigraph for *Winner Take Nothing* obliquely suggests this deficiency by invoking different languages and, therefore, barriers to comprehension. Opening the book is the assertion that "unlike all other forms of lutte or combat the conditions are that the winner shall take nothing."¹⁵⁰ The French word for struggle, *lutte*, does more than show off a linguistic erudition. The Gallic lexeme complements the American one, *combat*, since the use of both suggests that neither would suffice alone. Sometimes there is no easy way to cross cultural, linguistic, or emotional boundaries. Horace in "God Rest You"

demonstrates this fact when he sees "a motor car finished entirely in silver with Dans Argent lettered on the hood." He interpreted the words as "the silver dance or the silver dancer" though he recognizes years later that such analysis is wrong. The French preposition "dans" translates as "in" whereas "argent" means "money" in a more colloquial, not literal, definition. Although Horace was "pleased" by his "knowledge of a foreign language," he realizes in maturity that there is much he did not comprehend (298). Similarly, the men in "Homage" are all older but not necessarily wiser as their stultified conversations all seem to indicate. The anomalous content of "God Rest You" and the striking structure of "Homage" seem to have roots in another form of expression. Beyond the "harmony and counterpoint" of Bach that Hemingway employed in *A Farewell to Arms*, these two stories present his incorporation of a deeper, more nuanced musical idiom, for it actually augments thematic concerns with lexical boundaries.

Notes

1. Part of this chapter was published previously, in a different version, as "Hemingway's Modern Hymn: Music and the Church as Background Sources for 'God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen,'" *Hemingway Review*, 28 (2008): 51-67.

2. Lillian Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway*, rev. ed. (New York: Modern Library, 1999): p. 50.

3. George Plimpton, "The Art of Fiction," *Conversations with Ernest Hemingway*, ed. Matthew Bruccoli (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986): pp. 125-26.

4. Plimpton, p. 120.

5. Plimpton, p. 118.

6. Hilary K. Justice, "Music at the Finca Vigía: A Preliminary Catalog of Hemingway's Audio Collection," *Hemingway Review*, 25 (2005): 97. Hemingway scholars are still waiting for a complete assessment. As of 2011, Maria Valdes, the photodisc curator at the Finca, had not completed this compilation and so the contents of Hemingway's audio collection remain to be examined more closely.

7. Conversation with Valerie Hemingway, June 28, 2010, Lausanne, Switzerland.

8. Michael Reynolds, *The Young Hemingway* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998): p. 107.

9. See Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Emily Goetzmann, March 18, 1916], *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, vol. 1, ed. Sandra Spanier and Robert W. Trogdon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): p. 27. There are other missives written during Ernest's adolescence that mention his playing the cello in the high school orchestra. See, for instance, [Letter to Leicester and Nevada Butler Hall, October 22, 1912], in Spanier, *Letters*, p. 13, and also [Letter to Grace Hall Hemingway, September 8, 1914], in Spanier, *Letters*, pp. 17-18. Hilary K. Justice addresses Ernest's talent and Grace's artistic influence on his writing in "Alias Grace: Music and The Feminine Aesthetic in Hemingway's Early Style," *Hemingway and Women: Female Critics and the Female Voice*, ed. Lawrence R. Broer and Gloria Holland (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002): pp. 221-38.

10. Reynolds, p. 150.

11. Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005): pp. 165-66.

12. Horowitz, pp. 42, 47.

13. Horowitz, pp. 177, 307.

14. Horowitz, p. 307.

15. Horowitz, p. 305.

16. Reynolds, p. 150.

17. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Grace Hall Hemingway, January 10, 1921], in Spanier, *Letters*, p. 263.

18. Reynolds, p. 155.
19. Antheil's alias comes from the title for his 1945 autobiography, of which Hemingway owned a copy. Hemingway's piece on Conrad ran only one page. See Ernest Hemingway, "III," *transatlantic review*, 2 (1924): 341.
20. Valerie Hemingway acknowledges Ernest's disciplined way of keeping his most vehement opinions to himself, a lesson he seemed to have learned very early in his professional life and on which he continued to rely. Conversation with Valerie Hemingway, June 28, 2010, Lausanne, Switzerland.
21. Ernest Hemingway, *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, ed. Sandra Spanier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). Information provided by Robert Trogdon, e-mail message to the author, August 20, 2010. Ernest Bloch (1880-1959) was a Swiss-born American composer. He is not to be confused with Ernst Bloch (1885-1977), the German critic and philosopher, who was also active during the Modernist period.
22. Paul Smith, "Introduction," *A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1989): p. xviii.
23. Clifton Fadiman, "A Letter to Mr. Hemingway," *Ernest Hemingway: The Critical Reception*, ed. Robert Stephens (Burt Franklin & Co., 1977): p. 136. Originally appeared in *New Yorker*, 9 (October 28, 1933): 74-75.

24. Horace Gregory, "Ernest Hemingway Has Put On Maturity," in Stephens, *Critical Reception*, pp. 139-40. Originally appeared in *New York Herald Tribune Books*, 10 (October 29, 1933): section 7, p. 5.
25. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Max Perkins, November 17, 1933], *The Only Thing That Counts*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (New York: Scribners, 1996): p. 202.
26. William Troy, "Mr. Hemingway's Opium," in Stephens, *Critical Reception*, p. 146. Originally appeared in *The Nation*, 137 (November 15, 1933): 570.
27. Fadiman, "A Letter to Mr. Hemingway," in Stephens, *Critical Reception*, p. 137.
28. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Mrs. Paul Pfeiffer, October 16, 1933], *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters*, ed. Carlos Baker (New York: Scribners, 1981): p. 397.
29. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Max Perkins, November 17, 1933], in Bruccoli, *Only Thing*, p. 203.
30. Smith, pp. 252-54.
31. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to W. C. Lengel, August 15, 1932], in Baker, *Selected Letters*, p. 367. Although "The Gambler, The Nun, and the Radio," also in *Winner Take Nothing*, uses music as a thematic device, a way to deepen plot and layer allusion, Hemingway includes it with the stories he wrote "absolutely as they" happened in his letter to Perkins, placing

it in a separate category from the other two that he suggests having invented "completely."

32. Carlos Baker, *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story* (New York: Scribners, 1969): p. 227.

33. Smith, p. 248.

34. Smith, pp. 247-48.

35. Baker, *Life Story*, p. 237.

36. All quotations of the stories will be taken from Ernest Hemingway, *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*, Finca Vigía edition (New York: Scribners, 1998). Horst Kruse suggests that the opening sentence describes "the role of each metropolis as a Gateway, an historic portal to either the West or the East. . . . The comparison suggests that in each city Christianity functions as the official religion of the state." Horst H. Kruse, "Allusions to *The Merchant of Venice* and the New Testament in 'God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen':

Hemingway's Anti-Semitism Reconsidered," *Hemingway Review*, 25 (2006): 70. Robert Paul Lamb posits that "Hemingway's odd tale is all about the problems of reading a text and the consequences of misreading. . . . It is about semiotic confusion." Lamb writes of the opening lines that "Hemingway employs a narrative strategy of presenting a description that describes nothing."

Robert Paul Lamb, "Hemingway's Critique of Anti-Semitism: Semiotic Confusion in 'God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen'," *Studies*

in Short Fiction, 33 (1996): 25-26. Further, Nancy Comley and Robert Scholes argue that the beginning is notable for the "far-fetchedness" of it; Kansas City signals "something provincial, something historically insignificant" unlike Constantinople, which represents the "exotic, the cultured, the significant."

Nancy R. Comley and Robert Scholes, "Tribal Things: Hemingway's Erotics of Truth," *NOVEL*, 25 (1992): 270. Carl P. Eby proposes that the initial simile points to Hemingway's fetishization of hair, made manifest here as a result of the author's 1922 stay in Constantinople where he "contracted head lice and subsequently had to shave his head." Eby proffers that this "signified a symbolic castration" to Hemingway. Carl P. Eby, *Hemingway's Fetishism: Psychoanalysis and the Mirror of Manhood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999): p. 71.

Joseph DeFalco employs a more conservative analysis by posing that the boy's "refusal to accept the stage of puberty at which he has arrived is the extreme of the *via negative*." Joseph DeFalco, *The Hero in Hemingway's Short Stories* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963): p. 55. Jackson Benson espouses Hemingway's "moralistic rage" with provincial, small-minded, America. Jackson J. Benson, "Literary Allusion and the Private Irony of Ernest Hemingway," *Pacific Coast Philology*, 4 (1969): 24. Finally, Peter Hays sees the confused geographical link as inconsequential because "the setting is not important;

the human relations are." Peter L. Hays, "Hemingway and the Fisher King," *The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: Critical Essays*, ed. Jackson J. Benson (Durham: Duke University Press, 1975): p. 226.

37. George Monteiro, "Hemingway's Christmas Carol," *Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli and C. E. Frazer Clark, Jr. (Washington D. C.: Microcard Editions, 1973): p. 208.

38. Monteiro, p. 211.

39. James D. Brasch and Joseph Sigman, comps., "Introduction," *Hemingway's Library: A Composite Record* (New York: Garland, 1981): p. xxxviii.

40. John Sanford, "Miller Portrait—Portrait of a Name, Ernest Miller Hemingway," 2006. Unpublished essay.

41. Sanford, "Miller Portrait."

42. Elisabeth M. Lockwood, "Edward Miller," *Music & Letters*, 9 (1928): 67.

43. Lockwood, p. 70.

44. Lockwood, p. 76.

45. Sanford, "Miller Portrait."

46. Edward Dickinson, *Music in the History of the Western Church* (New York: Scribners, 1902): p. 374.

47. Dickinson, pp. 370-72.

48. Dickinson, p. 283. See also Hilary K. Justice, "Music at the Finca Vigía." She describes the "Vertical Bin Bottom" of Hemingway's collection and writes that it "shows the greatest degree of internal musical coherence, emphasizing the Baroque, especially Bach" (99).

49. Lockwood, p. 68.

50. Handel is quoted in Lockwood, p. 68.

51. Lockwood, p. 72. Dickinson's book does not mention either the Millers or the castrati. Hemingway's knowledge of the former came from his mother and possibly was augmented by additional sources, such as Lockwood's article. If reading Dickinson fomented Hemingway's interest in English hymnody, then he could easily have obtained a hymnal and found Miller's arrangement of the popular "Wondrous Cross." A little digging into the annals of Western European music could have revealed Miller's connection to Handel's Oratorio Orchestra and, therefore, to the castrati, an operatic tradition that would have piqued Hemingway's interest.

52. Neil Moran, "Byzantine Castrati," *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 11 (2002): 99.

53. Moran, pp. 100-01.

54. Moran, p. 101.

55. Dickinson, p. 50.

56. Moran, p. 106.

57. Dickinson, p. 51.
58. Enid Rhodes Peschel and Richard E. Peschel, "Medicine and Music: The Castrati in Opera," *Opera Quarterly*, 4 (1986): 21.
59. Moran, p. 102.
60. Moran, p. 108.
61. Moran, p. 111.
62. Moran, p. 108.
63. Peschel, pp. 22-23.
64. Heriot is quoted in Peschel, pp. 21-22.
65. Philip G. Downs, *Classical Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992): p. 73.
66. Peschel, p. 23.
67. Burney is quoted in Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, comps., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (New York: Schirmer, 1984): p. 225.
68. Peschel, p. 23.
69. Moran, p. 112.
70. Burney is quoted in Weiss, p. 225.
71. Burney is quoted in Weiss, p. 228.
72. Raguenet is quoted in Downs, p. 85.
73. Downs, p. 89.
74. Coincidentally, Honoré de Balzac published his novella about a castrato, *Sarrasine*, in 1830. According to Brasch and

Sigman, Hemingway owned the complete works of Balzac in French and in English translation (20-21).

75. Peschel, pp. 25-26. Hemingway knew of Adelina Patti. In a September 5, 1922 dispatch for the *Toronto Star*, he writes of an "American singer studying opera in Berlin" who compares herself "with Patti" in that her voice is "a coloratura soprano." Please see Ernest Hemingway, *Dateline: Toronto*, ed. William White (New York: Scribners, 1985): pp. 202-03.

76. Joe K. Law, "Alessandro Moreschi Reconsidered: A Castrato on Records," *Opera Quarterly*, 2 (1984): 3-4. The sound of the castrati still appeals to music fans even though boys are purportedly no longer castrated. A natural voice with the range of someone like Moreschi is called a countertenor, and there are some who possess it. The most famous current example is the young Philippe Jaroussky who garners world-wide attention for his ability to get an audience "on its feet, stamping and cheering." However, even Jarrousky is "well aware of what he describes" as the "element of repulsion" in his voice. See Fernanda Eberstadt, "Who Can Resist a Man Who Sings Like a Woman," *New York Times* (November 19, 2010) Magazine: p. MM38. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/21/magazine/21soprano-t.html?sq=countertenor&st=nyt&adxnnl=1&scp=3&adxnnlx=1318693364-649CnZw3NwzWM4tD2v5/LQ>.

77. Baker, *Life Story*, p. 91.
78. In particular, see Hemingway's letter to Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas in which he describes some of the June trip he made with Hadley, along with his good friend Chink Dorman-Smith. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, June 11, 1922], in Spanier, *Letters*, pp. 345-46.
79. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Hemingway Family, November 28, 1918], in Spanier, *Letters*, pp. 159-61.
80. Charles A. Fenton, *The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1954): p. 170.
81. Baker, p. 98.
82. Hemingway, *Dateline: Toronto*, pp. 239-40.
83. Hemingway, *Dateline: Toronto*, pp. 239-40.
84. Comley and Scholes, p. 271.
85. Peschel, p. 33.
86. Peschel, p. 25.
87. Peschel, p. 30.
88. Peschel, p. 24.
89. Baker, *Life Story*, p. 36.
90. Monteiro, p. 210. Monteiro maintains that "God Rest You" exemplifies the "puzzling variety of . . . [Hemingway's] literary responses to Christianity," but that response is less "puzzling" when put in musical context. See Monteiro, p. 207.

91. Dickinson, p. 51.
92. Dickinson, p. 69.
93. Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (New York: Scribners, 2003): p. 72.
94. Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms*, p. 178.
95. Dickinson, p. 69.
96. *Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music*, s. v. "Hymn."
97. Lucas Aykroyd, "'Homage to Switzerland' as Monodrama: A Microcosm of Hemingway's Autobiographically Inspired Fiction," *Hemingway Review*, 17 (1997): 45.
98. Richard Allan Davison, "Hemingway's 'Homage to Switzerland' and F. Scott Fitzgerald," *Hemingway Review*, 12 (1993): 76.
99. Erik Nakjavani, "Repetition as Design and Intention: Hemingway's 'Homage to Switzerland,'" *Hemingway's Neglected Short Fiction*, ed. Susan F. Beegel (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992): pp. 281, 278.
100. Bern Oldsey, "The Snows of Ernest Hemingway," *Wisconsin Studies in Contemporary Literature*, 4 (1963): 181.
101. Michael S. Reynolds, "'Homage to Switzerland': Einstein's Train Stops at Hemingway's Station," in Beegel, *Short Fiction*, p. 258.
102. Smith, p. 255.

103. See Reynolds, "Einstein's Train Stops," in Beegel, *Short Fiction*, pp. 256-67.

104. J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010): p. 349.

105. Leon Plantinga, *Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984): pp. 59-60.

106. Burkholder, *History*, p. 274; *Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music*, s. v. "Variation."

107. *Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music*, s. v. "Augmentation and diminution."

108. Burkholder, *History*, p. 867. Jazz developed from ragtime and grew out of dance accompaniment. Even though the big band sound of the thirties, such as that of Benny Goodman, relied on sheet music and orchestration, there was still improvisation at the end of particular sections and that extemporaneous element is quite different from the careful structure of Hemingway's story.

109. Burkholder, *History*, pp. 731-32. Beethoven's influence on Brahms was so heavy that in the early 1870s, Brahms "is reported to have told" the conductor Hermann Levi, "I will never finish a symphony. You have no idea how it affects one's

spirits to hear continually the marching of a giant behind him" (quoted in Plantinga, p. 421).

110. Plantinga, p. 421.

111. Elaine R. Sisman, "Brahms and the Variation Canon," *19th-Century Music*, 14 (1990): 144. Also, Burkholder, *History*, p. 734.

112. J. Peter Burkholder, "Brahms and Twentieth-Century Classical Music," *19th-Century Music*, 8 (1984): 75, 76.

113. Burkholder, p. 80.

114. Burkholder, pp. 76, 78.

115. Walter Frisch, "Brahms, Developing Variation, and the Schoenberg Critical Tradition," *19th-Century Music*, 5 (1982): 225.

116. Frisch, p. 216.

117. Frisch, pp. 215, 216.

118. Frisch, p. 218.

119. Frisch, p. 220.

120. Sisman, pp. 136, 132.

121. Brahms is quoted in Sisman, p. 134.

122. Sisman, p. 132.

123. Sisman, p. 140.

124. Frisch, p. 217.

125. Smith, p. 252.

126. Horowitz, p. 434.

127. Horowitz, pp. 435, 459. When asked if he had any "group feeling" with other Bohemians in the "Paris of the twenties," Hemingway said "no. . . . We had respect for each other" (Plimpton, p. 116). Part of that "respect" may have been a distant admiration for like-minded artists. Another "conscious Modernist, aligned with writers and painters insistent upon the new," was Aaron Copland (Horowitz, p. 434). Living also in the city of lights in the 1920s, Paris meant "Boulanger and Stravinsky" to him, both of whom belonged to the neoclassical movement (Horowitz, p. 440). The term *neoclassicism* is often applied to Boulanger's teachings and the works of Stravinsky. It generally applies to twentieth-century music that is characterized by features of the seventeenth and eighteenth century styles. It also "represents a general reaction against the unrestrained emotionalism of late romanticism. Particularly distinct is the influence of Bach, which makes itself felt in an emphasis on contrapuntal texture." (See *Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music*, s. v. "neoclassicism"). For this last reason alone, Hemingway may have found interest in some of Copland's work, for evidence shows the writer admired the neoclassicist Stravinsky. From forthcoming volumes of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, Robert Trogdon cites an inscription on a postcard: "To Igor Stravinsky | from his great admirer who hopes to meet him | Ernest Hemingway." Trogdon gives the date as

March of 1937. Unfortunately, the editors are unsure if the missive "even went" to the composer. (Robert Trogdon, e-mail message to the author, August 20, 2010.) There are no other missives that suggest the author was friendly toward or even well acquainted with Copland, but using Hemingway's 1924 statement in the *transatlantic review* as a guide, there are probably several of his artistic inclinations that were never articulated.

Regardless of familiarity, Hemingway and Copland share similar professional trajectories as a result of their courting a wider audience. Like Hemingway, Copland was criticized later in his career for what critics took to be a lack of creative reach. Reflecting on his work in the first half of his life, he said in 1951 that some of them assumed he "consciously abandoned my earlier dissonant manner in order to popularize my style—and this notion is applauded enthusiastically; while those of a different persuasion are convinced that only my so-called 'severe' style is really serious." See Aaron Copland, in Weiss and Taruskin, *Music in the Western World*, p. 494. Reprinted from *Music and the Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952). Although the thirties brought creative maturity for these two artists, their critics hardly recognized as much, wanting more of the obvious experimental phase the twenties encouraged. Hemingway received praise with the publication of the avant-

garde *In Our Time* (1925), but by the time *Winner Take Nothing* came out eight years later, critical reception had cooled to his prose style.

128. Harold Schonberg, *The Great Pianists*, rev. ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987): p. 141.

129. Horowitz, p. 330.

130. Julian Haylock, *Sergei Rachmaninov: An Essential Guide to His Life and Works* (London: Pavilion, 1996): p. 75.

131. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Grace Hall Hemingway, January 10, 1921], in Spanier, *Letters*, pp. 263–65.

132. Schonberg, p. 331.

133. Justice, "Music at the Finca," p. 103. Justice lists the latter title this way: [*Song?*], indicating that the album cover wear inhibited any clear understanding of its contents. Justice notes that it is "probably *Song Without Words*, possibly one of the two *liebeslieder*" (104).

134. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Maurice Speiser, March 20, 1935], *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, ed. Sandra Spanier, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

Information provided by Robert Trogdon, e-mail message to the author, August 20, 2010.

135. Justice, "Music at the Finca," p. 107.

136. Justice, "Music at the Finca," p. 99. Brahms, like Hemingway, understood how to master his style without

sacrificing his audience. Innovation did not come at the cost of accessibility, which is one boon of the iceberg theory. Similar to another of Hemingway's favorites, Mozart, "Brahms invested his music not only with hidden beauties for the connoisseur, but also with a strikingly beautiful and emotionally appealing surface containing enough familiar features to orient the untutored listener," as Burkholder points out ("Brahms," p. 81). As much as Brahms figures in Hemingway's audio collection, Mozart is also presented fairly well. Hemingway owned the first biography of Mozart written and published in America, Marcia Davenport's *Mozart*. Brasch and Sigman list the book twice in their compilation (93). It was published by Scribners in two editions, first in 1932 and later in 1956. Hemingway placed his 1932 copy in the pool house and garage apartment at his house in Key West, the same place where he kept Edward Dickinson's *Music in the History of the Western Church*. The fact that he owned both editions signals his life-long appreciation of the composer and suggests the importance of the musical influences he lists during his interview with George Plimpton (118).

137. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to James Gamble, December 12, 1923], in Baker, *Selected Letters*, p. 106.

138. Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1964): p. 197.

139. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to James Gamble, December 12, 1923], in Baker, *Selected Letters*, p. 106.

140. Sisman, p.132. Incidentally, whether Haydn actually composed the St. Anthony Chorale is a topic of hot debate among musicologists recently, but in Brahms's time, the Classical composer was unequivocally credited with writing the piece.

141. H. R. Stoneback, "On Bobsledding, Lugeing, Skiing, Tobogganining, Skis Leaning Against Alpine Inn Walls, Frozen Carcasses, Death, Glory, and Transcendence: Winter Sport in Hemingway's Journalism and Fiction," *Aethlon: The Journal of Sport Literature*, 11 (1994): 119.

142. Stoneback, p. 122.

143. Ernest Hemingway, "Swiss Avalanches," *Dateline: Toronto*, p. 455.

144. Frisch, p. 230.

145. For discussion of Wheeler's purported homosexuality, please see Nakjavani, p. 276, Smith, p. 255, and Reynolds, p. 260.

146. Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms*, p. 327. The tone of the excised portion of the manuscript is decidedly more desperate than that in the published version, suggesting one reason why Hemingway removed it. It seems too closely linked to the topic of suicide, an idea reserved for Part III. See Ernest Hemingway, [Typescript of "Homage to Switzerland"], Ernest

Hemingway Collection, John F. Kennedy Library, Folder 477, p.

18.

147. Please see Davison, p. 75. Davison's argument, though it mentions the flirtation between Harris and his server, really concentrates on the allusive fun Hemingway is having with Fitzgerald at the latter's expense. This meta-fictional sport provides yet another perspective of the games in play.

148. Kirk Curnutt suggested the inherent tension in this image of motion and stasis in his plenary talk, "Literature, Travel, and Switzerland," at the 14th Biennial International Hemingway conference in Lausanne, Switzerland on June 28, 2010.

149. Ernest Hemingway, "Cross Country Snow," in *Stories*, p. 143. Nick describes skiing this way. The action plucks his "mind out," not his heart. This feeling resonates of Nick's realization later on in "Big Two-Hearted River" that he "left everything behind, the need for thinking, the need to write, other needs. It was all back of him" (*Stories* 164). Cognitive function seems to interrupt the deepest kind of emotional meditation in Hemingway's fiction, the same type of spiritual stability one needs to ski well or live well, for that matter, with grace under pressure.

150. Although the epigraph does not appear in the Finca Vigía edition of the *Short Stories*, it did appear in *Winner Take Nothing* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933).

CHAPTER 4

Swan Song: Franz Schubert's Heine Lieder and
F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night*

The work of F. Scott Fitzgerald held immense cultural relevance to the period in which he wrote. He defined the tropes of a generation with the titles of his first two short story collections, *Flappers and Philosophers* (1920) and *Tales of the Jazz Age* (1922). Subsequently, his ubiquitous reputation as what William Soskin termed "America's patron saint of the jazz age" almost precludes bringing any other musical influence to a critical consideration of his writing.¹ Fitzgerald relied heavily on contemporary songs as a correlate to emotion in his fiction, but his literary treatment of them and the debauchery they represented took a decisive turn in the latter part of his career. By the 1930s, he "was casting a jaundiced eye on the public's mania for silly popular lyrics." In *Tender is the Night* (1934), he mocks jazz by having a "fair-haired young Scotsman" lead "The Ragtime College Jazzes of Edinboro," a "pretentiously" named ensemble as Ruth Prigozy puts it.² Despite Fitzgerald's

close association with the era, the more youthful trends of it may not have provided as much inspiration as typically assumed.

Jazz was part of the zeitgeist, to be sure, but that does not mean he appropriated elements of it in his writing. A better case can be made for the importance of Romantic music. His enthusiasm for it is indicated by his personal library, along with that of his lover, Sheilah Graham, even though no direct record of his listening preferences or audio collection exists. Fitzgerald and Graham possessed several books on the topic and on a major poetic muse for Franz Schubert's *Schwanengesang* cycle (1828-29), Heinrich Heine. The Heine texts Schubert used all come from the German poet's *Book of Songs*, which Fitzgerald also owned. *Tender is the Night* contains a potent reference to compositions of the nineteenth-century composer, one that undergirds the thematic trajectory of the novel.

Subtitled "A Romance," Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night* was first published as four installments in *Scribner's* magazine and then as a book in April of 1934.³ Similar to his earlier work, including *The Great Gatsby*, trendy tunes figure prominently in *Tender* although they are juxtaposed with a more nostalgic idiom. Providing the alternative to "Tea for Two" and "Silver Dollar," for example, Dick Diver plays Schubert on the piano. He also spends a year in Vienna, Schubert's native city and the birthplace of the new, expressive harmonies that characterized

the nineteenth century. Though the Schubert reference is small in comparison to the marked punctuation by more contemporary melodies, it helps clarify Dick's inevitable decline. Dick confesses to being an "old romantic," which, according to Fitzgerald, means he has a "desperate confidence" that things will not last, as opposed to a sentimentalist, who thinks they will (58).⁴ Similarly, the trope of the doomed artist, especially one who perishes young, characterized John Keats, to whom Fitzgerald alludes with the title *Tender is the Night*. It also extends to Franz Schubert, Keats's musical contemporary who died at thirty one. Finally, the notion applies to Dick Diver who, though he is alive at the conclusion, falls very far from the grace and beauty that define his glamorous existence at the beginning of it. The Schubert pieces he performs near the end of his fantastic descent are most likely from the Heine Lieder, part of the Swan Song cycle Schubert composed just before his death, and the texts of which correspond to some of the short stories Fitzgerald worked on and drew from in *Tender*, his last completed novel.

Contemporary reviews of *Tender is the Night* contained numerous musical adjectives and references. This fact most likely stems from the aural richness of Fitzgerald's lyrical style that impressed many of his critics. Michael March wrote that "the prose is beautiful, full of subtle color and sound."⁵

Fanny Butcher said *Tender* was "a drama which promises to be a major opus."⁶ Comparing it to Fitzgerald's previous books, J. Donald Adams described it as "a more ambitious performance."⁷ Using an oblique artistic reference, Gertrude Diamont compared Dick Diver, the protagonist in *Tender*, to a sort of "benevolent Svengali."⁸ Gordon Lewis's review illustrated the pervasive association of Fitzgerald with the Jazz Age: Fitzgerald "had nevertheless retained an intent ear for the incessant, rising beat of the nervous, cacophonous life of the American scene, moving more swiftly to the new jazz tempo."⁹ Katherine Anderson praised *Tender* more highly, but her words counter Lewis's suggestion. She observed that Fitzgerald "has evidently finished his staccatic rhapsody of jazz in this long awaited novel. The composer is the same (bad boys rarely reform) but the composition is now in a more serious legato vein."¹⁰ Referring to the first part of *Tender*, Gilbert Seldes posited that "all Fitzgerald's romantic talent is expended on this overture to his dark tragedy. Bizarre, absurd, half desperate events occur."¹¹ Very unsatisfied with the structural development of the narrative, James Gray explained what Seldes emphasized as "bizarre events" by calling the "casual murders" a "symphony of violence."¹² Even to critics for whom *Tender* was not a success, it still seemed a "brilliant failure."¹³ In perhaps the most poignant review, Mabel Dodge Luhan recognized Fitzgerald as a

"modern Orpheus."¹⁴ Coupled with the obvious artistic parallel that Luhan draws, the repetitive use of terms such as "performance," "staccatic rhapsody," "legato," "overture," "composition," "composer," "symphony," and "opus" across reviews indicates that at least the critical part of Fitzgerald's reading public listened to his prose as much as they read it.¹⁵

The critical discussion connecting Fitzgerald with music usually stops at the Jazz Age, viewing him merely as the chronicler of a fashionable era; this belief tends to abbreviate the artistic seriousness assigned to his works. Emblematic of this truncated perspective is Jed Rasula's implication that Fitzgerald's fiction was nothing more than "popular," suggesting stale convention. Rasula remarks that at the time "American magazines like *Soil* and *Broom* . . . [were] promoting jazz as literary propeller for the vanguard." He then questions how "popular writers" such as Fitzgerald could "resist the injection of period flavor into their otherwise old-fashioned moralizing tales?"¹⁶ Fitzgerald, however, "never wanted to be an avant-garde writer," as Matthew Bruccoli cogently points out.¹⁷ Contrary to Rasula's condescending point that "Fitzgerald is not so much prescient as in step with his generation," he exhibited in his prose a hypersensitivity to musical trends throughout his professional life, perhaps more than any of his contemporaries.¹⁸ By doing so, he showed his knack for articulating the tenor of

his time thereby becoming a spokesman for it. As for jazz, he explained that the word "in its progress toward respectability has meant first sex, then dancing, then music." Associating it "with a state of nervous stimulation" in his 1931 essay "Echoes of the Jazz Age," his comments augment the fact that its rise in the 1920s resulted from "an unbridled spirit that seemed to mock earlier social and . . . [artistic] proprieties."¹⁹ Fitzgerald's definition of it suggests that its energy captured his attention, as it did for so many Americans.

Jazz moved at an energetic pace and was quintessentially defined by rhythm since it evolved from ragtime and marching bands. The latter were partly responsible for the trajectory of both classical and popular music before the turn of the century. In 1889, *Harper's Weekly* "estimated that more than ten thousand 'military' bands were active in the United States; their renditions of classical works, from Mozart to Wagner, were the first many Americans heard."²⁰ From these ensembles stemmed Ragtime, "a style popular from the 1890s through the 1910s," featuring broken "rhythm against a regular, marchlike bass."²¹ Syncopation, the "momentary contradiction" of anticipated meter in strong and weak beats, largely defined the trend.²² More simply put, accents were "not directly on a main" stress.²³ Achieving syncopation by manipulating rhythm was commonly

referred to as *ragging*. The works that evolved from this style gave way to jazz in the 1910s.

The manner of performance came to distinguish the two major trends. Jazz players "extemporized arrangements" whereas rag musicians were more faithful to notation.²⁴ Unlike the written repertoire of ragtime, jazz flourished by improvising on an extant composition. As it became more popular, the important thing was not *what* was played, but *how*. Jazz was something a performer, or several, *did* to a song. Because audiences "liked ragtime so much," jazz artists "adapted repertory from many sources," sometimes "ragging otherwise unsyncopated pieces," as Mark Gridley explains.²⁵ Thus, the interpretation of a given theme became paramount to its orchestration. The fixed monumentality of large scale classical pieces such as the symphony was antithetical to the fluid nature of jazz. In its boundless permutations, it would represent unfettered opportunity and the boom of the 1920s.

The extemporaneous nature of jazz mimicked a 1920s vernacular. Gilbert Seldes wrote in 1924 that the musical style "is our current mode of expression, has reference to our time and the way we think and talk."²⁶ Commenting further on its ubiquitous appeal, Marshall McLuhan explains it through etymology when he says that the word itself "comes from the French *jaser*, to chatter," and he notes that it is "a form of

dialogue among instrumentalists and dancers alike."²⁷ Calling it a kind of "conversation," McLuhan suggests that its greatest attraction lies in its performance. He cites a "truism among" players that listening to a recording instead of witnessing a live rendition is "as stale as yesterday's newspaper."²⁸ Indeed, its appeal lay in its urgent relevance to the present.

This relevance aligns with Fitzgerald's work, especially in his fictive creations of a popular milieu. The title *Tales of the Jazz Age*, for example, bears immediately on the era the collection claims to document. In this way, the cultural tropes associated with jazz influenced his writing, but the mechanics of it could not, perhaps leading Brucoli to assert that Fitzgerald "knew almost nothing about" it.²⁹ To appropriate a small-scale composition, such as many of those in the popular repertoire, with a view to creating a large-scale work, such as a novel, would require an extensive background in harmony. Making the former fit the latter would be a herculean feat demanding a good deal of specialized knowledge. Even George Gershwin had to consult conventional forms and a more classical tradition to compose his *Concerto in F*, just as several other early twentieth-century composers turned to older paradigms for structural guidance.³⁰ Fitzgerald neither possessed nor claimed such erudition in music theory. Moreover, lyricism, not rhythm, defines the majority of his oeuvre, especially *Tender is the*

Night. The book contains long passages of extra-diegetic commentary and stream-of-consciousness meditation. Because *Tender* does not possess more dialogue, the pace never progresses very quickly. The narrative does not move with the energy of jazz. Instead of motivic variation, *Tender is the Night* depends on lyrical modulation, on a fuller development of longer melodies.³¹ As such, it is difficult to view his style as indebted to jazz, which is largely defined by syncopation and improvisation of smaller melodic units. Instead, the art of song held more sway with the author who, before achieving success with fiction, wrote lyrics for the Triangle club at Princeton.

As a writer, Fitzgerald drew partly from the great lyricists of his day, George Gershwin, Irving Berlin, and Jerome Kern. The frequent punctuation by "contemporary" songs helped create the cultural cachet of his work, but Fitzgerald mocked the "adulation" of them and jazz as early as 1920 in his story "May Day" and continuing through *The Great Gatsby* (1925), as Ruth Prigozy points out.³² She gives an exhaustive catalogue of the recordings he used in his fiction. Her essay "'Poor Butterfly': F. Scott Fitzgerald and Popular Music" highlights his "debt to popular culture" and explores the "meticulous care" with which he used it to evaluate its impact on "the American scene."³³ She specifically points out that *Tender is the Night* relies emphatically on current tunes "as an analogue for a

character's mood" and that they forge the "strongest tie between" Dick and Nicole "in their courtship."³⁴ Prigozy's inventory leads to thorough commentary on Fitzgerald's unique and extensive acquaintance with the best of Gershwin, Berlin, and others. Arguing that Fitzgerald mocks the "nation's frenzied adoration of jazz" as much as he uses it for fictional fodder, she also explores the ways in which current melodies played the rehearsed and careful accompaniment to elements of plot, theme, and character throughout the vast expanse of his oeuvre.³⁵

Different from Prigozy's argument, T. Austin Graham addresses what he calls Fitzgerald's use of "the literary soundtrack." He distinguishes his critical inquiry from Prigozy's by saying that she "treats music in almost exclusively linguistic terms and not as what it in fact is, a sonic art that unfolds in time."³⁶ Although he deals mostly with *The Great Gatsby* (1925) and *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922) in "The Literary Soundtrack: Or, F. Scott Fitzgerald's Heard and Unheard Melodies," he argues that Fitzgerald "seems to have deployed songs not just to heighten the reading act for his contemporary audiences but also to veil his novels with a certain, mysterious liminality, at once inviting readers to hear something familiar in his scenes but also underscoring the difficulty of grasping their musical meaning."³⁷ There are several problems with Graham's argument, however seductive it appears in articulating

Fitzgerald's debt to the popular repertoire. Even though he identifies Fitzgerald's generation as the first "to grow up with sound recording technology," he mistakes the "many attendant consequences" of it as "everyday realities." For example, he cites the

widespread availability of music as a commodity, the opportunity to listen to one's favorite song at any time and in any place, the rapid expansion of the entertainment industry, the preponderance of musical fads, and the increasing importance of music as a facet of personal identity, particularly among the young.³⁸

"Sound recording technology" was not the only means of creating this cultural relationship, and Fitzgerald and his peers were not the first to experience these "everyday realities."

Sound recording technology may have encouraged a change in modes of audience appreciation, from performance to recording, but it did not create it, for the listening trends that were already in place before 1900 continued in much the same way after the war. The major difference was the shift from private to public consumption. The nineteenth century saw an explosion in sheet music production and virtuoso concerts; both contributed to an unprecedented commodification, created "fads," and resulted in ubiquitous accessibility to what was then

considered "popular": *Haussmusik*, or "amateur music-making in the home." It was so pervasive in the 1800s that musicologist Joseph Horowitz describes it as "a twentieth-century casualty" of new media, of "social and demographic change."³⁹ The radio "caught on quickly; by 1924 there were over 1,400 . . . stations around North America, and during the 1920s national broadcasting systems were developed in all the major European nations."⁴⁰ By 1939, "eighty-eight percent of all American homes were said to possess one of twenty-five million radios; destitute families valued . . . [them] over refrigerators, furniture, and bedding." The "cultural flagships" of the airwaves "included the New York Philharmonic, Metropolitan Opera, and NBC Symphony on Saturdays, and the *Ford Hour* on Sundays."⁴¹ Radio had developed a distinct medium for the majority of people to enjoy a variety of music.

After its decline in the home around the turn of the century, music was disseminated by other means in addition to technology. Live performance was tantamount to it, evidenced by the increasing popularity of "the concert ticket. According to one 1939 survey," the number of philharmonics in the United States "increased from seventeen before World War I to 270; other surveys arrived at even higher totals."⁴² Symphonies with charismatic leaders fared well. Eclipsing even the great composers in some cases, conductors became "sacralized," as Horowitz puts it.⁴³ By 1939, *Life* magazine reports "as many

Americans know that Toscanini conducts an orchestra as know that Joe DiMaggio plays center field."⁴⁴ The Italian maestro became "New York's most famous classical musician of the interwar decades. . . . He was dedicated" to an older and European body of work.⁴⁵ To an unprecedented degree, he "recycled canonized masterworks. Forty percent of his . . . repertoire comprised" pieces by Beethoven, Brahms, and Wagner.⁴⁶

The high demand for Toscanini's skill as a conductor corroborates the fact that people ventured out to hear their favorite pieces, as does the decline in Hausmusik. By the time Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* was published, piano manufacturing had decreased from "364,545 instruments in 1909" to "306,584 in 1925 (during the sixteen year period the population grew by 22 percent)."⁴⁷ Horowitz claims the "signature ingredients of classical music after World War I" were indebted to this "new audience and the culture of performance."⁴⁸ However, jazz skewed the mode of consumption even further because it challenged people's expectations "with its separate roles for performer, composer, and audience."⁴⁹ The success of jazz was not mutually exclusive with the decline of other styles, however. Some of the listening public frequented speakeasies, but many more of them visited the concert halls, including Fitzgerald who, later in his life, liked to go to the Hollywood Bowl.⁵⁰

Fitzgerald's connection to a classical repertoire outside of jazz seems incongruous with his reputation as a fan of flappers and "wood alcohol," but his biography suggests his extraordinary penchant for the more traditional art, a tendency that he nurtured from his earliest days at Princeton through the tutelage of his lover Sheilah Graham at the end of his life.⁵¹ She was a relatively uneducated British journalist writing a syndicated Hollywood column for the North American Newspaper Alliance in 1937 when she met Fitzgerald. Impressed with her efforts to rise above her upbringing in an East End London orphanage, Fitzgerald "volunteered to take over her education."⁵² The "Master Plan" for what came to be known between them as the College of One "would embody Scott Fitzgerald's ideas on what should be taught."⁵³ Among the topics he considered requisite for a writer was Romantic music.

As an author, Fitzgerald took great care with the way his prose sounded. Claiming that his "stock-in-trade was his control over tonal effects," Brucoli maintains that Fitzgerald's revisions of *Tender is the Night*, for example, were largely reliant "on his ear."⁵⁴ His secretary from 1939 until his death, Frances Kroll, writes in her memoir, *Against the Current* (1985), that he "would ask me to read a page he had written out loud so he could listen to it for cadence. How it sounded was as important as the sight of the words on paper, as if a blind

person had to hear it and a deaf one to read it'."⁵⁵ Fitzgerald the vigilant craftsman often stands in opposition to Fitzgerald the drunken wasted genius. Brucoli posits after reviewing the manuscripts of *Tender is the Night* that "either Fitzgerald was the playboy of American literature who squandered a remarkable talent while accidentally producing a superb novel or two—or he was a serious writer whose private life was irregular. We cannot have it both ways."⁵⁶ To take him as "a serious writer" means evaluating his source material with diligence and care. One probable and viable influence was the lyricism of Romantic music, for studying its masters would help Fitzgerald achieve a similar effect in his fiction.

Unlike the body of scholarship regarding the musical tastes of some of his contemporaries, very little is known about Fitzgerald's preferences. Ernest Hemingway's audio collection at the Finca Vigia has been documented by scholars, and Willa Cather's reviews of symphonic and operatic performances fill volumes. The only extant record of what Fitzgerald may have listened to consists as part of the College of One. However, the circumstances of his childhood situate him in extremely close proximity to some of the most exciting changes in the arts in America, revealing cultural trends that surrounded the young boy.

Born in 1896, Fitzgerald grew up in St. Paul, Minnesota and Buffalo, New York. The family moved to Buffalo in April of 1898. They left in January of 1901 for Syracuse but returned to Buffalo in 1903 for five years. In 1908, Edward Fitzgerald moved his family back to St. Paul, a city that hosted Theodore Thomas, one of the best conductors in the United States at the time, and his Chicago Symphony during the 1890s.⁵⁷ The dozen years or so that the family traveled across the upper Midwest were some of the most artistically exciting for that region. One racial tradition was especially strong since "the first cultural stirrings . . . were instigated by Germans" in many cities.⁵⁸ Choirs and singing groups largely marked their immigration pattern. What Horowitz calls "the founders of American classical music had included Germanic amateurs and professionals who met as *Singvereine* and Philharmonic societies."⁵⁹ Buffalo, for example, hosted a festival of the North American Saengerbund in 1901 in which 105 singing societies participated with 2600 voices. This was not a singular example. In the mid-nineteenth century, Baltimore hosted a Saengerfest, which was reported in the *Baltimore Sun* and drew 1000 vocalists and 150 instrumentalists.⁶⁰ The steady influx of musicians after the 1848 revolutions in Germany continued to augment the musical scene until World War I, when fear of this ethnic group set in and a large shift in the demographic of orchestras took place.

Extensive musical growth in the Midwest during the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century ultimately produced an industry that would rival that in Boston and New York. The Chicago World's Fair in 1893 was one impetus; Thomas and his Chicago Symphony, which he founded in 1891, were mainstay attractions.⁶¹ Thomas's group "catalyzed plans" for a similar philharmonic in Cincinnati.⁶² The "substantial German community" there had already "established a formidable choral tradition."⁶³ Following the lead of Chicago and Cincinnati, "Pittsburgh obtained a consequential . . . [ensemble] in 1898, under Victor Herbert. The orchestras of Philadelphia and Minneapolis followed in 1900 and 1903. The St. Louis symphony, after tentative beginnings in 1880, was newly organized in 1907. This remarkable proliferation was unparalleled abroad."⁶⁴ Upon Theodore Thomas's death in 1905, the Chicago Symphony was "entrusted" to his thirty-three-year-old German-born assistant, Frederick Stock. Under him, it "seldom visited the Northeast. Its broadcasts and recordings were primarily of local interest."⁶⁵ The Midwest finally came into its own artistically and could compete with cities on the Eastern coast.

That Fitzgerald developed a musical palate colored by a German-Romantic aesthetic is natural after his early life in the Midwest. However, like Jay Gatsby, the draw for him was to go East. Having attended the Newman school in Hackensack, New

Jersey, he became enamored with New York City and the arts.⁶⁶ He entered Princeton in September of 1913. As a freshman, Fitzgerald's "seventeen song lyrics were impressive work." Moreover, he won the competition for "the 1914-1915 Triangle Club show" at Princeton with his words for the production *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!*⁶⁷ After its premiere and subsequent 3,500-mile tour, Fitzgerald's work garnered attention in the *Baltimore Sun* when it claimed that the author could "take his place right now with the brightest writers of witty lyrics in America."⁶⁸ He ultimately chose not to pursue this particular professional route, and in a 1939 letter to his daughter, Scottie, he justified not going "along with that gang" of musical comedy writers as a younger man because he was a "moralist at heart" and wanted to preach at people in "some acceptable form rather than entertain them."⁶⁹ The amusement value of popular tunes wore very thin compared to the high artistic standards he had established for himself. Helping him set the bar for his talent was his friend Edmund Wilson.

It was at Princeton that Fitzgerald met his classmate Wilson, who would later become an influential literary critic and scholar. The two maintained a life-long friendship. More than twenty years later, Fitzgerald acknowledged in "The Crack-Up" (1936) the one man who had been his "intellectual conscience. That was Edmund Wilson."⁷⁰ His seminal critical work,

Axel's Castle (1931), was a staple of Fitzgerald's tutelage of Sheilah Graham. When studying Fitzgerald's copy of it, she "memorized" a line he highlighted, that "one of the principal aims of symbolism was to approximate the indefiniteness of music."⁷¹ Fitzgerald's pencil markings actually underline only the following words: "And to approximate the indefiniteness of music was to become one of the principal aims of Symbolism." Nothing else in his copy of *Axel's Castle* is stressed.⁷² His notes at the back of another of her assigned books also highlighted the Symbolists and captured Graham's attention. He "penciled: Poe influenced Baudelaire, influenced Rimbaud, influenced Lafargue, influenced Eliot."⁷³ Wilson discusses the indisputable trajectory from Edgar Allan Poe to these particular poets.

More than his influence on the Symbolist poets, Poe's work was an almost indefatigable muse for composers. May Garretson Evans has catalogued the long list, "no fewer than 252," of compositions that have grown out of Poe's writings. She claims that "it is unusual for a single writer to be so largely represented in music by both his verse and his prose."⁷⁴ Claude Debussy, for example, was working on two different operas "based on Poe themes" when he died in 1918.⁷⁵ This was in addition to the already extant Debussy pieces that drew from Poe's texts. The ways in which his work anticipated musical and literary

trends was no secret to anyone who patronized the arts during the fin-de-siècle and early twentieth century.

Poe's connection to the late Romantics like Debussy signals one way in which Fitzgerald may have possessed the superior degree of musical knowledge that Sheilah claimed for him.⁷⁶ A life-long interest in Poe's work began for Fitzgerald when he was quite young. Brucoli notes that he "acquired his first taste for poetry from his father, who read Poe and Byron to him."⁷⁷ Sheilah confirms this fact when she remembers that "Scott's father had introduced him to Poe's poetry when he was a small boy."⁷⁸ To an adult Fitzgerald, the inspiration that several composers drew from the Baltimore bard could represent the ongoing conversation between literature and music in which he expressed interest, namely, in his development of the College of One curriculum. The interdisciplinary dialogue appealed also to a wider audience in the 1910s and 1920s since several critics began writing tutorials on the art of listening meant to guide the untutored ear.

Fitzgerald's publisher, Scribners, worked with some of the most famous cultural critics of his day. Their best-selling pedagogical approaches to music appealed to readers in a way similar to the popular travel guides of the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. The vast interiority of sound can be a difficult place to navigate, especially for the uneducated

listener. Compendiums that aided this process complemented the expanding consumer base for the performance trend that increased after the war. Scribners recognized this fad early on, however, and in 1896 produced *How to Listen to Music: Hints and Suggestions to Untaught Lovers of the Art* by Henry Edward Krehbiel. A renowned critical voice, Krehbiel's work was in high demand. *How to Listen* went through thirty-two printings by 1924, ten years before *Tender is the Night*. Along with Krehbiel, W. J. Henderson wrote his own tutorial in 1898. Published by Scribners, *What is Good Music? Suggestions to Persons Desiring to Cultivate a Taste in Musical Art* provides straightforward ways to understand sonata form, for example, and based on comprehension, to appreciate it.⁷⁹

Fitzgerald wrote to Charles Scribner in 1922 suggesting specific titles for something akin to the Modern Library editions put out by Boni and Liveright. Aside from some eighteen works of fiction, he posited the "possibilities of such non-fiction as . . . a volume of Huneker."⁸⁰ James Gibbons Huneker, dubbed "New York's prophet of Modernism" by Horowitz, stopped just short of becoming a "concert pianist" and, instead, wrote criticism on a range of subjects.⁸¹ Fitzgerald's insistence on the importance of a musical education, especially for a writer, is evident in his design of Sheilah Graham's College of One. It is also clear in a 1939 telegram to his daughter who, like

Graham, became a journalist. Encouraging her registration at Vassar College, he tells her to "REMEMBER HARMONY MORE PRACTICAL THAN MUSIC HISTORY."⁸² More than understanding a basic trajectory of the art, Fitzgerald's missive suggests his respect for the theoretical laws that governed it despite a lack of evidence that he understood them. His guidance could therefore reflect his own intellectual gaps.

Fitzgerald outlined the insecurities surrounding his education in a memo to Scottie, highlighting particular areas in which he was sorely lacking. He titled it "How Would I grade my Knowledge at 40." Giving himself a "B+ in literature and attendant arts," he expresses similar comfort in history and biography with a B+. However, the grades start to descend when he assigns a "B- in philosophy, and C in psychiatry, D+ in military tactics and strategy, D in languages, D in architecture, D in art, and D in Marxian economics." He grouped remaining subjects together, including "all science, natural history, music, politics, business, handicrafts, ect.," and claimed he was "way below educated average" in them, "save for some specialized knowledge" in "boxing, football, women."⁸³ Graham counters this self-effacing account in her memoir *College of One* when she refers to this particular "evaluation of his scholastic standing." She points out that "he had been almost as harsh on himself as his critics. . . . Today there is less

skepticism of Scott's wide range of intellectual interests." In particular, Graham easily remembers that "his knowledge of serious music was much greater than mine."⁸⁴ In an attempt to reconcile with his lack of erudition in that area, he proposed to teach it to her.

Fitzgerald's appreciation for Romantic music shows in his tutelage of Graham. She remembers that in order to provide the best possible outline for this section of her course "he turned to his newly acquired secretary, Frances Kroll. . . . Her brother, Nathan Kroll, conducted a symphony orchestra, and he decided which of the great composers I should study."⁸⁵ As a complement to her artistic studies, Bruccoli reports that the two "attended concerts at the Hollywood Bowl and visited museums."⁸⁶ As for her homework, Fitzgerald was very specific. She needed to listen to the records enough to remember the signature themes. Remembering that they consisted of only a part of her instruction, she wrote that with them

I read *From Bach to Stravinsky; The History of Music by Its Foremost Critics*, edited by David Ewen, and a *Music Lovers' Encyclopedia* edited by Deems Taylor and Russell Kerr and compiled by Rupert Hughes. The *Encyclopedia* contained brief facts about all the composers and all the known musical instruments. In addition, I was instructed by Scott to look up the

composers in the large one-volume *Columbia Encyclopedia* he had bought me.⁸⁷

As an accompaniment to some of the albums he gave her, Fitzgerald provided his own annotations, signaling his eager interest, or perhaps a latent knowledge, in the subject he took upon himself to teach her.

One set of listening notes, simply titled "HAYDN," illustrates his enthusiasm for understanding the historical context that helped produce great works of the eighteenth-century maestro. Fitzgerald writes that in "the Farewell Symphony—each one lights a candle and goes out until only one is left."⁸⁸ He was correct in his recollection of the impetus behind Joseph Haydn's most individual, important, "and artistically successful" symphony of those written in the 1770s.⁸⁹ No. 45 in F# minor "stands as evidence of the way Haydn chose to make a point with his patron," Prince Nikolaus Esterházy. Haydn wanted to convince the Prince to let the musicians go home since they had been separated from their wives for months. In the middle "of the most passionate music, one voice ends; the player silently closes his part, takes his instrument, puts out the lights, and goes off." This sequence continues until no one remains. The Prince conceded and released the men the next day.⁹⁰ Fitzgerald provided a similarly accurate note on Haydn's Symphony No. 94 in G when he warns that "the big chord in 2nd

movement after the pastoral goes off like 21 guns."⁹¹ This startling effect lends the composition its subtitle, "The Surprise."⁹² Although he lacked knowledge of specific terms that would have made discussion more pointed, he was able to discern particular devices used and the effects they achieved.

Fitzgerald's comments suggest his interest in a kind of musical narratology, the way in which an art form other than his own could tell stories. Haydn's compositions provide satisfying material for such pursuits, but he was only one of several representative composers Fitzgerald included in Sheilah's curriculum.

Along with Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart represented the Classical era in Graham's course. Her list also included Frédéric François Chopin, Claude Debussy, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, Carl Maria von Weber, Franz Peter Schubert, Felix Mendelssohn, Maurice Ravel, Igor Stravinsky, Sergei Prokofiev, Ludwig van Beethoven, Johann Sebastian Bach, George Frideric Handel, Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt, Modest Mussorgsky, Peter Tchaikovsky, Robert Schumann, César Franck, Jean Sibelius, Johannes Brahms, Giuseppe Verdi, Charles-François Gounod, Richard Strauss, Antonín Dvořák, and Edvard Grieg.⁹³ With the exception of Bach and Handel, who represented the Baroque, and Stravinsky and Prokofiev, who signaled the early twentieth-century style, the remaining composers all belong to the

nineteenth century. Despite Graham's comment that Fitzgerald had consulted Nathan Kroll for help in putting together this list, the selection includes works that Fitzgerald had alluded to or referenced in his writing before meeting Kroll, specifically in *Tender is the Night* and the cluster of stories out of which it grew.

An integral part of the composition of *Tender*, a group of stories from the late 1920s and early 1930s contain thematic material that overlaps with the novel. Two of them in particular, "Jacob's Ladder" (1927) and "What a Handsome Pair!" (1932), make direct reference to Romantic music. The former is about an unrequited love between a middle-aged man and a young, beautiful actress. Jacob was once a promising tenor but abandons singing when his voice fails him after a sickness. Becoming rich through real estate sales, his money grants him a distinct power. With his connections, he gives Jenny Prince, née Delehanty, a promising start in Hollywood by introducing her to his friend "Billy Farrelly, who's directing a picture on Long Island."⁹⁴ After realizing that she will undoubtedly succeed, he seeks a doctor's opinion about whether his vocal cords can ever recover. He courts reentry into the arts as a means to create an unbreakable connection with the girl. The doctor assures him that "the cords are . . . simply worn out"; there is nothing he can do. Afterwards, on the eve of what proves to be the start of

Jenny's illustrious career, Jacob listens to Beethoven's *Kreutzer Sonata* "over and over on his new phonograph, and read her meager and stilted but affectionate letters."⁹⁵ Once her fame is emboldened on the bright lights of marquees, Jacob knows he has lost her forever.⁹⁶

Like Jacob, Teddy in "What A Handsome Pair!" (1932) also loves a woman who does not return the sentiment. The man she chooses instead, Stuart Oldhorne, possesses interests much more similar to her own. When Stuart arrives at her house and the two of them announce their mutual love to Teddy, he, seated at the piano, responds by saying "I stayed to play you my congratulations."⁹⁷ Teddy is a composer, but instead of his own pieces, he prefers those from the standard repertoire, which remains foreign to both Helen and Stuart. He performs for himself and not the happy couple. Doing so helps him to "put his mind in order"; these particular compositions have a calming and collating effect. More than just a random selection, Teddy chooses a

short résumé of the history of music, beginning with some chords from The Messiah and ending with Debussy's *La Plus Que Lent* [sic], which had an evocative quality for him, because he had first heard it the day his brother died. Then, pausing for an instant, he began to play more thoughtfully, and the lovers on the sofa

could feel that they were alone—that he had left them and had no more traffic with them—and Helen's discomfort lessened. But the flight, the elusiveness of the music, piqued her, gave her a feeling of annoyance. If Teddy had played the current sentimental song from *Erminie*, and had played it with feeling, she would have understood and been moved, but he was plunging her suddenly into a world of mature emotions, whither her nature neither could nor wished to follow.⁹⁸

That Teddy's "résumé" cites a spectrum from George Frideric Handel's *Messiah* (1741) to Claude Debussy's *La Plus Que Lente* (1910) indicates his and, therefore, Fitzgerald's basic knowledge of a general trajectory of the Western canon.⁹⁹

By choosing evocative pieces, Teddy creates a mood that is nostalgic, serene, and comforting. His selections stem from an association with the more sober inevitabilities of life since one in particular reminds him of the "day his brother died." Moreover, Teddy's playing possesses a transformative capability; it makes the lovers feel "alone" as it transposes their awkward confession into amorous seclusion. Helen, however, becomes "annoyed" by this power. Juxtaposed with the qualities that soothe Teddy is the loose sentimentality of more prosaic stuff such as the "current . . . song from" *Erminie*, a very successful

comic opera that ran on Broadway for several years, starting in 1886. Helen's preference for banality precludes her from the spiritual solace that a more serious artistic idiom has to offer. She wants no access to a "world of mature emotions," underlining her romantic choice and stressing the irony in the titular exclamation. The difference between the "current" and classical repertoires establishes a contrast between a youthful and "mature" sensibilities.¹⁰⁰ This same relationship, along with the "evocative quality" of music, functions, though on a much larger scale and with greater deftness and subtlety, in *Tender is the Night*.

F. Scott Fitzgerald's fourth and last completed novel focuses largely on psychological and emotional division. The protagonist's wife, Nicole Diver, is a schizophrenic who transcends her illness through a complex means of transference whereby she gains strength as her husband, the psychiatrist Dick Diver, loses it. His moral decline is accompanied by excessive drinking and sensual, albeit brief, encounters with young women, some of them his patients. Recognizing that he had "lost himself" somewhere "between the time he found Nicole" and the moment his infatuation with a young movie star, Rosemary Hoyt, began, Dick knows he must go "away for his soul's sake" (201). Sensing Dick's accumulating weakness and somewhat cognizant of his efforts to emancipate her from his care, Nicole decides to

engage in an affair with the Divers' friend Tommy Barban. She wants not only to have a rendezvous but also to make "a change," suggesting the dual nature of her actions (291). In almost prescient fashion, Dick senses his wife's distance and prepares for exodus from their once paradisiacal home on the Riviera, Villa Diana. Pushing Nicole away from him remains the only way to extricate himself from a situation he was never truly comfortable with in the first place. Dick had always felt that his professional services, rendered under the guise of marriage, were purchased by Nicole's sister, Baby Warren, in return for a Swiss clinic run by Dick and his friend and colleague Franz Gregorovius.

Following Nicole's infidelity, Dick returns to his hometown of Buffalo, New York and continues his professional life as a doctor though he is now a general practitioner. He moves from one small town to another until he ends up in a tiny upstate place that is not even on a map. The paramount tension in the book derives from Dick's irrevocable decline and the unclear forces behind it. Dick is both victim of and agent in his own demise. His split tendencies toward helping others and trying to save himself initially resonate of Nicole's divided personality, but her emotional health only gets stronger as his deteriorates.

Duality drives the book in many ways and is made manifest in love and loss, sanity and madness, reality and illusion, to

name only a few examples. Moreover, the opening paragraphs emphasize that the novel will engage such oppositions on several levels, especially since they situate the action on the literal divide between land and sea. Book I begins "on the pleasant shore of the French Riviera" in a place that is "half way between Marseille and the Italian border" (3). The narrator continues by depicting scenes both distant and near: "merchantmen crawled westward on the horizon." More immediately, "bus boys shouted in the hotel court" (3). Close to the "hotel and its bright tan prayer rug of a beach," a road winds "along the low range of the Maures, which separates the littoral from the true Provençal France" (3). Further from the sea, a mile to be exact, "pines give way to dusty poplars," and the narrative focuses on an "isolated railway stop," itself a signifier for in-between places and liminal spaces. This station is the entry point for Rosemary Hoyt to the Divers' world, a place full of antagonism since the Divers, and particularly Dick, work very hard to conceal the tension that belies their envious exterior.

Just as the first page of *Tender* emphasizes division, so the use of music throughout stresses thematic tension. Providing the backdrop for "all three love affairs" are popular songs, as Prigozy points out, but they become closely connected to Dick's quixotic fantasies.¹⁰¹ Dick creates an associative link between his infatuation with Rosemary and "Tea for Two" in Paris when he

calls her at the hotel to ask if he can join her and imagines it as part of the background. Dick envisions that "little gusts" of the tune "wailed around her" as she "lay behind a telephone number" (94). When the Divers return to the Riviera, after Nicole's collapse in the Paris hotel, and with the knowledge that Nicole knew about his adulterous feelings "only darkly and tragically," Dick plays "Tea for Two" on their piano "by ear" (169-70). He realizes, however, that the sound of it could trigger Nicole's fuller awareness of his emotional infidelity, for she "would guess quickly at . . . [his] nostalgia for the past fortnight" that was spent in Rosemary's company. He then "broke off with a casual chord and left" the instrument. This abbreviated interlude coupled with the fact that he can "no longer play what he wanted" subtly signal to Dick the downward trajectory of his relationship with Nicole. He listens to "the buzz of the electric clock," hearing the harsh metronome of time that has started to count the remaining moments of his marriage (170-71).

The references to "Tea for Two" in the text straddle the early history of the Divers' courtship, particularly the beginning of it that takes place at a Swiss sanitarium. Their ostensibly shared interest in "popular music" highlights the "superficiality" of their young love, according to Prigozy.¹⁰² However, the affinity belongs more to Nicole who sings "Silver

Dollar" to Dick and insists on playing "So Long Letty" on her phonograph, but he tells her that he has not "heard a thing" (136). Marking her schizophrenia, he notes only that she is a "scarcely saved waif of disaster" who carries the "essence of a continent" to him with her choice of records (136). Sensing the possibility of disappointment, Nicole assures Dick that her interests go beyond "ragtime." Trying to convince him of her maturity, she explains that she practices "every day" and that she has "been taking a course in Zurich on the history of music." This enthusiasm for a more serious art, she admits, was "all that kept me going at times" (142). The strength she draws from her study resembles Teddy's in "What A Handsome Pair!" His "résumé" of compositions has a calming effect on his troubled soul in contrast to the more contemporary and sentimental song from *Erminie* that Helen likes. The difference between the two aesthetic poles is developed similarly but more fully in *Tender is the Night*. Although Nicole expresses familiarity with the most current lyrics, her passion for an older idiom, alluded to in the "history of music," provides more emotional sustenance; it keeps her "going." Dick becomes comforted by a similar preference later in the novel when more classical pieces underline his psychological conflicts.

A subtle difference is established between popular songs, which represent Dick's illusions of love, and the more evocative

classical compositions that truly mirror his emotional life. Dick hears the second movement of Sergei Prokofiev's *Love for Three Oranges* in his dream of war that opens the chapter in his new clinic on the Zugersee (179-80).¹⁰³ Proving to be as much a patient as he is doctor, he awakes and notes "half-ironic[ally]" that what he imagined must be "non-combatant's shell shock" (180). Though the fantasy began in "sombre majesty" with troops marching in "navy blue uniforms," it continues by having them cross a "dark plaza behind bands" that played the accompaniment by Prokofiev (179-80). The Russian composer's 1921 farcical opera based on a fairy tale gives rise to Dick's sense of the experience as "ironic."¹⁰⁴ That Dick has yet to awaken from his own myths is the other side of the satirical sentiment in this scene.

Another reference to a more traditional idiom highlights the emotional stasis of Dick's marriage. Immediately preceding the chapter wherein Dick hears Prokofiev in his dream, he and Nicole vacation in Gstaad where Franz figuratively sells Dick on the idea of the clinic and literally does so to Baby Warren who finances it. Implicitly agreeing to Franz's proposal, Dick admits that he and Nicole are "beginning to turn in a circle," and he recognizes the shift from the once "pastoral" simplicity of their life on the Riviera to the increasing and "unavoidable series of strains" Nicole currently experiences. Before they

leave Gstaad, Dick and Nicole "passed crisp green rinks where Wiener waltzes blared" (179). Early in their courtship, a "Strauss waltz, high and confusing" accompanies them as Dick decides whether to marry the young psychiatric patient (156). The dual mention of the waltz emphasizes the fact that their marital "strains" are "unavoidable." The predictable triple time and circular motion of the dance offers a musical correlate to the rift between Nicole and Dick by underlining repetition instead of change.¹⁰⁵

If contemporary songs highlight amorous chimeras, and the *Three Oranges* and waltzes prove to be only "half-ironic" in their suggestion of Dick's failing mythic marriage, then a more nostalgic idiom creates an association with Dick's downward moral trajectory. In an almost exact reversal of Dick's decline, Nicole ascends emotionally and understands, in her eager expectation of the affair with Tommy, that "the greatest sin now and in the future was to delude herself." She thinks that she is "almost complete" and "knowing vaguely that Dick had planned for her to" be that way, she writes Tommy a "short provocative letter." She finally sees the "dreadful door of fantasy" as "the threshold to the escape that was no escape" (289). Dick's fall has been hastened by exactly such delusions, and this contradictory course of events does not escape him who "had anticipated everything," according to Nicole's psychic acumen

(311). Before she consummates her feelings for Tommy, she and Dick engage in a final performance at their piano, which demonstrates how "empty-hearted toward each other" they have become. Dick plays both popular and traditional music, and their respective choices suggest Nicole's triumph and Dick's defeat. She suggests "some new jazz from America" that she "hummed." Her selection, "Thank Your Father," is juxtaposed with the unnamed and therefore more mysterious "Schubert songs" that Dick chooses (290).

The placement of such antithetical compositions seems neither incidental nor coincidental. The fact that Dick is an active participant in, rather than merely a spectator to, these pieces also serves a greater thematic purpose. The equivocal nature of the word "play" suggests Dick is not just a victim but also an agent of his impending demise. The sad recognition of his dissolving marriage and dissipated career contrasts Nicole's new-found confidence. The lines she sings in her "harsh, sweet contralto," particularly "Thank y' father-r," cause Dick to shutter. However, Nicole, now fortified with self assurance, admonishes Dick and refuses to go "through the rest of life flinching at the word 'father'" (290). She has transcended her adolescent sexual trauma. Conversely, Dick implicitly acknowledges his failure here by performing "some Schubert songs" on the piano (290). The Schubert reference resonates with

the concept of the doomed Romantic artist alluded to most significantly in the title of the novel, taken from John Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale," and extended through this mention of Keats's musical contemporary.

The titular significance of *Tender is the Night* points not only to Fitzgerald's abiding reverence for the English poet, but it also indirectly references the paradigmatic Romantic artist, the genius recognized too late or not at all who suffers from the "competing desires for oblivion and the immortality promised by art."¹⁰⁶ The stereotype stretches easily across the disciplines partly because the English musical tradition of the nineteenth century "was represented . . . poorly" in comparison to the predominant German one.¹⁰⁷ This may be one reason why, in a 1940 letter to his daughter, Fitzgerald referred to both Keats and Beethoven in a discussion of poetry. Trying to explain it to Scottie, he writes that it "is something that lives like fire inside you—like music to the musician. . . . *The Grecian Urn* is unbearably beautiful with every syllable as inevitable as the notes in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony or it's just something you don't understand."¹⁰⁸ If Fitzgerald "identified with the Keatsian archetype—the handsome youth acclaimed for his genius," as Brucoli maintains, then he could just as easily have associated himself with the Schubertian one.¹⁰⁹

Like John Keats (1795-1821), Franz Schubert (1797-1828) was the prototypical Romantic artist who perished young and for whom worldly recognition of his talent came only after his passing. Outside of his native Vienna, he remained "largely unknown."¹¹⁰ The causes of his premature demise at thirty-one continue to be debated since the "diagnosis is not settled," as Christopher Gibbs writes. Among possible causes are "tertiary syphilis, or complications from that condition, . . . or typhoid fever, or something else."¹¹¹ The mystery that shrouds Schubert's illness continues to make him an attractive persona; the paucity of information on him augments his allure. There are, for example, "no diaries, criticism, essays, or memoirs by Schubert" to assist scholars. Likewise, "fewer than a hundred of his letters survive, many fairly inconsequential."¹¹² Informing most of the extant verbal pictures of the composer are memoirs written by friends and family. Subsequently, many myths persist as Schubert's life and death remain something of an enigma.

The Schubert centenary celebrations in 1928 marked a huge revival of interest in the composer's life and works worldwide, and the revelry far surpassed that for Schubert's contemporary Beethoven the previous year. As early as January 8, 1928, the *New York Times* announced "Vienna to Devote a Year to Schubert." Describing the "homage to the genius of Schubert," the *Times* reported that 365 days of "an almost continuous program of the

master's works" had been planned in the Austrian capital.¹¹³

Another *New York Times* article cited "hundreds of thousands of schools, churches, libraries and art societies in over twenty-six countries" as the broad swath of centennial amusements.¹¹⁴ An "International Composer's Contest" sponsored by the Columbia Phonograph Company opened the year, followed by "outdoor singing festivals" in the summer, then "special Schubert concerts" in the fall, and the final "commemoration proper" in November.¹¹⁵ Tours were arranged for Americans to travel to Vienna and take part in or remain spectators to the festivities there.¹¹⁶ Otto H. Kahn, head of the International Advisory Body that helped guide "Schubert year," pledged "1,000" cities in the United States as participants in the November tribute surrounding the actual anniversary of his death on the nineteenth.¹¹⁷ The *Baltimore Sun* also provided consistent journalistic coverage since the city hosted several concerts, virtuosi, singing festivals, and radio shows devoted to the momentous occasion. In fact, Baltimore's flagship station, WBAL, broadcasted "the first all-Schubert program" in the country.¹¹⁸ Living just outside of Wilmington, Delaware, at "Ellerslie" in Edgemoor, Scott and Zelda were a little over seventy miles from Baltimore. If Fitzgerald was only briefly acquainted with the Schubert before 1928, chances are strong that his familiarity with the "Prince of Song" grew as a result of such ubiquitous exposure.¹¹⁹

The centenary celebrations occurred during the time Fitzgerald changed directions with *Tender is the Night*, a shift evident in the manuscripts and the stories he published shortly before and after 1928. Between his initial work on *Tender* in 1925 and the publication of it in 1934, Fitzgerald's fourth novel went through seventeen drafts and three different story lines. He spent at least the first three years doing "frustrating work" on the Melarky version, involving a young man's murder of his mother while they are on European holiday. Brucoli posits that "the superimposed matricide plot was alien" to Fitzgerald's "genius."¹²⁰ He soon abandoned it and shifted to the relatively short-lived Kelly version, centering on a young couple's trip abroad. However, "after drafting two chapters" of it, representing the fifth sketch of the novel, "in the spring and summer of 1929, Fitzgerald gave up on it."¹²¹ Some of this material ends up in "One Trip Abroad" (1930). Besides the direction he started to take in "Jacob's Ladder," the "catalytic agent in his new approach" to the book, according to Brucoli, was Zelda's illness.¹²² It gave Fitzgerald material to which he responded "deeply," and the Dick Diver narrative started to take shape after April 1930.¹²³ However, if the "new angle" of *Tender* can be attributed to "Jacob's Ladder" in 1927, as Brucoli argues, then perhaps Fitzgerald's development of Dick Diver grew from the combined influence of the Schubert commemorations and

Zelda's repeated mention of classical music that followed her nervous breakdowns.

In 1930, Zelda began her long series of hospitalizations that continued for the remainder of her life. In particular, the letters between her and Scott from 1930-1934, the period of her initial psychiatric treatments and his latter work on *Tender*, illustrate a specific enthusiasm for classical music, most likely a product of her intense passion for ballet, a frantic interest that contributed to her first breakdown. Following her release from the Prangins clinic in 1931, the couple moved back to Montgomery though Scott left shortly after for his first stint in Hollywood. Possibly suffering from delusions of grandeur, she writes in November of that year that she has "composed a Bach fueg [sic], a Chopin Nocturne and a gay bit of Schumann."¹²⁴ Her comments coincide with her renewed study of dance. She "briefly" resumed lessons with a "local" teacher whom she evidently quarreled with, claiming Amelia has "impedimented [sic] hearing." This happened after Zelda "bought a book of Schubert waltzes."¹²⁵ The Viennese composer wrote dozens of them, mostly resembling Ländler, "an Austrian dance in triple meter" that was "very popular in the early nineteenth century."¹²⁶ Despite his prolific output of them, however, it is not the genre for which Schubert is best remembered. The 1928 celebrations were more consistently marked by renditions of his

Lieder in addition to nostalgia for an artist who never garnered the attention he deserved during his lifetime.

Journalistic biographies published amidst the centenary festivities emphasized Schubert's brief life that went "unhonored and unsung," augmenting his fabled persona.¹²⁷ Declaring that, finally, the "world acclaims" Schubert's "genius a century after his death," Wyllys Rede praised him. Rede described a humble personage who "was absolutely free from snobbery and never stooped to curry favor with the rich and the great, thus losing many material advantages of which other composers did not scruple to avail themselves." Rede also characterized Schubert as "a kindly nature, of childlike innocence and trustfulness, generous to a fault, without the slightest taint of malice or meanness."¹²⁸ Schubert was "merely another poor musician," according to Virginia Powell Harriss. Calling him a "remarkable genius," she cited him as "one of the great composers of all time" but pointed out that he "never had a champion" despite his ubiquitous reputation as "the Prince of Song." She underscored his ability to "say something which no one has ever been able to say in the same fashion" but remarked that "in his day he went hungry."¹²⁹ Two Schubert myths that often intersect, as noted by Gibbs, portray his "putative neglect" and his reputation as a "natural" talent who "created so spontaneously that he had little control over what poured out

of his head."¹³⁰ It is true that Schubert's recognition did not extend outside of Vienna, but he was "one of the most widely published and performed" of his peers active in the Austrian city during the 1820s. Gibbs reports that "reviews and advertisements often" labeled Schubert as "popular."¹³¹ Further, his "natural" gift is belied by the fact that late in his life he wanted to study counterpoint, suggesting his weakness in that area and perhaps explaining his penchant for composing smaller-scale pieces.¹³²

Although some of Schubert's larger works continue to enjoy renown, such as his *Symphony No. 8 in B Minor, "Unfinished,"* he was far more prolific in Lieder. As a general term, *Lied* refers to song across several centuries and in many categories.¹³³ In reference to the nineteenth century, however, it refers specifically to the *art songs* of Schubert, Robert Schumann, and Johannes Brahms, for example.¹³⁴ Based mostly on poetic texts, the instrumental accompaniment to them "must seem to reflect both the outer and the inner form of the underlying" verse.¹³⁵ Having famously accomplished this in such pieces as *Der Erlkönig* based on the poem by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Schubert is generally considered "one of the founders of the lyric piano piece, the instrumental pendant to the Lied."¹³⁶ His success with the genre demonstrates that, despite the "brevity" of such "small-scale" compositions, they acquired "extraordinary depth

and significance" under his command.¹³⁷ His talent for developing long melodic lines influenced the generations that followed. That *lyricism* becomes a quintessential component of the Romantic canon owes much to Schubert's genius. Defining *lyric tone*, eighteenth-century philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder posited that its "essence . . . lies in tracing the course of passion or feeling in melody."¹³⁸ Similar to the lyric poem and intimate by definition, *Lied* is "an utterance that is not directed ostentatiously at an audience but, in a manner of speaking, is overheard" by one. Listeners are "incidental."¹³⁹ Similar to much of John Keats's verse, the songs of Franz Schubert present a musical counterpart.

Viewed primarily as "a Lied composer," Schubert performed mostly for friends and family at gatherings named Schubertiades, "unpublicized events devoted primarily or exclusively to his music."¹⁴⁰ Since he was not a virtuoso pianist like his contemporary Ludwig van Beethoven and because he wrote mostly for small ensembles, the "atmosphere of the Schubertiade" suited him. He performed for the general public only once, an act that brought him "a large sum."¹⁴¹ Had he done so more often, the myths surrounding his dire existence as a penniless artist would not have persisted. In fact, his career was not as destitute as previously believed, and interestingly, the composer shares some economic similarities with F. Scott Fitzgerald. Like him,

Schubert was extremely prolific in short works, which always brought cash, but he had higher aspirations as far as mastering larger-scale compositions. Also akin to Fitzgerald, he never really attained a level of financial security in his short life despite his ample production. Though he lived "much better" than the "vast majority of the Viennese, Schubert enjoyed neither the financial security nor the material amenities of his affluent friends, acquaintances, and patrons." However, he remained "well paid by publishers, particularly for his songs," and he received "money from commissions and dedications." Such income, however, was "sporadic."¹⁴²

After his death on November 19, 1828, Schubert's brother Ferdinand sold the "complete manuscript" of works the composer had just finished to "the Viennese music publisher Tobias Haslinger for circa 500 florins."¹⁴³ Among these fourteen pieces labeled *Schwanengesang*, or Swan Song, by Haslinger, six are set to poems by Heinrich Heine, the iconic German literary figure of the nineteenth century. Characterizing *Schwanengesang*, Gibbs writes that it presents a juxtaposition of "hopeless fatalism with blissful serenity"; overall, the compositions that comprise it helped the young artist "to explore darker realms."¹⁴⁴ The Heine Lieder, in particular, garner some of the "highest esteem" today and contain the most famous and darkest of Schubert's 600 songs, "Der Doppelgänger." The poetic text of "The Phantom

"Double" bears striking resemblance to one of the *Tender* stories, "One Trip Abroad."¹⁴⁵

Written in 1930, "One Trip Abroad" remains, along with "Babylon Revisited," one of Fitzgerald's "best," particularly noted by Brucoli for Fitzgerald's "effective adaptation of the Doppelgänger device."¹⁴⁶ A young American couple travel to Europe where they hope to study the arts. Having arrived at Sorrento, Nicole "took singing lessons" and Nelson "tried to paint," but, overall, the couple begins to notice the fallacy of their pastoral expectations of life on the Riviera. Their ennui grows, and they believe, like the Divers, that company will remedy it. The Kellys loved "the Riviera in full summer with many friends there and the nights open and full of music." Sitting in a salon one night, Nelson decides to play the "mechanical piano" that he notices for the "tenth time." He hopes that doing so will create the community that he and his wife so desperately lack in their travels. However, the English patrons in the bar react vehemently to the "bursts of sound from the electric piano" by turning it off.¹⁴⁷ The sudden and tempestuous end to Nelson's performance emphasizes the fact that the Kellys have become increasingly isolated.

Echoing the title, their trip is singular because the possibility for return starts to fade along with their sanity. The narrator observes that "Switzerland is a country where very

few things begin, but many things end." Forming the accompaniment, or counterpoint, to their travels through "North Africa, Italy, the Riviera, Paris and points in between" is another young American couple whose happiness declines at the same rate.¹⁴⁸ In a violent ending characterized by cannon fire and an "approaching storm," the Kellys see their doubles in the other pair. Turned toward each other, recognition is aided by the "pale white lightening," which made the night "as bright as day." Nicole lets out a "sharp, terrified cry" and notices that Nelson's face "was as white and strained as her own" as she whispered "They're us! Don't you see?" After another moment, however, Nelson and Nicole "saw that they were alone together in the tranquil moonlight."¹⁴⁹ The juxtaposition of terror and tranquility bears the stamp of Heine's characteristic "sting in the tail," his penchant for ending his poems with an ironic twist meant to flout the Romantic project as much as his evocations of love support it.¹⁵⁰

Heine's poem, providing the text for what Martin Chusid calls the "most remarkable" of Schubert's songs, is short, containing only three stanzas. In it, the speaker's emotional state progresses from sadness to terror. He stands outside the house of his "loved one," anguished by her "long since" departure from the town. Comparing the fixed station of the house in opposition to the fluid nature of his lover's passion,

he notices another man who "stares on high," cowed by the "power of grief." The speaker shudders when he sees the man's face by "the moon" because the light "shows me my own / countenance." In the final stanza, the speaker calls out "You phantom double!" and asks "why do you mock the pain / of my love" that "tormented me . . . so many nights, in times / past?"¹⁵¹ Just as the Kellys respond violently to the recognition of their doubles, the speaker's Doppelgänger jolts his mood from melancholy to dread.¹⁵²

Whether Heine's poetry sparked Fitzgerald's interest in Schubert or vice versa remains inconclusive. The chicken and egg scenario is almost a moot point, however, for Schubert's Heine Lieder, along with the biography of the German poet, demonstrate remarkable correlation to Fitzgerald's fourth novel and some of the stories out of which it grew. Heine is fairly represented in Fitzgerald's library and that of Sheilah Graham. He owned a copy of Heine's *Book of Songs*, one that had originally belonged to Zelda's mother, Minnie Machen Sayre, and he later presented Graham with something comparable, *Poems Selected from Heinrich Heine*.¹⁵³ She had written inside her copy, "from Scott," the same thing she wrote inside *That Man Heine: A Biography* by Lewis Browne that Fitzgerald had also given her.¹⁵⁴ Aspects of Heine's life bear striking resemblance to elements of plot in what Fitzgerald termed the "romantic introduction" of *Tender is the*

Night, specifically, the duel between Tommy Barban and Albert McKisco.¹⁵⁵ An important passage in the long first part of the novel deemed ineffectual and "bizarre" by critics such as Seldes and Gray, it may have had its inception in a similar event from Heine's young adulthood.

In the *Poems* that Fitzgerald had given to Sheilah, the biographical introduction describes Heine's tumultuous relationship with "a man called Börne." The two were apparently "intimate friends" at one point, but a rift occurred over political differences. Börne criticized Heine in a published piece, "Briefe aus Paris." Three years after Börne's death, Heine published a counter-attack, "Börne, eine Denkschrift," in which

he gives vent to all the resentful feelings he had been harbouring for years, even condescending to base defamation of the private character of his dead friend, and of the lady to whom Börne's letters had been addressed. This deplorable piece of revengeful malice aroused popular indignation to the highest degree, and involved him, a year later, in a duel with the husband of the lady whose fair fame he had so wantonly assailed.¹⁵⁶

The incident directly precipitated Heine's expulsion from the University of Göttingen, the same school where Mr. Devereux Warren, Nicole's father in *Tender is the Night*, was educated.

Long before the narrative introduces Mr. Warren, however, the duel between Tommy Barban and Albert McKisco takes place at Gausse's Hotel, on the Riviera, where *Tender is the Night* begins. Rosemary, suffering from the "first sign of insomnia she had ever had," awakens around four in the morning and sees that Louis Campion, a guest at the Divers' dinner party the previous night, is "weeping" (39-40). He explains his grief, which is really so much melodrama, as she tries to console him. On the way back to Gausse's, an argument broke out in one of the cars that centered on what Violet McKisco had seen in the Divers' bathroom at the end of the evening. Campion tells Rosemary that "none of us ever found out . . . what it was Violet had to say because . . . [Tommy Barban] kept interrupting her, and then her husband got into it and now, my dear, we have the duel" (42). What Violet had seen was one of Nicole's schizophrenic episodes; what Tommy seeks to protect is not only Nicole's condition but also her honor. Though not an exact corollary to the Heine tale, the altercation in *Tender* similarly revolves around defending the honor of a woman, an act that stems from the revelations of "resentful feelings" and exposed secrets.¹⁵⁷

More than these compelling overlaps between Heine's life and thematic material from Fitzgerald's novel, the Heine poem that opens both Fitzgerald's *Buch der Lieder* and Sheilah's *Poems*, simply titled "Preface to the Third Edition of the Book of Songs," describes a nightingale's melody that renders the speaker vulnerable and precipitates his "own undoing" (line 32). Just as Keats's bird offers the "dual potential of love and obliteration," so Heine's counterpart sings of "hearts blest and hearts forsaken" (line 10).¹⁵⁸ Having been "enchanted" by the "mystic light" of the moon, the speaker notes that "Sweet music o'er me rose there, / It is the nightingale—she sings / Of love and lovers' woes there" (ll. 3-4, 6-8). "Lovers' woes" explicitly inform the entirety of *Tender*, but they implicitly underscore the duel in Book I, which has its roots in the temporarily unrequited love between Tommy and Nicole. Even Abe North, who wakes up in time to witness the impending event, asks Rosemary if being "plagued by the nightingale" is what roused her from sleep (42). Not only does he suggest that this is the case, he repeats "probably plagued by the nightingale" (42). In varying degrees, all of the romantic liaisons in *Tender* resonate at some point with Heine's verse and Schubert's *Lieder*, for the majority of Heine poems he chose to set to music involve unanswered or lost love.¹⁵⁹

Emphasizing the fluid nature of passion in three of the Heine Lieder is the backdrop of the ocean. Just as *Tender is the Night* opens on "the pleasant shore of the French Riviera" with its "dazzling beach," so "By the Sea" depicts the speaker and his lover sitting by the water that "sparkled far and wide."¹⁶⁰ In "The Fishermaiden," a seduction poem, the speaker equates his heart with the "turbulent sea" in its "storms" and "many pearls of beauty" that "rest in its depths below."¹⁶¹ The remaining poem, "The Town," describes the conflicted movement of a speaker towards home, the place where he "lost . . . [his] beloved." He nears "the misty image" in a skiff rowed with "sorrowful strokes."

"The Town" also presents a more subtle connection to another of the *Tender* stories, "The Swimmers." In it, Henry Marston chooses to swim to shore under the guise of rescuing his ex-wife and her lover though he secretly knows the water poses no danger to them. He does this so that he can quash the bribe they lord over him. As the "town with its towers / veiled in evening twilight" beckons the speaker in Heine's verse, the lighthouse that "blinked" against the "western sky" guides Henry as he attempts the "longest swim he had ever tried" in Fitzgerald's story.¹⁶² Incidentally, Henry's thought of having recourse to "dueling pistols . . . at dawn" appears in "The Swimmers" as he contemplates his honor, his failed marriage, and

trying to reclaim some happiness in his life.¹⁶³ In "The Town," the speaker's "sorrowful" return and his ambiguous feelings about it and the place mimic larger thematic concerns in the Heine Lieder, highlighting another corollary between the Schubert songs and *Tender is the Night*.

The circular, not linear, structure of Fitzgerald's novel resembles a similar thematic suggestion in Heine. The poems that Schubert chose all come from the cycle *Die Heimkehr, The Homecoming*, "published in 1826 in the *Reisebilder* and again in 1827 in *Buch der Lieder*."¹⁶⁴ More than the speaker's reunion with place depicted in "The Town," the other Heine Lieder describe an emotional revisiting of static love and torpid passions. Recurrent motion unifies the Heine texts and underlines a comparable movement in *Tender*, not least of which is Dick Diver's inevitable return to the land of all his "fathers" (205). Attributing the cyclical movement of the book to Friedrich Nietzsche's concept of *Eternal Return*, Philip McGowan explains that the German philosopher's theory "grew out of his readings" of Heinrich Heine who, "at best skeptical of the Romantic project, argued that the finite nature of our existence, set within the infinite dimensions of the universe, surely requires that all life in the universe must be subject to repetitive cycles."¹⁶⁵ Fitzgerald's novel consistently overlaps; characters resume the same places, fantasies, and even songs.

Tender is the Night begins and ends on the Riviera, and specific locales serve as benchmarks for tracing the circular motions in the novel. After falling "in love on the beach" with Dick Diver early in Book I, Rosemary relaxes in the "Café des Alliés," listening to the Nice Carnival Song (14-15). Dick sits with Rosemary's mother, Elsie, at the same "Café des Alliées" after the flashback at the beginning of Book II, proclaiming his love for Rosemary and noticing that the orchestra launched "into the Nice Carnival Song" (162, 164). Echoing his profession for Rosemary, Dick suggests going to the "Café des Alliées" toward the conclusion with Nicole and Tommy to hear the lovers' confession, but this time there is no "Carnival Song," only some prosaic tune (308).¹⁶⁶ Infatuation moves in cycles, and just as Dick starts to reciprocate Rosemary's feelings, knowing that doing so "marked a turning point in his life," Book I comes to a violent end and yields a new story of obsession, a young psychiatric patient's devotion to a handsome doctor that opens Book II (91).

The geographical arc in Book II traces Dick's professional life, from the beginning of it in Vienna to the end of it in Rome, where the cruelest blows to his credibility and reputation are dealt. In Schubert's native city, Dick begins his career and later refers to that period as a "favorite, a heroic" one. He writes what will become "the backbone" of his first, and only,

book. He experiences "the fine quiet of the scholar which is nearest of all things to heavenly peace," and he subsequently possesses "illusions of eternal strength and health" (116-17). Dick sensed that the Austrian capital "was old with death," however, suggesting to him that his triumphs "had to end" (115-16). Dick Diver's "moment" begins when he meets Nicole in 1919, having been discharged from the army (118). Ironically, he leaves the unit in Bar-sur-Aube, France disgusted by his "executive" rather than "practical" work, only to embark on a psychological battlefield more difficult than he could have anticipated (117-18). Years later, his humiliation in Italy is augmented by the "heroic" vision of his life that characterized his sojourn in Austria. A striking contrast exists between the solitary and "fine quiet" of his scholarly days and the "rage" and "bizarre feelings of what" his "new self would be" following his disgrace (116, 233).

Although Vienna and Rome do not create a circular geographical pattern in Book II, the country in the middle of it does. Switzerland represents a centripetal force in the Divers' lives, suggesting the entropy inherent in the narrator's observation in "One Trip Abroad" that it is a place where "many things end." Dick recognizes such a vortex when he looks at Lake Geneva from his vantage point in the Glion funicular high above. He recognizes the body of water as "the true centre of the

Western World. Upon it floated swans like boats and boats like swans, both lost in the nothingness of the heartless beauty" (147). The sterile elegance and austerity of the sublime landscape become appropriate analogues for the beautiful illusions the Divers' marriage is predicated on and that later act as a centralizing force, drawing others to them. Dick meets Nicole at a Zurich clinic and decides to marry her against his better judgment. His romantic impressions of her precipitate his choice. He compares her shoulders to those "of a violin," and after kissing her, he feels "thankful to have an existence at all, if only as a reflection in her wet eyes" (152, 155). Years later, in contrast to this Narcissistic comfort, Dick "was uneasy at her straight hard gaze" and "paralyzed" between his dual roles as husband and psychiatrist (187-88). Painfully realizing that he "and Nicole had become one and equal," that he "could not watch her disintegrations without participating in them," Dick sees through the veneer of "heartless beauty." Nicole does too, and after acknowledging Dick's latest infidelity, she causes their terrific car accident that hastens Dick's resignation from the clinic and their move back to the Riviera (192-93).¹⁶⁷

In between the forfeit of his professional life at the clinic and the Divers' resumption of luxury living in the south of France, Dick goes to Munich for a "leave of abstinence," as

Franz calls it, ironically highlighting Dick's infidelities as one cause of his moral decline (194). Once there, he encounters Tommy Barban and learns of Abe North's death, the result of a beating in a New York speakeasy (199). Abe's fate foreshadows Dick's altercation in Rome, tracing the circle of violence, which began in the Paris train station, to an even larger degree. Tragedy follows when Dick receives word of his father's passing and travels to America for the funeral. His return trip takes him to Naples where he "picked up a lost and miserable family of two girls and their mother." Succumbing to his chief heroic flaw, Dick feels an "overwhelming desire to help, or to be admired," mostly to be loved, and he "pretended they were this and that." He starts to drink "too much" in order to "sustain the illusion" (206). A microcosmic example of his protracted fantasy of Rosemary, this singular incident immediately precedes his arrival in Rome, his visit to the "house where Keats had died," and "the end of his dream of Rosemary" (220). The horrible assault he receives at the conclusion of Book II continues the pattern of brutality that helps delineate the narrative sections. Dick now knows that "he would be a different person henceforward" and so acknowledges his irreversible path (233).

Book III marks the beginning of the consequential arc that leads the Divers back toward the Riviera. Although it opens on

the Zuggersee clinic being run by Franz and Dick, the latter's involvement erodes under Franz and his wife's belief that Dick Diver is "no longer a serious man" (241-42). After Franz's congenial but calculated business agreement releases Dick from the clinic, "the Divers would return to the Riviera, which was home" (256). They resume residence at the Villa Diana but take one more family trip to see Mary North, now the Contessa di Minghetti, in Italy (258-65). The sojourn illustrates how much Dick increasingly relies on alcohol as an emotional and social salve, an addiction that persists even after the Divers reclaim their familiar environment in the south of France and the repercussions for which Mary tries to inform him.

Following a situation with the local gendarmerie, Mary and her friend call Dick for help escaping the embarrassing predicament (302-06). Dick obliges because he seeks the euphoric effects of admiration he once garnered from her but, owing to several poor choices, had lost. Mary tries to comfort Dick by saying that his friends "still like" him, but he says "awful things to people" when he drinks (313). Dick's temporary effort to revivify Mary's affection for him springs from his inquiry that "you once liked me, didn't you?" Mary's response emphasizes the degree to which Dick has fallen. She admits, "*Liked* you—I loved you. Everybody loved you" (314). Deciding to "undertake" Mary's carnivalesque emergency at the "poste de police"

highlights the major emotional trajectory of his adult life (302-03). Dick "didn't care a damn about" her plight, but his choice prompts him to recall "an almost parallel occasion, back in Dohmler's clinic on the Zürichsee" when he had picked Nicole. He equates that selection with having "chosen the sweet poison and drunk it." Hindsight tells him this decision rose from his desire to "be brave and kind," but he "had wanted, even more than that, to be loved" (302). This cycle defines his life and seals his doom.

Dick ultimately realizes that by encouraging devotion from others, he had, paradoxically, destroyed himself. He tells Nicole he "can't do anything" for her anymore, and he admits that "I'm trying to save myself" (301). The penultimate chapter closes as Dick's raised "right hand" blesses the beach "with a papal cross" (314). In response, "faces turned upward from several umbrellas," noting Doctor Diver's exit. As alone as Dick is here, he was equally admired in the opening of the novel when Rosemary first meets him in the same location. Then, when "he looked at her," she "lived in the bright blue worlds of his eyes, eagerly and confidently" (12). He can no longer offer this rich sanctuary, and no one seeks it.

The final chapter in the novel acts as a coda. Following Nicole's affair with Tommy, Dick goes back to upstate New York, and the residual news of his life that reaches Nicole, sometimes

by "accident," emphasizes his isolation and dissipation (314). Though his movement across the Atlantic seems to extend in a line away from his doomed marriage because it isolates him, it actually continues the circular motif he has experienced thus far. His need "to be loved" feebly fights on but offers only fleeting fulfillment as he "became entangled with a girl who worked in a grocery store" (315). After failed practices in Buffalo, Batavia, and Lockport, his penultimate destination is Geneva, "in the heart of the Finger Lakes section" of the state (315). Resonating of his once successful life in the "true centre of the Western world," the nominal American counterpart echoes only defeat. Further, the association of ascendance with Dick's professional success in Switzerland, suggested by the Glion funicular that allows him breathtaking views of Lake Geneva, implies a sharp descent and foreshadows his fall from grace. What goes up must come down.

Dick's return to the states suggests another entropic cycle, but reclaiming residence in the land of his fathers was not his intention. He confirmed, after saying "good-by" to "all my fathers" with the burial of his own, that he "had no more ties" to America and "did not believe he would come back" (204-05). That he does return under the circumstances of loss resonates with Heine's *Die Heimkehr*, or *The Homecoming*, poems and certainly with those Schubert set to music. The "songs" that

Dick plays on the piano at the end of the novel thus poignantly prefigure his inexorable fate. His "dying fall" can faintly be heard as the lingering vibration of a final chord, echoing Fitzgerald's claim in a letter to John O'Hara that he ended *Tender is the Night* "on a fade away instead of a staccato."¹⁶⁸

Claiming music as the incomparable assertion of feeling, W. J. Henderson wrote that because the art "has more complex machinery than the human voice, it can achieve more" intricate expression. Henderson's 1898 compendium published by Scribners, *What is Good Music?*, argues that "in an agitated mood the speech does not flow, but is spasmodic and irregular; hence" the use of "complex rhythm, with staccato chords, *rinforzandi*, and syncopations."¹⁶⁹ Adjectives such as "staccato," "cadence," "tenor," "hum," "in key," "sonorous," "rhythm," "new octaves," "complimentary vibration," and "counterpoint" in *Tender is the Night* reflect the kind of complicit relationship Henderson highlights. The rich aural texture of the novel underlines the poignancy of it by drawing attention to the things that cannot be articulated fully. Such is the crux of the Romantic project. The tension between passion and order that underlines so much of the nineteenth-century aesthetic provided a useful metaphor for Schubert and Fitzgerald, whose works consistently address the fragility of illusion.

Notes

1. William Soskin, "Unidentified clipping in Fitzgerald's Scrapbook #5," *F. Scott Fitzgerald: The Critical Reception*, ed. Jackson R. Bryer (New York: Burt Franklin & Co, 1978): p. 332.

2. Ruth Prigozy, "'Poor Butterfly': F. Scott Fitzgerald and Popular Music," *Prospects: Annual of American Cultural Studies*, 2 (1976): 41, 60.

3. Matthew J. Bruccoli recognizes the subtitle "A Romance" as an indication that "Fitzgerald regarded his book as a departure from the realistic or novelistic modes of fiction."

See Matthew J. Bruccoli, *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur*, rev. ed. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002): p. 338.

Structurally, the novel is distinctly separate from more conventional "modes": Book II is a flashback that provides history of the Divers' relationship years before the Riviera scene that opens Book I, in which a third-person perspective narrates the action through Rosemary's point of view.

Thematically, the subtitle connotes the feeling tone of unfulfilled promise that dominates the book. As Bruccoli points out, Rosemary "is for remembrance." See Matthew J. Bruccoli, *The Composition of Tender is the Night: A Study of the Manuscripts* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963): p. 97. What she first sees and thinks about are qualities endemic to the

Riviera, namely, the water, the sky, the orchestra Rosemary hears as she waits for her train that "wooed an imaginary public of cosmoplites [sic] with the Nice Carnival Song and last year's American tune" (29). The mood in Book I is definitively nostalgic and Romantic; Rosemary falls in love with Dick, looks up to Nicole, and sees the Villa Diana as "the centre of the world. On such a stage some memorable thing was sure to happen" (29). Fitzgerald defended the overall structure of the novel, writing to H. L. Mencken in April 1934 that, even though "the first part . . . was too long, . . . everything else in the book conformed to a definite intention and if I had to start to write it again tomorrow I would adopt the same plan." See F. Scott Fitzgerald, [Letter to H. L. Mencken, April 23, 1934] *A Life in Letters*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli with the assistance of Judith S. Baughman (New York: Scribners, 1994): p. 256.

Fitzgerald's insecurity about the long first part of the novel, what he termed the "romantic introduction," is what led to the revised edition of *Tender is the Night* published in 1951. Malcolm Cowley sanctioned it as the "author's final version," but "after a flurry of attention it was discontinued" (Bruccoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 368.) The biggest difference between it and the 1934 version is the chronological order of the three sections. Fitzgerald reordered the timeline of the novel to remedy lukewarm critical reception. However, this concession

remains fairly transparent since he also cited in his 1934 letter to Mencken his belief that not only had the critics failed "to understand" the novel, but they also were not able to "recognize and identify anything in the book." [Letter to H. L. Mencken, April 23, 1934], in Brucoli, *Life in Letters*, p. 256. After exhaustive study of the manuscripts, Brucoli contends that "the form of *Tender* was fixed by the thousands of delicate decisions Fitzgerald made during the process of composition. Whatever its flaws, the 1934 version has been vindicated by reader preference" (*Epic Grandeur*, p. 369). Further, Brucoli cogently points out that "the manuscripts clearly show that Fitzgerald neither composed *Tender is the Night* hastily nor fumbled with its form; and they show that Fitzgerald had a firm control over his material" (*Composition*, p. 2). Moreover, the author "painstakingly revised the holograph material and the typescript prepared from it, but the revisions are predominantly stylistic. . . . Fitzgerald knew from the start of this draft which effects he desired; there is nothing hit-or-miss about the revisions" (*Composition*, p. 99). Fitzgerald's deliberate labor over "stylistic," not structural, revisions highlights his choice in the form of the novel (*Composition*, p. 159). A comparison of the two editions will not be addressed henceforward as the argument deals solely with the first edition.

4. Fitzgerald came up with this distinction in his first novel, *This Side of Paradise*. Please see F. Scott Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1996): p. 209. All quotations of the primary text will be taken from F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Tender is the Night* (New York: Scribners, 1934).

5. Michael March, "Page after Page," *Critical Essays on F. Scott Fitzgerald's Tender is the Night*, ed. Milton R. Stern (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986): p. 64. Originally appeared in *Brooklyn Citizen* (April 11, 1934): p. 11.

6. Fanny Butcher, "New Fitzgerald Book Brilliant; Fails as Novel," in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 298. Originally appeared in *Chicago Tribune* (April 14, 1934): p. 10.

7. J. D. [onald] A. [dams], "Scott Fitzgerald's Return to the Novel," in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 305. Originally appeared in *New York Times Book Review* (April 15, 1934): p. 7.

8. George Du Maurier's *Trilby* (1894) was immensely popular and introduced the world to the sinister Svengali, the Eastern-European hypnotist who grants musical talent where previously there was none. By the time *Tender* was published, the Svengali persona was a standard part of cultural literacy. Gertrude Diamant, "Child Prodigy," in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 329. Originally appeared in *American Mercury*, 33 (October 1934): 249-51.

9. Gordon Lewis, "Scott Fitzgerald Is Author of New Novel," in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 317. Originally appeared in *Charlotte News* (May 6, 1934): section 2, p. 9.
10. Katherine McClure Anderson, "Today's Book," in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 287. Originally appeared in *Macon Telegraph* (April 11, 1934): p. 4.
11. Gilbert Seldes, "True to Type—Scott Fitzgerald Writes Superb Tragic Novel," in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 293. Originally appeared in *New York Evening Journal* (April 12, 1934): p. 23.
12. James Gray, "Scott Fitzgerald Re-enters, Leading Bewildered Giant," in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 65. Originally appeared in *St. Paul Dispatch* (April 12, 1934): section 1, p. 8.
13. Please see Fanny Butcher's review in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 299.
14. Mabel Dodge Luhan, "Scott Fitzgerald a Modern Orpheus," in Stern, *Critical Essays*, pp. 79-80. Originally appeared in *New York Herald Tribune Books* (May 6, 1934): p. 21. Incidentally, Fitzgerald wrote to Luhan and thanked her for having seen "the intention, appreciated it, and allowed me whatever percentage I rated on the achievement of that intention"; he was sincerely "touched" by her efforts. [Letter

to Mabel Dodge Luhan, May 10, 1934], in Brucoli, *Life in Letters*, p. 258.

15. Despite some glowing praise, *Tender* still received mixed reviews. However, Brucoli maintains that it "had a respectable sale for a Depression-year novel" (*Epic Grandeur*, p. 363). Sadly, Fitzgerald's magazine work and "playboy image" made it "increasingly difficult for critics to appraise the serious novelist" (Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 366). Despite the fact that "Echoes of the Jazz Age" finishes on what Brucoli calls "a note of loss" (*Epic Grandeur*, p. 311) when it summons the "proper expression of horror" in recognition of "wasted youth," at least three reviews of his 1934 novel identify it and the author closely with Jazz. F. Scott Fitzgerald, "Echoes of the Jazz Age," *The Crack-Up*, ed. Edmund Wilson (New York: New Directions, 1956): p. 22. For the three reviews, please see Katherine McClure Anderson, "Today's Book," in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 287; Gordon Lewis, "Scott Fitzgerald Is Author of New Novel," in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, pp. 317-18; and William Soskin, "Unidentified clipping in Fitzgerald's Scrapbook #5" in Bryer, *Critical Reception*, pp. 332-34.

16. Jed Rasula, "Jazzbandism," *Georgia Review*, 60 (Spring 2006): 78.

17. Brucoli, *Composition*, p. 70.

18. Rasula, "Jazzbandism," p. 91. In fact, Rasula admits that "most of the modernists had little interest in jazz." Please see Jed Rasula, "Jazz and American Modernism," *The Cambridge Companion to American Modernism*, ed. Walter Kalaidjian (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005): p. 157. In other places, his argument rests on the coincidence of simultaneity. He writes that "the avant-garde is a pervasive phenomenon across Europe when jazz appears." See "Jazzbandism," pp. 65-66.

19. Fitzgerald, "The Crack-Up," in *The Crack-Up*, p. 16. J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010): p. 866.

20. Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005): p. 390n.

21. Burkholder, p. 782.

22. See *Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music*, s. v. "Syncopation."

23. Mark C. Gridley, *Jazz Styles* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1994): p. 42.

24. Burkholder, p. 784.

25. Gridley, p. 38.

26. See Gilbert Seldes, *The Seven Lively Arts* (New York: Sagamore Press, 1957): p. 84. Incidentally, Seldes wrote such a rave review of Fitzgerald's *Gatsby* (1925) that Hemingway blamed

him for adding to Fitzgerald's anxiety over producing another masterpiece with *Tender is the Night*. Hemingway wrote to Scott in 1929 that the latter could "have written two damned good books by now if it hadn't [sic] been for that Seldes review." See Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to F. Scott Fitzgerald, September 4, 1929], *Selected Letters*, ed. Carlos Baker (New York: Scribners, 1981): p. 305.

27. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1994): p. 279.

28. McLuhan, p. 280.

29. Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 212.

30. David Haas, e-mail message to the author, September 14, 2012.

31. One way to understand the difference between motivic and lyrical sounds is to compare the opening motif of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, with its succession of four short notes, and the theme that characterizes the first movement of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony, a series of long notes that form a song-like melody.

32. Prigozy, "Poor Butterfly," p. 60.

33. Prigozy, "Poor Butterfly," p. 41.

34. Prigozy, "Poor Butterfly," p. 53. Similarly, her essay "From Griffith's Girls to DADDY'S GIRL: The Masks of Innocence in *Tender is the Night*" argues that popular culture "was a major

factor in his decision to shift the focus of the novel." In *Twentieth Century Literature*, 26 (1980): 191.

35. Prigozy, "Poor Butterfly," p. 60.
36. T. Austin Graham, "The Literary Soundtrack: Or, F. Scott Fitzgerald's Heard and Unheard Melodies," *American Literary History*, 21 (2009): 523.
37. Graham, p. 521.
38. Graham, p. 521.
39. Horowitz, p. 397.
40. Burkholder, p. 859.
41. Horowitz, p. 398.
42. Horowitz, p. 397.
43. Horowitz, p. 279.
44. Horowitz, p. 400.
45. Horowitz, p. 270.
46. Horowitz, pp. 277-78.
47. Horowitz, p. 398.
48. Horowitz, p. 410.
49. Horowitz, p. 463.
50. Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 448.
51. Fitzgerald, "Echoes of the Jazz Age," p. 22.
52. Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, pp. 426-27.
53. Sheilah Graham, *College of One* (New York: Viking Press, 1967): p. 71.

54. Brucoli, *Composition*, pp. 159, 167.
55. Please see Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 441. Originally in Frances Kroll Ring, *Against the Current: As I Remember F. Scott Fitzgerald* (San Francisco: Ellis/Creative Arts, 1985): pp. 42-43.
56. Brucoli, *Composition*, "Introduction," p. xv.
57. Horowitz, pp. 166-67.
58. Horowitz, p. 164.
59. Horowitz, p. 397.
60. Mary Jane Corry, e-mail message to the author, August 8, 2009.
61. See Horowitz, pp. 167-69. Thomas was eventually forced to resign from his post as musical director of the Fair in early August of 1893 because of the increasing financial demands his plans had cost the city.
62. Horowitz, p. 176.
63. Incidentally, the Thomas Orchestra "began visiting annually in 1869." See Horowitz, p. 175.
64. Horowitz, p. 176.
65. Horowitz, p. 305.
66. This may be one reason why Fitzgerald loved Willa Cather's story "Paul's Case," an affection that he described in a 1925 letter to her. He writes to her "as one of your greatest admirers—an admirer particularly of . . . *Paul's Case*." F. Scott

Fitzgerald, [Letter to Willa Cather, Late March/early April, 1925], in Brucoli, *Life in Letters*, p. 100. In Cather's story, the young boy falls in love with the artistic life he witnesses as an usher at Carnegie Hall in New York City. Listening to the orchestra play, Paul realizes that "the first sigh of the instruments seemed to free some hilarious spirit within him" (187). It cannot compare to his life at a drab prep school at home, in Pennsylvania, and he decides ultimately to kill himself by jumping in front of a train, a decidedly dramatic act (212). See Willa Cather, *Youth and the Bright Medusa* (New York: Vintage, 1975): pp. 181-212.

67. Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 45.
68. *Baltimore Sun* review quoted in Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 53.
69. Cited in Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 131. Also in F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, ed. Andrew Turnbull (New York: Scribners, 1963): p. 63.
70. Fitzgerald, "The Crack-Up," in *The Crack-Up*, p. 79.
71. Graham, *College of One*, p. 110.
72. Edmund Wilson, *Axel's Castle: A Study of the Imaginative Literature of 1870-1930* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936): p. 13. Fitzgerald's copy of *Axel's Castle* is available for viewing at the Rare and Special

Collections at Princeton University Library. It bares only that one mark.

73. Graham, *College of One*, p. 109.
74. May Garretson Evans, *Music and Edgar Allan Poe: A Bibliographical Study* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968): p. 22.
75. Evans, p. 24.
76. Graham, *College of One*, p. 72.
77. Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 16.
78. Graham, *College of One*, p. 110.
79. See W. J. Henderson, *What is Good Music?* (New York: Scribners, 1898) and Henry Edward Krehbiel, *How to Listen to Music* (New York: Scribners, 1924). Not incidentally, Scribners also published Edward Dickinson's *Music in the History of the Western Church* in 1902, of which Ernest Hemingway owned a copy.
80. F. Scott Fitzgerald, [Letter to Charles Scribner II, April 19, 1922], Brucoli, *Life in Letters*, p. 57.
81. See Horowitz, p. 116, and also Roger Burlingame, *Of Making Many Books: A Hundred Years of Reading, Writing and Publishing* (New York: Scribners, 1946): p. 177. Although Huneker's non-fiction covered "drama, painting, architecture, choreography, cinema, . . . and literature," he began as a musician who stopped just short of becoming a "concert pianist" and began to write musical criticism, and from that "his work moved soon into all the arts." Quite famous, his pieces were

translated into French, German, and Italian, and he was received warmly by artists everywhere. See *Of Making Many Books*, pp. 177-78. The Scribners remembered Huneker warmly and, upon his death in 1921, they "wrote his widow" that they were proud "to have been his publishers" (*Many Books*, p. 183).

82. F. Scott Fitzgerald, [Letter to Scottie Fitzgerald, September 21, 1939], in Brucoli, *Life in Letters*, p. 406.

83. Cited in Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 411. Originally part of unpublished manuscript material from Princeton University Library.

84. Graham, *College of One*, pp. 15, 72.

85. Graham, *College of One*, p. 72.

86. Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 448.

87. Graham, *College of One*, pp. 127-28.

88. In addition to his listening notes, Fitzgerald had also provided a "carefully planned list of prices," which Sheilah sadly remembers because "the records for my music course would cost him about \$200. It was a great deal for a man who sometimes had less than \$50 in his bank account. If only I had known." See Graham, *College of One*, p. 130.

89. Please see Philip G. Downs, *Classical Music: The Era of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992): p. 248.

90. See Downs, pp. 248-49.

91. Graham, *College of One*, p. 130.
92. See Downs, pp. 450-51 for a more detailed account, in Haydn's own words, of his Symphony No. 94.
93. Graham, *College of One*, pp. 215-17.
94. F. Scott Fitzgerald, "Jacob's Ladder," *The Short Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (New York: Scribner, 2003): p. 354. All quotations of Fitzgerald's stories are taken from this edition of the collected short works.
95. Fitzgerald, "Jacob's Ladder," p. 359. Ludwig van Beethoven's *Kreutzer Sonata* (1803) is renowned for its particularly difficult violin part and unusual length. Beethoven and the violin virtuoso he composed it for, George Bridgetower, premiered it in 1803. Owing to a rift in the friendship, Beethoven later dedicated it to Rodolphe Kreutzer. Please see Barry Cooper, *The Beethoven Compendium* (Ann Arbor: Borders Press, 1991): pp. 231-32. Interestingly, the *Kreutzer Sonata* appeared on Fitzgerald's selective list of albums he wanted to buy Sheilah Graham for her music education. It was one of the more expensive ones, costing \$13.50. See Graham, *College of One*, p. 130.
96. The romance between Jacob and Jenny in "Jacob's Ladder" (1927), like the relationship between Dick and Rosemary in *Tender is the Night*, grew out of Fitzgerald's interest in

"Lois Moran, the young movie actress he met in 1927." (See Fitzgerald, *Stories*, p. 350, and Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, pp. 255-57.) Appropriating material from his life helped guide Fitzgerald's composition of the novel. For example, following Zelda's initial emotional breakdown in 1930 and the subsequent series of hospitalizations, Fitzgerald published "One Trip Abroad" in the *Saturday Evening Post* in October but never included it in a collection because he "drew heavily on it" in *Tender*. (See Fitzgerald, *Stories*, p. 577.) In that story, Nelson and Nicole Kelly's European vacation ends in a Swiss sanitarium. Other stories that came to bear strongly on his new novel were "The Swimmers" (1929) and "What A Handsome Pair!" (1932).

97. Fitzgerald, "What A Handsome Pair!" *Stories*, p. 682.

98. Fitzgerald, "What A Handsome Pair!" *Stories*, p. 683.

99. The line from Handel to Debussy represents roughly the same course of study in one of the music books Fitzgerald had suggested to Sheilah, *From Bach to Stravinsky*. Like Teddy, Fitzgerald was moved in and out of moods by music. Sheilah remembers him asking her "to play the Eroica Symphony while he was making some notes about football on the *Princeton Alumni Weekly*" (*College of One*, p. 131).

100. Prigozy makes a similar observation. Please see "Poor Butterfly," p. 43.

101. Prigozy, "Poor Butterfly," p. 61.

102. Prigozy, "Poor Butterfly," p. 61. Also see "Poor Butterfly" for a more thorough treatment of Fitzgerald's use of popular music in *Tender*.

103. From the Prangins Clinic in Nyon, Switzerland in 1930, Zelda writes Scott and notes how "curious" Igor Stravinsky "sounds in this atmosphere"; but she points out that Sergei "Prokofieff [sic] is better," especially what she calls his "Fils Progique," otherwise known as his Symphony no. 4: *The Prodigal Son*. Please see Zelda Fitzgerald, [Letter to Scott Fitzgerald, Fall, 1930], *Dear Scott, Dearest Zelda: The Love Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald and Zelda Fitzgerald*, ed. Jackson R. Bryer and Cathy W. Barks (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002): p. 93.

104. *Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music*, s.v. "Love for Three Oranges."

105. Prigozy acknowledges the ambient space that waltzes occupy in Fitzgerald's fiction. Drawing attention to Fitzgerald's "having spent several years abroad," Prigozy observes that, subsequently, he "was particularly fond of Wiener Waltzes, which epitomized the sophisticated but more exotic romantic world he sought to capture in the fiction of" the thirties. Please see "Poor Butterfly," p. 56.

106. Please see Philip McGowan, "Reading Fitzgerald Reading Keats," *Twenty-First-Century Readings of Tender* is the

Night, ed. William Blazek and Laura Rattray (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007): p. 204.

107. See Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): p. 18.

108. F. Scott Fitzgerald, [Letter to Scottie Fitzgerald, August 3, 1940], in Brucoli, *Life in Letters*, p. 460.

109. Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 71.

110. Christopher Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): p. 5.

111. Gibbs, p. 168.

112. Gibbs, p. 6.

113. Navarre Atkinson, "Vienna to Devote Year to Schubert," *New York Times* (January 8, 1928): p. 55.

114. "Schubert's Memory Declared Inspiring," *New York Times* (November 22, 1928): p. 25.

115. "Organize to Honor Schubert's Memory," *New York Times* (January 16, 1928): p. 44. See also "Wins \$10,000 Prize with a Symphony," *New York Times* (June 24, 1928): p. 24. The winner of Columbia's Composer contest is announced here; it is Swedish composer Kurt Atterberg. Interestingly, "composers who submitted finishes to Schubert's Unfinished Symphony did not even set a place."

116. "Music Near and Afar," *New York Times* (September 30, 1928): p. 125.

117. "A Tribute to Schubert," *New York Times* (January 31, 1928): p. 28.

118. "Franz Schubert's Death 100 Years Ago To Be Marked," *Baltimore Sun* (January 10, 1928): p. 9.

119. Fitzgerald would not have been able to escape the topic that year even though he and Zelda traveled to Paris for the summer months. The *New York Times* announced on July 18, 1928 that the French minister in Vienna, "M. Clauzel," was instructed to "decline an invitation to attend the Schubert centenary celebrations," an act that caused "surprise, mingled with regret" in "official circles." Apparently, the French government did not want to give the impression of their agreement with the "re-union of Austria with Germany." See "Ban on Schubert Festival," *New York Times* (July 18, 1928): p. 36.

120. Brucoli, *Composition*, p. 65.

121. Brucoli, *Composition*, p. 67.

122. Brucoli, *Composition*, p. 82.

123. Brucoli, *Composition*, p. 73. In sum, Brucoli notes that there are "some 3,500 pages of holograph manuscript and typescript manuscript, plus proof, representing seventeen drafts and three versions of the novel" (*Composition*, p. xv).

124. Zelda Fitzgerald, [Letter to Scott Fitzgerald, November 18, 1931], in Fitzgerald, *Dear Scott, Dearest Zelda*, p. 125.

125. Zelda Fitzgerald, [Letter to Scott Fitzgerald, November 13, 1931], in Fitzgerald, *Dear Scott, Dearest Zelda*, pp. 113, 117.

126. See *Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music*, s. v. "Landler."

127. See Wyllys Rede, "Franz Schubert Comes into His Own," *Baltimore Sun* (June 10, 1928): p. 15.

128. Rede, pp. 15-16.

129. Virginia Powell Harriss, "City Joins in Tribute to Schubert," *Baltimore Sun* (November 18, 1928): p. LT 4.

130. Gibbs, p. 62.

131. Gibbs, pp. 60-61.

132. Musicologist David Haas explains that Schubert had taken one counterpoint lesson and was "meanwhile dying," but Haas also makes clear that because Schubert wrote "sacred choral" music, he would have possessed some rudimentary understanding of counterpoint. Mostly, Schubert "would have perceived that Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven had greater facility and were more prone to put it to use in chamber music and symphonies" thereby prompting him to acquire some mastery of it. Haas posits that Schubert had "higher aspirations" as far as

symphonic composing. David Haas, e-mail message to the author, July 23, 2011.

133. Dahlhaus, p. 96.

134. See *Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music*, s. v.

"Lied."

135. Dahlhaus, p. 99.

136. Dahlhaus, p. 102.

137. Gibbs, p. 75.

138. Von Herder is quoted in Dahlhaus, p. 99.

139. Dahlhaus, p. 105.

140. Gibbs, pp. 61, 74.

141. Gibbs, pp. 75, 123.

142. Gibbs, pp. 122-23.

143. Walburga Litschauer, "The Origin and Early Reception of *Schwanengesang*," *A Companion to Schubert's Schwanengesang*, ed. Martin Chusid (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000): p. 6.

144. Gibbs, pp. 155-56.

145. Schubert's songs, including "Der Doppelgänger," were well known and widely performed, especially during the centenary festivities of 1928. An article from the *Washington Post*, for example, cites the American baritone Reinald Werrenrath's selection of Schubert Lieder for his concerts and among them was "The Phantom Double." Mr. Werrenrath also composed "notes on the

composer's life" and provided "explanations of musical structure" in order to "greatly extend the appreciation" of the native Viennese composer. "On the Air this Week," *Washington Post* (September 30, 1928): p. A5.

146. Bruckoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 305; Fitzgerald, *Short Stories*, p. 577. Bruckoli also posits that "One Trip Abroad" could almost "be called a miniature of *Tender is the Night*" (*Composition*, p. 69).

147. Fitzgerald, "One Trip Abroad," *Stories*, pp. 582-84.

148. Fitzgerald, "One Trip Abroad," *Stories*, p. 594.

149. Fitzgerald, "One Trip Abroad," *Stories*, pp. 596-97.

150. Martin Chusid acknowledges, as does Susan Youens, that upon reading Heine, Schubert was "repelled by Heine's destructive, rejectionist wit; that he realized the immense difficulties of setting to music Heine's 'sting in the tail,' that unpredictable reversal of meaning at the end of so many of his poems." See Martin Chusid, "The Poets of *Schwanengesang*: Rellstab, Heine, and Seidl," in Chusid, *A Companion to Schubert's Schwanengesang*, p. 34. Youens similarly remarks that "a quarrel with the poet's mask of ironic nihilism is encoded in Schubert's music and culminates in rejection after only six songs." See Susan Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): "Preface," p. xx.

151. Chusid, "Texts and Commentary," in Chusid, *A Companion*, p. 140.

152. Fitzgerald could also have appropriated the Doppelgänger device from Edgar Allan Poe, who used it with great effect in such stories as "William Wilson." See Edgar Allan Poe, *Poetry, Tales, and Selected Essays* (New York: Library of America, 1996): pp. 337-57. The titular character in Poe's tale admits that his dying is a result of "the horror and the mystery of the wildest of all sublunary visions" (338). However, a major distinction between Poe's tale and Fitzgerald's story is the use of moonlight. In "William Wilson," it provides ambient lighting; in "One Trip Abroad," it directly precipitates the dreadful realization of the protagonists' shocking doubles and affects the terror that ensues. This combination of tranquility and anxiety comes together much the same way in Heine's poem.

153. Brucoli reports that Minnie Machen Sayre had been "musical and literary as a girl." (*Epic Grandeur*, p. 88). Her copy of Heine's *Buch der Lieder*, which later became Fitzgerald's own, has the following inscription on the inside cover: "M. M. Sayre, Montgomery, Alabama, 1907" (Princeton University Library). Along with the rest of the country, Mrs. Sayre would have known Heine's most famous popular song, "Du bist wie eine Blume," or "Thou art like a flower." There was no one in "the Western world at the turn-of-century who did not know this

poem," as Susan Youens comments, and she cites 415 musical settings of it (Youens, "Preface," pp. xvi, 271). The sentimental versions of this particular text proved perennially popular because of their nostalgia for "a threatened way of life en route to the catastrophe of World War I" (Youens, "Preface," p. xix). Heine was anything but sentimental, and Chusid maintains that Schubert "understood far better than is usually assumed Heine's fundamentally anti-romantic view of poetry and the deep cynicism barely masked in many superficially romantic poems set by other composers—the cynicism revealed, for example, in the deliberately trite language of 'Du bist wie eine Blume'." See Chusid, "The Poets of *Schwanengesang*," in Chusid, *A Companion*, p. 35.

154. Lewis Browne, *That Man Heine: A Biography* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1927). The signatures "from Scott" inside this and the *Selected Poems* that belonged to Sheilah are indeed hers, not Fitzgerald's, according to curator Steve Ferguson at the Princeton University Library.

155. F. Scott Fitzgerald, [Letter to H. L. Mencken, April 23, 1934], in Brucoli, *Life in Letters*, p. 256.

156. Kate Freiligrath Kroeker, ed., *Poems Selected from Heinrich Heine* (London: Walter Scott, 24, Warwick Lane, E. C., 1887): p. xlvi.

157. Chusid recognizes Heine's opponent as "a fellow student" (Chusid, "The Poets of *Schwanengesang*: Rellstab, Heine, and Seidl," in Chusid, *A Companion*, p. 24). Regardless of the adversary's identity, the situation itself is too similar to that in *Tender* to dismiss.

158. See Philip McGowan, "Reading Fitzgerald Reading Keats," in Blazek, *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, p. 216. McGowan posits that by repeating "core words and figures" from the "Ode," Fitzgerald "reactivates its competing desires for oblivion and the immortality promised by art while simultaneously invigorating his own work with an array of intertextual possibilities" (204). The text for Heine's poem here comes directly from the edition owned by Fitzgerald and now held in the Princeton University Library, *Heine's Book of Songs*, compiled from the translations by Sir Theodore Martin, K. C. B., and Edgar A. Bowring, C. B. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1892).

159. For example, most of the poems in the *Buch der Lieder* are about "unrequited love," which "was a major concern" of Schubert's. See Chusid, "The Poets of *Schwanengesang*: Rellstab, Heine, and Seidl," in Chusid, *A Companion*, p. 34.

160. Chusid, "Texts and Commentary," in Chusid, *A Companion*, p. 138.

161. Chusid, "Texts and Commentary," in Chusid, *A Companion*, p. 132.

162. Chusid, "Texts," in Chusid, *A Companion*, p. 135; Fitzgerald, "The Swimmers," in *Stories*, pp. 509, 511.

163. Fitzgerald, "The Swimmers," *Stories*, pp. 503-04. Fitzgerald's fictional duel seems more appropriate for Tommy Barban than Henry Marston. However, the almost exact cadence and sound of their names suggests that Fitzgerald was working out his idea for this type of altercation in "The Swimmers" before using it in *Tender is the Night* less than five years later.

164. See Litschauer, "The Origin and Early Reception of *Schwanengesang*," in Chusid, *A Companion*, pp. 5-6.

165. McGowan, p. 212.

166. "Alliéés" is spelled with only one "é" the first time it is mentioned, but thereafter it contains an "e" with an accent aigu (é) and one without.

167. Linking the topography of Switzerland with the narrative structure of the novel, Marie-Agnès Gay posits that "evidence of the symbolically centrifugal dimension of Switzerland is also to be found in Fitzgerald's very play with discourse and narration." See Marie-Agnès Gay, "Si le soleil ne revenait pas: Swiss Clockwork Gone Mad in *Tender is the Night*," in Blazek, *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, p. 110.

168. F. Scott Fitzgerald, [Letter to H. L. Mencken, April 23, 1934], in Brucoli, *Life in Letters*, pp. 255-56. Fitzgerald discusses Joseph Conrad's influence and explains that the "motif of the 'dying fall' was absolutely deliberate." Fitzgerald, [Letter to John O'Hara, July 25, 1936], in Brucoli, *Life in Letters*, p. 303.

169. Henderson, pp. 106-07.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion: Transposing Memory

In January of 1925, the same year *The Great Gatsby* was published and *Tender is the Night* was begun, a sixteen-year old girl murdered her mother in San Francisco. Popular speculation held that Dorothy Ellingson suffered from "Jazzmania," a "demented state thought to result from drinking, dancing, smoking, petting, riding in cars, and listening to loud jazz." Coverage in the *New York Herald* implied that her flapper lifestyle precipitated the event. She was ultimately convicted and sent to prison. Learning of the atrocity would have been easy enough for F. Scott Fitzgerald since the *Herald* published fourteen articles about the Ellingson matricide between January and August of 1925. As an expatriate, he was familiar with the publication, which was read "by most Americans in Western Europe." It also appears often in *Tender*. Making the case that the homicide provided the thematic impetus for Fitzgerald's fourth novel, James L. West points out that Theodore Dreiser, whom Fitzgerald admired, had appropriated a real-life crime for the plot of his *An American Tragedy* (1925), which was

"enormously successful."¹ Sensing the pressure to produce a masterpiece after *Gatsby*, Fitzgerald may have looked to Dreiser's example, for Fitzgerald started writing a book about a young man who kills his mother while on vacation in Europe. This material proved "alien" to his genius, as Matthew Bruccoli suggests, and he abandoned it after three years of "frustrating work."²

The failed matricide plot for *Tender* illustrates that one cultural barometer Fitzgerald used for his fiction was popular music. Integrating it allowed him to highlight his generation's drift toward amorality, the consequences of which he addressed repeatedly. "Babylon Revisited" (1931), for example, recounts Charlie Wales's staggering losses that result from his "selling short" on several levels. Despite his efforts at personal and professional reform after the Stock Market Crash of 1929, Charlie realizes that his biggest failure was not financial because he lost everything he wanted "in the boom."³ Different from "Babylon" in the use of contemporary songs, "What A Handsome Pair!" juxtaposes them with a more serious artistic idiom in order to distinguish naïve from sophisticated emotions, the type of distinction that emphasizes the adolescent irresponsibility of Charlie Wales compared to the sober maturity of the composer Teddy.

Although Fitzgerald appeared as a spokesman for his peers, he was really a "moralist at heart," as he told his daughter, and judged harshly the excesses of his time and the inevitable aftermath.⁴ Helping him to articulate this vision, coverage of the Ellingson case posed that listening to "loud jazz" was one factor in illicit behavior. Comparing "Jazzmania" to the "shell shock endured by troops" in World War I, one reporter pointed out the inherent dangers in the wild lifestyle.⁵ Though Fitzgerald started *Tender* with an idea similar to the headline story, he eventually dismissed it, moving "in a different direction—past Dreiser and beyond the Jazz Age to something new."⁶ Tunes like "Tea for Two" highlight selfish and sexual indiscretions in *Tender is the Night*, but Franz Schubert's Lieder provide stronger thematic support for the tragic downfall of the self-confessed Romantic, Dick Diver.

Like Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway used popular music as a way to highlight the individual and social values of characters in his work, but his reliance on it was far more limited. Although "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" and "Homage to Switzerland" draw from the classical repertoire, "The Gambler, The Nun, and The Radio" integrates more contemporary music to deepen thematic resonance. Stemming from Hemingway's stay in St. Vincent's Hospital in Billings, Montana during November of 1930 for treatment of an arm injury, the story describes the

experiences of Mr. Frazer, being treated in Hailey for a broken leg. He is attended to by Sister Cecilia and befriends Cayetano Ruiz, a Mexican gambler who was shot by a guitar player Ruiz beat at cards. Similar to Fitzgerald's *Tender*, different types of songs are juxtaposed to underscore the nuanced perspective of Mr. Frazer. Specifically, hit tunes from 1930 such as "Sing Something Simple," "Betty Co-ed," and "Little White Lies" are referenced alongside "La Cucaracha," the Mexican revolutionary anthem.

The tension between Frazer and the "thin" Mexican who believes "in nothing" reveals the central paradox of the story.⁷ Condemning the skinny man's pedantry and anarchism, Frazer tells him that "education is the opium of the people."⁸ Frazer puts his faith instead in "knowledge," a very different concept that resonates with hard-earned experience as opposed to an idealist's erudition. The Mexican, along with two other countrymen, arrives at the hospital to serenade Cayetano. They are musicians, and they satisfy Frazer's request for "La Cucaracha." It is more palatable to him than the radio hits he hears, which provoke only parody and thinly veiled disgust. "Cucaracha," however, prompts nobler thoughts, for though it is played badly, it still expresses "emotion" and "has the sinister lightness and deftness of so many of the tunes men have gone to die to."⁹ Unlike "God Rest You" and "Homage," both of which are

also in *Winner Take Nothing*, "Gambler" directly references, rather than alludes to, different types of "tunes." The distinction between them emphasizes the deception the popular lyrics describe and the courage the folk song implies. However, like the other two stories, the text of "Gambler" deals with the theme of communication and uses music as a means of suggesting that it is "the only universal language."¹⁰

Jazz and the popular songs it embellished reflected the progressive social trends of a generation, one to which Hemingway and Fitzgerald belonged but from which Willa Cather was alienated. More than a quarter century older than both Hemingway and Fitzgerald, Cather was born in 1873 and did not enter maturity in the Jazz Age. On the contrary, she became more reclusive just as Hemingway and Fitzgerald were gaining exposure and critical acclaim in the 1920s even though she continued to publish during this time. Following her Pulitzer-Prize winning *One of Ours* (1922) was *A Lost Lady* (1923), which Fitzgerald greatly admired, then *The Professor's House* (1925), *My Mortal Enemy* (1926), and *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927). While Hemingway and Fitzgerald, born just three years apart, were still teenagers, she was already working as an author. By the time the Armory Show and Igor Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* heralded the Modern era in 1913, Cather had produced a volume of short stories, *The Troll Garden* (1905), her first novel,

Alexander's Bridge (1912), and "The Bohemian Girl," based on Michael Balfe's mid-nineteenth-century opera by the same name that she had seen produced in Red Cloud. She had become a deft reviewer of different types of performances in large part because of her experience with the *Lincoln Courier*. Ultimately, her keen interest in music never extended far into the twentieth century.

One of the most obvious examples of the influence of contemporary culture on Cather's work remains her characterization of Blind d'Arnault in *My Ántonia*. He was based on a composite of black pianists, Blind Boone and Blind Tom. The talent of both men was renown, and Cather saw them play in Lincoln and Red Cloud.¹¹ Although "Blind" Tom Bethune's (1849-1908) repertoire highlighted some newer trends, he was a profound soloist of the classical canon, and many journalists compared him to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Ludwig van Beethoven. He also reputedly composed over one hundred pieces.¹² Conversely, John William "Blind" Boone (1864-1927) is "distinguished by his contributions to early ragtime."¹³ Younger than his peer, he performed many "plantation songs," as does his fictional counterpart in Cather's novel, and was "keenly aware of the popular music" that surrounded him.¹⁴

Even though Blind d'Arnault plays "plantation songs" in the novel, the real-life inspirations for his character built their

fame on dazzling interpretations of nineteenth-century keyboard standards by Frédéric Chopin, Franz Liszt, and others. In this way, Blind Tom and Blind Boone are more closely aligned with Mr. Shimerda and the Old World tradition he represents. However, d'Arnault's repertoire stands in stark contrast to that of Ántonia's father, indicating a more contemporary type of artist. Cather's integration of a popular idiom in her novel was nevertheless undergirded by a classical one. She became disdainful of newer music, according to James Woodress. He emphasizes that she "deplored" the Jazz Age and Modernism in general since she "couldn't take Gertrude Stein or Ezra Pound seriously" and "could not have been dragged to hear Schönberg."¹⁵ Her "growing disenchantment" with the era contributed to her alienation from it.¹⁶

The tendency to align early twentieth-century writers with the popular music of their lifetime stems from an easy chronological connection and an interest in cultural, not literal, influence. Since jazz was boldly defiant of convention, the art form represented new ways to move aesthetic consciousness forward. In its immediacy, jazz is suggestive. It communicates the present, not the past, and can move with the frenetic pace of modern life, adjusting almost spontaneously. Moreover, the principle of improvisation defies the more precise architecture of a classical tradition. Despite appearances,

however, variations of a given melody were often “worked out in rehearsals, played from memory, or written down” and performed “from notation,” as Peter Burkholder maintains.¹⁷

Regardless of orchestration, soloists still dazzled audiences in much the same way their predecessors had in the recent past but without the stigma of canonical, or stale, tradition. Suggesting that jazz offered a way to bridge highbrow and lowbrow music, Marshall McLuhan argues that “literary people eagerly accepted” such connections. He observes that T. S. Eliot “got jazz into the rhythms of his early poems.”¹⁸ Eliot would be only one example, for several others, especially poets of the Harlem Renaissance, demonstrated more consistently how the swelling trend caught on among those who endeavored to capture the newest American idiom.

Jazz did not translate as easily in prose as it did in poetry. Because most of the standards belonging to the repertoire are short and characteristically defined by rhythmic irregularity along with improvisation, they could not offer structural paradigms for large-scale works such as novels or even the condensed framework of short stories. Instead, the level of orchestration required for a symphony resembles the layers of exegetical difficulty typical of some Modern American novels. Representative pieces in both genres require multiple listenings or readings to access the innermost nuances of the

ways form and content work together. Conversely, the success of a jazz standard was based not so much upon repeated attention as on a singular, and live, performance.

Much of the jazz repertoire was recognizable only through semblance of melody. Individuals lent their exegetical power to vary rhythm, cadence, key, and other harmonic aspects.

Commenting on the nature of such interpretation, Gilbert Seldes wrote in 1924 that "it is a little difficult, unless one has the piano score, to determine what part is the work of the composer, what of the . . . orchestra" although he claims with some certainty that whatever tune "occurs is the composer's, and that rhythmically he is followed with some fidelity."¹⁹ Conductors like Arturo Toscanini provided their version of Franz Schubert's Symphony No. 8, "Unfinished," for example, but the musical text remained the same. Conversely, jazz soloists sometimes kept little of the original song in their rendition of it. Such wide degrees of variation cannot provide a stable model for literary appropriation. Instead, they offered cultural specimens of artistic perspective and attitude.

Media theory provides one way to understand the influence bandied between literature and music of the early twentieth century. The guiding principle of such critical inquiry is the focus on technologies, the phonograph and radio for example. As McLuhan so famously claimed, "the medium is the message." His

axiom suggests that "all media are active metaphors in their power to translate experience into new forms."²⁰ McLuhan highlights the photograph as a revolutionary part of this trend because it signaled that the writer "could no longer describe objects or happenings for readers who already knew" those things through "photo, press, film, and radio. The poet and novelist turned to those inward gestures of the mind by which we achieve insight and by which we make ourselves and our world. Thus art moved from outer matching to inner making."²¹ Having wrestled with the profundity of the image, the "poet and novelist" would need also to recover "the vocal, auditory, and mimetic world that had been repressed by the printed word."

The "talking machine," or graphophone, provided the impetus and in doing so, McLuhan argues, it "inspired the strange new rhythms of 'the jazz age,' the various forms of syncopation and symbolist discontinuity."²² However, classical music presents a model that is equally potent for recovering the acoustic world flattened by the silent motion picture and "printed word." Moreover, the rich texture and lyricism associated with the nineteenth-century canon would provide an idiom commensurate with the nostalgic tone of American Modernist fiction.²³

In addition to revealing a hidden muse for the American literary imagination, reevaluating an author's musical influences adjusts certain critical biases. For example, because

Fitzgerald is frequently associated with the Jazz Age, scholarship based on his knowledge of classical composers is limited. Similarly, the stereotypes of Hemingway depict him as too "manly" to listen to Bach. A fetishization of Hemingway's masculinity has overshadowed his more sublime interests. Finally, partly because of her close relationship with the diva Olive Fremstad, the majority of work on Willa Cather's fiction stresses her singular preference for writing about opera over instrumental compositions. The œuvres of these writers present rich opportunities for discovering their use of a different artistic paradigm. At the very least, Romantic music promotes a new avenue for the consideration of all three.

Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and Cather are rarely grouped together, and doing so is a natural, but not a foregone, conclusion. Although all three were Midwesterners, Cather is typically associated with the set of writers that preceded the Lost Generation. The work of all three regardless shares similar aesthetic qualities and some of the defining thematic subjects of Modernism such as World War I. Cather and Fitzgerald, not having experienced it the way Hemingway did as an ambulance driver, addressed it in a more limited way. Cather published *One of Ours* in 1922, and Fitzgerald dealt with it peripherally in *Tender is the Night* (1934). Hermione Lee claims that the difference between Fitzgerald's treatment of the conflict, as

"an American writer abroad," and Cather's, at home in the United States, is that "her sense of an ending is directed at the closed pioneering frontier, not at the blowing up of the European world."²⁴ Cather's rendering of it was an immediate best-seller, won her the Pulitzer Prize, cemented her fame, and solved her money problems for the rest of her life.

Her depiction of the conflict served as a point of contention for Hemingway. Not impressed with her success, he wrote to Edmund Wilson about *One of Ours*, a little incredulous that people were "taking it seriously." Exclaiming that Cather appropriated the "battle scene in *Birth of a Nation*," he wrote that the "poor woman . . . had to get her war experience somewhere."²⁵ However, Cather's fictional perspective, like Fitzgerald's, addressed nostalgia for home, a sentiment also expressed in some of Hemingway's war fiction. Though Fitzgerald liked Cather's work, there is little indication that Hemingway did. Nevertheless, he and Cather were most likely aware that they were in competition with each other as their careers progressed. They both were included along with Theodore Dreiser, Somerset Maugham, H. G. Wells, and Jules Romains in Sinclair Lewis's list of the "six greatest living novelists" in a 1941 speech.²⁶ Had Fitzgerald not died less than a year earlier, Lewis might have counted him as well.

More of a fan than Hemingway, Fitzgerald greatly admired Cather, and the tenor of their interaction relayed a mutual respect. He declared his esteem in a 1925 letter to her in which he exclaims his particular affection for, among other of her writings, *My Ántonia* and his sincere apology for his "apparent plagiarism" of a section of *A Lost Lady* (1923) in *The Great Gatsby* (1925). She wrote to him that she enjoyed *Gatsby*.²⁷ Fitzgerald's famous missive has produced several critical inquiries exploring the professional relationship between Cather and her fellow Midwesterner.²⁸ Tom Quirk posits that she "had exerted a greater influence upon him than even he seems to have realized, in matters of incident and story as well as style and technique."²⁹ Regardless of the extent of Cather's impact, Fitzgerald was very excited that his work registered with his older contemporary.

Despite professional and personal differences, the work of all three is marked by a definitive nostalgic sense and concern for morality, which is a natural outgrowth of sentiment for the way things used to be. Fitzgerald and Hemingway often addressed the vapid aimlessness of their peers in their fiction. Fitzgerald explained his abandonment of writing lyrics for musical comedy to his daughter, for example, by saying that he "wanted to preach at people in some acceptable fashion."³⁰ Perhaps a little more optimistic, Hemingway juxtaposed Gertrude

Stein's famous comment with a passage from Ecclesiastes as epigraphs to *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), indicating that every generation is "lost"; the "secret" is to "get to know the values" in order to reclaim direction.³¹ Writing about Nebraska in a 1923 essay, Cather observed that persons belonging to the new era hate "to make anything" and that they want "to live and die in an automobile."³² Her male contemporaries had reason to be hopeful; they were younger and more connected to the modernity from which she tended to retreat in her older years.

Cather's distance from the Lost Generation does not diminish her impact as a Modernist writer, a defining quality of which was a primary concern with the aesthetics of prose. Stemming from the Impressionism that precipitated the early twentieth-century style, a focus on sensory experience defined the capstones of the new literary era to which Cather, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald belonged. At the center of the emerging creed was a reverence for the image, and emphasizing the aural dimensions of it made it more forceful. Providing one source of inspiration and appropriation was music. Interdisciplinary reliance on it is typically identified as an avant-garde, largely European, phenomenon, but the American counterpart presents an equally strong case for the ways in which a Romantic paradigm could articulate impressions of the

individual and collective past with which the period and these writers were so preoccupied.

More than Hemingway and Fitzgerald, Cather's craft stems from the Paterian Impressionism of Henry James by virtue of her chronological proximity to it. Moreover, the qualities of Realism in her early novels and stories, mostly evident in her choice of narrative perspective, were eclipsed by more progressive ones by the 1920s. The 1922 essay "The Novel Dèmeublé" is typically cited as evidence of her embrace of Modernist aesthetics. The non-fiction piece discusses "imaginative art" as opposed to a more journalistic kind, such as Naturalism. In order to actually create, she maintained, the writer needs to engage "the inexplicable presence of the thing not named, of the over-tone divined by the ear but not heard by it."³³ Her distinct use of the words "over-tone" and "ear" point to acoustic inspiration.

Critics typically identify her middle period of the 1920s as her most avant-garde partly because it represents a departure from the Realism in her earlier fiction. Her incorporation of other arts signals an Impressionistic bent, however, and had been ongoing from the beginning of her career, starting with one of her first short stories, "Peter." Just as it explores the immigrant's plight through music, Cather had tried in other of her works over the next two decades to absorb Dvořák's *New World*

Symphony. The seamless integration of it in *My Ántonia* anticipates her more daring experiments with musical structure in the works to come, for she drew inspiration from sonata form, an integral component of the nineteenth-century canon, in writing one of her most nostalgic books, *The Professor's House*.

Instead of representing the end of her early period, designated by the prairie novels, *My Ántonia* looks forward not just to *The Professor's House* but also to late works like *Lucy Gayheart* (1935) in which two of Franz Schubert's most famous Lieder are sung by the aging Clement Sebastian. The figure of the singer is one of the most identifiable and recurrent features of Cather's oeuvre. Though her relationship with Olive Fremstad was an important source of inspiration, Antonín Dvořák provided an earlier and, in some ways, more formative influence on her incorporation of music. She had seen his *New World Symphony* performed in 1894. Fremstad was famous for performing Wagnerian roles at the Met in the first decade of the twentieth century, but the writer had not met the diva until 1913, when she interviewed her for ideas on what would become *The Song of the Lark* (1915), Cather's *Künstlerroman* "depicting the growth of an artist."³⁴ The struggles inherent in Fremstad's story as an immigrant who achieved hard-earned fame would naturally complement similar plights such as Nationalist works assumed.

Cather's awareness of that musical tradition goes beyond Dvořák, for her comments in a 1924 interview indicate her extended interest. She mentions the Norwegian composer Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) to illustrate the similarity between folk song and her writing, specifically *My Ántonia*. Her fictional treatment of the immigrant's struggle aligns with the art of Grieg, Dvořák, and others because it is "more concentrated and it expresses the experience of a people, it speaks not for eternity, but for a long-known past." Alternately, a popular repertoire expresses only "the present."³⁵ Gilbert Seldes made that observation in 1957 as a way to correct his original, but mistaken, comments in 1924 on the same topic. Cather's *My Ántonia* indicates that she realized the distinction by 1918.

Though critics have loosely recognized the role of Dvořák's music in *My Ántonia* as Cather's fictional formulation of cultural pluralism, they have not viewed the novel as the literary representation of a Nationalist idiom. Because the form of Jim's story is tantamount to its content, his memoir resembles a protracted folk song. Jim records what he remembers of Ántonia, but he "didn't take time to arrange it." Rather, he "simply wrote down pretty much all that her name recalls" to him (2).³⁶ In the original 1918 introduction to *My Ántonia*, Jim thinks that "to speak her name was to call up pictures of people and places, to set a quiet drama going in one's brain" (243).

Sound not only vivifies dormant memory, it also turns into a narrative, a "quiet drama." Music in the book and as a source for it increases not only the acoustic but also the compositional dimension of it.

An epistemological accompaniment to Jim's story, music offers constancy in the face of change. The concept is metaphorically represented in Mr. Shimerda's violin, appearances of which punctuate the book, especially Jim's reunion with Ántonia at the end. Jim needs this support, for he thinks that "in the course of twenty crowded years one parts with many illusions. I did not want to lose the early ones" (211). Subsequently, he is relieved to find her "battered but not diminished" (214). The sound and cadence of the observation resonate uncannily with Santiago's belief in *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) that a man can be "destroyed but not defeated." Jim might be seen as one such man who despite a number of disappointments over the years, such as his unfulfilling marriage, manages to make his "romantic disposition . . . one of the strongest elements of his success," according to his unnamed peer in the introduction (2). Jim is not Santiago, but both men, and Ántonia, possess a "disposition" that encourages them to show "what a man can do and what a man endures."³⁷ Nationalist works typically express a similar tenacity.

Cather's influences are somewhat obvious in her choice of thematic material, but Hemingway's remain difficult to detect. That his craft is built upon a complicit understanding of the arts is obvious in the deleted ending to his widely-regarded "Big Two-Hearted River" (1925). In "On Writing" Nick Adams contemplates his chosen profession as an author and the requisite approach to it. His foremost task is to write the way Paul Cézanne painted because Nick wanted to describe "country so it would be there like Cézanne had done it" in his own medium. Nick knows how difficult this will be since the effort would have to come "from inside" himself, without any "tricks." Cézanne's invaluable role as a bridge between nineteenth-century Impressionism and the more radical aesthetic inquiry of the early twentieth century such as Pablo Picasso explored aligns with Nick's desire to break down a traditional method in order to build "the real thing." Doing so meant "you'd lived right with your eyes."³⁸ An important commentary on the interdisciplinary aspect of literature, "On Writing" presents an oblique argument for living "right with" one's ears as well. Great fiction is predicated not only on acuity of vision but also on aural acumen.

Because Hemingway's paratactic style is the least lyrical of all three writers, his use of a musical idiom is far more allusive. Moreover, his incorporation of a Romantic paradigm has

much to do with the tension inherent in the model itself. The conflict between passion and order that defines so much of the 1800s derives from competing elements of content and form. Hemingway's preference for Johann Sebastian Bach and Johannes Brahms highlights this stress. Bach's chromaticism provided one avenue for expressivity but his command of counterpoint ensured restraint. Brahms's work develops emotion but never becomes sentimental, or overly reliant on melodic gestures, because of his innovative focus on rhythm. The compositional practice of both men underscores Hemingway's interest in the architecture of fiction, an element of it that tempered direct expression by employing elision.

Disciplined restraint remained an important part of Hemingway's craft since he believed that "prose is architecture, not interior decoration."³⁹ Similar to Cather's concept of the novel *dèmeublé*, meaning unfurnished, Hemingway's comment in *Death in the Afternoon* (1932) refers to his preference for understatement and the Modernist reliance on suggestion over exposition. This characteristic of his oeuvre is widely recognized as a quintessential feature of it, but the purpose of a specific musical paradigm to that end remains largely ignored. This particular aspect is at the core of some of his most experimental writing such as "Homage to Switzerland." Providing a model for the compositional procedure related to "Homage,"

Brahms's *Variations on a Theme by Haydn* serves an important external role as a possible source for the form of the story, but the piece does not function within it in a specific thematic way. Using the work in this capacity is different from positioning it in the submerged layers of the iceberg.

Hemingway removed thematic elements from the textual surface in order to produce a more complex reading experience, a strategy he identified with the image of an iceberg that is also known as his "theory of omission." He claimed that "if a writer of prose knows enough about what he is writing about he may omit things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them."⁴⁰ The earliest attempt at this new creed was his "Out of Season" (1923) in which the drunken guide Peduzzi tries to convince a vacationing young couple to go trout fishing despite the local laws forbidding it. What is missing is that the man complained to the hotel manager, after which Peduzzi killed himself. Although the conflict in the story derives from the discord between the man and woman, the unresolved tension inherent in Peduzzi's desperate attempts to have the young man purchase his services in advance, and his consequent suicide, produces another emotional dimension in "Out of Season."⁴¹

Different for appearing more experimental in form and content, "God Rest You" also seems to rely on information that is omitted. One way to understand the boy's strange desire for castration is through the history of *castrati* in the sacred and secular Western tradition. This view presents a new alternative to seeing his odd request as the simple response to Puritanical ideology. Besides the strange situation in "God Rest You," the narrative perspective in it also contributes to critical dismissal. However, the brevity of the tale coupled with the avoidance of focusing on one character points to qualities of hymnody, a genre that connects to the origins of the *evirati* and with which Hemingway was familiar. Despite the innovative relation of music to structural and thematic elements in "God Rest You" and "Homage," both present the recurring preoccupation in Hemingway's work with the ways in which people negotiate suffering.

Hemingway's economical style belies an intensity of emotion. However, a romantic disposition such as Jim Burden's is harder to locate among Hemingway's characters than those in either Cather or Fitzgerald; many times, they become hard-boiled about the world, having been subjected to too many disappointments. Knowledge learned and, more importantly, earned usually attends suffering in Hemingway's fiction, as it does in *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) when Frederic Henry remembers of the

priest that "he had always known what I did not know and what, when I learned it, I was always able to forget."⁴² The men in "God Rest You" and "Homage" similarly experience difficult lessons and whether they retain what they have comprehended remains uncertain, for their ability to communicate is compromised. Much of the loneliness and isolation these characters feel stems from such a deficiency. The doctors in "God Rest You" cannot reach an accord, possibly causing the death of a young man. Though Wheeler, Johnson, and Harris in "Homage" are all skilled in verbal play, each one finds himself alone at the end. Both stories have traditionally been slighted by critical consideration because of strange content and narrative perspective in one and structural oddity in the other. A musical context for criticism helps promote these pieces to a level of artistic seriousness that had previously been denied them.

Lacking the childhood training Hemingway received and the experience of reviewing performances that Cather accumulated, Fitzgerald displays his musical influences most readily of all three authors. His use of a Romantic idiom is the easiest to identify since he makes direct references, and his writing is so characteristically lyrical that emphasizing that quality seems unnecessary. Connecting it to nineteenth-century music, however, presents an entirely new way to read his fiction as

interdisciplinary since current critical opinion prefers to focus on his use of popular tunes and jazz. Among his contemporaries, Gertrude Stein observed that Fitzgerald was "the only one of the younger writers who wrote naturally in sentences." In retrospect, critics such as Matthew Bruccoli see Fitzgerald's style as "inseparable from the emotion it expressed."⁴³ The same facility to articulate genuine pathos belonged also to Franz Schubert. The Prince of Song provides a better, though previously unexplored, analogue for Fitzgerald's art than does John Keats, to whom the twentieth-century author is often compared.

Schubert's characteristically long and pretty melodies, for which he is most famous, generated the lyricism that dominated the nineteenth-century canon. The song-like quality of his compositional practice, rather than his harmonic or rhythmic tendencies, identifies him as Romantic. Fitzgerald's prose style, containing lush imagery and strong verbs, is similarly the best-known feature of his writing and one that spans his oeuvre. In his debut novel, *This Side of Paradise* (1920), Amory Blaine enjoys falling asleep to "the pleasure of hearing the violin music . . . come surging in at his window. Many nights he lay there dreaming awake of secret cafés in Mont Martre, where ivory women delved in romantic mysteries, . . . while orchestras played Hungarian waltzes and the air was thick and exotic with

intrigue and moonlight and adventure."⁴⁴ Amory equates fantasy with "violin music," and he also creates an associative link among amorous exploits, "orchestras," and the "exotic." It comes as no surprise, therefore, that he later compares Isabelle's voice to a "violin" but grants Rosalind's tone a superlative description of being as "musical as a waterfall."⁴⁵ Fitzgerald's use of liquid acoustic imagery emphasizes the fluid nature of love. The chimera of it as a theme recurs throughout his work, most often in a protagonist's quest for an unattainable quixotic goal.

The romantic and the musical are inextricably woven concepts in Fitzgerald's fiction such as "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz" (1922). When John Unger visits his friend Percy's home, which is built on a gem as large as a mountain in Montana, he remembers his first night there as a "daze of many colors, of quick sensory impressions, of music soft as a voice in love, and of the beauty of things." All that he initially takes in "trembled" on his "spirit like a chord of music." The setting is beyond bucolic; it is empyrean, and in his awe of his surroundings, John listens intently to the sound of "flutes dripping a melody that was like a waterfall."⁴⁶ The rich aural imagery of John's experience is not only celestial, but aphrodisiacal. Having fallen in love with Percy's sister, Kismine, the two share their first kiss in the "ruby and ermine

music room," and that night, "when a last breath of music drifted down from the highest tower, they . . . decided to be married as soon as possible."⁴⁷ John's aspirations, however, are only "prophecies of that incomparable, unattainable young dream," as the narrator explains.⁴⁸ Desire is doomed to disappointment.

Fitzgerald's preoccupation with the doomed man provides thematic weight to his intensely lyrical prose. The character of Dick Diver represents the fulfillment of such a fictional persona, the development of which Fitzgerald had been engaged in since *This Side of Paradise*. Amory Blaine articulates his belief that he is a Romantic since "the sentimental person thinks things will last" whereas someone like himself "hopes against hope that they won't. Sentiment is emotional."⁴⁹ The inevitable disillusionment of Amory pales in comparison to the more extravagant idealism of Jay Gatsby who is never quite able to grasp the reality of his situation with Daisy. Both men court high ideals, but Gatsby's fall is much more tragic if for no other reason than he pays for his shortsightedness with his life. Dick Diver is a different kind of dreamer by virtue of possessing greater psychological insight into himself than Amory or Gatsby despite the fact that it cannot save him. As Amory's, and therefore Fitzgerald's, formulation makes clear, Dick's

destruction is inevitable, a fate that resonates with some of the darkest of Schubert's Lieder.

The reference to "Schubert songs" in *Tender is the Night* seems incidental because it occurs only once, and yet, the entire novel is undergirded by the same concepts of love and despair as is Schubert's "Der Doppelganger" and other of the Heine pieces in *Schwanengesang*. Dick's sense of loss stems from a Schubertian sensibility. Plaintively admitting at the battlefield of Amiens that his "beautiful lovely safe world blew itself up" there, Dick refers to the event as "the last love battle" (57).⁵⁰ Confessing to Rosemary that he is "an old Romantic," Dick recognizes his alienation from a younger, forward-thinking generation such as hers (58). Similar to the work of Cather and Hemingway, maturity and its attendant wisdom bring sadness to those with a certain disposition, for with recognition comes isolation. Dick can anticipate his "dying fall" because of his level of self-awareness and simultaneous surrender to a "Romantic" pathos that thrives on the "torment" and "pain" Heine's poem articulates.⁵¹

The beauty and appeal of Schubert's Lieder lie in the fact that word and tone are closely related. This relationship has special meaning in a literate society, which interiorizes text. According to Walter Ong, all writing has "to be related somehow, directly or indirectly, to the world of sound, the natural

habitat of language, to yield" meaning. Reading a novel means hearing it, aloud or "in the imagination."⁵² Amplifying this quality is the influence of instrumental composition. It expresses human feeling partly because it imitates the rhythm and cadence of speech, which inherently connects it to literature. The fiction of Cather, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald highlights the complicit nature of the two arts; one functions on a more complex level with inspiration from the other, as Claude Debussy's *Prelude to the Afternoon of a Faun* illustrates. However, inspiration rests in suggestion, not duplication, and the way in which an author crafts musical influence becomes its own kind of performance. What E. T. A. Hoffman called the "most Romantic" medium, music can transform a literary work into an aesthetic object worthy of acoustic contemplation.

Notes

1. James L. W. West, III, "Tender is the Night, 'Jazzmania', and the Ellingson Matricide," *Twenty-First-Century Readings of Tender is the Night*, eds. William Blazek and Laura Rattray (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press): pp. 42-43, 44.
2. Matthew J. Bruccoli, *The Composition of Tender is the Night: A Study of the Manuscripts* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963): p. 65.
3. F. Scott Fitzgerald, "Babylon Revisited," *Babylon Revisited and Other Stories* (New York: Scribners, 2003): p. 229.
4. Cited in Matthew J. Bruccoli, *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur*, revised edition (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002): p. 131. Also in F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, ed. Andrew Turnbull (New York: Scribners, 1963): p. 63.
5. West, p. 36.
6. West, p. 47.
7. Ernest Hemingway, "The Gambler, The Nun, and The Radio," *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*, Finca Vigía edition (New York: Scribners, 1998): p. 362.
8. Hemingway, "Gambler," p. 368.
9. Hemingway, "Gambler," p. 367.

10. See Bruce Morton, "Music and Distorted View in Hemingway's 'The Gambler, The Nun, and The Radio,'" *Studies in Short Fiction*, 20 (1983): 80. Although Morton's suggestion that "music provides the central unifying motif" of "Gambler" is correct, he mistakenly sees the main conflict in it between Frazer and Sister Cecilia, whose namesake is the patron saint of music. Morton claims that "Gambler" is another instance of Hemingway's nihilism and, specifically, that the songs in the story serve to underline Frazer's ironic conversations with the nun, whom he cannot take seriously.

11. James Woodress, *Willa Cather: A Literary Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989): pp. 291-92.

12. Geneva Southall, "Blind Tom: A Misrepresented and Neglected Composer-Pianist," *The Black Perspective in Music*, 3 (1975): 143, 146.

13. Ann Sears, "John William 'Blind' Boone, Pianist-Composer: 'Merit Not Sympathy Wins,'" *Black Music Research Journal*, 9 (1989): 225.

14. Sears, pp. 234, 238.

15. Woodress, p. 476. Cather's letters indicate that she was not a fan of Pound's poetry, especially in comparison to that of Robert Frost, whom she thought used classical elements in his verse. She expressed also her disdain for the group of writers that gathered around Stein in the 1920s because they did

not amount to much in her opinion. See Willa Cather, [Letter to Robert Frost, November 17, 1915] and [Letter to E. K. Brown, April 12, 1947], in *A Calendar of the Letters of Willa Cather: An Expanded, Digital Edition*, ed. Andrew Jewell and Janis P. Stout, 2007. Willa Cather Archive.

<http://cather.unl.edu/index.calendar.html>.

16. Woodress, p. 336.
17. Peter J. Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010): p. 866.
18. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1994): p. 278.
19. Gilbert Seldes, *The Seven Lively Arts* (New York: Sagamore Press, 1957): p. 90.
20. McLuhan, p. 57.
21. McLuhan, p.194.
22. McLuhan, p. 279.
23. More recently, Mark Goble has extended McLuhan's argument and discussed how the popularity of new technologies in the early twentieth century changed Modernist aesthetics by gratifying and indulging "mediums and materialities of communication." See Mark Goble, *Beautiful Circuits: Modernism and the Mediated Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010): pp. 7-8.

24. Hermione Lee, *Willa Cather: Double Lives* (New York: Vintage, 1991): pp. 173-74.
25. Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Edmund Wilson, November 25, 1923], *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters*, ed. Carlos Baker (New York: Scribners, 1981): p. 105.
26. See Ernest Hemingway, [Letter to Maxwell Perkins, December 11, 1941], in Baker, *Selected Letters*, p. 531. For more information on the relationship between the work of Cather and Hemingway, please see Steve Trout, "Antithetical Icons? Willa Cather, Ernest Hemingway, and the First World War," *Cather Studies*, 7 (2007): 269-87. See also Glen A. Love, "The Professor's House: Cather, Hemingway, and the Chastening of American Prose Style," *Western American Literature*, 24 (1990): 295-311.
27. F. Scott Fitzgerald, [Letter to Willa Cather, Late March/early April, 1925], *A Life in Letters*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli with the assistance of Judith S. Baughman (New York: Scribners, 1994): p. 100. Willa Cather, [Letter to F. Scott Fitzgerald, April 28, 1925], in *A Calendar of the Letters of Willa Cather: An Expanded, Digital Edition*, ed. Andrew Jewell and Janis P. Stout, 2007. Willa Cather Archive.
<http://cather.unl.edu/index.calendar.html>.
28. Woodress, p. 351.

29. Tom Quirk, "Fitzgerald and Cather: *The Great Gatsby*," *American Literature*, 54 (1982): 576.
30. Cited in Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 131. Also in F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, ed. Andrew Turnbull (New York: Scribners, 1963): p. 63.
31. Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* (New York: Scribners, 1954): p. 67. See Hemingway's anecdote explaining the circumstances surrounding Stein's comment and his subsequent meditation on "Miss Stein . . . and egotism and mental laziness versus discipline" when he "thought who is calling who a lost generation?" In Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (New York: Scribners, 1964): pp. 29-31.
32. Willa Cather, "Nebraska: The End of the First Cycle," is cited in Lee, *Double Lives*, p. 8. Originally appeared in *The Nation*, 117 (September 5, 1923): 236, 238.
33. Willa Cather, "The Novel Déméublé," in the Willa Cather Archive, ed. Andrew Jewell, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. <http://cather.unl.edu> (accessed December 22, 2011). Originally appeared in *The New Republic*, 30 (April 12, 1922): 5-6.
34. Woodress, p. 252.
35. Seldes, pp. 80-81. For Cather's comments about Edvard Grieg, see Rose C. Feld, "Restlessness Such as Ours Does Not Make For Beauty," *Willa Cather in Person: Interviews, Speeches,*

and Letters, ed. L. Brent Bohlke (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986): p. 72.

36. All quotations taken from Willa Cather, *My Ántonia* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995).

37. Ernest Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (New York: Scribners, 1995): pp. 103, 66.

38. Ernest Hemingway, *The Nick Adams Stories* (New York: Scribners, 1972): p. 239.

39. Ernest Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* (New York: Scribners, 1999): p. 153.

40. Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, pp. 153-54.

41. Ernest's experience provided the basis for "Out of Season." He wrote of his trip with Hadley to Cortina and of his report of the drunken guide that precipitated the man's suicide to F. Scott Fitzgerald, [December 24, 1925], in Baker, *Selected Letters*, pp. 180-81. See also Carlos Baker, *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story* (New York: Scribners, 1969): p. 109.

42. Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (New York: Scribners, 2003): p. 14.

43. Stein is quoted in Brucoli, *Epic Grandeur*, p. 120.

44. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1996): p. 37.

45. Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise*, p. 159.

46. F. Scott Fitzgerald, "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz," *Babylon Revisited and Other Stories* (New York: Scribners, 2003): pp. 82, 85.
47. Fitzgerald, "Diamond," p. 97.
48. Fitzgerald, "Diamond," p. 90.
49. Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise*, p. 163. Amory repeats this "ancient distinction" of his but clarifies it further by saying that, as a Romantic, he "has a desperate confidence" that things will not last (209).
50. All quotations taken from F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Tender is the Night* (New York: Scribners, 1934).
51. An English translation of Heine's poem is in Martin Chusid, "Texts and Commentary," *A Companion to Schubert's Schwanengesang*, ed. Martin Chusid (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000): p. 140.
52. Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London: Routledge, 2004): p. 8.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, J. Donald. "Scott Fitzgerald's Return to the Novel." In Bryer, *Critical Reception*, pp. 304-06. Originally appeared in *New York Times Book Review* (April 15, 1934): 7.

Albright, Daniel. *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Anderson, Katherine McClure. "Today's Book." In Bryer, *Critical Reception*, pp. 287-88. Originally appeared in *Macon Telegraph* (April 11, 1934): 4.

Aronson, Alex. *Music and the Novel: A Study in Twentieth-Century Fiction*. Totowa: Rowman & Littlefield, 1980.

Atkinson, Navarre. "Vienna to Devote Year to Schubert." *New York Times* (January 8, 1928): 55.

Aykroyd, Lucas. "'Homage to Switzerland' as Monodrama: A Microcosm of Hemingway's Autobiographically Inspired Fiction." *Hemingway Review* 17 (1997): 38-48.

Baker, Carlos. *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story*. New York: Scribners, 1969.

"Ban on Schubert Festival." *New York Times* (July 18, 1928): 36.

- Beegel, Susan, ed. *Hemingway's Neglected Short Fiction*.
Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992.
- Bennett, Bridget. "Whose Ántonia? Appropriations in *My Ántonia*."
Willa Cather and European Cultural Influences. Ed. Helen
May Dennis. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996, pp. 67-77.
- Bennett, Joseph. "Anton Dvořák." *The Musical Times and Singing
Class Quarterly* 25 (April 1884): 189-92.
- Benson, Jackson J. "Literary Allusion and the Private Irony of
Ernest Hemingway." *Pacific Coast Philology* 4 (1969): 24-29.
- Blazek, William and Laura Rattray, eds. *Twenty-First-Century
Readings of Tender is the Night*. Liverpool: Liverpool
University Press, 2007.
- Block, Adrienne Fried. "Dvořák's Long American Reach." In
Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 157-81.
- Bohlke, Brent L., ed. *Willa Cather in Person: Interviews,
Speeches, and Letters*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska
Press, 1986.
- Booth, Alice. "Willa Cather, Who Believes there is Nothing in
the World Finer to Write About than Life, Just as It Is,
and People, Just as They Are." In Bohlke, *Willa Cather in
Person*, pp. 121-26.
- Brasch, James D. and Joseph Sigman, comps. *Hemingway's Library:
A Composite Record*. New York: Garland, 1981.

- Brown, Marshall. "Origins of Modernism: Musical Structures and Narrative Forms." *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*. Ed. Steven Paul Scher. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 75-92.
- Browne, Lewis. *That Man Heine: A Biography*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1927.
- Bruckoli, Matthew J. *The Composition of Tender is the Night: A Study of the Manuscripts*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963.
- , ed. *The Only Thing That Counts: The Ernest Hemingway/Maxwell Perkins Correspondence: 1925-1947*. With the assistance of Robert W. Trogdon. New York: Scribners, 1996.
- . *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. 2nd rev. ed. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002.
- Bryer, Jackson R. *F. Scott Fitzgerald: The Critical Reception*. Burt Franklin & Co, 1978.
- Bucknell, Brad. *Literary Modernism and Musical Aesthetics: Pater, Pound, Joyce, and Stein*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Burkholder, J. Peter. "Brahms and Twentieth-Century Classical Music." *19th-Century Music* 8 (1984): 75-83.

- , Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, eds. *A History of Western Music*. 8th ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 2010.
- Burlingame, Roger. *Of Making Many Books: A Hundred Years of Reading, Writing and Publishing*. New York: Scribners, 1946.
- Butcher, Fanny. "New Fitzgerald Book Brilliant; Fails as Novel." In Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 298. Originally appeared in *Chicago Tribune* (April 14, 1934): p. 10.
- Camastra, Nicole J. "Hemingway's Modern Hymn: Music and the Church as Background Sources for 'God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen.'" *Hemingway Review* 28 (2008): 51-67.
- Cather, Willa. "Death of George Du Maurier." *The Home Monthly* 6 (November 1896): 11.
- . *My Ántonia*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1995.
- . "Nebraska: The End of the First Cycle." *The Nation* 117 (September 5, 1923): 236, 238.
- . "The Novel Démeublé." In Willa Cather Archive. Ed. Andrew Jewell. University of Nebraska-Lincoln.
<http://cather.unl.edu> (accessed December 22, 2011).
- . "Peter." In Murphy, *The Road Home*, pp. 117-20. Originally appeared in *The Hesperian* 22 (November 24, 1892): 10-12.
- . *The Song of the Lark*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988.
- . "Utterly Irrelevant." *Nebraska State Journal* (October 28, 1894): 13.

- . *The World and The Parish: Willa Cather's Articles and Reviews, 1893-1902.* 2 Vols. Ed. William M. Curtin. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.
- . *Youth and the Bright Medusa.* New York: Vintage, 1975.
- Chusid, Martin, ed. *A Companion to Schubert's Schwanengesang.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- . "The Poets of *Schwanengesang*: Rellstab, Heine, and Seidl." In Chusid, *Companion*, pp. 14-49.
- . "Texts and Commentary." In Chusid, *Companion*, pp. 90-155.
- Clapham, John. "Dvořák and the American Indian." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 113-22.
- Clark, J. Bunker. "Anthony Philip Heinrich: A Bohemian Predecessor to Dvořák in the Wilds of America." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 20-26.
- Comley, Nancy R. and Robert Scholes. "Tribal Things: Hemingway's Erotics of Truth." *NOVEL* 25 (1992): 268-85.
- Conrad, Joseph. *The Nigger of the Narcissus.* Garden City: Doubleday, 1933.
- Cooper, Barry. *The Beethoven Compendium.* Ann Arbor: Borders Press, 1991.
- Curnutt, Kirk. "Literature, Travel, and Switzerland." Plenary Address, 14th Biennial International Hemingway conference, Lausanne, Switzerland, June 25-July 3, 2010.

- Curtis, Benjamin. *Music Makes the Nation: Nationalist Composers and Nation Building in Nineteenth Century Europe*. Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008.
- Dahlhaus, Carl. *Nineteenth-Century Music*. Trans. J. Bradford Robinson. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Davison, Richard Allan. "Hemingway's 'Homage to Switzerland' and F. Scott Fitzgerald." *Hemingway Review* 12 (1993): 72-77.
- DeFalco, Joseph. *The Hero in Hemingway's Short Stories*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963.
- Diamant, Gertrude. "Child Prodigy." In Bryer, *Critical Reception*, pp. 328-31. Originally appeared in *American Mercury* 33 (October 1934): 249-51.
- Dickinson, Edward. *Music in the History of the Western Church*. New York: Scribners, 1902.
- Ditsky, John. "'Listening with Supersensual Ear': Music in the Novels of Willa Cather." *Journal of Narrative Technique* 13 (1983): 154-63.
- Dos Passos, John. *One Man's Initiation*: 1917. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.
- Downs, Philip G. *Classical Music: The Era of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992.
- Dreiser, Theodore. *Sister Carrie*. New York, Penguin, 1980.
- Du Maurier, George. *Trilby*. Toronto: Broadview, 2003.

Dvořák, Antonín. "Letter to the Editor." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 359-61. Originally appeared in *New York Herald* (May 28, 1893): 31.

---. "Music in America." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 370-80. Originally appeared in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 29 (February 1895): 428.

"Dvořák on His New Work." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 362-64. Originally appeared in *New York Herald* (December 15, 1893): 11.

Eberstadt, Fernanda. "Who Can Resist a Man Who Sings Like a Woman." *New York Times* (November 19, 2010).

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/21/magazine/21soprano-t.html?sq=countertenor&st=nyt&adxnnl=1&scp=3&adxnnlx=1318693364-649CnZw3NwzWM4tD2v5/LQ> (accessed January 23, 2011).

Eby, Carl P. *Hemingway's Fetishism: Psychoanalysis and the Mirror of Manhood*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Eliot, T. S. *The Waste Land*. Ed. Michael North. New York: W. W. Norton, 2001.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "The American Scholar." *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Selected Essays, Lectures, and Poems*. Ed. Robert D. Richardson, Jr. New York: Bantam, 1990, pp. 82-100.

Evans, May Garretson. *Music and Edgar Allan Poe: A Bibliographical Study*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

- Fadiman, Clifton. "A Letter to Mr. Hemingway." In Stephens, *Critical Reception*, p. 136. Originally appeared in *New Yorker* 9 (October 28, 1933): 74-75.
- Fay, Marion. "Making Her Work Her Life: Music in Willa Cather's Fiction." *Literature and Music*. Ed. Michael J. Meyer. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002, pp. 23-45.
- Feld, Rose C. "Restlessness Such as Ours Does Not Make For Beauty." In Bohlke, *Willa Cather in Person*, pp. 68-72.
- Fenton, Charles A. *The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1954.
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott. *Babylon Revisited and Other Stories*. New York: Scribners, 2003.
- . *The Crack-Up*. Ed. Edmund Wilson. New York: New Directions, 1956.
- . *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. Ed. Andrew Turnbull. New York: Scribners, 1963.
- . *A Life in Letters*. Ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli, with the assistance of Judith S. Baughman. New York: Scribners, 1994.
- . *The Short Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. Ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli. New York: Scribners, 2003.
- . *Tender is the Night*. New York: Scribners, 1934.
- . *This Side of Paradise*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1996.

---, and Zelda Fitzgerald. *Dear Scott, Dearest Zelda: The Love Letters of F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald*. Ed. Jackson R. Bryer and Cathy W. Barks. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002.

"For National Music." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 361-62. Originally appeared in *Chicago Tribune* (August 13, 1893): 29.

"Franz Schubert's Death 100 Years Ago To Be Marked." *Baltimore Sun* (January 10, 1928): 9.

Frisch, Walter. "Brahms, Developing Variation, and the Schoenberg Critical Tradition." *19th-Century Music* 5 (1982): 215-32.

Gay, Marie-Agnes. "Si le soleil ne revenait pas: Swiss Clockwork Gone Mad in *Tender is the Night*." In Blazek, *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, pp. 103-20.

Gelfant, Blanche H. "The Forgotten Reaping Hook: Sex in *My Ántonia*." *Willa Cather's My Ántonia*. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York: Chelsea House, 1987, pp. 79-98.

Giannone, Richard. *Music in Willa Cather's Fiction*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968.

Gibbs, Christopher. *The Life of Schubert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Goble, Mark. *Beautiful Circuits: Modernism and the Mediated Life*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

- Graham, Sheilah. *College of One*. New York: Viking Press, 1967.
- Graham, T. Austin. "The Literary Soundtrack: Or, F. Scott Fitzgerald's Heard and Unheard Melodies." *American Literary History* 21 (Fall 2009): 518-49.
- Gray, James. "Scott Fitzgerald Re-enters, Leading Bewildered Giant." In Stern, *Critical Essays*, pp. 64-66.
- Gregory, Horace. "Ernest Hemingway Has Put On Maturity." In Stephens, *Critical Reception*, pp. 139-40. Originally appeared in *New York Herald Tribune Books* 10 (October 29, 1933): Section 7, p. 5.
- Gridley, Mark C. *Jazz Styles*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1994.
- Harriss, Virginia Powell. "City Joins in Tribute to Schubert." *Baltimore Sun* (November 18, 1928): LT 4.
- Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music*. Comp. Don Michael Randel. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1978.
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The House of the Seven Gables*. New York: Penguin, 1986.
- Haylock, Julian. *Sergei Rachmaninov: An Essential Guide to His Life and Works*. London: Pavilion, 1996.
- Hays, Peter L. "Hemingway and the Fisher King." *The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: Critical Essays*. Ed. Jackson J. Benson. Durham: Duke University Press, 1975, pp. 222-27.

- Heine, Heinrich. *Heine's Book of Songs*. Compiled from the translations by Sir Theodore Martin, K. C. B., and Edgar A. Bowring, C. B. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1892.
- . *Poems Selected from Heinrich Heine*. Ed. Kate Freiligrath Kroeker. London: Walter Scott, 24, Warwick Lane, E. C., 1887.
- Hemingway, Ernest. "III," *transatlantic review* 2 (1924): 341.
- . *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*. Finca Vigía ed. New York: Scribners, 1998.
- . *Dateline: Toronto*. Ed. William White. New York: Scribners, 1985.
- . *Death in the Afternoon*. New York: Scribners, 1999.
- . *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters*. Ed. Carlos Baker. New York: Scribners, 1981.
- . *A Farewell to Arms*. New York: Scribners, 2003.
- . "Homage to Switzerland." Manuscripts. Folder 477. Ernest Hemingway Collection, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston.
- . *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*. Ed. Sandra Spanier and Robert W. Trogdon. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- . *A Moveable Feast*. New York: Scribners, 1964.
- . *The Nick Adams Stories*. New York: Scribners, 1972.
- . *The Old Man and the Sea*. New York: Scribners, 1995.
- . *The Sun Also Rises*. New York: Scribners, 1954.

---. *Winner Take Nothing*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

Henderson, W. J. *What is Good Music?* New York: Scribners, 1898.

Hinman, Eleanor. "Willa Cather, Famous Nebraska Novelist." In Bohlke, *Willa Cather in Person*, pp. 42-49.

Horowitz, Joseph. *Classical Music in America: A History of Its Rise and Fall*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2005.

James, Henry. *The Ambassadors*. New York: Penguin, 2003.

Jewell, Andrew and Janis P. Stout, eds. *A Calendar of the Letters of Willa Cather: An Expanded, Digital Edition*. Willa Cather Archive.

<http://cather.unl.edu/index.calendar.html> (accessed December 16, 2010).

Justice, Hilary K. "Alias Grace: Music and The Feminine Aesthetic in Hemingway's Early Style." *Hemingway and Women: Female Critics and the Female Voice*. Ed. Lawrence R. Broer and Gloria Holland. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002, pp. 221-38.

---. "Music at the Finca Vigía: A Preliminary Catalog of Hemingway's Audio Collection." *Hemingway Review* 25 (2005): 96-108.

Kalaïdjian, Walter, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to American Modernism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Kimmelman, Michael. "In Corsica, Clinging to a Regional Identity." *New York Times* (November 14, 2010)

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/14/arts/14abroad.html>

(accessed November 14, 2010).

Kramer, Lawrence. "The Devoted Ear: Music as Contemplation."

Musical Meaning and Human Values. Ed. Keith Chapin and Lawrence Kramer. New York: Fordham University Press, 2009, pp. 59-78.

Krehbiel, Henry Edward. *How to Listen to Music*. New York: Scribners, 1924.

Kronegger, Maria Elizabeth. *Literary Impressionism*. New Haven: College and University Press, 1973.

Kruse, Horst H. "Allusions to *The Merchant of Venice* and the New Testament in 'God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen': Hemingway's Anti-Semitism Reconsidered." *Hemingway Review* 25 (2006): 61-75.

Lamb, Robert Paul. "Hemingway's Critique of Anti-Semitism: Semiotic Confusion in 'God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen'." *Studies in Short Fiction* 33 (1996): 25-34.

Law, Joe K. "Alessandro Moreschi Reconsidered: A Castrato on Records." *Opera Quarterly* 2 (1984): 1-12.

Lears, Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*. New York: Pantheon, 1981.

Lee, Hermione. *Willa Cather: Double Lives*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1989.

Lewis, Edith. *Willa Cather Living*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1953.

Lewis, Gordon. "Scott Fitzgerald Is Author of New Novel." In Bryer, *Critical Reception*, pp. 317-18. Originally appeared in *Charlotte News* (May 6, 1934): Section 2, p. 9.

Lewis, R. W. B. *The American Adam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Litschauer, Walburga. "The Origin and Early Reception of *Schwanengesang*." In Chusid, *Companion*, pp. 5-13.

Lockwood, Elisabeth M. "Edward Miller." *Music & Letters* 9 (1928): 67-76.

Love, Glen A. "The Professor's House: Cather, Hemingway, and the Chastening of American Prose Style." *Western American Literature* 24 (1990): 295-311.

Luhan, Mabel Dodge. "Scott Fitzgerald a Modern Orpheus." In Stern, *Critical Essays*, pp. 79-80. Originally appeared in *New York Herald Tribune Books* (May 6, 1934): 21.

MacLeish, Archibald. "American Letter." *Collected Poems: 1917-1982*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985.

MacMillan, H. A. "Mr. Fitzgerald Displays His Little White Mice." In Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 313. Originally appeared in *St. Paul Daily News* (April 22, 1934): Magazine, p. 4.

March, Michael. "Page after Page." In Stern, *Critical Essays*, pp. 62-64. Originally appeared in *Brooklyn Citizen* (April 11, 1934): 11.

McGowan, Philip. "Reading Fitzgerald Reading Keats." In Blazek, *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, pp. 204-20.

McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1994.

Melville-Mason, Graham. "From London to New York: Dvořák's Introduction to America." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 27-32.

Monteiro, George. "Hemingway's Christmas Carol." *Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual*. Ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli and C. E. Frazer Clark, Jr. Washington D. C.: Microcard Editions, 1973, pp. 207-13.

Moran, Neil. "Byzantine Castrati." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11 (2002): 99-112.

Morgan, Robert P. "Secret Languages: The Roots of Musical Modernism." *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1984): 442-61.

Morton, Bruce. "Music and Distorted View in Hemingway's 'The Gambler, the Nun, and the Radio'." *Studies in Short Fiction* 20 (1983): 79-85.

Moseley, Ann. "A New World Symphony: Cultural Pluralism in *The Song of the Lark* and *My Ántonia*." *Willa Cather Pioneer Memorial Newsletter* 39 (1995): 1, 7-12.

"Music Near and Afar." *New York Times* (September 30, 1928): 125.

Nagel, James. "Literary Impressionism and *In Our Time*." *Hemingway Review* 6 (1987): 17-26.

---. *Stephen Crane and Literary Impressionism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980.

Nakjavani, Erik. "Repetition as Design and Intention: Hemingway's 'Homage to Switzerland'." In Beegel, *Short Fiction*, pp. 263-82.

Nicholls, Peter. *Modernisms*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Oldsey, Bernard. "The Snows of Ernest Hemingway." *Wisconsin Studies in Contemporary Literature* 4 (1963): 172-98.

"On the Air this Week." *Washington Post* (September 30, 1928): A5.

Ong, Walter J. *Orality and Literacy*. London: Routledge, 2004.

"Organize to Honor Schubert's Memory." *New York Times* (January 16, 1928): 44.

- Pater, Walter. *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*. Ed. Donald L. Hill. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Perkins, David, ed. *English Romantic Writers*. 2nd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1995.
- Peschel, Enid Rhodes and Richard E. Peschel. "Medicine and Music: The Castrati in Opera." *Opera Quarterly* 4 (1986): 21-38.
- Plantinga, Leon. *Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1984.
- Plimpton, George. "The Art of Fiction." *Conversations with Ernest Hemingway*. Ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. *Poetry, Tales, and Selected Essays*. New York: Library of America, 1996.
- Pound, Ezra. "A Retrospect." *Early Writings*. Ed. Ira B. Nadel. New York: Penguin, 2005, pp. 252-65.
- Prchal, Tim. "The Bohemian Paradox: *My Ántonia* and Popular Images of Czech Immigrants." *MELUS* 29 (2004): 3-25.
- Prigozy, Ruth. "From Griffith's Girls to *DADDY'S GIRL*: The Masks of Innocence in *Tender is the Night*." *Twentieth Century Literature* 26 (1980): 189-221.

- . "'Poor Butterfly': F. Scott Fitzgerald and Popular Music." *Prospects: Annual of American Cultural Studies* 2 (1976): 41-67.
- Quirk, Tom. "Fitzgerald and Cather: *The Great Gatsby*." *American Literature* 54 (1982): 576-91.
- Rasula, Jed. "Jazz and American Modernism." In Kalaidjian, *Cambridge Companion*, pp. 157-76.
- . "Jazzbandism." *Georgia Review* 60 (Spring 2006): 61-124.
- . "'Listening to Incense': Melomania & the Pathos of Emancipation." *Journal of Modern Literature* 31 (2007): 1-20.
- "The Real Value of Negro Melodies." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 355-59. Originally appeared in *New York Herald* (May 21, 1893): 28.
- Rede, Wyllys. "Franz Schubert Comes into His Own." *Baltimore Sun* (June 10, 1928): 15.
- Reynolds, Michael S. "'Homage to Switzerland': Einstein's Train Stops at Hemingway's Station." In Beegel, *Short Fiction*, pp. 255-62.
- . *The Young Hemingway*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1998.
- Rosowski, Susan J. *The Voyage Perilous: Willa Cather's Romanticism*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.
- Ross, Lillian. *Portrait of Hemingway*. Rev. ed. New York: Modern Library, 1999.

- Rubin, Emanuel. "Dvořák at the National Conservatory." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 53-81.
- Sanford, John. "Miller Portrait—Portrait of a Name, Ernest Miller Hemingway." Unpublished essay, 2006.
- Schauffler, Robert Haven. "The Bohemian." *The Outlook* (March 11, 1911): 558-61.
- Schonberg, Harold. *The Great Pianists*. Rev. ed. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987.
- "Schubert's Memory Declared Inspiring." *New York Times* (November 22, 1928): 25.
- Sears, Ann. "John William 'Blind' Boone, Pianist-Composer: 'Merit Not Sympathy Wins'." *Black Music Research Journal* 9 (1989): 225-47.
- Seldes, Gilbert. *The Seven Lively Arts*. New York: Sagamore Press, 1957.
- . "True to Type—Scott Fitzgerald Writes Superb Tragic Novel." In Bryer, *Critical Reception*, p. 293. Originally appeared in *New York Evening Journal* (April 12, 1934): 23.
- Sergeant, Elizabeth Shepley. *Willa Cather: A Memoir*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963.
- Sisman, Elaine R. "Brahms and the Variation Canon." *19th-Century Music* 14 (1990): 132-53.
- Smith, Paul. *A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*. Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1989.

- Soskin, William. Unidentified clipping in Fitzgerald's Scrapbook #5. In Bryer, *Critical Reception*, pp. 332-34.
- Šourek, Otakar. *Antonín Dvořák: Letters and Reminiscences*. Trans. Roberta Finlayson Samsour. New York: Da Capo Press, 1985.
- Southall, Geneva. "Blind Tom: A Misrepresented and Neglected Composer-Pianist." *The Black Perspective in Music* 3 (1975): 141-59.
- Stephens, Robert O. *Ernest Hemingway: The Critical Reception*. Burt Franklin & Company, 1977.
- Stern, Milton R., ed. *Critical Essays on F. Scott Fitzgerald's Tender is the Night*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986.
- Stevenson, Randall. "Remembering the Pleasant Bits: Nostalgia and the Legacies of Modernism." *NOVEL* 43 (2010): 132-39.
- Stoneback, H. R. "On Bobsledding, Lugeing, Skiing, Tobogganing, Skis Leaning Against Alpine Inn Walls, Frozen Carcasses, Death, Glory, and Transcendence: Winter Sport in Hemingway's Journalism and Fiction." *Aethlon: The Journal of Sport Literature* 11 (1994): 117-29.
- Tibbetts, John C., ed. *Dvořák in America: 1892-1895*. Portland: Amadeus Press, 1993.
- . "A Dvořák American Chronology." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 14-19.

- . "Dvořák's New York: An American Street Scene." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 33-52.
- . "Dvořák's Spillville Summer: An American Pastoral." In Tibbetts, *Dvořák in America*, pp. 82-112.
- Titus, Mary. "Cather's Creative Women and Du Maurier's Cozy Men: 'The Song of the Lark' and 'Trilby'." *Modern Language Studies* 24 (1994): 27-37.
- Toye, Francis. "A Case for Musical Nationalism." *The Musical Quarterly* 4 (1918): 12-22.
- "A Tribute to Schubert." *New York Times* (January 31, 1928): 28.
- Trout, Steve. "Antithetical Icons? Willa Cather, Ernest Hemingway, and the First World War." *Cather Studies* 7 (2007): 269-87.
- Troy, William. "Mr. Hemingway's Opium." In Stephens, *Critical Reception*, p. 146. Originally appeared in *The Nation* 137 (November 15, 1933): 570.
- Twain, Mark. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. New York: Penguin, 1985.
- Weiss, Piero and Richard Taruskin, comps. *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*. New York: Schirmer, 1984.
- West, James L. W. III. "Tender is the Night, 'Jazzmania', and the Ellingson Matricide." *Twenty-First-Century Readings of Tender is the Night*. Ed. William Blazek and Laura Rattray. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007, pp. 34-49.

Wilson, Edmund. *Axel's Castle: A Study of the Imaginative Literature of 1870-1930*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936.

"Wins \$10,000 Prize with a Symphony." *New York Times* (June 24, 1928): 24.

Woodress, James. *Willa Cather: A Literary Life*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.

Youens, Susan. *Heinrich Heine and the Lied*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.