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The Music of Miriam Gideon during the McCarthy Era, Including a Complete Catalogue of her Works

Mary Robb

Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology
The University of Edinburgh
2012
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted in candidature for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, and the research contained herein is of my own composition, except where explicitly stated in the text, and was not previously submitted for the award of any other degree or professional qualification at this or any other university.

Mary Robb, 3rd May, 2012
ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the musical response of the American composer, Miriam Gideon to political events during the McCarthy era. It examines the interrelationships between politics, society and culture and considers how these are reflected in two works, *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952) and *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953) that Gideon composed during this period. Specifically, this thesis focuses on Gideon’s transition from teaching and composing music within an academic setting to preparing for life in a musical world, without support from mainstream academic institutions.

Following the Introduction, Chapter 2 documents the rise of anti-communist practices on campus at Brooklyn College and City College, New York City where Miriam Gideon held music teaching posts. It reconstructs the personal events that led to the loss of both of these appointments and examines how and why this occurred. It is argued that Gideon entered a period of ‘inner exile,’ and this concept and its consequences for Gideon are explored in Chapter 3. An examination of her private diaries demonstrates that the effects of the McCarthy era were not only physical, but also psychological and social.

Chapters 4-6 consider Gideon’s music through the perspective of inner exile and aim to show that the music that she wrote was a reflection of her experiences. Gideon’s return to academia in 1955 and her rehabilitation back into the academy are discussed in Chapter 7. A complete list of Gideon’s compositional output is included and is organised chronologically, alphabetically and by genre. This thesis examines new documents not previously available to scholars, and includes interviews conducted by the author with Gideon’s former students and colleagues.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to my academic advisers Professor Peter Nelson and Dr. Elaine Kelly in the music department at the University of Edinburgh who supervised and oversaw the direction of this thesis. They have generously given their time, expertise and commitment to this project and their meticulous, thoughtful advice and brilliance in scholarship has been an inspiration to me.

I would also like to thank my examiners, Professor Robert Adlington at the University of Nottingham and Dr. Annette Davison at the University of Edinburgh for their excellent comments. Together they have improved the quality of this thesis. Thanks also to Professor Simon Frith, the non-examining chair, for his presence during the viva voce.

Many individuals have helped me source information for this project and I would particularly like to thank Professor Stephanie Jensen-Moulton who sent me her unpublished transcription of Miriam Gideon’s private diaries. This thesis has also benefited hugely from the opportunity to speak directly to individuals who knew Gideon. I thank all the interviewees who kindly gave their time to be interviewed. I am especially grateful to Professor Ellie M. Hisama whose work first directed me to a study of Gideon.

I also very much appreciate the help from staff at the following libraries: the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts Music Division (NYPL); The Tamiment Library at New York University; and the City College of New York archives. Particular thanks go to Jonathan Hiam, Head of the American Music
Collection at the NYPL who pointed me to un-catalogued clippings pertaining to Miriam Gideon. In addition, I am extremely grateful to Alexander Ewen, the grandson of Frederic Ewen, for sharing with me his private collection of Gideon’s materials in his personal possession.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the generous financial support that I received from the Arts and Humanities Research Council’s three year Doctoral Award, and in my final year, The Wingate Foundation and the British Federation of Women Graduates. Without these grants I would not have been able to complete my doctoral studies.

Dr. Karen Ludke I thank for technical assistance and Shira Klein, my study partner in New York City, I thank for her companionship.

Special acknowledgement is given to the immense support of my family, particularly my father James Robb who read this thesis, offered advice, and who was always there, encouraging me throughout this entire process.

The final word of thanks goes to Aidan O’Donnell who lived and breathed this thesis every day and who patiently, calmly and kindly helped me fulfil a dream.
## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The complete citation, where relevant, for the following collections listed below can be found in Works Cited at the end of the dissertation.

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Miriam Gideon (1906-1996) was an American composer and teacher whose mature works were composed in a freely atonal style. She was fascinated by language and poetry and a major part of her output comprises vocal works and song cycles. Gideon played an active part in the post-Second World War contemporary musical scene in New York City along with a group of composers who studied with Roger Sessions. For a large part of her professional life, she taught music in academic institutions, but during the early 1950s she encountered severe political difficulties which affected her professional and personal life. A close examination of Gideon’s life from this period is important to consider because this environment had major implications for how she composed and conceived music.

This thesis begins by outlining the political background of the McCarthy era and identifies how the specific emphasis on anti-communism within public schools and universities affected Gideon in her role as a music teacher at Brooklyn College, now part of the City University of New York (CUNY) and City College (CUNY). It will show that repressive anti-communist politics on campus, and the culture of ‘guilt by association,’ led Gideon to withdraw from public life. The practical restrictions, combined with this personal reaction, contributed to her state of inner exile: she continued to live in New York City, but could not fully participate in academic or musical life. Two examples from her music portfolio, her song cycle, *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952) and her piano collection, *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953) composed during this period of political repression, will be used to illustrate her
transition into and out of inner exile. Gideon’s experiences were reflected in the style and structure of the music she composed during this period. It will then be shown how she sought to re-establish herself as a composer and teacher of the piano outside of the academy, as a result of her enforced departure from employment in academia. A consideration of how inner exile affected Gideon’s professional life and musical works is an original way of examining this important period in history. No study exists, to date, that examines Gideon’s music from this perspective in context of the events of the McCarthy era.

1.1 Biographical Overview

Gideon was born in Greeley, Colorado in 1906 and received her earliest musical education in Yonkers, New York where her family relocated shortly after her birth. In 1916 she studied piano with Hans Barth and by 1921 she had moved to Boston to live with her uncle, Henry Gideon, who was a pianist, organist and music director of Temple Israel and who supervised her music education. She attended Boston University, graduating in 1926 with a major in French literature and a minor in mathematics. At Boston University she also took all the music courses offered and additionally, studied piano privately with Felix Fox. After graduating Gideon moved

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to New York and took graduate classes in music at New York University with Marion Bauer, Charles Haubiel and Jacques Pillois.

Gideon’s earliest known compositions date from 1928. Her style of this period is underpinned by strong diatonic tonalities, traditional chord progressions and time signatures that remain unchanged throughout the piece. Her first formative composition teacher, Lazare Saminsky was a Russian émigré composer and former student of Rimsky-Korsakov who taught Gideon from 1931-34. He encouraged Gideon to continue her compositional studies with Roger Sessions who taught her privately and in group classes from 1935-43. It was in this environment that Gideon’s stylistic aesthetic matured and she composed works by manipulating and expanding small motivic cells. This style of composing remained Gideon’s preferred compositional language for the remainder of her career.

The year 1944 marked the point at which Gideon obtained her first music teaching post in an academic setting. She taught music at Brooklyn College in New York whilst completing her Master’s degree in musicology at Columbia University in 1946. The following year, she also began teaching at City College, New York. During the early 1950s, politics began to affect adversely the lives of Gideon and her husband, Frederic Ewen, a professor of English at Brooklyn College, whom she had married in 1949.

The McCarthy era was a period of anti-communist history that occurred in the United States (US) during the late 1940s and 1950s. As the Second World War came to a close, ideological differences between the US and the Soviet Union, who had been allies, caused political tension between these two superpowers. Politicians in the US, a democracy and capitalist society, became concerned by the perceived
popularity of communism. In spring 1948 there was a communist coup in Czechoslovakia, China’s ‘fall’ to communism occurred in 1949 and the communist invasion of South Korea in June 1950 affected the US foreign policies. President Harry Truman committed the US to combating communism abroad and domestically as the Cold War developed. As early as 22nd March, 1947 legislation was passed which laid the foundation for an anti-communist ideology as a core political principle. The Order 9835 legitimised the firing of communists and suspected communists employees from their jobs. A year later the Truman administration, believing that communism was unstoppable, prosecuted the top leaders of the American Communist Party under the Smith Act. Several leaders were jailed and this event instilled fear amongst US citizens that communism was the largest threat to their country.

By far the most vocal supporter of the government’s anti-communist policy was Senator Joseph McCarthy, whom the period is named after. Committees were set up to investigate the political beliefs of its citizens. In addition, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was also tasked with providing evidence against those accused of communist sympathies. Those who were found guilty were usually punished by being fired from their place of work. The culture of associative guilt meant that some individuals, simply by being related to an alleged communist, were assumed also to hold leftist sympathies. This was the case for Gideon.

Teachers working in public schools, universities and colleges were particularly at risk of investigation because of the potential to influence the political

3 Ibid., 5.
4 Ibid., 6.
orientations of their students. Any public sector employee found guilty of holding communist beliefs routinely lost their jobs. The McCarthy era historian, Ellen Schrecker noted that a high number of suspected communists were connected to the universities. Those who were called to testify generally lost their employment. She wrote:

exact figures are hard to come by, but it may well be almost twenty percent of witnesses called before congressional and state investigating committees were college teachers or graduate students. Most of those academic witnesses who did not clear themselves with the committees lost their jobs.\(^5\)

Gideon’s husband, Frederic Ewen was first subpoenaed to appear before the Rapp-Coudert committee in the 1940s. The remit of the Joint Legislative Committee was to investigate allegations of subversive activity in the Educational System of the State of New York. Due to an anomaly in the early prosecution system, Ewen and the other professors at Brooklyn College were able to keep their employment after the investigation. However, in 1952 Ewen was forced to take early retirement after receiving a further subpoena to appear before the McCarran committee which, again, accused him of communist sympathies. It was difficult to shake off suspicions after being accused of holding communist beliefs, even years after the first investigation.\(^6\)

These events had several severe professional consequences for Gideon. Her marriage to an alleged communist led her to be considered ‘guilty by association’ and in 1954 her contract at Brooklyn College was not renewed. Rather than cooperate with investigators, she resigned from her teaching post at City College in 1955, after being called to a committee meeting connected with Senator McCarthy.

\(^5\) Ibid., 10.
\(^6\) A more detailed account of Ewen’s encounter with the Rapp-Coudert and the McCarran committees can be found in Chapter 2.
Her output of compositions declined after these events and even before she left academia she taught piano as an additional means of earning an income. At one stage it seems that she considered composing outside of the academy as a long-term solution.

In 1955 her friend and compositional colleague, Hugo Weisgall, invited Gideon to join the faculty of music at a private university, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York which rekindled her attraction to Jewish synagogue music. She was reconciled with City College when she rejoined the institution as a full professor in 1971 aged sixty-five, and continued educating children in the preparatory division at the Manhattan School of Music, where she taught from 1967-91. In 1975 she was inducted into the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters and died in 1996 having built up a considerable compositional portfolio and reputation as an American composer.

1.2 Reasons for Undertaking This Study

The attraction of studying the music of Miriam Gideon during the McCarthy era grew out of previous research for a Master’s dissertation on the American composer, Milton Babbitt’s first integral serial work, *Three Compositions for Piano*, No. 2 (1948). It was fascinating to consider how serial elements functioned not only on a trichordal level, but also when they were applied to other aspects of music such as dynamics, duration and attack. Babbitt’s piano work was so fluid, yet so ordered,

---

7 The thesis was entitled, The Trichord on Trial: A Critical Examination of its Function, Significance and Context in Milton Babbitt’s ‘Three Compositions for Piano, No. 2, written in 2006 under the supervision of Keith Potter at Goldsmiths College, University of London.
and I wanted to know how other composers in post-Second World War New York responded to this significant musical innovation.

In my initial research into this new enquiry I was intrigued to find that Babbitt’s composition teacher, Roger Sessions, had several other prominent students who had studied together in his group classes including David Diamond, Leon Kirchner, Hugo Weisgall, Vivian Fine and Edward T. Cone. The style of composition from this group of composers was diverse; but the writing of one composer stood out. Miriam Gideon’s mature musical language was primarily concerned with composing with motives. It was a particular style of composition that stood in stark contrast to the musical innovations in the twelve-tone school that were prevalent in the contemporary musical scene in New York City. Why did Gideon compose in this way?

As my research progressed, I found that scholarship in this area was mainly reserved for male composers. In general discussions of music composed in mid-twentieth century, only passing mentions were made of the contribution of women composers, and hardly any mentioned Gideon. She was a composer on the periphery of the canon, yet her unique contribution to the musical scene during the 1950s had already been noted by several scholars. The most recent study of Gideon’s music was Stephanie Jensen-Moulton’s valuable doctoral dissertation completed in 2008. In a study of Gideon’s only opera, Fortunato (1958), she found that Gideon’s compositional language was drawn from subsets of motives from collections such as the diatonic, octatonic and hexatonic. While the work was not serial, Gideon did make use of some serial techniques. Ellie M. Hisama’s pioneering and significant

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study of Gideon’s music first appeared in 2001 in her book, *Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon*. An examination of Gideon’s vocal chamber piece, ‘Night is my sister’ from *Sonnets from ‘Fatal Interview’* (1952) and ‘Esther’ from *Three Biblical Masks* for violin and piano (1958) showed that both works were motivically saturated, particularly in the treatment of trichords.¹⁰

These studies not only contributed significantly to the understanding of Gideon’s compositional language, but also provided an important account of her music from a gendered perspective. They continued the much needed research into the contribution of women composers that was first highlighted in musicological studies during the 1970s, after the second wave of feminism. Since that period, scholarship of composers on the periphery of the canon has progressed significantly from simply ‘rediscovering’ forgotten works. In the 1980s and 1990s, scholars such as Susan McClary, Ruth Solie and Judith Tick did much to draw widespread attention to the serious lack of critical scholarship in this area. Their work was enhanced by the growing movement of critical musicology which considered that music was not an autonomous activity but directly related to everyday interactions in an artist’s world. A much more inclusive approach of women’s contribution to the canon of western music exists today, but research in this area is still lacking as it is considered a separate field of research, rather than an integrated area of scholarship within mainstream musicology. Those scholars who have examined Gideon’s music previously did so in three significant areas: from a gender perspective,¹¹ Gideon’s

¹¹ Studies that specifically targeted Gideon’s work because she was a female composer, in addition to Hisama and Jensen-Moulton’s work, include Lynda Quistorff, "Selected Piano Works by Four
music influenced by Jewish traditions, and performance practice of her music. Published interviews with Gideon provide a special contribution at a personal level. Hisama and Jensen-Moulton have both highlighted in their studies that Gideon faced severe problems due to the political climate during the 1950s. But how this happened, and why she became a perceived threat to the college authorities has not been examined in great detail. Furthermore, studies of music written during the Cold War have consistently focused on the problems faced by composers who wrote music within communist countries. Few have examined the parallel implications of anti-communist polices in democratic countries, or of those composers who were not politically inclined.

The work presented in this thesis is based on several interlinked themes. Gideon’s personal history highlights the experience of a composer who was not politically motivated, yet she was affected by political prejudices in adverse ways. This thesis considers the way in which the political environment affected the way in which Gideon composed music. This particular way of examining music contrasts


For a summary of Cold War literature on music see, for example, Peter J. Schmelz, "Introduction: Music in the Cold War,” The Journal of Musicology 26, no. 1 (Winter 2009).
with the many studies of composers who wrote music based on overt political activism. At the heart of this argument is the assumption that music cannot be separated from the environment in which it was written and is not an autonomous activity.

The first part of the thesis examines, in detail, Gideon’s internal response to her husband’s enforced retirement from Brooklyn College in 1952 after he was accused of holding communist views. An examination of her private diaries shows that she entered a state of inner exile on two levels: firstly on a practical basis, through limitations imposed on her behaviour in her professional work environment, and secondly, through her personal, internal reaction to adverse events, which further increased her isolation. The second part of the thesis illustrates parallels between these external political events and two of Gideon’s compositions, her song cycle, *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952) and her piano collection, *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953). The third part of the thesis considers the positive steps Gideon took to extricate herself from inner exile by reorienting her professional career towards teaching the piano and by incorporating her approach to piano pedagogy into the first piece in *Altered Steps to Altered States*.

By examining her music through the framework of exclusion and isolation, interesting stylistic choices emerge that clarify the diversity of Gideon’s compositional approach. Furthermore, the treatment of music itself, as historical document, provides a deeper perspective on Gideon’s experience and points towards reasons why she composed in the way that she did. Her resilience in being able to continue to produce interesting compositions, whilst under political duress, illustrates
some of the ways in which creativity can function in spite of living under the conditions of inner exile.

Although this study began as an investigation from a musical perspective, the undercurrent of discrimination that women faced in the US after the Second World War has meant that studies of women composers rarely proceeds without a consideration of the gender issues that they faced. By comparison, an examination of music by male composers from this era hardly passes comment on their domestic situation. The attraction of studying Gideon’s works from a gendered perspective has resulted in much needed and valuable scholarship. However, the present study has moved the emphasis away from previous studies and considers Gideon’s music as a reflection of isolation, resulting from the political circumstances of this era. It is hoped that this shift in focus contributes to a repositioning of Gideon’s status in the post-Second World War contemporary musical scene.

1.3 Original Contribution of New Material

As well as considering Gideon’s music from the perspective of inner exile, this study also has identified new source material which has not been examined before. Under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) this thesis presents new material from the FBI files of Miriam Gideon and Frederic Ewen. These, previously unknown, files shed significant light on the extent of police tactics and government official inquiries into communist activities of its citizens, and how these were applied to Gideon and her husband. This new information adds further substance to the historical perspective and the arguments presented in Chapter 2.
This study has also benefited from other original archival material held in libraries across New York City. Gideon’s scores, sketches, private diaries, and personal papers are held at the New York Public Library (NYPL) and were opened to the public in 2005. Studies by Jensen-Moulton and Hisama were the first to make use of these previously unavailable documents, and their work examines Gideon’s diaries from a feminist perspective. Stephanie Jensen-Moulton kindly shared with me her currently unpublished transcription of Gideon’s private diaries. The insights from these transcriptions have played a critical part in the development of the argument of how inner exile affected Gideon, discussed in Chapter 3. The effect of inner exile on Gideon is an original idea which has not been previously considered.

Primary documents from other archives, including the Presidential Files held in the City College, at the City University of New York also form part of the original contributions in this study. Jensen-Moulton and Hisama’s studies pointed me towards Frederic Ewen’s archive held at the Tamiment Library at New York University. Much of the correspondence between Ewen and Gideon, as well as the intricate personal political events detailed in Chapter 2 have not been presented before. Alexander Ewen, the grandson of Frederic Ewen, generously granted me access to his collection of Gideon’s material in his private possession, including her personal art works, which I viewed.

Additionally, this thesis contains original oral testimonies and interviews concerning Gideon. I interviewed eleven of Gideon’s colleagues, friends and former piano students to collect material for this study. Each consented for their words to be audio recorded and used for the purposes of this scholarship. I gratefully acknowledge their kind efforts for sparing me the time to conduct these interviews.
These first-hand accounts by her contemporaries have provided a direct historical link and a unique perspective on Gideon’s life. Their interactions with her have also provided additional information, not available in libraries or archives, which may otherwise have been lost to posterity. Some of the interviewees have since died and others are now very elderly. For example, the American composer, Milton Babbitt who was interviewed for this project in 2008, died in January, 2011, while Sophia Rosoff, who met Gideon when she was nineteen years old is now very elderly. Some of Gideon’s former piano students were found quite easily because they remain active in the music world. Other former students were more difficult to locate for an interview because they have moved on to other careers.

Finally, the material in Gideon’s archive has enabled me to produce a complete catalogue of her known works which is included in this thesis and is also an original contribution. Her sketches and scores, many of which remain unpublished, are to be found in the NYPL and were the major source for this catalogue, which includes previously unknown and unpublished works that date back to the 1920s. Many of Gideon’s pieces were undated and it was necessary to cross reference data from other records to be able to produce a chronological order of the appearance of these works. This was a major undertaking but has provided the most up-to-date record of Gideon’s compositions. I am extremely grateful to the curator of Gideon’s materials at the NYPL, Matthew Snyder for his assistance. The catalogue would also not be complete without the significant contribution of Roberta Chodacki’s previous catalogue completed in 1986 and the Works List provided in Lester Trimble and Linda Ardito’s articles on ‘Miriam Gideon.’ in the New Grove Dictionary of Music

and Musicians and New Grove Dictionary of American Music\textsuperscript{17} Un-catalogued clippings at the NYPL that refer to Gideon’s musical activities were also highly valuable and are included in this thesis.

\textbf{1.4 Chapter Overview of Thesis}

The overall aim of this thesis is to consider how political events of the McCarthy era affected Miriam Gideon. They are examined from three different perspectives: the personal, the social and the professional.

Chapter 2 documents the rise of anti-communist politics on campus at Brooklyn College and City College, after the Second World War. It traces, through original documents, the personal political events that led Ewen to be perceived as a communist sympathiser, initially in the Rapp-Coudert investigations of the 1940s, and later in the McCarran committee investigation of 1952. It shows how Gideon also came under the scrutiny of the FBI and how she eventually lost her teaching posts as a result of her association with an alleged communist, her husband. A consideration of how Gideon entered the academy and an assessment of the discriminatory culture under which she worked, contextualises this narrative and draws upon the importance of scholarship that studies a composer and their music from various perspectives.

Following these traumatic events, it is argued that Gideon entered a period of ‘inner exile’ and this concept is discussed in Chapter 3. It will be shown that inner

exile is a state of exclusion where an individual or a group of people remain in their normal environment and are not physically constrained, but cannot function fully in everyday life. An examination of her private diaries will be used to demonstrate that the consequences of the McCarthy era were not just physical, but also psychological and social. While the previous chapter will illustrate the practical restrictions that Gideon faced, in this chapter it will be argued that her particular personal reaction to the events of the McCarthy era contributed to an increased state of isolation. She became withdrawn, and limited and censored what she expressed. Just as she sought control over her daily behaviour in professional life, Gideon also sought order in her personal thoughts and this is evidenced in the way in which she wrote her private diary.

In the following three chapters a consideration of Gideon’s music from the perspective of inner exile aims to show how her experience was reflected in the music that she wrote. Chapter 4 examines her song cycle, *Epitaphs from Robert Burns*, which was written in 1952, the year that Ewen was forced to retire from his teaching post at Brooklyn College. The way in which she wrote this piece, which has not been examined previously, is of particular interest because its compositional structure deviates from her usual approach of saturating a piece with motives. Her systematic treatment of pre-composed material, and the extent to which Gideon was drawn to the non-development of motives, is discussed in relation to Gideon’s own thoughts of creative bankruptcy. Although the work was written during a stressful period under difficult circumstances, she used humour as a device to lighten the theme of death in her selection of Robert Burns’ poetry. Her interpretation of his *Epitaphs* is also striking for the way in which they relate to her life during this year.
Gideon lived under inner exile for a period of at least four years, beginning around 1952 after Ewen’s loss of employment. The height of her repression occurred in 1955 when she was, effectively, forced to leave her second teaching appointment in the academy at City College. However, a change in her approach to composition and in her attitude towards her professional environment can be noticed two years earlier, in 1953. Her piano work, *Altered Steps to Altered States* written in this year, provided the framework for Gideon to re-orientate her professional life, as a composer and instrumental teacher, away from an academic institution. The musical structures in this commissioned work signalled an abandonment of the systematic compositional procedures of the previous year and moved back towards her favoured freely atonal style. It was a work which had an educational aspect and was designed to help less experienced players learn the sound and function of intervals. In composing this piece, Gideon re-considered the meaning of tonality through a consideration of her personal opinion of intervallic meaning and function. Chapter 5 discusses the relationship between this musical structure and her inevitable and impending departure from employment in the academy.

In anticipation of her impending departure from academia, Gideon taught private piano lessons to children. This marked her personal decision to transition into an alternative creative and professional life, outside of an academic setting. Chapter 6 shows that this was a measured decision and taken with a long-term approach. Even as an established composer, Gideon continued to have piano lessons with her mentor and teacher Abby Whiteside. This chapter examines the integration of Whiteside’s philosophy of piano teaching into Gideon’s own approach to teaching the piano to young musicians and the extent to which these pedagogical principles
were composed within the composition of *Altered Steps to Altered States*. Neither aspect has been considered in detail previously.

Gideon’s return to academia in 1955 and her rehabilitation back into the academy are discussed in Chapter 7. This is followed by the conclusions of the project, and indications for future further research are given. A complete list of Gideon’s compositional output follows. This is organised in three ways: chronologically, alphabetically and by genre and includes her unpublished and undated works. It is hoped that this thesis contributes new knowledge to a neglected area of scholarship by examining Gideon’s music in relation to significant events that occurred during the McCarthy era, an important period in her life.
CHAPTER 2:
MCCARTHYISM ON CAMPUS

In 1955, at the end of the spring term, Miriam Gideon received a letter from City College that halted her teaching career in public colleges and universities. The letter contained a request for her to attend a group committee meeting that was connected with Senator Joseph McCarthy in Washington. Understanding the implications and consequences of this letter, her chairperson immediately called a departmental meeting. Staff had been experiencing anti-communist propaganda on campus and had witnessed the forced removal of faculty members from City College, (now part of the City University of New York (CUNY)). It was clear that the real aim of this committee meeting was for Gideon to name colleagues who were sympathetic to communism. Not wishing to comment on the political affiliations of her colleagues, she refused to testify and did not attend the meeting. Gideon was, effectively, forced to resign from her teaching post where she had taught for eight years.

This chapter reconstructs, in detail, the political events that culminated in Gideon’s forced resignation from City College and Brooklyn College, (where in 1954, after ten years of service, her teaching contract was not renewed). Using original and previously unpublished material, it seeks to understand and explain why

2 Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute."
3 Ibid., 203.
Gideon was considered to be a serious threat to the stability of campus life. It also aims to establish that McCarthy politics on campus and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) enquiry into the alleged communist activities of Gideon and her husband, Frederic Ewen, contributed to a cascade of events that eventually led to Gideon’s resignation. This significantly affected their intellectual activities and livelihoods.

A vital link in this chain was the alleged political activity and liberal political views of Ewen, who was a professor of English at Brooklyn College. A significant portion of this chapter details how accusations of communist sympathies against Ewen were manifested both on campus and in the subpoenas he received to appear before McCarthy committees. His involvement was an essential part of the chain of events that ultimately led to serious consequences for Gideon, including her resignation and investigation by the FBI. Gideon and Ewen’s lives were not just interlocked through marriage, but also through their working lives at Brooklyn College. Was Gideon’s resignation driven by her political convictions, or was she ‘guilty’ because her husband was a casualty of the McCarthy era which operated on a code of fear and silence? This will be examined in detail in this chapter.

Gideon’s removal from the academy is complex and relates to the political and academic environments as well as to the personal dimensions. Given that Gideon had contributed a significant period of teaching in the academy, how did the academic institutions respond to the political investigations of their employees? A perusal of college records and correspondence in Ewen’s archive, that have not previously been published, will show that the structure of senior management within

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4 During the McCarthy era, removal of liberties was gradual and arbitrary: even association with an alleged communist amounted to evidence of guilt. But unlike other forms of state repression, during this political period, there were only a few cases of capital punishment, and incarcerations.
public academic institutions and the political inclinations of the presidents of the colleges dictated much of the political response towards their staff. But to what extent did this contribute to Gideon’s eventual loss of employment?

While many academic staff were investigated by McCarthy committees, not all were also investigated by the FBI. The scope and content of previously unpublished FBI files pertaining to Ewen and Gideon illustrates that another, previously unappreciated, layer of investigation was put into operation to assess whether Gideon really was a serious threat to the United States government or not. This new information points towards a deeper and more serious situation that confronted Gideon, than had been previously been known, and this is put into context of the events during the early 1950s.

The narrative begins with Gideon’s entry into academia and teases out the contradictions and dimensions of academic life and how she operated under these conditions. It is important to outline the political environment and academic culture under which she worked, as the subsequent disintegration of her relationship with campus authorities forms an essential part of the reasons for her departure from academia. This will then be followed by a consideration of Ewen’s removal from academia and the subsequent effects this had on Gideon, based on contemporaneous sources and previously unpublished material from Ewen’s archive, FBI files and college records.
2.1 Entering the Academy

*I must say, the first thought that occurs to me is that I was not ‘degree-minded.’*

Miriam Gideon in interview with Linda Ardito in 1991

Gideon spent almost the entirety of her working life in academia from 1944 to 1991. She taught in various different capacities and experienced a variety of perspectives from adjunct professor to full-time lecturer to honoured professor. 1955 was the only year which she spent outside the academy, when she was ejected from teaching in the public sector. But as will be shown, her political problems began much earlier and gradually contributed to isolation and exclusionism. During the course of her life, she acquired many academic qualifications. She held undergraduate and Master’s degrees, a doctorate in sacred music composition from the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in 1970 and was awarded two further honorary doctorates, from the JTS in 1981 and Brooklyn College in 1983. She also held awards for distinction in her field from Boston University in 1974, and in 1975

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6 For extensive bibliographical details of Miriam Gideon before 1926 see Jensen-Moulton, "'Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 16-31.

7 Three liturgical compositions earned Gideon the Doctor of Sacred Music in Composition from the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York in 1970: *The Habitable Earth*, a cantata based on the Book of Proverbs; *Sacred Service for Sabbath Morning*, a choral work for cantor, soloists, and instrumental ensemble; and *Spiritual Madrigals*, musical settings of poems by Ewen, Trimperg, and Heine. “Noted Composer Takes Role in Field of Sacred Music,” *Seminary Progress: News of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* 25 no. 3 (April 1981). Gideon conveyed this honour to Linda Ardito in an interview in 1991 where said, ‘When it came to the final degree, the Doctorate of Sacred Music, nobody was more surprised than myself that I was being awarded the degree. I was asked to write these services. They were both commissioned and I felt that was fine and they involved a great deal of study and, lo and behold, I got a little prize at the end of it, namely the degree. That's really the story.’ Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 209. See the Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions for full details of these works.

8 MGP-NYPL, (Miriam Gideon Papers in the New York Public Library for Performing Arts), box 22 folders 4 and 3.
was inducted into the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters. Yet, as Gideon stated in 1991, she never felt ‘degree-minded.’

The contradictory elements of Gideon’s statement, made at the end of her life, can be examined through the eyes of the composer Ruth Crawford Seeger who encountered many obstacles to academic learning because of her gender. The famous story of Crawford being shut out and forced to sit in the adjoining room to attend the newly formed New York Musicological Society’s meeting on 22nd February, 1930 powerfully illuminates the status of women composers and the discriminatory practices that existed during the inauguration of musicology in the United States. Charles Seeger who was present at that meeting admitted in an interview in 1972 that Crawford’s exclusion was calculated beforehand, so that the group (which would eventually become the American Musicological Society) would retain a professional image and their serious pursuit of musical knowledge would not be criticised as ‘woman’s work:’

...only woman’s clubs talked about music in the United States at that time, and we wanted to make it perfectly clear that we were men, and that we had to talk about music and women weren’t in on it.

The pursuit of music as a serious academic subject came late to American scholarship. During its earliest form in the 1930s, music was discussed mainly in informal clubs with little functionality, organisation or respected mantle. Even in

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9 Ibid., box 22 folders 2 and 5.
11 For more on Ruth Crawford Seeger and this meeting see Hisama, Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon, 18. Also see Judith Tick, Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 121-22. Also see Suzanne G. Cusick, ”Gender, Musicology and Feminism,” in Rethinking Music, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 471.
universities it was the norm for ‘music appreciation’ courses to form the core of the university music curriculum. As will be shown, the foundation of musicology in the United States, with prejudiced gender practices and the low status of music as an academic discipline, thoroughly informed how Gideon received her musical education and how she perceived learning.

Gideon remembered that the music department at Boston University, where she took her undergraduate classes, consisted of one room and one professor, John Marshall. She took all the music courses then offered, including traditional counterpoint and harmony, but graduated in 1926 at the age of twenty with a BA degree in French and a minor in mathematics. Gideon acknowledged that this was a period in which she was ‘not fully writing’ music and was, perhaps, not provided with the education, encouragement and confidence that composers needed at this early stage in their careers. She said:

I did everything for these courses and writing on the outside choral pieces and so on, none of which were distinguished. And that was about it.

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13 A 1935 report on the state of university music education in the United States by Randall Thompson entitled "College Music: An Investigation for the Association of American Colleges" found that there was faculty incompetence, inadequate facilities and low academic standards. See Brian Harker, "Milton Babbitt Encounters Academia (and Vice Versa)," American Music 26, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 338-39.
14 Suzanne Cusick has explored the ways in which gender infiltrated the practice of musicology in the United States. See Cusick, "Gender, Musicology and Feminism," 471-98. Also see Hisama, Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon, 19.
16 Pinnolis, "A Conversation with Miriam Gideon (1906-1996): Sunday, June 19, 1977," 118. The date of Gideon’s 1926 graduation from Boston University in the College of Liberal Arts is confirmed by a certificate of award she received in 1986 for ‘Distinguished Public Service to the Profession’ where Gideon was named as the class of 1926. MGP-NYPL, box 22 folder 1. Also see Jensen-Moulton, "‘Sparring with Fate:’ Miriam Gideon’s 1958 Opera Fortunato", 26.
18 Ibid., 118.
Gideon might not have been exaggerating about the late development of her compositional writing. Her archive of compositions preserved in the New York Public Library (NYPL) reveals no surviving work that dates from her education at Boston University. The earliest compositions in the collection include America, Our Homeland, Hymn of Glory, Keep Not Thou Silence, Oh God and Psalm xxix which were completed in 1928. Her works dating from the late 1920s are generally characterised by four-part SATB strophic tonal choral writing, eight bar phrases and basic root and inversion piano accompaniment. The text of America, Our Homeland was written by Gideon’s first husband, Gaylord Du Bois (1899-1993). They were engaged to be married in 1928, but divorced in 1933. After graduating from Boston University, Gideon returned to her birth family home in New York and worked for a while as a secretary to a doctor.

Whilst earning some money as an assistant, Gideon took music classes with Charles Haubiel, Jacques Pillois and the American composer, Marion Bauer at New York University (NYU). Although Gideon did not major in composition, she was encouraged to write music by one of her teachers, Martin Bernstein, who told her she was ‘a composer.’ Of that period Gideon said:

19 MGP-NYPL, box 1 folder 9; box 3 folder 11; box 3 folder 6 and box 5 folder 4. These works are detailed in the Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions listed in this thesis.
20 Jensen-Moulton, "Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 28 and 31. Gideon married du Bois in 1928. They had had met in the foreign languages department at Boston University. For more on their relationship see ibid., 28-32.
When I graduated I came to New York and went on with this on the side composing until I really wrote something that really struck me as being individual and from that time on my fate was sealed.24

At NYU she planned to acquire a teaching certificate in music, perhaps inspired by the line of teachers in her own family. Her father, Abram Gideon (1867-1952), studied for a doctorate in philosophy at Marburg in Germany in 1903 and also attended Harvard University from 1910-11.25 He later taught at Colorado State Teachers College (1903-1912) and at the University of Wyoming (1913-1914).26 Gideon’s mother, Henrietta ‘Hattie’ Gideon (née Schoninger), taught at a local elementary school,27 and her occupation is stated on Gideon’s birth certificate as a ‘housewife and teacher.’28 Gideon’s initial decision to pursue teaching may have been influenced by the gender expectation of women who entered the music profession.

Like many composers of her generation, Gideon did not study composition within an academic university setting. Though the choice was officially available to her, women who studied music often received a watered-down education. In 1939, at Vassar College, New York, Ernst Křenek was banned from teaching the twelve-tone method to his female students. The chair of his department had described the female students as “‘cultivated amateurs’ for whom work of a “highly advanced nature”

would not be appropriate.' Gender discrimination was coupled with an internal resistance from musicologists within the academy who did not support composition being taught within a university setting. They considered that the practical aspects of music should be separated from the intellectual; composition and performance should be taught in the conservatoire. As Harker noted, ‘while many music professors fought tirelessly for music appreciation, history and theory courses, they themselves regarded composition as peripheral to a solid musical education.

These factors, combined with a strong anti-modernist bias in universities, the new existence of university musical education and the draw of European musical heritage, led many (mainly male) composers to study composition outside academic institutions. Elliott Carter was frustrated with the music program at Harvard and instead studied English literature, Greek and Philosophy, entering the university in 1926. He studied instrumental lessons and solfeggio outside of the academy but completed his MA at Harvard in 1932, where he studied alongside Walter Piston and Gustav Holst. Still dissatisfied with the state of his education, Carter went to France eventually to study privately with Nadia Boulanger.

Although many American composers of Gideon’s generation, including Aaron Copland, Leonard Bernstein, Elliott Carter, Roy Harris and Virgil Thomson,

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30 Harker, "Milton Babbitt Encounters Academia (and Vice Versa),” 340.
31 Ibid., 340.
32 For more on the specifics of the Austro-German anti-modernist bias and Joseph Kerman’s ideological view see ibid., 340-41.
studied with Boulanger, some still published prejudiced opinions on female composers. In his 1960 book *Copland on Music*, Copland wrote:

> Is it possible that there is a mysterious element in the nature of musical creativity that runs counter to the nature of the feminine mind?[^35]

The discriminatory views that many male composers held made it difficult for female musicians to find a suitable teacher outside of the academy. In the 1930s Ruth Crawford Seeger, who was shut out of the musicology meeting, was initially taken on as a compositional student by Charles Seeger, reluctantly, in the 1930s, because he believed women to be incapable of composing.[^36] Gideon chose her teachers, Lazare Saminsky and Roger Sessions, because they were liberal minded and taught women composers.[^37] Another likely factor in her choice of private composition teachers was the lack of good composition courses available within academic institutions.

Lazare Saminsky was a Russian émigré composer who had studied with Rimsky-Korsakov.[^38] Gideon began her composition lessons with Saminsky on her return from a brief trip to Europe,[^39] and studied with him for four years, from 1931-34.[^40] At Saminsky’s suggestion, she joined Roger Sessions’ compositional studio in

[^37]: The composer, Vivian Fine was part of Gideon’s compositional group that studied with Roger Sessions. Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 207.
[^38]: Gideon had also learnt piano privately from Felix Fox. Jensen-Moulton, "Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 25.
[^39]: The diary written from 9th May to 7th June, 1927 has been preserved at the NYPL. An attached note within the diary reads, 'Destroy without reading in case of my death.' See MGP-NYPL, box 21 folder 5. For information on this journal see Jensen-Moulton, "Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 28. Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 206.
1935 and she studied with Sessions, both privately and in group classes, until 1943.\(^{41}\) It was during her studies with Sessions that Gideon’s compositional style changed markedly, ‘abandoning its tonal foundation and moving to the free atonal style that she would maintain for the rest of her career.’\(^{42}\)

Gideon’s graduate education began in 1942 when, aged thirty-six, she entered the graduate MA musicology program at Columbia University, in New York City.\(^{43}\) She studied medieval music with Eric Hertzmann\(^{44}\) and completed a dissertation entitled *The String Chamber Music of Mozart with Particular Reference to the Quintets* (1946), which was supervised by Paul Henry Lang.\(^{45}\) Gideon chose to complete a study on Mozart because Lang did not feel adequately specialised to advise her on a contemporary music topic.\(^{46}\) This sensitivity is representative of his wider concerns regarding musicological scholarship within the academy. Lang urged, along with other scholars, that the music appreciation courses offered by universities as standard practice, be transferred to ‘their rightful place’ and taught in high

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\(^{42}\) Hisama, *Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon*, 6. For more on the relationship between Gideon, Saminsky and Sessions see Jensen-Moulton, ”‘Sparring with Fate:’ Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 32-34. Also see Chapter 6 in this dissertation.

\(^{43}\) Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute,” 207.

\(^{44}\) Pinnolis Fertig, "An Analysis of Selected Works of the American Composer Miriam Gideon (1906- ) in Light of Contemporary Jewish Musical Trends", 149.

\(^{45}\) MGP-NYPL, box 18 folders 1-5. Gideon’s archive contains other material pertaining to her music studies. In a c1945 paper on contemporary music concepts and systems Gideon discusses Schoenberg’s rejection of atonality in favour of the twelve-tone series and Roger Sessions’ views on Schenker’s analytical scheme. Ibid., box 18 folder 6. Her music notes also contains information and diagrams for tuning and maintaining upright and grand pianos ibid., box 18 folder 8. Notes on art including, ‘Edaman Art as Elpeniner’ indicates that Gideon also took classes in non-music subjects including literature and art. Ibid., box 18 folder 7. In her (143) philosophy class with Irwin Edman at Columbia University she studied Leonardo de Vinci, Hegel and Freud’s *Interpretation of Dreams*. Her paper for that class in January, 1945 was titled *Freudianism and the Arts*. Ibid., box 18 folder 1 and 7.

\(^{46}\) Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute,” 207. Also see Jensen-Moulton, ”‘Sparring with Fate:’ Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 38.
In a 1990 interview with Ardito, Gideon said of her period of study with Lang:

Paul Henry Lang was the King there. He was a very, very, fine teacher. I think that what impressed me most of all was that he played a lot of music. It wasn’t all talk. At that time, I really was almost a ‘know-nothing.’ These days, somebody who is at the age that I was (at the time I was ‘thirty-ish,’ certainly), who is seriously interested in music, knows a lot about music which I didn’t know. Anyway, that was a good way to learn it. I went through four years with great pleasure and interest.  

In fact, Gideon was forty years old when she completed her Master’s degree and graduated in 1946. The length of time taken by Gideon to complete her degree is reflective of her other teaching and study activities she undertook during this period. For example, at the time she began the graduate program, she was taking private composition lessons with Roger Sessions. In her third year (1944) she also began teaching at Brooklyn College as an adjunct professor; and during her entire period of study for the degree, she also taught the piano privately. The completion of this Master’s degree concluded Gideon’s final period as a formal student. The later doctoral degrees that Gideon were awarded—the Doctor of Sacred Music (DSM) in 1970, Honorary Doctorate of Music in 1981 both from the JTS and Doctor of Humane Letters from Brooklyn College in 1983—were bestowed on her whilst she held teaching jobs within the academy.

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49 «Noted Composer Takes Role in Field of Sacred Music.» Also see Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 203. Also see Hisama, Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon, 7.
50 MGP-NYPL, box 22 folder 4.
51 Ibid., box 22 folder 3.
52 Gideon’s honorary doctorates were awarded retrospectively for the compositions she completed without the expectation of a degree. Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 209.
The accumulation of these three degrees indicates that Gideon was a more academically recognised composer than other New York colleagues of her generation. The composer and critic Virgil Thomson attended Harvard University but, like Copland, also decided to study composition privately and did not pursue a Master’s degree. Many composers opted to travel to Europe for further studies instead, and this was almost a rite of passage for American composers of that generation. Gideon had travelled to Europe several times, including to Paris in 1939 with her second husband, Peter Rosoff and his sister Sophia Rosoff. However, their visit was cut short by the events of the Second World War and the opportunity to study composition there was lost.

Gideon’s desire to acquire a Master’s degree, perhaps in lieu of her European training, was also possibly a gendered decision. When applying for academic teaching jobs, her gender and age placed her in a minority position. Women were particularly at risk of being overlooked for posts as the hiring process, until 1975, was based on word of mouth and networking by heads of departments.

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54 In 1939 Gideon married her second husband, Peter Rosoff and that summer they returned to Europe for a visit. Gideon’s diary from her time spent in Paris has been transcribed by Stephanie Jensen-Moulton. See Jensen-Moulton, "Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 32 and Appendix A, 167-95. Gideon and Sophia Rosoff remained friends and colleagues until the end of their lives despite Gideon’s divorce to Peter Rosoff. Both women had been piano students of Abby Whiteside. Robert Helps, *New Music for the Piano* (Liner notes by Alan Rich. C.D. CRI, Inc. No. CR874. RCA Victor Lm, 7042). See Chapter 6 for more on the musical and pedagogical relationship between Gideon and Sophia Rosoff. Also see the obituary that Sophia Rosoff wrote for Gideon in Newspaper obituary 21 June, 1996 from The Abby Whiteside Foundation in MGUC-NYPL. (Miriam Gideon Un-Catalogued Clippings in the New York Public Library for Performing Arts).

55 Despite the Equal Employment Opportunity Act in 1961, the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Higher Education Amendment, Title IX (1972), hiring regardless of gender or race was not implemented until 1975. Judy Tsou indicated at a paper given at the American Musicological Society annual meeting in 2009 that, ‘The catalyst for the change was a threat by the then Health, Education, and Welfare Department to withhold $13 million of federal contracts to the university of California, and later, other universities. Thus in 1975, thirty-three colleges and universities signed agreements to meet specified goals in hiring women and racial minorities for their faculties; another 116 institutions followed suit soon after.’ *U.S. News and World Report,* 4 August, 1975, 26 in Judy Tsou, "Why
a fair and qualified hiring process led to widespread gender preferences. A recommendation letter of 7th April, 1964 from the Dean of the University of Cincinnati Conservatory of Music to a professor of a prominent music department, highlights this inequality:

I do have one lead on the musicology job... She certainly is smart enough, is a good teacher, and is publishing. I am not sure... that we should have a woman in the position.\textsuperscript{56}

Research conducted by Judy Tsou also found that recommendation letters for female applicants tended to highlight their appearance before their academic credentials. A letter dated 16th December, 1964 notes that the candidate ‘is an attractive girl of superior background who is much interested in her students.’\textsuperscript{57} These attitudes can be traced back to the Wall Street Crash of 1929 which provoked major competition amongst composers to secure a university position because of its financial advantages. Opportunities for commissions and patronage were tighter than before and the universities offered a structured, secure and sheltered environment for composers to earn a steady living, by teaching enthusiastic young students. Although, Gideon declared that she was not ‘degree-minded,’ the culture of gender and age discrimination, combined with her lack of European experience, may very well have encouraged her to strengthen her application for a teaching post, by gaining more academic qualifications than her male counterparts. She was ultimately successful and began teaching at Brooklyn College in the third year of her Master’s degree.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 5.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 6.

Although Gideon was employed in two non-tenured academic posts as an adjunct professor, she had great difficulties in securing a permanent position in the liberal arts colleges. Tenure was highly sought after in the United States, as it provided protection against demotion, arbitrary dismissal and salary reductions in the university. It was set up to defend employees from discrimination on the grounds of race, or political and religious beliefs. Despite ten years of service, Gideon was unable to acquire a tenured position at Brooklyn College. She recalled in an interview when, despite the support of her department chairman, the president of Brooklyn College, Harry Gideonse declined to consider her for tenure:

He did explain how sorry they were, but this was the way things were and I was left with a very friendly impression, but not with tenure. And, so it went.\(^{58}\)

By contrast, male teachers who applied for tenure within the academy did not always have to fulfil the requirements to be accepted. In a cover letter dated 17\(^{th}\) October, 1961, a referee wrote to support a male candidate’s submission for tenure, even though he had not finished his dissertation. The reference read. ‘You will note that I have not discussed the thesis in the letter because I can’t honestly say anything about it at this present stage that would be markedly to his advantage.’ This information was not passed onto the tenure committee and the individual was promoted.\(^{59}\)

Perhaps due to the male oriented environment within the academy, consequent on the fears of feminisation of musicology, Gideon was drawn towards open-minded teachers, such as Sessions, who invested in teaching talented composers regardless of gender. At City College, where Gideon joined the faculty in


\(^{59}\) Tsou, "Why Women Musicologists Were Not Hired?", 7.
1947, her departmental chair, Mark Brunswick (1946–67) personally understood gender discrimination. His wife, Ruth Jane (1897-1946), an American psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, was not admitted to Harvard Medical School because of her gender, despite receiving sponsorship from Elmer Ernest Southard, Harvard’s Professor of Neurology. Brunswick even remained in contact with Gideon after her forced removal from City College, and their piano works both featured on Robert Helps’ recording, *New Music for the Piano*.

### 2.2 Adjunct Professor at Brooklyn College and City College

Gideon’s academic teaching career began in 1944 as an adjunct professor at Brooklyn College on a part-time basis. Her position was initially temporary, replacing a male staff member who had joined the army in support of the American Second World War effort. Although Gideon had never taught at college level before, she had planned to enter teaching at the university level. Whilst she was studying composition with Sessions, she put forward her name and résumé to the music department in the hope that she would be appointed, should a vacancy occur.

In fact, Gideon’s ‘temporary’ appointment at Brooklyn College lasted a decade and

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61 Ruth Jane and Mark Brunswick married in 1928 but were later divorced. Ruth, like Gideon, was German-Jewish. After graduating from medical school at Tufts she travelled to Vienna and became a member of Freud’s intimate circle of psychoanalysts. See Marilyn Bailey Ogilvie and Joy Dorothy Harvey, *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science: Pioneering Lives from Ancient Times to the Mid-20th Century* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 432.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
she continued teaching there, even when the staff member she had replaced subsequently returned. The college had only been functioning for fourteen years when Gideon joined. Its ethos was to provide high-quality education to children of ‘immigrants, working people, and others who could not afford private higher education.’ It was the first public co-educational liberal arts college in New York and was founded by the Board of Higher Education.

Shortly after she began her teaching job at Brooklyn College, Gideon also began teaching at an affiliated institution, City College, in 1947. In interviews, Gideon described her latter position as a part-time position, and records from The City College of New York Bulletin show that she was registered as a member of staff. She was officially recorded in the City College archives as a lecturer of music both in the School of Education and in the School of General Studies Evening Class. Although she gained experience during the eight years that she taught there, she was not promoted to teach in the other main music division in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, or in the Graduate division of Liberal Arts and Sciences.

At City College, Gideon joined a music department that had on the staff other contemporary music composers and scholars. From 1952-57, Mark Brunswick served as the chairperson of the music department along with Fritz Jahoda (associate professor), William Gettel (assistant professor) and Suzanne Bloch (the daughter of

68 Ibid.
composer, Ernst Bloch). The music department concert program records indicate that the staff members were enthusiastic about promoting music in the university. But there was discontent with the way in which music was treated by the senior administration at the college. In a letter, members of the music department requested that the senior management, including their president Buell Gallagher, attend more music department concerts and that the department news be better publicised in the school newspaper.

At both colleges, Gideon was a general music teacher and not a specialist teacher of composition. When asked by Linda Ardito, in an interview in 1990, to comment on what type of music she had taught she said:

I have taught sight-singing and ear-training and, of course, harmony. I guess I taught everything—and counterpoint, as the program allowed since there were some programs that combined harmony and counterpoint. I kind of liked that idea but one couldn't always count on that arrangement; it depended upon the curriculum.

Gideon also remarked that, alongside harmony and counterpoint, she had taught ‘a heavy load of free composition.’ Teaching material preserved in Gideon’s archive contains evidence that she taught many aspects of the curriculum, including courses in music history. Her opera courses for spring 1952 and spring 1954 considered the

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73 Letter dated 4 May, 1955 from members of the music department cc. to senior administration including President Gallagher. BGGPP-CCNY, "Music Department Records 1952-1957."


75 Ibid., 210.
great works of the musical canon such as *La Bohème*, *Otello*, *Wozzeck*, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, *Carmen*, *Tristan und Isolde*, *L’Enfant et les Sortilèges* and *Boris Godunov*.\(^{76}\) She wrote extensive teaching notes for each opera, often pairing them together in themes such as seduction, jealousy, planned murder and duels. For *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Salome* and *Elektra*, she chose madness as a theme for discussion.\(^{77}\) A surviving handwritten chronological list of composers indicates that Gideon also taught twentieth-century music history including works by composers such as Křenek and Weill.\(^{78}\) Her preparation notes also contain a valuable personal history that reflected her position as a female faculty member and a modern-day composer in New York City.

In preparation for teaching a course on Beethoven in spring 1954, Gideon organised lecture notes on the composer’s relationship to aristocracy, religion and money and deafness.\(^{79}\) Her notebook reveals that she taught Beethoven’s main works, including his fugues, program music, Mass in D and *Fidelio*, as well as contextualising them with a general history of Germany. She also included an unusual discussion on the composer’s relationship to women. In her spring lecture notebook on the ‘morality of power’ she wrote a striking statement:

if B. had then been able to marry maybe last works would have been different ....(!)\(^{80}\)

This note, is perhaps, a reflection of the gender inequality that Gideon witnessed at her place of work. Male scholars of her generation received more research support

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\(^{76}\) MGP-NYPL, box 20 folder 4.  
\(^{77}\) Ibid., NYPL box 20 folder 4.  
\(^{78}\) Ibid., NYPL box 20 folder 4.  
\(^{79}\) For more on the Gideon’s Beethoven course notes see *ibid.*, Box 20 Folder 3. Tab “Spring 1954”.  
\(^{80}\) Ibid., box 20 folder 3: 9.
than their female counterparts. The musicologist, Alfred Einstein (1880-1952) could rely upon his relatives, his wife, sister and daughter to assist with his research. They edited his work, copied music and kept notes. However, the same support within the family could not be guaranteed for female scholars.

These issues became all the more urgent when Gideon’s husband, Frederic Ewen (1899-1988), opted for early retirement from Brooklyn College in 1952 after receiving a subpoena to appear before the McCarran committee, connected to the McCarthy investigations. He was a tenured assistant professor and a popular teacher in the English department at Brooklyn College. He was one of the first members of staff to begin his post at the institution’s inauguration on 15th May, 1930 and he shared Gideon’s interest in music. With his brother, David Ewen, he co-authored a book, *Musical Vienna*. The minutes from the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York meeting on 17th November, 1952 show that Gideon, now as the principal wage-earner for her household, sought an increase in her teaching hours. The Board, headed by the Chairman, Ordway Tead, significantly increased her hours under ‘emergency appointments and adjustments in compensation and schedules of members of the staff’ from twenty-eight hours per term to eighty-four for the 1952

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82 2006. Frederic Ewen biographical notes in A Guide to the Tamiment Library & Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/tamwag/ewen_audio.html (accessed 28 December, 2007). FEP-TLNYU. In his testimony at the Private Hearing of the Rapp-Coudert Committee on 28 February, 1941 Ewen stated that he was born in Lemberg (then Austria, now part of Ukraine) as Francis Ewen. He was promoted to assistant professorship at Brooklyn College in 1934 and he was a member of the Teachers Union for about four to five years. He was also a member of college section Local 5.
fall semester, at the Division of Liberal Arts of the School of General Studies. At the meeting, each of the presidents of the colleges (City, Hunter, Queens and Brooklyn) were present. This included Gallagher of City College who, two years later, would witness Gideon’s summons to testify before a committee connected with Joseph McCarthy.

In a reversal of gender roles, Gideon continued to work in two posts and her compositional output slowed under these conditions. The geographical distance between her two teaching jobs also required ‘a couple of hours or more every day’ on the subway in New York City. However, publically Gideon resisted identifying herself as a ‘woman composer,’ seldom discussing her music in relation to gender and rarely participated in concert programs of just female composers.

The quantity of preparation for her courses and the organisation of her teaching notes indicate that Gideon was genuinely interested in teaching young adults about the way in which music functions and music history. The recent founding of the College and the newness of music as a subject taught within universities meant that many of her colleagues also did not have much teaching experience. She said:

84 Chairman Ordway Tead, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York" (Conference Room, Hunter College, 8:15 p.m. 17 November, 1952), 659. This decision was made under point "No. 62. School of General Studies."
85 This is further discussed in Chapter 3.
87 Tim Page, "Gideon and Talma at 80-Composers and Neighbours," New York Times (19 October, 1986). In MGUC-NYPL. In a response to a questionnaire sent by Elaine Barkin, Gideon claimed that she did not know she was a ‘woman composer’ until the 1960s. Gideon claimed this in response to questionnaire sent by Elaine Barkin. See Elaine Barkin et al., "In Response," Perspectives of New Music 20, no. 1/2 (Summer, 1982): 301. In Hisama, Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon, 139. For a discussion on Gideon’s perspective of ‘woman composer’ and Gideon’s response to Barkin’s questionnaire see ibid., 139-45.
I do like teaching and I think my students enjoy their work and their classes. The teaching is free and it’s strict at the same time. They have plenty of opportunity for their own imaginations to work but at the same time I think I make them aware of the general principles—and not just as items to memorise but as principles that will operate musically. I’d have to say that I think that's pretty much what happens. By the time they get through sixteenth-century counterpoint (which somehow I, myself, got a lot out of), I think the more devoted ones feel that they have learned something. But it’s threaded through with original composition in every respect—even in counterpoint studies.  

Although she enjoyed teaching students, Gideon was never promoted to teach advanced level students nor did she rise through the ranks to a head of department position. Even when her compositional career progressed and she was eventually inducted into the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters in 1975, Gideon still held performance seminars for the students in the preparatory division at Manhattan School of Music (MSM). When retiring in 1991 at the age of 85, she had loyally taught at the JTS and MSM where she had worked from 1955-91 and 1961-91 respectively.

Thus far, this chapter has detailed the unconventional way in which Gideon entered the academy. The contradictions and peculiarities of academic life are an important part of the narrative because they describe conditions under which Gideon taught music during the 1950s. As has been established, professional stability and a regular income were coupled with gender discrimination and a low status of music within universities. Gideon encountered this lifestyle in her first teaching post at

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Brooklyn College and later at City College. The inherent culture of intolerance within these institutions, to some degree, provided the ideal environment for anti-communist policy to be unchallenged in the academic community. As will be shown, the disintegration of Ewen’s relationship with the senior management on campus had serious effects for Gideon.

2.3 Rapp-Coudert Committee Investigation

Five years into her job at Brooklyn College, Gideon married Frederic Ewen.91 Their marriage inextricably linked the two together, not only as family but also politically, particularly during the 1950s. It is important to consider Ewen’s removal from his post as English professor at Brooklyn College in detail, as it directly undermined Gideon’s teaching position at the same institution. At the time of his marriage to Gideon, in a civil ceremony on 16th December, 1949,92 Ewen had already authored several books and was a noted scholar of Schiller, Heine and later, Brecht.93 Gideon and Ewen’s relationship began at least one year before their marriage. At the time that their relationship started, Ewen was still married to his second wife, Bernice Lipson, and was seeking a divorce. In the summer of 1948 he wrote affectionate letters to Gideon whilst she was in Aspen and detailed the progress of his divorce case. On 7th July, 1948 Ewen wrote:

91 It is difficult to discern when exactly Gideon and her second husband, Peter Rosoff divorced. Jensen-Moulton has found no specific date from evidence in the archives, but it is probable that their marriage deteriorated and that they divorced sometime between 1940-48. Jensen-Moulton, "Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 38.
92 Ibid., 40.
The matter of Berenice is being taken care of, and I’m happy about that too. Things happen if you want them to happen; if you’re ready for them; and they’re happening a plenty to me now.94

Six days later, on 13th July, 1948, Ewen wrote again to Gideon regarding the progress of the divorce case. His words ‘the whole business’ refer to the legal proceedings:

The matter of Berenice is being settled satisfactory. The chances are that the whole business will be over by October. I’m happy I don’t have to go away somewhere; the thing is proving much more expeditious than I ever anticipated.95

In fact, Ewen’s divorce was not granted until 12th November, 1948 at a Florida Judicial Court. The location may explain his reference to his relief in not having to travel to take care of the arrangements.96

Letters written between Gideon and Ewen from this period are the only correspondence to survive in archives from their thirty-nine years together as a married couple. The tone in their letters indicates that they were honest and candid about delicate subjects from the beginning of their relationship. The letters also reveal that the couple discussed politics and that Gideon was aware of Ewen’s general political views. It was not surprising that a couple might discuss current affairs after the close of the Second World War. However, Ewen’s letters to Gideon also suggest a more personal concern for his work and personal situation at home. Their correspondence, in 1948, also contains his thoughts about his child, Joel, from

96 Divorce papers between Berenice Ewen (Plaintiff) and Frederic Ewen (Defendent) 12th November, 1948 ibid., box 1 folder 8. They were married before a Rabbi on 10th December, 1945. Their marriage lasted just under three years. See Marriage Certificate of Frederic Ewen to Berenice M. Lipson in New York City on 10th December, 1945 ibid., box 1 folder 8.
his first marriage and his dog, Danny Boy, and these concerns are intertwined with
discussions of his book writing. There are also indications of personal, political
unease: 97

So far as the book is concerned, I work on it every morning regularly, and am now past page 100. It’s shaping up very nicely, and I hope that I can continue this pace, so that by the time school starts I’ll have three or four hundred pages, and then I’ll be able to complete the whole thing by December 25. That’s the date I’ve set myself—provided conditions are fairly normal...

But will they be? I don’t mean so much inside me—because that’s shaping up well—but if you’ve been reading the papers you know. I don’t like the look of things—they’re all out to get Truman elected in some way, and the hysteria is assuming Germany 1933-38 proportions. I don’t think they’ll stop at anything. 98

Although it is unclear to whom Ewen is referring in ‘I don’t think they’ll stop at anything,’ his letter highlights the strength of concern regarding the political situation during the Cold War. His comparison of American politics to the rise of Nazism in pre-war Germany is extreme, especially considering that both Ewen and Gideon were Jewish by heritage. 99 Just three years earlier, in 1945, two atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki under Truman’s presidency, and relations, especially ideological differences, between America and Russia soured during the post-war negotiations. Left-wing campaigners feared that Truman would be re-elected in 1948, as he seemed to tolerate McCarthy’s investigations, if not champion them. 100

97 There are no surviving letters from Gideon to Ewen, but the contents of Ewen’s confirm that she mutually wrote to him. See, for example, a letter dated 23rd July, 1948 where Ewen wrote to Gideon about how happy he felt to see a letter from her on the kitchen table that morning. Ibid., box 1 folder 7.
99 Germany invaded Poland 1st September 1939. The dates that Ewen marked in his letter to Gideon refer to the Second World War.
100 Truman famously won the 1948 United States election.
Ewen’s personal concerns stemmed from a political attack he experienced during the 1940s. On 7th November, 1940 he received a subpoena from the Rapp-Coudert committee to appear before the ‘Joint Legislative Committee to investigate the Educational System of the State of New York.’ The committee’s remit was to investigate allegations of ‘subversive’ activities in New York City’s public schools and colleges. Ewen’s subpoena was part of a wider investigation at Brooklyn College which summoned twenty members of staff to testify in closed hearings before a one-man committee. Most declined and contested the legality of one-person hearings and the committee’s refusal to provide transcripts of the case.

William G. Mulligan defended Ewen who stood accused alongside teachers Howard Selsam, Maurice Ogur, Harry Slochower and Murray Young.

The testimony of assistant English professor Bernard D. N. Grebanier was damaging to their case. Grebanier testified to the Rapp-Coudert committee that he had been a former member of the Communist Party and also a member of a

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101 The subpoena requested Ewen to ‘testify and give evidence in a certain inquiry and investigation into the Educational System of the State of New York, and other matters, now being conducted pursuant to the provisions of a Joint Resolution of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York adopted by said Senate and Assembly on March 29, 1940. Subpoena from F. R. Coudert, Jr. (vice-chairman) for Frederic Ewen to appear before the Joint Legislative Committee to investigate the Educational System of the State of New York.’ 8 November, 1940. FEP-TLNYU.

102 “Frederic Ewen, 89, Ex-Professor of English,” New York Times 19 October, 1988, B5. Public universities (government organised) were more vulnerable than private academic institutions. Robert Levine at Harvard Law School articulated this to Ewen in a letter held in his archive. He wrote, ‘Fortunately Harvard is in a position to forget the forces attacking Academic Freedom. They have the prestige and independent wealth to do so. It is unfortunate that Brooklyn College is not in the same position.’ FEP-TLNYU. See also Schrecker, No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities, 287-88. Also see Schrecker’s interview with Ewen 7th November, 1980. Ibid., 167.

103 ‘Coudert Investigation’ in ‘Brooklyn College Chapter of the NY College Teachers Union Bulletin 4,’ FEP-TLNYU, 2 December, 1940.

104 Coudert Investigation’ in ‘Brooklyn College Chapter of the NY College Teachers Union Bulletin 4,’ 2 December, 1940. Ibid.

105 The Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate to Educational System of the State of New York in the Matter of The application to Punish Howard Selsam, Maurice Ogur, Harry Slochower, Frederic Ewen and Murray Young severally for contempt.’ Ibid., 18 December, 1940.
communist unit within Brooklyn College.\textsuperscript{106} He told the court that each of the teachers named above were members of the Communist Party, and had influenced the political persuasions of students at the college. The President of Brooklyn College, Harry D. Gideonse, supported this claim by testifying that the campus was disrupted by the use of communist tactics amongst the faculty and students. As a result of these compelling witness statements, Coudert published a document to ‘punish’ the twenty-five staff accused who had refused to testify before the committee ‘for contempt.’\textsuperscript{107} Ewen received a letter on 11\textsuperscript{th} February, 1941 stating that Mr. Justice Benedict A. Dineen had found him guilty of disregard to the State Legislature. He would be placed in custody until he answered the questions presented to him in a private hearing by Senator Coudert.\textsuperscript{108}

With little choice, Ewen testified at a private hearing of the Rapp-Coudert Committee on 28\textsuperscript{th} February, 1941.\textsuperscript{109} After he had answered questions concerning his years employed at Brooklyn College, the point at which he became a New York State resident, his voting patterns and citizenship, the investigation turned to communism. Ewen answered just under one hundred quick fire questions that attempted to pinpoint his involvement with the Communist Party. A transcript of four questions in the first part of the testimony read:

\textsuperscript{106} ‘The Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate to Educational System of the State of New York in the Matter of The application to Punish Howard Selsam, Maurice Ogur, Harry Slochower, Frederic Ewen and Murray Young severally for contempt.’ Ibid., 18 December, 1940.
\textsuperscript{107} ‘The Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate to Educational System of the State of New York in the Matter of The application to Punish Howard Selsam, Maurice Ogur, Harry Slochower, Frederic Ewen and Murray Young severally for contempt.’ Ibid., 18 December, 1940.
\textsuperscript{108} Letter from William G. Mulligan to Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 13 February, 1941.
\textsuperscript{109} For full transcript see ‘Testimony of Frederic Ewen at the Private Hearing of the Rapp-Coudert Committee.’ Ibid., 28 February, 1941.
Q. Have you ever been a member of the communist party?
A. No, Sir.
Q. Have you ever belonged to a branch or subdivision of the communist party?
A. No, Sir.
Q. Have you ever belonged to a communist party in any other country?
A. No, Sir.
Q. Have you ever belonged to the communist international?
A. No, Sir.\textsuperscript{110}

When asked, Ewen stated that he had read the \textit{Daily Worker} and \textit{New Masses} but that he did not subscribe to these publications. He testified that he had been a member of the American Labour Party for one year, from 1938-39, but could not recall whether he had signed communist petitions. He stated that he was aware of communist activity from pamphlets and the \textit{Staff} magazine on campus, but that he had never discussed this with Professor Grebanier. Grebanier’s earlier testimony, that Ewen had been a part of a communist cell at Brooklyn College, was crucial evidence to the case. These allegations were put to Ewen at the hearing. Ewen denied Grebanier’s claims but he did accept that he and Grebanier had discussed labour issues.\textsuperscript{111}

In court, Ewen revealed that he did not regard Grebanier as a friend, as they had had a professional dispute. He told the court that at the end of 1937, or in early 1938, that together they had prepared a plan for a forthcoming book. They both revised it and then jointly submitted it to a publisher. No contract was offered and Grebanier later worked on the book alone. Ewen claimed that Grebanier later published a book based on the outline of the anthology which they had both worked

\textsuperscript{110} ‘Testimony of Frederic Ewen at the Private Hearings of the Rapp-Coudert Committee.’ 28 February, 1941. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{111} ‘Testimony of Frederic Ewen at the Private Hearing of the Rapp-Coudert Committee.’ 28 February, 1941. Ibid.
on together. Upon further questioning, it was established that Ewen had not lodged any protest with Grebanier, the publishers, or his attorney.

Ultimately Ewen survived the Rapp-Coudert hearings of the early 1940s because he had tenure.\textsuperscript{112} He was not fired because the Board of Higher Education also ruled at that time that individuals must be identified as a Party member by two witnesses before losing their employment.\textsuperscript{113} Although Ewen was protected by this legislation, he and the other tenured professors suffered in the aftermath of the investigation and it was damaging to his career. His case was heavily reported in the media, including the \textit{New York Times}, \textit{New York Journal-American}, \textit{New York Herald Tribune} and the \textit{Brooklyn Eagle}. These carried full length articles on the Rapp-Coudert cases and featured photographs of Grebanier and Ewen from outside the courtroom, listing many of the names of teachers accused. In their articles, many reporters questioned the competency of teachers who were accused of communist sympathies.\textsuperscript{114}

McCarthy historian Ellen Schrecker noted that, ‘promotions were delayed or withheld; relations with colleagues were often strained, at best.’\textsuperscript{115} During the trial, the \textit{Brooklyn Eagle} reported Grebanier as stating, ‘I share a staff room with Dr. Ewen but I am undertaking to have that changed.’\textsuperscript{116} Gideonse, the president of Brooklyn College, refused to promote Ewen even though he had been nominated twice by the English Department.\textsuperscript{117} Worse still, the fear of being recalled to testify was troubling for both Gideon and Ewen. They knew that as soon as another witness

\begin{footnotes}
\item[113] Schrecker, \textit{No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities}, 167.
\item[114] These newspaper articles are preserved in Frederic Ewen’s archive. FEP-TLNYU.
\item[115] Schrecker, \textit{No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities}, 167.
\item[116] 'Brooklyn Eagle' 4 December, 1941. FEP-TLNYU.
\item[117] Schrecker, \textit{No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities}, 168.
\end{footnotes}
came forward, Ewen could be re-tried in court. These fears surfaced in 1952 when the McCarran committee sought to finish the work of the Rapp-Coudert investigation. Meanwhile, the FBI gathered evidence on Ewen. His file was re-opened on 28th July, 1942 after the director, John Edgar Hoover issued instructions under the Internal Security Custodial Detention Act. A summary of this Rapp-Coudert case was recorded in Ewen’s FBI file and ‘a confidential informant whose identity is known to the Bureau’ reported on Ewen’s and his relatives activities.

### 2.4 Brooklyn College and the Karl Marx Society

In 1948, one year before Gideon and Ewen’s marriage, Ewen began to receive a plethora of letters from organisations and individuals that requested to remove their professional association from him. The reasons for these letters were politically motivated and related to fears of being associated with an alleged communist directly or indirectly. For example, Benjamin H. Tumin from the Temple Beth Zion in Philadelphia wrote to Ewen requesting to have his name immediately removed from the list of sponsors at the School for Jewish Studies. Tumin wrote:

> I have just learned that the School for Jewish Studies has been placed on the Attorney General’s list as a front organisation for the Communist movement. Since I have at no time ever been to the school, nor attended any of its functions, nor contributed in any way to its maintenance; and since I am unalterably opposed to and abhor

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the tenets of Communism and its philosophy, I am asking that my name be immediately dropped from the list of sponsors.\textsuperscript{121}

At Brooklyn College, President Gideonse took a tough stance against perceived subversive action from the time he took office in 1939. His staunch opposition to communism during the Rapp-Coudert hearings of the early 1940s at Brooklyn College was controversial, and somewhat ironic, as he, himself, had been a target of an anti-communist investigation at the University of Chicago in 1935.\textsuperscript{122}

In the same month that Ewen wrote to Gideon of his unease over current politics (July 1948), Gideonse wrote an article in \textit{American Magazine} entitled ‘The Reds are After Your Child’ which detailed his experiences of communism at Brooklyn College.\textsuperscript{123} In one sentence, he referred to communists as ‘shrewd,’ ‘clever and unscrupulous,’ and having ‘infiltrated’ the educational system, using ‘every instrument at their command to win and convert the minds of students to the doctrines of Marx and Lenin.’\textsuperscript{124} In his experience, he had found that identifying communists in schools was difficult because of their ‘false fronts, their conspiratorial methods, and their invariable willingness to lie and commit perjury.’\textsuperscript{125} He warned his readers that ‘thousands’ of communists, from all ethnic and religious backgrounds, adhered to the party line laid down by Moscow. He also wrote that the tactics used by communists to indoctrinate, recruit and convert students included dating, from both genders, and the dissemination of propaganda by professors in classrooms.

\textsuperscript{121} Letter from Benjamin H. Tumin (Temple Beth Zion, Philadelphia) to Doctor Ewen, Chairman of the School for Jewish Studies, 30 January, 1948. FEP-TLNYU.
\textsuperscript{122} Schrecker, \textit{No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities}, 168.
\textsuperscript{123} Harry D. Gideonse, ‘The Reds are After Your Child,’ \textit{American Magazine}, July 1948. FEP-TLNYU.
\textsuperscript{124} Harry D. Gideonse, ‘The Reds are After Your Child,’ \textit{American Magazine}, July 1948. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} Harry D. Gideonse, ‘The Reds are After Your Child,’ \textit{American Magazine}, July 1948. Ibid.
In order to curb communist activity at Brooklyn College, but not to deprive teachers of their constitutional political and civil rights, Gideonse described in this article how he balanced these two issues. In a staff meeting he promised to protect fully any teacher who wished to exercise a political opinion that was tolerated by the constitution. He also asked teachers to confess if they were involved with the Communist Party, whilst also noting that he would not ‘endorse the appointment of a Stalinist or Bundist, but that the legitimate civil rights of any present member of the staff would be protected.’

This strategy was, of course, intended to oust communists by their own confession, and to mark the cards of those whom he suspected of holding communist sympathies.

Gideonse described the New York State Legislative Investigation (the Rapp-Coudert Committee that executed the largest purge of undesirable communist teachers) as a ‘good model.’ Though he disagreed with some of the methods that had been employed by HUAC (the House Un-American Activities Committee), he proudly asserted that Brooklyn College had refused to charter the American Youth for Democracy as ‘officers lied to our faculty committee about their origin and affiliations.’ But in the article he also stated that he agreed to allow the Karl Marx Society to have meetings on campus because it was a group that openly admitted that it was interested in the study of Marxist ideas concerning art, literature and economics.

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127 Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities*, 76.
Gideonse’s unyielding personal convictions, combined with the State of New York Assembly Act, implemented on 1st July, 1949, led to drastic action at Brooklyn College. The amendment was: ‘to the education law, in relation to eliminating from the public schools, superintendents, teachers and employees, who are members of subversive organisations.’\textsuperscript{130} Despite the existence of statutes already designed to prevent the appointment or retention of a teacher in a public school, the report found that there were employees who were still members of organisations that advocated the overthrow of the United States by force, violence or unlawful means. The report stated that:

there is common report that members of subversive groups, and particularly of the communist party and certain of its affiliated organisations, have infiltrated into public employment in the public schools of the state.\textsuperscript{131}

The legislature found that members of subversive groups were likely to use their office or position to teach insubordinate doctrines and a prescribed party line. It aimed to prevent such infiltration becoming commonplace in schools. As a result of these findings, the Board decided to apply an ‘elimination of subversive persons from the public school system.’\textsuperscript{132} In practice, this resulted in the non-renewal of teaching positions on these grounds and the creation of a list of organisations which it decreed to be subversive.

\textsuperscript{130} The amendment to the act was outlined on 10th March, 1949 and due to commence on 1st July, 1949. "State of New York In Assembly: An Act to Amend the Education Law, in Relation to Eliminating from the Public Schools, Superintendents, Teachers and employees, who are Members of Subversive Organisations." Ibid., 10 March, 1949.  
\textsuperscript{131} "State of New York In Assembly: An Act to Amend the Education Law, in Relation to Eliminating from the Public Schools, Superintendents, Teachers and employees, who are Members of Subversive Organisations." Ibid., Section 1. 10 March, 1949.  
\textsuperscript{132} State of New York In Assembly: An Act to Amend the Education Law, in Relation to Eliminating from the Public Schools, Superintendents, Teachers and employees, who are Members of Subversive Organisations." Ibid., 10 March, 1949.
This Act amendment gave senior management in academic institutions the authority to sack political undesirables from the teaching profession. Gideonse, the President of Brooklyn College, began to disband after-school clubs, circulate propaganda and interview teachers about their political position. Ewen’s relationship with Gideonse, which was already fragile after the former’s Rapp-Coudert subpoena in 1941, deteriorated further. One month after this Act amendment was passed, the Dean of Brooklyn College suspended the Karl Marx Society at Brooklyn College; Ewen was the Faculty advisor of the Society.

Ewen was officially reprimanded on 5th April, 1949, several months before Gideon and Ewen were married. A notice was sent out from the Faculty-Student Committee to the entire student body and staff of Brooklyn College stating that the Karl Marx Society had not abided by the college rules.\(^{133}\) It claimed that the Society had used the college’s name, without permission, at a meeting during which an indicted person was present. Other supporting reasons given for the closure of the society included: irresponsible statements, not revising its constitution to act legally, printing tickets for an event prior to approval from college officials and ‘agitating in extreme ways.’\(^{134}\) Although the committee emphasised that it did not wish to prevent freedom of speech, the notice referred directly to the actions of Ewen:

> The Committee believes that faculty advisors are clearly responsible for the actions of the groups which they sponsor. In the case of the Society, the faculty advisor unfortunately did not counsel the students to maintain the college regulation. By his refusal to

\(^{133}\) Notice from the Faculty-Student Committee on Student Activities to The Faculty and Students of Brooklyn College. “The Suspension of the Karl Marx Society.” Ibid., 5 April, 1949.

\(^{134}\) Notice from the Faculty-Student Committee on Student Activities to The Faculty and Students of Brooklyn College. “The Suspension of the Karl Marx Society.” Ibid., 5 April, 1949.
disassociate himself from the illegal meeting, he in effect gave it his approval.\textsuperscript{135}

Four days later Ewen wrote to the Dean, William R. Gaede, to defend his perceived participation in the suspension of the Karl Marx Society. In the letter, Ewen stated that he did not countersign an approval of that meeting—a requirement of the Office of Student Activities—and he requested that the statements made by the Faculty-Student Committee be withdrawn.\textsuperscript{136} The issue seemed of major importance to him, as several drafts of this letter are to be found in Ewen’s archive in the Tamiment Library at NYU.\textsuperscript{137} Although this letter was dated 9\textsuperscript{th} April, 1949, Ewen did not send it until 13\textsuperscript{th} April.\textsuperscript{138}

In response to Ewen’s appeal, Gaede officially reproached him for neglect of duty, stating that ‘you were neither informed nor aware of the fact that the Karl Marx Society had planned to hold a meeting which was publicly announced as illegal.’\textsuperscript{139} A further exchange ensued. Ewen wrote to President Gideonse, to ‘correct an injustice,’ and asked for him to reverse the reprimand and for the Faculty-Student Committee to withdraw its statement.\textsuperscript{140} Gideonse replied the next day stating that he would not be able to reverse the action of the Dean as Ewen had been lax in his responsibilities as Faculty Advisor. Neither Gaede nor Gideonse accepted Ewen’s argument that he was unaware of the meeting, as it had been printed in the student paper. Gideonse further stated that he, as President, was not in a position to direct the faculty committees to amend their independent decisions. In addition, there is a

\textsuperscript{135} Notice from the Faculty-Student Committee on Student Activities to The Faculty and Students of Brooklyn College. “The Suspension of the Karl Marx Society.” Ibid., 5 April, 1949.
\textsuperscript{136} Letter from Frederic Ewen to Dean William R. Gaede in defence of the Karl Marx Society suspension. Ibid., 9 April, 1949.
\textsuperscript{137} Draft letter from Frederic Ewen to Dean Gaede 13 April, 1949. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{138} Letter from William Gaede to Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 25 April, 1949.
\textsuperscript{139} Letter from William Gaede to Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 25 April, 1949.
\textsuperscript{140} Letter from Frederic Ewen to President Gideonse. Ibid., 4 May, 1949.
record of Gideonse having warned Ewen about his language in letters dated 27th April and 4th May. Gideonse wrote:

> Your use of such terms as ‘wilful,’ ‘calculated to degrade,’ ‘effort to shield” to describe the discharge of his normal responsibilities as an administrative officer is inexcusable, and it would be a neglect of my responsibilities not to draw your attention to this irresponsible and unwarranted use of language.’  

During the following months, from May to June 1949, Ewen attempted to resolve this situation by organising meetings with Dean Maroney, Dean Gaede, Professor Stroup, and the Faculty-Student Committee. In a letter dated 4th June, 1949, Ewen wrote that he could not have known about the meeting of the Karl Marx Society as it had been scheduled for the evening of Friday 1st April. The student newspaper, *The Vanguard*, which advertised the meeting, was only published earlier that day. Ewen maintained that neither the Faculty-Student Committee nor the Student Activities Office had been in touch with him.

In these letters Ewen made no reference to the idea that the closure of the Karl Marx Society was related to McCarthyism. However, Gideonse defended his own actions by stating that the decision ‘has nothing to do with current affairs.’ He clarified this issue in a letter, dated 6th June, 1949 to the Democratic Coalition Committee at Brooklyn College, stating that it was not a matter of ‘current hysteria’

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141 Letter from Harry Gideonse to Professor Ewen. Ibid., 5 May, 1949. Gideonse was quoting from Ewen’s letter to Gaede dated 27th April which has not been preserved in the Ewen’s archive in the Tamiment Library at NYU.


144 Letter from Gideonse to Mr. Len Poliar from the Democratic Coalition Committee Brooklyn College. Ibid., 6 June, 1949.
but a long standing policy that was repeatedly reviewed and re-affirmed.\textsuperscript{145} He stated:

The tradition of academic freedom can be summarised in one sentence: no member of a college or university faculty loses any of his rights as a citizen by accepting employment as a college or university teacher.\textsuperscript{146}

Gideonse perhaps felt a particular need to state this in writing, as his lack of support for faculty members during the Rapp-Coudert hearings, and his article ‘The Reds are After Your Child’ (written one year earlier) point towards a contradictory view.

The correspondence between Ewen and Gideonse illustrates the power of the senior management at Brooklyn College to implement political authority on matters that related to student activity. Gideonse’s political actions were instrumental in spreading the fear of subversion on campus. The closing of the Karl Marx Society drew further attention onto Ewen and Gideon. The official reprimand occurred in the year of their marriage, when they both worked at Brooklyn College. It is likely that Gideonse assumed that Gideon’s political loyalties were aligned with Ewen.\textsuperscript{147}

As the growing political fanaticism at Brooklyn College under Gideonse’s Presidency increased, Ewen realised he was vulnerable. Shortly after his reprimand over the Karl Marx Society affair, he made private enquiries concerning his retirement funds. In a letter dated 19\textsuperscript{th} April, 1950, four months after Gideon’s marriage to Ewen, he requested to know how much pension to which he would be

\textsuperscript{145} Letter from Gideonse to Mr. Len Poliar from the Democratic Coalition Committee Brooklyn College. Ibid., 6 June, 1949.

\textsuperscript{146} Letter from Gideonse to Mr. Len Poliar from the Democratic Coalition Committee Brooklyn College. Ibid., 6 June, 1949.

\textsuperscript{147} Gideon and Ewen’s marriage was the third marriage for both of them. But they remained married for the rest of their lives until Ewen’s death in 1988. The marriage records of the Borough of Manhattan, New York were checked by an FBI special agent on 5\textsuperscript{th} and 6\textsuperscript{th} February and document these exact marriage dates. FE-FBI, "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI. 21 May, 1953, 2.
entitled, should he retire on 16th January, 1951 or 16th January, 1956 based on thirty and thirty-five years of service, respectively.\textsuperscript{148} The Teachers’ Retirement System of the City of New York responded that he would receive half of his average salary after thirty-five years service.\textsuperscript{149} When Ewen was forced to take early retirement in early 1952, after receiving a subpoena, his actual total retirement allowance was recalculated on 16th November, 1952.\textsuperscript{150} His length of service, beginning at Brooklyn College in 1923 as a tutor, had accumulated enough working hours in the public university system to take early retirement rather than to resign.\textsuperscript{151} Gideon noted in an interview that this was a ‘very, very low pension’ but she was grateful that he acquired retirement rights at all.\textsuperscript{152} By requesting information on his pension, Ewen revealed that he suspected that politics on campus might take an unprecedented turn with unfortunate consequences.

By the end of December 1951, Ewen was in a far worse position. He received a letter from Rabbi Benjamin Schultz and the Joint Committee Against Communism in New York outlining allegations of his communist activity (see Figure 2.1). The evidence presented to Ewen stretched back over a decade earlier and they invited him to reply to these allegations within seven days. However, if he did not meet this deadline, the committee ‘shall assume that you have no comment or correction of these listings.’\textsuperscript{153} The consequences of the research completed by this committee were potentially devastating: it is stated that they supplied this information to the

\textsuperscript{148} Letter from Frederic Ewen to The Teachers' Retirement System. FEP-TLNYU, 19 April, 1950.
\textsuperscript{149} An exact monetary figure of this amount is indicated in Letter from the Teachers' Retirement System of the City of New York to Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 2 June, 1950.
\textsuperscript{150} The exact financial figure of this amount can be found in A Notice of Retirement on Regular Allowance calculated on 16th November, 1952. Ibid., Letter dated 28 November, 1952.
\textsuperscript{151} Ewen’s FBI record shows that his professional career at Brooklyn College began in 1923 as a tutor, followed by instructor in 1928 and assistant professor in 1936. File No. 110-26400. FE-FBI, 2.
\textsuperscript{152} FEAVC-TLNYU, "Miriam Gideon Interviewed by Alexander Ewen. 12 January, 1990. OH 52-16."
\textsuperscript{153} Letter from Rabbi Benjamin Schultz and the Joint Committee Against Communism in New York to Frederic Ewen. FEP-TLNYU, 12 December, 1951.
Board of Higher Education and the appropriate City and State authorities. There is no evidence, in Ewen’s archive, that he replied to this letter.\textsuperscript{154}

Figure 2.1 on the next page shows the list of Ewen’s Alleged Communist Activities Compiled by the Joint Committee against Communism, New York 12\textsuperscript{th} December, 1951.

\textsuperscript{154} Ewen’s FBI file cited other organisations to which they claimed he was affiliated. Many of these were Jewish based such as the Yiddisher Kultur Farband (Y.K.F.) which was designated an affiliate of the Communist Party of the United States of America. File No. 110-26400. FE-FBI, 13 and 15. Interviews conducted with Gideon’s former students detail that the couple were secular Jews. Karen Brudney, "Interview with Mary Robb," (10th February, 2008). Also see John Deri, "Interview with Mary Robb," (20th February, 2009). Also see Jodi Beder, "Interview with Mary Robb," (18th February, 2008).
**Figure 2.1 A list of Ewen’s Alleged Communist Activities Compiled by the Joint Committee against Communism, New York 12th December, 1951**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Listed As</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>Testimony of Prof. Grebanier NY World-Telegram, 12/02/40 Rapp-Coudert Committee Report 1942, p. 318.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Currents Published by the</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>Issues of March, 1943 to March, 1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Comm. Of Jewish Writers,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists and Scientists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Author of Article</td>
<td>June, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens Comm. Of Upper West Side</td>
<td>Signer of Statement Against</td>
<td>Daily Worker, 7/4/43 p. 7 Appendix 9, House Comm. on Un-Amer. Activities page 485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Soviet Propaganda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists Front to Win the War</td>
<td>Sponsor</td>
<td>Program, 10/16/42 Appendix 9, page 577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int. Workers Order Speakers Bureau</td>
<td>Available Speaker</td>
<td>Folder, no date Appendix 9, page 906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Jewish Studies</td>
<td>Chairman</td>
<td>Testimony of Walter Steele before House Comm. on Un-American Activities 7/21/47, p. 50. Also Bklyn Eagle 6/7/49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson School of Social Science</td>
<td>Instructor or Guest Lecturer</td>
<td>Catalogue Winter, 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science and Society</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Fall 1947</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Winter, 1949-1950, Fall, 1944, Fall, 1945, Fall, 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amer. Student Union</td>
<td>Defended by</td>
<td>Appendix 9, page 514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Schools Jefferson School,</td>
<td>Signer of petition in defence of,</td>
<td>Official Press Release</td>
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<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>4/7/48</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jewish Black Book Comm.</td>
<td>Sponsor</td>
<td>Pamphlet, <em>Let the World Know</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Music Festival</td>
<td>March 12, 1949 Contributed article</td>
<td>Daily Worker, 3/7/49. Page 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listed by the Rapp-Coudert Committee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>as one to be cited for contempt for</td>
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<td>refusal to testify–World Telegram</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12/4/40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Herbert M. Morais Listed Ewen as one</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>who read “The Manuscript and (made)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>detailed criticism and valuable</td>
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<td>suggestions.” In the book “The</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Struggle for American Freedom” by</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Herbert. M. Morais, Inter. Publishers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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155 FEP-TLNYU. The dates listed in Figure 2.1 are an exact reproduction of the original document and retain the United States citation of month/day/year.
2.5 The McCarran Committee Investigation

A further deterioration of Ewen’s relations with President Gideonse at Brooklyn College led to the inevitable. On 17th September, 1952 Ewen and three other College professors who had survived the Rapp-Coudert inquiry received a subpoena from Pat McCarran, the chairman on Internal Security and a Senator in 1951. It read simply:

You are Hereby Commanded to appear before the Internal/Security Sub-Committee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States, on Wednesday Sept. 24, 1952 at 9 o’clock am...
Thereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided to United States Marshall to serve and return.

The McCarran committee was established when Robert Morris, a former special counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SIISS), persuaded McCarran to launch an investigation to tackle subversion in educational institutions. During a seven day period in September and October 1952, over thirty teachers were questioned, most of whom had previously appeared before the Rapp-Coudert committee during the 1940s. Two days before Ewen’s hearing, the Board of Higher Education urged those who were accused to cooperate fully with the McCarran committee. On the day of Ewen’s subpoena, six academics, including

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158 Schrecker, No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities, 167.
159 (22, September, 1952). Ibid., 169.
Ewen, invoked the Fifth Amendment before the McCarran committee.\textsuperscript{160} (The Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution states that no person may be forced to testify as a witness against herself or himself). The Corporation Counsel ruled, after their hearing, that refusal to answer the SISS questions came within the remit of Section 903.\textsuperscript{161} In effect, the teachers fired themselves as Ellen Schrecker explained:

Originally designed as a weapon against municipal graft, this section provided for the summary dismissal of any city employee who ‘shall refuse to testify or to answer any question regarding the property, government, or affairs of the city... on the grounds that his answer would tend to incriminate him.’\textsuperscript{162}

At an earlier committee meeting three Brooklyn College professors, and colleagues of Ewen, refused to testify and, as a consequence, lost their employment. Perhaps realising the slim prospects of retaining his job, Ewen quietly submitted for his pension the day before his court hearing. He wrote a short letter to the chairman of his department, Professor DeLancey Ferguson to explain his actions:

Dear Professor Ferguson:

This is to inform you that I have filed application for retirement from Brooklyn College to take effect September 23, 1952.\textsuperscript{163}

Even though Ewen was technically no longer employed by Brooklyn College, he was still obliged to attend the McCarran hearings. A copy of the transcript pertaining to Ewen’s involvement in the meeting is held on his FBI file dated 30\textsuperscript{th} December,

\textsuperscript{160} The academics who invoked the Fifth on 24\textsuperscript{th} September, 1952 were Harry Slochower and Ewen (Brooklyn), Vera Shlakman (Queens), Berhard Riess (Hunter), Simon Heimlich (Rutgers) and Bernhard Stern (Columbia). Ibid., 169.

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., 169.

\textsuperscript{162} As Schrecker pointed out, Section 903 had previously been used for this purpose during the Rapp-Coudert investigations. After invoking the Fifth David Goldway, a teacher at the Townshend Harris High School, was dismissed. Ibid., 169.

\textsuperscript{163} Letter from Frederic Ewen to Professor DeLancey Ferguson, Chairman, Department of English. FEP-TLNYU, 23 September, 1952.
1952, twelve months after his case was re-opened for the second time. It confirms that he testified before the Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee on 24th September, 1952 as required.164

After swearing in, the ‘Testimony of Frederic Ewen 410 Central Park West, New York, New York (Accompanied by his Attorney, Royal W. France)’ reports that Ewen was questioned about his occupation. He stated that he had no occupation as he ceased being an assistant professor yesterday.165 In a short and fraught exchange between Ewen, Senator Ferguson and Mr. Morris, Ewen pleaded the Fifth Amendment which for the most part was sustained by Ferguson. Ewen objected to many of the questions put by Morris on the grounds that they invaded the principles of free expression.166 Gideon described her experience of this moment, only after her husband’s death in 1988. It was the first time that she publically detailed these events, and she spoke slowly, choosing her words carefully:167

Everything was going pretty swimmingly until 1952 and my husband Frederic Ewen and I came back from a summer’s camping trip. He found a notice that he would receive a subpoena and would have to appear before a committee connected with McCarthy. I went on, uninterrupted blithely teaching, and these were not especially happy days as you can see. In 1952, that is, Frederic’s teaching was terminated and he was left suddenly, [sic] he was somehow managed to get retirement rights. Very, very low pension [sic] but he did get that. And I went on teaching at City College.168

This significant affair occurred only three years into her marriage with Ewen. Now Gideon’s own employment was at risk, because of her association with a presumed communist. Even though Ewen had retired, the FBI kept a record of the McCarran committee proceedings in his file and it included the reaction of the public as well. They quoted a 25th September, 1952 article from the Daily Worker entitled ‘College students Pack Hearing to Rip Witchhunt:’

More than 50 indignant Brooklyn College students came to the McCarran Senate committee session at Foley Square yesterday to protest the witchhunt against school teachers. Others could not get in. The students filled the empty steps in the fifteenth-story courtroom. They had come from the literature class of Professor Frederic Ewen, who was one of the targets of Senator Homer Ferguson, the chief inquisitor yesterday.169

Immediately after Ewen’s resignation was made public, he received countless letters of support from current and former students, faculty and friends who were outraged by his forced dismissal. The majority of these letters were written within the first week, but the full correspondence lasted for three months until December, 1952. Students wrote to him from France, Pennsylvania, California and San

169 File No. 110-26400. FE-FBI, 11.
Francisco. Many used the word ‘retirement’ in quotation marks and cited that academic freedom should be upheld. Many knew that Ewen was married and passed their best regards to Gideon. Some students were active in their support for Ewen and distributed flyers asking ‘What Can We Do?’ (See Figure 2.2 on the following page, note the text written to the right of ‘Sept. 23’).

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170 See, for example, letter from Ann Lane a student at Brooklyn College to Frederic Ewen. FEP-TLNYU, 7th October, 1952.
Figure 2.2 Political Flyer Distributed at Brooklyn College 26th September, 1952

PROFESSOR BISH OF THE ENGLISH DEPARTMENT forced to resign because of his refusal to testify before the McCarran Com.

PROFESSOR BLOCKER OF THE GERMAN DEPARTMENT subpoenaed before the McCarran Committee after firing because he invoked the Fifth Amendment.

PROFESSOR CURR OF THE BIOLOGY DEPARTMENT forced to resign because of his refusal to testify before the McCarran Committee.

This is only the beginning. Similar situations exist at Queens, Columbia, and Hunter, and there is no indication that the McCarran Committee intends to stop.

**WHY SHOULD WE STUDENTS DEFEND OUR TEACHERS AND CALL FOR THE MCCARRAN COMMITTEE TO LEAVE OUR CAMPUS?**

We are defending not only our teachers, but ourselves -- our right to a full and complete education -- education in which is inherent the use of the widest most diversified materials and approaches -- the right to delve into these various resources unreserved.

**HOW ARE TEACHERS AND STUDENTS GOING TO HEAT IN THIS TYPE OF ENVIRONMENT?**

We can be sure that it will be different than at the time when only student organizations were being affected...

1. We encourage all students to support the COMMITTEE OF STUDENTS TO DEFEND OUR INSTITUTION.

2. Write, send telegrams to the McCarran Committee, c/o Senator Ferguson, Foley Square, expressing your indignation.

3. Join the Committee for Student Rights at Brooklyn College.

CSR (Committee for Student Rights - pending recognition) Sept. 26, 1952

Ewen also received a letter signed by ninety-nine students. They wrote after ‘learning of your forced resignation’;¹⁷² and expressed hope that he would be able to return immediately to the faculty at Brooklyn College. Lillian Tudive also wrote to Ewen: ‘If such a man is forced to retire then academic freedom is really dead.’¹⁷³ These letters and flyers demonstrate that faculty and students at Brooklyn College were well informed of the reason for Ewen’s early retirement, even though at the time of their writing, he had not spoken publicly about the events. Although his fellow teachers did not all agree with his liberal political views, some nevertheless expressed sympathy and respect for his principles. The letter quoted below was written from a member of staff in the Department of History at Brooklyn College. It is one of very few letters that point directly to suspicions, by his colleagues, that Ewen held leftist views:

Dear Fred,

Word of your retirement reached me belatedly. It would be absurd to suggest that I have ever been able to agree with you on some fundamental positions; you may remember the afternoon after a faculty meeting downtown when you and Howard asked me to ‘join us,’ and I turned you down. Nor will I pretend that I have not suspected your hand in that anonymous newspaper that was mailed to us all in the [sic] long ago. Yet I do want you to know that I have never been able to harbour any ill-will to you personally in the face of your sincerity, and I believe the College has lost a good teacher. I’m sorry.¹⁷⁴

Shortly after his resignation, Ewen composed an article which explained his ousting from Brooklyn College and what he considered to be an attack on academic

¹⁷² Letter signed by ninety-nine Brooklyn College students. FEP-TLNYU, 24 September, 1952.
¹⁷³ Letter from Lillian Tudive to Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 23 September, 1952.
¹⁷⁴ The reference to ‘Howard’ probably refers to colleague, Howard Selsam who was accused alongside Ewen in the Rapp-Coudert investigation in 1940. Letter from a staff member of the Department of History at Brooklyn College. Ibid., 25 September, 1952.
freedom. The article was probably published on the 26th September, 1952 for *Teacher News* and also in the *Kingsman* (Brooklyn College publication), reaching a wider readership. The article began:

> At the request of your publication, I am taking this occasion of saying good-bye to all my friends at Brooklyn College. Technically I am retiring from my teaching post on a small pension. Actually I have been driven from the field of my life’s activity by the shameless persecution of freedom of thought and speech now disgracing our country... I have always believed and do now believe that a teacher should be judged by the quality of his works. What he thought, and what he believed in were private matters for his own conscience. An invasion of that right was a shameful invasion of one of the most sacred principles of education and life.

Following the publication of this article, there was a further outpouring of support for Ewen prompting a wide spectrum of opinion. Some wrote to Ewen with simply, ‘I am very sorry.’ Others who wrote were former students who could not even attend his classes, yet expressed how immensely popular and respected Ewen was as a teacher. One student contacted Ewen to say that she had tried to sit in on his lectures, even though she was not taking his classes for credit. Another student remembered ‘the packed room; students sitting on radiators, floors, and even on your chair.’ Some who wrote to Ewen were cautious to express support for an accused communist. In a letter that did not name those involved, Tina and Charlie wrote, ‘We

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175 “The Daily Nebraskan” newspaper. Ibid., 14 October, 1952. Ewen’s paper does not indicate that his article was published. However, we can infer from references to this article in subsequent letters from former pupils and teachers that he wrote it on 26th September, 1952 for *Kingsman* which was then reprinted in *Teacher News*. See for example, Letter from Robert Levine at Harvard Law School Cambridge, Massachusetts 29 September, 1952. Ibid.


177 Letter from Cecile Gell to Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 26 September, 1952.

178 Letter from Beatrice Trum Hunter to Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 6 October, 1952. For an indication on the popularity of Ewen’s courses see Letter from Lenna Jenofsky to Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 10 October, 1952.
learned of your cool masterful retorts to the committee not only from the newspapers but from a person who was similarly called before the committee.’

The letters and messages that Ewen received from students, faculty and staff produced a further public response. In an open letter addressed to ‘Colleagues’ on 4th October, 1952 Ewen compiled a statement that represented his account of his court appearance before the McCarran committee and his decision to plead the Fifth Amendment:

I stood in my testimony upon my rights as an American citizen to hold opinions and beliefs, and to express them freely without interference. I invoked the provisions of the First Amendment of the Constitution, and stated that as a teacher and scholar of some thirty years experience, I would be untrue to my profession and to my academic credo if I allowed any invasion of such rights. The Courts have ruled out the First Amendment as a legal safeguard. Thus, in the face of a possible citation for contempt on my refusal to answer under the First Amendment, I was compelled also to invoke the Fifth.

Ewen wrote that to disregard the rights of the Fifth Amendment would undo the legal safeguards of assuming guilt on citizens who chose to remain silent and not to testify. Forcing witnesses to name names was one of the key tactics imposed by the McCarthy era. Removing those who did not co-operate with the investigations, Ewen argued, did not encourage freedoms of thought and discussion at Brooklyn College. Rather, the Fifth Amendment, he said, ‘is one of the most cherished of American traditions that no man should be asked to report other people’s opinions,

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179 Letter from Tina and Charlie to Frederic Ewen. Ibid., Undated.
180 This open letter was widely publicised. A Letter from Beatrice Trum Hunter to Frederic Ewen dated 6 October, 1952 refers to its publication in Teacher News on 26 September, 1952. Ibid.
181 Letter addressed to “Colleagues” from Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 4 October, 1952.
182 Letter addressed to “Colleagues” from Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 4 October, 1952.
ideas, sentiments, conversations, and associations." Ewen’s early retirement from his position as Assistant Professor in the Department of English at Brooklyn College was accepted and acknowledged by the Board of Higher Education at a meeting several months later on 19th January, 1953.

2.6 Gideon and the FBI

Ewen’s clash with Brooklyn College and the McCarran committee led to the reopening of his FBI file in 1952. This file had been closed for ten years following the conclusion of the Rapp-Coudert hearings in the 1940s. However, the FBI’s attention was also drawn to Gideon as a result of this re-examination of Ewen’s file. The catalyst for reopening the case was to verify the authenticity of the communist allegations against Ewen and to assess whether he was a further risk to the United States. This was in light of the ‘recent changes to the Joint Committee Against Communism in New York, especially in connection with Brooklyn College teachers.’ A memo from the director of the FBI read:

In view of this, you are requested to reopen this case and conduct an investigation to determine if the subject is engaged in activities which would warrant placing his name in the Security Index... You should review your files and check with your confidential informants and established sources to determine if an active investigation of any of the individuals mentioned should be conducted.

183 Letter addressed to “Colleagues” from Frederic Ewen. Ibid., 4 October, 1952.
185 Memo from director, FBI. FE-FBI, 30 January, 1952.
186 Ewen’s file record the dates that he was followed by an agent: ‘followed 8-14-52’; ‘ny foll. 4-30-52’ and ‘followed 12-12-52.’ Memo from director, FBI. Ibid., 30 January, 1952.
Following the filing of this report, Ewen was physically followed by a special agent for one year beginning on 30th January, 1952. The FBI collected information on their subjects by relying on confidential and inside informants throughout the period of surveillance. One extensive report in October, 1952 described that the eight informants used for the case were ‘all of known reliability and acquainted with the prominent members of the Communist Party in the New York area.’

Special Agents informed the FBI on the type of bank account Ewen held, at which branch and checked his records at the Credit Bureau of Greater New York on 30th September, 1952. Informants also reported the political voting patterns for Ewen and Gideon for 1950-1951 whilst they resided at 410 Central Park West.

At the time that the FBI began their investigation, Ewen had been married to Gideon for three years. She became a person of interest to the FBI on 30th December, 1952 after they identified her as the wife of Ewen and that the two lived together.

The first line of the report states: ‘Subject presently married to one MIRIAM ROSOFF and resides 410 Central Park West, New York City.’ It details that the FBI were provided with information from two confidential informants named as aliases T-1 and T-2, one of whom was male and the other, female. These informants

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187 Memo from Director, FBI. Ibid., 30 January, 1952.
188 File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 27. This particular report in October, 1952 also advised that the special agents were not acquainted with the subject or with Ewen’s previous wife, Dorothea Werker Ewen.
189 File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 28.
190 The special agents recorded the political parties for which Gideon and Ewen voted from 1945-49. This information can be accessed in File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 28. No records for Miriam Gideon exist for this period as it was before her marriage to Ewen. For information on Ewen see File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 29. As one might expect, a detailed physical description of Ewen and a photograph of him is contained at the end of the report. File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 31.
191 Security Information "Frederic Ewen, was Cowl, Cowel, Francis Ewen, Franz Ewen." The author of report has been censored. Ibid., 30 December, 1952. The name to which Gideon is referred in the report, ‘Miriam Rosoff’ is the name that she used when she had been married to her second husband, Peter Rosoff. Close friends including Hugo Weisgall wrote to her as ‘Mrs Peter Rosoff’ during the 1940s. See Letter to Mr and Mrs Peter Rosoff from Hugo Weisgall dated 5 June 1943. MGP-NYPL, box 21 folder 3. The FBI also established that Gideon responded to ‘Mrs. Ewen’ after an undercover agent telephoned the house.
were also claimed to have been acquainted with prominent Party members; however it is also reported that they did not know Ewen and thus received their information second-hand. Gideon’s individual file shows no previous record of police investigation before this point. She was investigated by the FBI as a direct result of her association with Ewen, rather than through any suspicious activities that could be pinned only on her.

The FBI’s attention now focused on investigating both Ewen and Gideon as a couple, rather than just Ewen. The FBI prepared a thirty-one page report that covered all aspects of his life including his marital status and close friends.\textsuperscript{192} Information was gathered by interviewing individuals, sometimes unwittingly, that knew the couple well both at Brooklyn College and at their residence in Central Park West. Elizabeth Chirico in the Office of the President at Brooklyn College assisted their investigation by handing over Ewen’s file held at the College.\textsuperscript{193} Furthermore, a confidential informant there claimed to the FBI that Ewen ‘advocated the insertion into the curriculum of Brooklyn College of items furthering the interest of the Soviet Union.’\textsuperscript{194} Former teachers including Professor Earl A. Martin, chairman of the biology department\textsuperscript{195} and freshman, Herbert Romerstein in the School of Social Studies also informed on Ewen to the FBI. Romerstein wrote to the Board of Higher Education on 2\textsuperscript{nd} November, 1951 stating that Ewen had signed a statement against

\textsuperscript{192} File No. 110-26400. FE-FBI, pp. 1-36.
\textsuperscript{193} The former president of Brooklyn College, William A. Boylan also relayed to a special FBI agent that Ewen was one of the faculty members who was responsible for the publication of the \textit{Staff} magazine on campus. Boylan also named Harry Slochower, Bernard Grebanier, David McKelvy White and Howard Selsam as contributing to the publication. File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{194} File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 8.
\textsuperscript{195} File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 9.
anti-Soviet propaganda under the auspices of the *Daily Worker* which dated back to 1943.\(^{196}\)

Although Ewen was no longer employed by Brooklyn College, on 30\(^{th}\) December, 1953, the FBI requested an interview with Harry G. Albaum, who had been an associate professor of biology and who was also under police investigation.\(^{197}\) He had been a cooperative witness at the recent SISS McCarran committee hearings and had told the court that there were approximately twenty teachers at Brooklyn College who had tried to teach Marxist principles in their classroom.\(^{198}\) The FBI concluded that Albaum had been a former member of the Communist Party in 1937 and, now in 1953, the Director of the FBI had renewed interested in Albaum. They had previously noted that, ‘Frederic Ewen was a Communist Party member at the time that Albaum joined the Party, and was still in the Communist Party cell at Brooklyn College when Albaum left there in 1942.’\(^{199}\)

The mounting evidence at Brooklyn College and the co-operation of the current president, Gideonse, made Gideon’s teaching position there vulnerable.

At Gideon’s residence, special agents interviewed two doormen who worked in Gideon’s apartment building and reported their testimonies to the FBI. On the 22\(^{nd}\) July, 1951 Christopher Powers stated that the current occupant of apartment 14A:

> was able to get this apartment through a Mrs. Ewen of apartment 17F, formally Mrs. Rosoff, who was a Communist and whose previous husband, Rosoff was connected with the Russian government.\(^{200}\)

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\(^{196}\) See *Daily Worker* 4th July, 1943: 7 in File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 4.
\(^{198}\) "Office Memorandum." Ibid.
\(^{199}\) Ibid., "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI. 21 May, 1953, 4. In an interview on 25\(^{th}\) September, 1952 they had questioned Albaum about Ewen’s present wife and former wives, but he was unable to comment on them. Ibid., FE-FBI, "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI. 21 May, 1953, 4.
\(^{200}\) File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 5.
The other superintendent for the building, John Gillogley, who had worked there for eleven years, provided a similar statement about Gideon to the FBI. His interview demonstrated accurate knowledge of the situation of those living in the apartments and he also speculated on the communist beliefs of the residents. The anonymous author of report wrote:

Gillogley further stated that Frederic Ewen has been unemployed since recently leaving Brooklyn College, while Miriam Ewen is a music teacher and composer who works both inside her apartment and on outside visits. He advised that he knows of no Communist activity by Frederic Ewen and Miriam Ewen, but stated he has suspected them of Communist inclinations due to the Communist literature possessed by them which he has seen either in the mail or in the trash, and due to frequent interracial gatherings in their apartment. He advised, however, that he does not recall any specific literature possessed by the Ewens except possibly the *Daily Worker*, and further stated he can recall no specific instance concerning their receipt or disposal of the *Daily Worker*.

The investigation into Gideon intensified when a letter from the Bureau in Ewen’s file on 30th January, 1952 stated that they would attempt to identify his wife and her former husband. The FBI stated they aimed to ‘set forth concerning subject’s present wife, former wives, and associates and contacts.’ Each of Ewen’s marriages and dates of these relationships were recorded in his file, including the names of their witnesses at his weddings. Reasons for the divorce were scrutinised.

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201 File No. 110-26400. "Neighbourhood?" Ibid., 2 and also see 6. In Gillogley’s interview, he told the agent that he suspected that five other residents living in three different apartments in the building also held communist sympathies. His testimony also placed these individuals under suspicion. For their names and apartment numbers and full interview see File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 6-7.

202 File No. 110-26400. Ibid., 36.

203 Ibid., Report on Frederic Ewen. 21 May, 1953. The report also interviews Elmer Roberts the manager of the renting office for more information on their living situation. Ibid., "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI. 21 May, 1953, 2.
and further interviews conducted. Pencil annotations in the report drew agents’ attention to Gideon and the other names by which she was known. It recorded that Ewen was married to Miriam Ewen, ‘a music teacher and composer who works both inside and outside of her home.’

In a section of the report titled, ‘Information concerning subject’s present wife, former wives, and associates and contacts’ dated 21st May, 1953, Gideon is described as having interactions with communists. A confidential informant had looked through Gideon’s address book and had written down the contact details of an individual named Rea Seiler. The informant advised the FBI that Seiler, ‘possessed a Communist Party membership booklet in the name Ellen Stetson, which was possibly the Party name of Seiler.’ It also stated that Seiller possessed copies of the Daily Worker and a paper-bound issue of ‘The Communist Manifesto’ along with literature on the lives of Communist individuals and Russian subjects.

Further incriminating evidence against Gideon came as a result of investigations into her family members. The FBI reported that Judith Gideon, her sister and witness at her marriage to Ewen, wrote a letter of support for former City College Professor Morris Schappes who served 18-24 months in a state prison following a conviction after a 1941 Rapp-Coudert committee hearing.

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204 Doorman, Barney Keenan was asked on 6th February, 1953 about Ewen’s personal situation, his current and former wives. Keenan could only comment on Ewen’s relationship with his former wife, Bernice Lipson. He was interviewed at 465 West 23rd Street. Ibid., FE-FBI, "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI. 21 May, 1953, 8.
205 Ibid., Letter to the Bureau NY 110-26440, 2.
206 Ibid., FE-FBI, "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI. 21 May, 1953, 9.
207 Ibid., FE-FBI, "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI. 21 May, 1953, 10.
208 Ibid., Letter to the Bureau NY 110-26440. 3. On 21st May, 1953 the FBI made a decision not to interview Ewen as they felt he may not co-operate as he had recently invoked the Fifth Amendment at his testimony during the McCarran committee. Ibid., FE-FBI, "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI. 21 May, 1953, 19.
209 Ibid., FE-FBI, "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI. 21 May, 1953, 12.
Gideon resided in the same building as Gideon and Ewen and this cast further suspicion on Gideon.\textsuperscript{210}

2.7 Conclusion

When commenting on the loss of her job at Brooklyn College in 1954 at the end of the first winter term Gideon said, ‘my services were no longer required and that was that!’\textsuperscript{211} In less than one year her name was dropped from the 1955-56 register for the City College of New York Bulletin.\textsuperscript{212} This chapter has identified that a cascade of events led up to Gideon’s departure from academic life. These were complex, interlinked and were comprised of several significant interlocking factors that centred mainly on the effects of Ewen’s alleged involvement in communism.

It has been shown that one of the defining political decisions that affected Gideon, and many other staff members, was the implementation of The State of New York Assembly Act and amendment in 1949 which sanctioned the removal of political undesirables from teaching in public schools and colleges. However, this alone, did not cause problems for Gideon. She had no overt political views and no previous association with left-wing or proscribed organisations. Rather, it was the enthusiastic interpretation of this Act by President Gideonse at Brooklyn College, combined with the culture of discrimination within the academy, which led to Ewen’s clash with the political and academic authorities. As a consequence, Gideon

\textsuperscript{210} For the names of the other subjects close to Gideon and Ewen who were investigated by the FBI in this section see ibid., FE-FBI, "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI, 21 May, 1953, 10-16. Also see ibid., FE-FBI, "Office Memorandum" from SAC to Director, FBI, 21 May, 1953, 14.

\textsuperscript{211} Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 208.

\textsuperscript{212} This was printed and dated 1\textsuperscript{st} September, 1955. "The City College of New York Bulletin 1955-1956." Gideon also recounted this story to Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 208. And also to Ewen’s grandson, Alexander Ewen, see FEAVC-TLNYU, "Miriam Gideon Interviewed by Alexander Ewen. 12 January, 1990. OH 52-16."
herself then encountered difficulties with the academic establishment. This dynamic, combined with the code of ‘guilt by association’ during the McCarthy era, made it unacceptable for both Brooklyn College and City College to employ a wife of an alleged communist on the staff. The effects of McCarthyism on Ewen’s predicament and its consequences for Gideon have not been previously considered in depth and provide further detail on the dynamics and consequences of this era.

There is no doubt, from the evidence presented, which includes previously unpublished FBI files, that the complexities of Gideon’s situation and the political consequences from 1952-55 were a result of ‘guilt by association.’ The extent of the FBI files on both Ewen and Gideon confirm the state’s concern of having presumed communist sympathisers teaching in the public university system. Furthermore, the length of time that Ewen and Gideon were under investigation indicates the seriousness with which the United States conducted investigations into citizens who had never been found guilty of any criminal activity. Ewen’s FBI file was only closed on 27th July, 1970 after letters he sent to friends in the German Democratic Republic were opened, translated and analysed. The letters had been provided to the FBI by the United States Army Operations and Research Department in Bonn, Germany. Although copies of the letters were kept in his file, no subversive information was found. However, Gideon’s FBI file was still active in 1981 when it was noted that a woman, who was thought to be an active Communist Party

member, visited Gideon ‘several times a year’ to receive funds from her.\textsuperscript{215} The agent noted that she or he had ‘received no specific knowledge that these funds are from the CPUSA, but has no other explanation.’\textsuperscript{216} It seems that remnants of the Cold War continued well after the peak of McCarthy era during the 1950s, and subjects such as Gideon could never shake off their alleged communism involvement.

As this chapter has shown, Gideon’s life during the McCarthy era was unpredictable and uncertain. Letters from individuals and organisation shunning their association with Ewen, whilst he was being investigated, occurred over several years. This would, almost certainly have had an undesirable and disruptive effect Gideon and Ewen’s lifestyle. Subpoenas requesting Ewen’s attendance at hearings can only have made matters worse. Gideon continued to work on campus as a music teacher whilst also having to cope with Ewen’s political problems and their affect on her. She found it difficult to live under normal professional and domestic conditions and it will be shown, in subsequent chapters, that this had major implications for the way in which she conceived and composed music. She withdrew from public life, a course of action which was partly imposed upon her by the events of the McCarthy era, her relationship with an alleged communist and the tolerance of discrimination at her place of work. However, the following chapter will show that her withdrawal was compounded, driven partly by the aforementioned external factors, but also by Gideon herself. The psychological and practical state in which she lived and worked was a way in which Gideon coped with the hostile academic environment. She lived

\textsuperscript{215} Ibid., ‘Miriam Gideon, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), District 14, Newark Division.’ 8 April, 1981. The visits of this unknown woman were noted, by agents, to have occurred allegedly on 11\textsuperscript{th} March and 18\textsuperscript{th} March, 1981.

\textsuperscript{216} Ibid., ‘Miriam Gideon, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), District 14, Newark Division.’ 8 April, 1981.
under these adapted circumstances whilst maintaining her academic activities and teaching, providing an essential regular income.
CHAPTER 3:
GIDEON AND INNER EXILE

Exile can occur without one’s being driven from a home.

Cicero\(^1\)

The previous chapter has established that an interlinked series of events culminated in the loss of Gideon’s teaching posts at City College in 1955 and Brooklyn College in 1954. Her departure from teaching in a public academic environment marked the peak of the repression that she faced during the McCarthy era. However, as has been shown, the years from 1952-55 were difficult, intense and unpredictable. Evidence in the previous chapter has demonstrated that Ewen’s clash with politics significantly contributed to Gideon’s investigation by the FBI and the eventual loss of her teaching posts. But how did Gideon react to this exclusion during these years?

The reactions of citizens who faced government repression in their own countries were varied and particular to the individual and their circumstances. Not everyone responded in the same way. At one end of the spectrum were individuals, such as Ewen, who actively fought for free speech and academic freedom using the public media to draw attention to their predicament. By contrast, others did not protest openly. In Chapter 2 it was noted that Gideon contained her inner thoughts and did not talk openly about the events of the McCarthy era that affected her so

severely until many decades later. However, there were many variations of personal reactions to the McCarthy era in between these two extremes.

This chapter will argue that Gideon entered a state of inner exile during the early 1950s when her political problems during the McCarthy era worsened. The concept of inner exile/resident exile will be discussed in detail but, briefly, it indicates a state of exclusion that occurs without geographical relocation. In Gideon’s case, her entry into resident exile was gradual and was spread over a period of several years. It was not just a physical condition, but also a psychological state of exile. The severity of external events on a person’s life may be determined by historical and original documents. Many of the significant personal events that contributed to Gideon’s inner exile have been signposted in Chapter 2. The effects of exclusion on an individual’s psychological state are more difficult to measure; however, they are just as important to consider because they reveal the conditions under which Gideon lived her daily life and composed music.

Gideon’s personal response to the repression she faced was recorded in her private, unpublished diaries written during the early 1950s. They also reveal her personal political view during the McCarthy era. An examination of these writings will establish whether her life under inner exile was solely determined by external historical events or whether Gideon also partly self-imposed this on herself. In particular, it considers the characteristics of her behaviour and withdrawal from public life. It also investigates whether Gideon made any attempts to create order from the disordered world in which she lived.

In musical scholarship, the assimilation and migration of political exiles to the United States in the mid-20th century, such as Stravinsky, Bartók, Schoenberg
and Weill, is a well-recognised subject. However, a consideration of how inner exile might have affected an American citizen during the same period has not been studied in any great depth, especially in the case of Gideon. This study presents a novel way of interpreting the events that Gideon experienced and expressed in her private writing. This theme also underpins the discussion in subsequent chapters, which uses two of Gideon’s compositions to illustrate how inner exile is also reflected in the way in which she wrote music.

3.1 Inner Exile

The concept of ‘inner exile’ and how it applied to Gideon is complex and requires a definition. Inner exile is a state of exclusion that occurs within a person’s homeland. Those who experience this type of exile are not geographically displaced, either internationally or internally, but they are subjected to restrictions and consequently, cannot participate in ordinary, daily life. Inner exile is an effective form of punishment that can be enacted in covert ways, with varying degrees of sanctions. One of the most acute and effective forms is house arrest, as exemplified

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3 Geographical dislocation and physical separation from the homeland are the most common forms of exile, usually enacted by a state’s legal system. Paul Allatson and Jo McCormack, "Introduction,” in Exile Cultures, Misplaced Identities, ed. Paul Allatson and Jo McCormack (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), 10.

4 People can be removed internationally or relocated within their homeland. The latter is termed ‘internal exile.’ John Neubauer, "Exile: Home of the Twentieth Century," in The Exile and Return of Writers from East-Central Europe: A Compendium, ed. John Neubauer and Borbála Zsuzsanna Török (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 19. Allatson wrote: ‘In other contexts, “internal exile” has been used to refer to people who were banished to a remote part of the same country (Siberia, Kazakhstan, or, as in Adrian Mario’s case, to Romania’s Baragan region). More recently, it has also been applied to people who fled from one member state of the former Yugoslav Federation to the other.’ Allatson and McCormack, "Introduction,” 11.
by the case of the Burmese opposition politician, Aung San Suu Kyi, who was held hostage in her home for fifteen years. Other forms of inner exile include preventing travel by withholding passports. Governments can also pass laws preventing certain groups from gaining employment in specific professions, and can propagate fear among their citizens by punishing those who make contact with accused individuals. These were some of the policy tactics that the United States government used during the McCarthy era, where those that were accused of communist sympathies faced exclusion from public life. Those accused were often never convicted of any crime, yet they faced job losses and social exclusion by being ostracised by former colleagues and friends. There was a great fear that they, too, might also be accused of communism by association with a ‘tainted’ individual.

Exile is a historically effective method of punishment designed to silence individuals or groups who do not conform to the ruling law or ideology of the state. Some of the earliest instances include the biblical expulsion of Adam and Eve and the banishment of the poet, Ovid from Rome by Emperor Augustus in A.D. 8. Those who are exiled by geographical removal face separation from their home, language and social history and have to adapt to, amongst other things, a new culture and customs. Inner exile functions in a different, but equally severe, way. The exiled individual can be often cut off from their families and those closest to them are often punished by their association with the exiled person. They also may be removed

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from professional networks and have social limitations imposed on them. Each type of exile be it internal, international or inner exile, is designed to exclude individuals from public life.

The concepts of exile and migration within transnational studies and the humanities have received extensive attention in scholarship. However, while literature and historical studies have consistently examined exile, musicology lags behind in this area. The first musicological book-length study in the West was an examination of Ernst Křenek’s life and musical work in exile, published in 1980. More recent studies of European musicians who went to the United States after fleeing the Holocaust have greatly enhanced the status of exile scholarship in music. However, scholarship that considers music and inner exile is rare. This thesis considers the theoretical models current within the humanities and adapts them to a study of music and inner exile. Paul Ilie’s inquiry into literature and inner exile

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11 Bruno Nettl, "Displaced Musics and Immigrant Musicologists: Ethnomusicological and Biographical Perspectives," in Driven into Paradise the Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 54.
12 The book on Křenek was written by Claudia Maurer Zenck see Scheding, ""The Splinter in Your Eye": Uncomfortable Legacies and German Exile Studies," 125.
13 See Brinkmann and Wolff, eds., Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States. Also see Erik Levi and Florian Scheding, eds., Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010).
in Franco’s Spain thoroughly informs the arguments presented in this thesis. He highlighted that inner exile was not just a case of finding alternative employment; it also affected the psychological minds of individuals who had been excluded from society.  

In the United States, government committees were established to cut off from society those who were suspected of communist activity. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was a significant, legal way in which American citizens were investigated for alleged communist sympathies. This committee was established in 1938 and gained permanent status as a ‘standing committee’ in 1945. Its remit was to investigate disloyalty and subversion. Suspects were subpoenaed and questioned; witnesses were pressured to name those they suspected of holding communist sympathies. In some cases, such as the Hollywood Ten, witnesses refused to answer questions and to co-operate with the HUAC during their trial in 1947. They took the First Amendment stating that the investigation violated their freedom of expression. The movie studios fired the Hollywood Ten, the group was blacklisted and two of its members even served jail sentences.

During the escalation of the McCarthy era in the 1950s, every segment of society in both the private and public sectors was involved. The HUAC, FBI and Senator Joseph McCarthy nominated individuals for investigation from all types of employment such as newspaper companies, car manufacturers, broadcasting

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16 Schrecker, No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities, 9.
18 Ibid., 10.
television companies and the New York City Board of Education. \(^1\) Chapter 2 has detailed the significant, and lengthy, investigation that focused on teachers and professors who taught in public schools and colleges. Anti-communist politics were tolerated and endorsed on academic campuses. This profession was particularly targeted because of its contact with young students. Teachers were considered influential and in a potential position of power over their students. Those who were fired could rarely find another academic post. \(^2\)

3.2 Psychological Warfare

Inner exile was a successful political tactic during the McCarthy era, particularly because it was inherently a psychological, as well as a practical and economical, punishment. For many, the anxious psychological state induced by inner exile and the culture of fear and suspicion was more challenging than the economic difficulties or the struggle of finding a job. As McCarthy historian Ellen Schrecker wrote:

The blacklist took a personal toll as well. Broken health and broken marriages, even suicides, were not unknown. When the blacklist lifted in the 1960s, its former victims were never able to fully resuscitate their careers. They had simply lost too much time. \(^3\)

The psychological suffering was an acute symptom of inner exile, as it imposed a state of limbo, \(^4\) uncertainty and disconnection in the lives of those accused, but often not convicted, of communist sympathies. Unlike incarceration, where a judge

\(^3\) Ibid., 92-93.
designates a fixed amount of time to be served in isolation, there was no time limit for a life spent in inner exile. Furthermore, there were no official channels through which those accused of communist sympathies could resolve their social isolation. As Henry Pachter succinctly pointed out, “being in exile is not a matter of needing a passport; it is a state of mind.”

One can be geographically at home but still feel like a stranger.

Paul Ilie, in his study of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco era, examined the psychological condition of those citizens who chose to remain behind in their homeland. He concluded that inner exile was significantly more of a mental than an economic condition. The psychological effects sustained by those staying behind under Franco produced a disconnection between the individual and societal values. They could not freely express themselves in their daily lives. He wrote:

Separation from one’s country means more than a lack of physical contact with land and houses. It is also a set of feelings and beliefs that isolate the expelled group from the majority. Once we acknowledge that exile is a mental condition more than a material one, that it removes people from other people and their way of life, then the nature of this separation remains to be defined not only as a unilateral severance, but as something more profound.

The psychological manifestations of inner exile can also be observed in the creative work of artists, writers and musicians who experienced this act of repression. Their fictional works tend to mirror the real life experiences of those who are excluded from society. Isolation, silence and a loss of identity are dominant themes in Russian

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24 Rubin Suleiman, “Writing and Internal Exile in Eastern Europe: The Example of Imre Kertész,” 368.
26 Ibid., 2.
literature of writers who experienced internal exile in the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{27} Mikhail Bulgakov was one writer who had tried, but was unable to leave his homeland. His later works, \textit{The Cabal of Hypocrites} and \textit{The Last Days (Pushkin)}\textsuperscript{28} featured isolated heroes who were persecuted by the state. Themes of incarceration also appear in the writings of Anna Akhmatova who witnessed the imprisonment of her close friends.\textsuperscript{29} However, explicit persecution experienced by Bulgakov and witnessed by Akhmatova in Soviet Russia were not the only manifestation of this situation. Writers in ‘democratic’ France can also relate to it. Major expressions of literary creativity and internal exile are present in Baudelaire’s prose poem \textit{L’Étranger} (The Stranger; 1862) and Camus’ novel of the same title (1942).\textsuperscript{30} As Rubin Suleiman noted, the ‘feeling of estrangement from home and society is one of the hallmarks (perhaps the hallmark) of modernist literary self-consciousness.’\textsuperscript{31} The degree of exclusion, the experience of inner exile and the reaction to isolation shaped different expressions of creativity.

Inner exile may manifest itself in creative work whether or not the artist intended to portray their position of exile.\textsuperscript{32} Gideon did not write workers protest

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 203. \\
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 203. \\
\textsuperscript{30} Rubin Suleiman, "Writing and Internal Exile in Eastern Europe: The Example of Imre Kertész," 368. \\
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 368. \\
\textsuperscript{32} As Paul Ilie has noted, there are many ways that an artist can show her or his (dis)content with a regime when the individual is exiled outside of his or her homeland. However, he wrote, ‘No such freedom exists for the resident, quite obviously. But alternative paths are available for him to pursue. True, he may yield to the surrounding pressures and do what everyone else is doing. Or he may choose not to conceal his alienation but instead to control its expression by abstract means. The second option has evident advantages, including that of rechanneling the alienated sensibility into unprovocative expressive modes. In avoiding one kind of risk, however the resident writer approaches another danger. In exchange for political safety he exposes himself to textual misunderstanding. His audience may fail to grasp the symptomatic nature of his abstractions.’ Ilie, \textit{Literature and Inner Exile: Authoritarian Spain, 1939-1975}, 56.
\end{flushright}
songs, nor did she publically advocate freedom or draw attention to her predicament. Rather, like many other ordinary people who feared tarnishing others with the same political brush, she remained on the periphery and continued her daily work outside of the public eye. She avoided the issue of politics in interviews and did not consider her music to be influenced by politics.

Gideon’s compositional output dropped significantly during the years 1952-1956. She only completed five works in total: two were written in 1952 and two in 1953: *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* and *Sonnets from ‘Fatal Interview,*’ both composed in 1952; and *Six Cuckoos in Quest of a Composer* and *Symphonica Brevis* both composed in 1953. In 1953 Gideon also completed the first three movements (out of six) of a piano cycle, *Altered Steps to Altered States* (completed in 1991), provisionally titled, *Suite for Children*. One composition was completed in 1954, *Adon Olom* but no works were completed in 1955 or 1956. By comparison, Gideon wrote eleven works in the previous five year period, 1947-1951; and from 1957-61, she composed nine works. The elements of psychological repression not only had the potential to reduce a composer’s creative output, but as will be shown in the subsequent chapters, music can also be an expression of circumstance, especially when under political pressure over a period of several years.

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33 A most influential composer of Gideon’s generation who did write worker’s songs was Copland who composed, ‘Into the Streets May First’ which was published in the second volume of the *Workers Songbook*. The text was by Alfred Heyes. Copland submitted this to a competition sponsored by the Composers Collective. See Elizabeth Bergman Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland During the Depression and War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 29.

34 In Gideon’s early interviews she did not mention why she no longer had employment at Brooklyn College and City College. See Pinnolis, "A Conversation with Miriam Gideon (1906-1996): Sunday, June 19, 1977," 133.

35 However, as Ellie M. Hisama pointed out, often the artist does not provide the most convincing interpretations of their music. Hisama, *Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon*, 10.

36 For more see the Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions detailed in this thesis.
3.3 Practical Restrictions

An alarming reality for inner exiles was the practical matter of survival and security in the immediate period following their displacement from their employment and social networks. As this dislocation occurred in their own homeland, there was a real threat of being unable to function fully within their own home. The inner exile scholar Ilie has shown, in his study of Franco’s Spain, that the practical experience of survival for resident exiles echoes the experience of immigrants arriving in a new land. Both groups of exiles face the reality that they may have to undertake employment at a lower level than that to which they had been previously accustomed. Many were prepared for the expectation of working in an entirely different profession as well.

Ilie describes this process of adaptation as ‘reshaping’ of the resident in exile. Adorno stated that the host nation expected ‘adaptation’ [Anpassung] from exiled groups fleeing persecution from Europe, ‘from whom it was expected that he would prove himself in the new country and that he would not arrogantly insist on remaining the way he was.’ In both types of exile, resident and geographically displaced, individuals took careful steps to remodel themselves and become employable in their new environment. However, the way in which these groups undertook this transformation differed. Immigrants concentrated on gaining credentials such as identification papers, union cards and, if they were musicians,

38 Ibid., 4.
asserting their musical status.\textsuperscript{40} Gideon, and others, in resident exile focused on attaining employment in areas that did not verify or condemn political persuasion. However, both types of exiles invested urgently in establishing an economically stable household, and had to obtain employment within a fresh set of social networks and professional circumstances.

Gideon was unable to participate in many of the opportunities and freedoms afforded to her fellow citizens and to the immigrant musicians and composers who sought political protection. While immigrants could start afresh and adapt to American culture, Gideon and Ewen could never shake off their alleged involvement with communism during the McCarthy era. Her FBI file was still active in 1981 while Ewen’s was closed in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{41} Immigrants fleeing from Nazi Europe arrived in the United States grateful for the opportunity of living in a democratic society after experiencing severe personal and financial privations. They were ready to accept their new environment and were willing to adjust to the conditions of their newly adopted country.\textsuperscript{42} By contrast, Gideon was interned in her own country and had to procure work in a place that she was unable to leave. Unlike her European colleagues, her political situation did not garner much sympathy or support in American society. The seriousness of her difficulties with travel is highlighted by the questions that applicants must answer even when applying for United States citizenship today:


\textsuperscript{41} For more see 2.7 Conclusion to Chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{42} Brinkmann, "Reading a Letter," 10.
Have you ever been a member of or in any way associated (either directly or indirectly) with:

a. The Communist Party?

b. Any other totalitarian party?

c. A terrorist organisation?43

Gideon was not an outsider to the language and customs of her environment, but she was disconnected from participation in free speech, access to some areas of employment, ease of travel and her cultural growth was limited.44

The parallels between the resident and geographical exile can be illustrated contemporaneously by examining a letter written in 1940 from the composer, Arnold Schoenberg, to the renowned Austrian violinist, Adolf Rebner. The composer offered Rebner some advice about finding work in a new country and described the difficulties musician migrants, like him, had encountered when trying to secure work in the United States. Schoenberg wrote:

It has become rather difficult to procure positions. There are so many gifted people here, though few of your reputation and ability.

Let me tell you of my experiences and give you some advice: (1) be patient; (2) take anything that, in whatever way, will earn you a living; (3) and above all, never lose heart, because (4) you will find something even if it takes one or two years or longer. It was no different for me, and I myself—who am accustomed to changing life circumstances—have acted according to these principles. I find that for us, who have achieved the highest in the highest positions, no labour would be degrading. I myself, who would rather teach ‘finishers,’ now have to teach beginners. But I passionately love teaching, and so I can by now feel quite satisfied with my situation.45

45 Brinkmann, “Reading a Letter,” 3. Letter from Arnold Schoenberg written on 26 February, 1940 to Adolf Rebner. Rebner was a renowned Austrian violinist, former Frankfurt concertmaster, and first violinist of the Rebner Quartet.
Schoenberg’s letter focused on the immediate matter of a professional musician’s survival and employment. He omitted any reference to artistic concerns or creative dilemmas in a new continent. The most urgent advice was to ‘take anything that, in whatever way, will earn you a living.’\(^{46}\) He also revealed that as an immigrant himself, there was a glass ceiling on the level at which he could teach music in the United States, ‘I myself, who would rather teach “finishers,” now have to teach beginners.’\(^{47}\) However, Schoenberg suggested that he was ‘quite satisfied with my situation,’\(^{48}\) perhaps conscious that these initial barriers might disappear, and grateful for acceptance in a new country.

It is striking that this letter was written fourteen years before Gideon’s loss of employment at Brooklyn College. The personal advice that Schoenberg gave to Rebner might easily have been addressed to a recent resident exile, rather than to a future émigré musician at that time. Although Gideon was a United States citizen, the nature of her political inner exile transformed the circumstances under which she could search for a job. Like a new immigrant, Gideon could not aspire to apply for all types of employment. In effect she was excluded from applying for teaching posts in public universities. As a teacher, her options were limited and she had to adapt to the reality of teaching music at a less advanced level if she wished to continue in the profession under the government’s anti-communist policy.

Gideon’s professional conditions in her period of inner exile were similar to those of other immigrant composers in New York City that she knew, such as Béla

\(^{46}\) Ibid., 3.
\(^{47}\) Ibid., 3.
\(^{48}\) Ibid., 3.
Bartók (1881-1945), who settled in the United States during the 1940s.\footnote{Bartók had in fact visited the United States twice before settling in 1940. Bartók’s first trip to America was ten weeks during the winter of 1927-28 for a coast-to-coast performing tour. His second visit was from April-May 1940 and it was this trip that determined his relocation to the United States. Whilst he was there he received information that a large collection of Serbo-Croatian field recordings existed. It was the chance of working on this Parry collection which finally persuaded Bartók and his wife to leave Hungary in October 1940. They would spend five years in New York before Bartók’s death in 1945. Malcolm Gillies, “Bartók in America,” in The Cambridge Companion to Bartók, ed. Amanda Bayley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 190.} In their first years of exile, both composers composed very little and undertook other types of musical work to secure an income. From 1941-42 Bartók did not compose a single composition and held a modest post as an Associate in Music at Columbia University in New York. He worked on a collection of Serbo-Croatian field recordings that the Harvard professor, Milman Parry had researched in the mid-1930s.\footnote{Ibid., 190-1. In 1943 Bartók composed again and completed his Concerto for Orchestra. In 1944 he wrote the Sonata for Solo Violin, and in 1945 he composed his Third Piano Concerto and a Viola Concerto which remained incomplete.} Bartók’s position complemented his work as an ethnomusicologist and it was related to the thematic ideas that infused the design and style of much of his music. In a similar way, Gideon undertook additional music work in a related discipline. She taught children how to play the piano, privately from her home in preparation for leaving her academic teaching posts. However, it will be shown in Chapter 5 that this also complemented the genre of composition that she wrote during this time. She undertook this decision with a positive choice and a professional and long-term approach, to secure stability in her professional environment.

Bartók described his relocation away from his homeland, as a ‘voluntary refugee’ from Hungary. However, he entered the United States technically as a ‘visitor’ in late 1940. His immigration status changed to ‘enemy alien’ between December 1941 and early 1945, and Bartók only became an American ‘immigrant’ at
the end of his life, after a day-long visit to Canada in July, 1945.51 The Bartók family faced many obstacles as immigrants. The language was new, American customs were unfamiliar and they had to become accustomed to new cuisine. Their first apartment was noisy and inhospitable and their extensive luggage was lost for three months. Communications between the United States and Hungary were severed in 1941; Ditta and Béla’s teenage son, Peter Bartók did not arrive in the United States until April, 1942. In addition, Ditta Bartók found it impossible to acquire regular employment, even from teaching the piano.52

Gideon adapted to her musical and social isolation and created a structured environment in which she could thrive professionally and creatively outside of the academy. As David Josephson noted, adaptation is a natural phenomenon and many immigrant composers to the United States ‘such as Darius Milhaud wanted to put the entire matter behind them. None wanted to appear as a helpless refugee, stripped of dignity and worth, victim of forces beyond rational comprehension.’53 Faced with isolation and exclusion, many artists were silenced and their writing was filed away rather than being sent off to a music publisher.54 Under inner exile, the networks through which audiences could hear their music performed were disrupted, limited and the channels repressed.55 For the artist, repression can dampen creativity and slow the evolution of style. Some indulge in themes of loneliness and abandonment. Others attempt to exit the condition in their creative work because they are unable to

51 Ibid., 192.
52 Ibid., 197.
54 Neubauer, "Exile: Home of the Twentieth Century," 18.
do so physically. Adaption and rejection are two contradictory responses within a varied spectrum of how artists react to inner exile.

As a way of escaping the professional and creative manifestations of inner exile, Gideon’s initial personal response was to re-train as a specialist instrumental teacher. The pedagogical skills that she learned from her piano teacher Abby Whiteside, gave her the opportunity to start a new career. This new career ultimately provided a new platform for Gideon’s creative work and the vision of a stable future. She created a new audience by writing piano music for children that had a specific instructional purpose. Student pianists could appreciate and perform these in their home, but the music that she created in her piano cycle, *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953 and 1991) was also suitable for the concert platform and was creatively satisfying.56 Chapter 6 considers the practical steps Gideon took to maintain her teaching and compositional roles, which also had the practical benefit of augmenting the couple’s income.

However, stability within a repressive environment is not often achieved overnight. Difficulties in everyday life tend to persist and psychological strength takes time to build up. Gideon recognised this and decided to seek personal help with the mental toughness necessary to emerge from her inner condition of exile. Before she took steps towards her practical stability, she also tried to assuage her psychological troubles by undergoing psychoanalytical treatment.

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56 The first three movements of *Altered Steps to Altered States* were completed in 1953; the final six movement work was completed in 1991. See Chapter 5 and the Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions for more details.
3.4 Anxiety in the Academy Reflected Through Gideon’s Diaries

Difficult to ‘stay alive’ – creatively one senses one’s ‘bank account’ is running out and this may explain retreat of some into schools, techniques, etc.

Miriam Gideon, ‘Journal 1 Sp.’

Gideon penned these thoughts in her private diary written in the early 1950s, during a period of psychoanalytic treatment. Her words ‘difficult to “stay alive”’ reflect feelings of desperation. In a short space of time, three close family members died. Her father and mother, Abram and Hattie, both died in 1952 and her uncle, Henry Gideon died in 1955. The death of her parents occurred in the same year that Ewen was forced to resign from his teaching post at Brooklyn College after being accused of communist activity. Furthermore, in the year that Gideon’s uncle died, she was effectively forced from her teaching job at City College. Gideon’s day-to-

57 Miriam Gideon, "Journal 1 Sp," (NYPL: Transcribed by Stephanie Jensen-Moulton 17/03/09, written during the early 1950s). Jensen-Moulton noted in her transcription of Gideon’s journals that the word ‘Sp’ on the cover of both of diaries refers to her therapist. Gideon’s original writing, as transcribed by Jensen-Moulton, has been preserved in the extracts that follow in this chapter. They appear exactly as Gideon has penned them, without correction.
58 Jensen-Moulton, "'Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 52.
59 Henry Louis Gideon (1877-1955) (whom Gideon called Harry) was the Director of Music at Temple Israel in Boston, Massachusetts. For continuity, Gideon’s uncle Henry will now be referred to in the rest of this chapter as Uncle Harry Gideon. Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 205. Jensen-Moulton, "'Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 22. He died on 11 July, 1955 in Berkeley and was described in his obituary as a ‘church organist, who had devoted his life to music.’ Harry also enjoyed considerable success as a teacher having taken groups music students on European tours and directed a black choir at the White House for President Woodrow Wilson. He obtained a Master’s degree from Harvard University. "Henry Gideon, Noted Church Organist, Dies," Berkeley Gazette 11 July, 1955. In AEC-MG, (Alexander Ewen Collection of Miriam Gideon Materials in his private possession). Gideon lived with her uncle and his wife, Constance Ramsey as a teenager. They had semi-adopted her, nurturing her exceptional musical talent. Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 205. For more on this interesting relationship see Jensen-Moulton, "'Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 22-23.
60 Her father, Abram (1867-1952) had been unwell for many years and had previously attempted suicide in 1926. Jensen-Moulton, "'Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 16. Also see "Simplified Spelling Move Leader Attempts Suicide," Chicago Daily Tribune 12 September, 1926: 20, 20. In Jensen-Moulton, "'Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 27.
day existence came under considerable stress as her relationships with her family, work and music began to disintegrate.

As part of her psychoanalysis treatment, she kept a diary which recorded her private thoughts and feelings. It was also a journal in which she began to self-analyse her dreams, seeking to understand where the root of her issues lay and why she reacted to situations in the way that she did. Her diaries are a crucial indicator of her internal experience of resident exile and its psychological consequences. The two diaries that are preserved in Gideon’s archive at the New York Public Library (NYPL) depict a steady loss of control in the professional, creative and psychological elements of her life. A major preoccupation is her anxiety at her ability to compose under creative constraints. She suffered the same fate as the Hollywood Ten screen writers and directors who also faced a lack of commissions during these political conditions. A further unique feature of Gideon’s private diaries is that they provide a previously unappreciated insight into the difficulties of teaching in a politically repressive university academic environment. Yet, the way in which her diary was written, in some entries, is curious. Her style does not always fall within the conventions of free flowing thought. Rather, she sometimes limits and amends her feelings. One interpretation of this is that she desired order in her thoughts whilst she lived in a disordered world. This is illustrated in this chapter with extracts from her diary within an examination of the function and aims of psychoanalysis.

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61 Gideon alluded to her course in psychotherapy when writing about her strained relationship to her sister Judith Gideon. In her diary she wrote that a respite ‘may lead to more insight or receptiveness to psychotherapy.’ Gideon, "Journal 1 Sp." In Jensen-Moulton, "'Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 23.
Psychoanalysis is a treatment which encourages patients to resolve their problems by gaining personal insight and understanding of their situation.\(^\text{62}\) It is also closely related to Sigmund Freud’s ideas of the unconscious and dreams. Gideon became interested in the writings of Freud and the idea of the unconscious during the mid-1940s. A term paper she wrote in January 1945 entitled ‘Freudianism and the Arts’ shows that Gideon was aware and understood Freud’s major works on Leonardo da Vinci, wit and the unconscious and *The Interpretation of Dreams*, first published in November 1899.\(^\text{63}\) The writing contained in her diaries in particular, reveal an understanding of the fundamentals of Freud’s ideas on the unconscious. Much of her journal writing is preoccupied with using psychoanalysis to self-analyse her dreams. Psychoanalysis became a popular treatment in the United States during and after the Second World War.\(^\text{64}\) From 1930-55 the American Psychoanalytic Association experienced a rapid increase in membership from sixty-five to more than six hundred therapists. This resulted in almost six thousand patients being psychoanalysed.\(^\text{65}\)

Freud identified that dreams often contained remarkable or disturbing mental phenomena and he believed that they were disguised expressions of our current wishes.\(^\text{66}\) These wish fulfilments were thought to date back to childhood and characteristically contained repressed infantile sexual desires. These desires were unacceptable and potentially disturbing and became censored and disguised by the individual in daily life. Gideon’s diaries contain deeply disturbing material about her


\(^\text{63}\) Ibid., 41. The term paper Gideon took for Philosophy 43 (143) in January 1945 was entitled ‘Freudianism and the Arts.’ MGP-NYPL, box 18 folder 1.


\(^\text{65}\) Ibid., 216.

childhood. She recalled unfortunate, sensitive events in her past, and wrote about them in search of a deeper understanding of why they occurred and what they meant to her during this troubled political time. A diary for this purpose was not intended to be re-drafted or corrected and it was not intended for publication or for recording daily activities. Rather, Gideon used it as a safe place in which a stream of her private thoughts could be recorded. With these safeguards in place, the writer can narrate their intimate moments which can be the most candid and truthful form of a person’s being. Many people use a diary in this way to record things that otherwise cannot be said in real life. During the McCarthy era, Gideon had to limit the expression of her thoughts verbally before a classroom and censor her political thoughts and opinion of Ewen’s treatment. She could not otherwise articulate these thoughts in a public setting for fear of compromising her professional employment. In her diary she could express herself without fear and they reveal what she really felt about politics, family relationships and composing.

Gideon’s nervousness of her work situation is a recurrent theme throughout and she wrote of the very real possibility that she would be forced to resign from her teaching appointments — a decision that would be out of her control. Her anxiety was heightened because of her association on campus with an alleged communist, her husband, Ewen and she felt that her ability to teach was affected by his forced resignation and that of her colleagues. In her diary Gideon recorded the daily ‘stress’ of the possibility of ‘being visited in class.’ She was concerned that investigators would turn up in her classroom without warning. Disguising her daily anxiety took a

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67 Gideon, "Journal 1 Sp.,"
toll on her emotional welfare and she looked for a ‘safe moment to collapse.’ She wrote:

-I have developed a skill in relating to people—in understanding and ‘handling’ them—perhaps out of some traumatic experience—and which is not an unmitigated asset, since it takes its toll of me inwardly in anxiety. But I am inclined to discount this competence—to be afraid that it will not work, etc.—and that partly accounts (for ex.) for my anxiety over being visited in class. —No matter how great the stress, I manage to keep going with a good front—waiting for a safe moment to collapse.

Gideon’s personal discomfort in teaching in this environment at Brooklyn College and at City College is evident from this diary excerpt. The way in which it has been written also emphasizes that her concerns are at the forefront of her mind. Seven em dashes (—) in the space of three sentences break up the sentence structure dramatically, as if Gideon is fleeting from one thought to another and unable to think clearly. She appears to be writing in a heightened tone of anxiety.

It can also be inferred from this extract that Gideon was not just afraid of the embarrassment of being questioned whilst teaching, but also worried about her ability to say the right things about her colleagues at the right time. One of the main aims of the McCarthy era was to question the vulnerable and to force them to name colleagues who were affiliated with the left of politics. Gideon’s loss of confidence in her ability to control her response to these questions was a very great fear, as an innocent mistake had the potential to cause severe damage to a colleague’s career and family. Gideon articulated this loss in confidence in her words, ‘in understanding and “handling” them’ and ‘to be afraid that it will not work, etc.’.

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68 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
Gideon’s desire to have total control of her actions in what she said in the classroom was practical: it could ensure the safety of her own job, that of her colleagues and prevent a disastrous political investigation of her colleagues within the department of music and amongst her friends. However, working under the jurisdiction of anti-communist politics limited the way in which Gideon taught. She wrote that she felt unable to be spontaneous and preferred to stick to the script in class preparation:

Also wish to have control of one’s thoughts and actions. All these fears may obstruct my spontaneity before an audience, in classroom, etc. fear of letting go.\textsuperscript{70}

One false move and the anti-communist policy adopted by President Gideonse at Brooklyn College could be enforced and Gideon could be investigated, fired or forced to leave her job.

A striking feature of Gideon’s diary was the way in which some of her entries were written and this gives significant insight into her frame of mind. At points she limits her natural flow of writing as this extract indicates: ‘Difficult to “stay alive” — creatively one senses one’s “bank account” is running out and this may explain retreat of some into schools, techniques, etc.’\textsuperscript{71} Gideon’s use of the third person ‘one senses’ stands out for its measured approach and her apparent detachment from the situation that she describes. In addition, two consecutive phrases—‘stay alive’ and ‘bank account,’—describe her declining personal situation, but she does not use her own original words. Gideon’s use of colloquial language is emphatic of the situation

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid.
here: she had nothing left to give and her creative energies had been drained from the pressures of the McCarthy era.

Creative blocks and belief that an artist has ‘run out of ideas’ is a common theme in the creative work of artists, especially when living under exile. Joseph Brodsky, who himself experienced internal exile and geographical expulsion noted, ‘Perhaps an additional truth about the matter is that exile slows down one’s stylistic evolution, that it makes a writer more conservative.’

Furthermore, Henry Pachter also commented that creativity is dampened under repressive conditions. He wrote, ‘The myth that exile produces Dantes, Marxes, Bartóks, and Avicennas certainly is not justified in the mass. More often exile destroys talent, or it means the loss of the environment that nourished the talent morally, socially and physically.’

The anxiety that Gideon specifically wrote about in her diary concerns matters of musical style and creativity in her compositions. She suggests, in this phrase, that her retreat ‘into schools, techniques, etc.’ was due to creative bankruptcy and a lack of confidence in her ability to come up with novel ideas. The significance of this phrase in specific relation to the musical structure in her works will be explored in further detail in the following chapter. In addition, the use of language devices including ‘etc’ at the end suggests that the problem lay deeper than Gideon

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72 Joseph Brodsky, "The Condition We Call Exile," in Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile, ed. Marc Robinson (Winchester, MA: Faber and Faber, 1994), 8-9. Brodsky faced both internal exile and international geographical exile during his long journey from his homeland. ‘From March 1964 until November 1965, Brodsky lived in exile in the Arkhangelsk region of northern Russia; he had been sentenced to five years in exile at hard labour for “social parasitism,” but did not serve out his term.’ On his involuntary exile from Russia in 1972, Brodsky resided briefly in Vienna and London before relocating to the United States. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1987 and, like Gideon, he was inducted into the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters in 1979. Gideon received this honour in 1975. "Joseph Brodsky-Biography," http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1987/brodsky-bio.html date Date accessed 23 April, 2011.

had space to describe, or was unwilling to elaborate, for fear of self incrimination. The way in which she wrote this particular extract lies in direct contrast to the aims of psychoanalytic treatment, which encouraged a ‘stream of consciousness’ approach in private writing. Her direct choice of words and expression of language suggests that in this entry Gideon attempted to organise her writing and stabilise her thoughts.

At home Gideon witnessed, firsthand, the creative and practical effects of disillusionment and disappointment for Ewen after losing his ability to provide an income. In her diary she confessed:

I am disturbed at F’s lack of getting down to creative work—an assoc. with my guil [sic] feeling responsible for J’s fettering away her life. F’s overreaction to my ‘bossiness’ is one of his problems, but I better not try to help with getting him to write, as it is beyond me.74

McCarthy historian Ellen Schrecker pointed out that for many fired professors it was almost impossible to find future employment in mainstream public teaching posts: some academics left the country and most left academia.75 In the 1960s, ostracised academics such as Gideon were able to return to teaching, but many teachers such as Ewen were too old to start afresh.76 The tensions and nervousness Gideon experienced when working as a music lecturer and fear for her teaching employment made it difficult for her to find a clear creative space in which to compose. This ultimately manifested itself for Gideon in self-doubt in her abilities and integrity as a

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74 Gideon, "Journal 1 Sp." ‘J’ refers to Gideon's sister, Judith Gideon. ‘F’ refers to her husband, Frederic Ewen.
75 In Ewen’s early retirement he authored more books, organised dramatic readings and lectures with blacklisted actors. "'Historical/Biographical Note' of Frederic Ewen in 'A Guide to the Tamiment Library & Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives'.
76 Schrecker, No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities, 284.
composer. In a dream analysis recorded in her diary, she questioned the values she placed on music and was wary of clichés in her music composition:

-Dream shows doubt about integrity as an artist. Transposing—same thing in another key—do I not practice this deception (self?) e.g.: insisting I have said something new, etc.  

Gideon used musical terminology to describe her inner feelings and non-musical aspects of her life, significantly indicating that she could not divorce herself from her identity as a composer. Her doubt in her compositional abilities, though, surfaced throughout her diaries because of her lack of time to compose and the inhospitable working environment. In other diary entries, Gideon also mixed in dream analysis with music vocabulary and literary devices to describe her concerns as an individual:

-‘Enharmonism’—puns—I use such manipulations as a way out, often falling prey to my own device, as a way out, an escape. (Dream: sc…. around on beach)

The act of penning these concerns in musical terms shows that Gideon was preoccupied with her role as a composer. She considered herself, first and foremost, as a composer. However, whilst living under resident exile, Gideon began to lose this identity through insecurity in her employment, lack of patronage, commissions and through her increased teaching hours. Her role was being undermined by politics, her husband’s ambitions and the need to obtain a household income. Mixing her real feelings with musical terminology and dream analysis symbolised this fear.

77 Miriam Gideon, "Journal 2 Sp No. 348," (NYPL: Transcribed by Stephanie Jensen-Moulton 17/03/09, written during the early 1950s).
78 Ibid. Gideon often blurred reality by considering in musical terms how she may have reacted differently. She later wrote in her diary: ‘Often my interp. of dreams bogs down in details—loses rhythm of whole. Do I not do this in other areas? In music I am aware of this danger and try to overcome it but in other situations not.’ ibid.
3.5 Guilt by Association

Ellen Schrecker, a specialist historian of the McCarthy era, has documented compelling cases of wives who were found to be guilty by association with their husbands’ political views or actions. The wife of Isidore Pomerance was told by the Board of Higher Education to resign from Brooklyn College after her husband became a victim of the Jenner Committee.\textsuperscript{79} Marian Bancroft Davis was fired from her newly acquired job teaching at a private girl’s school in Kansas City, after her husband also appeared before the Jenner Committee.\textsuperscript{80} While not every wife was subjected to suspicion because of association with her husband’s views, it was a frightening financial possibility for the Ewen household.\textsuperscript{81} The problems that Gideon faced at her places of work inevitably spilled over into her personal life. Her relationship with Ewen was also not immune to instability and recrimination as this diary extract shows. Gideon wrote:

\begin{quote}
Delirium of elation followed by blind vacuum—lack of relation to reality; wife, actual situation, etc. I allowed myself to be led, depending on his acts + judgment. This seems to be a collection of
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{79} Schrecker, \emph{No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities}, 288. The Jenner committee had similar aims to other McCarthy investigations and was named after Senator William Jenner of Indiana.

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 287.

\textsuperscript{81} Schrecker also referenced cases where wives were not affected by the political troubles of their spouses. She wrote, ‘Ralph Gundoach’s wife, the choreographer and dance teacher Bonnie Bird, experienced no political discrimination at all during the blacklist period. Nor did Chandler Davis’s wife, the historian Natalie Zemon Davis who was able to complete her doctorate and land a teaching job at Brown.' ibid., 287. However, other teachers were forced to defend and prove their loyalty to America before they were permitted to keep their jobs. Courtney Cazden, Norman Cazden’s wife, eventually managed to keep her teaching job by hiring a lawyer and writing an autobiographical statement declaring that she was a loyal citizen. Norman Cazden had previously been fired from the University of Illinois and invoked the Fifth Amendment at his appearance before HUAC (House of Un-American Activities Committee). Ibid., 288.
many important patterns of before, which moulded into a pattern for future involvements.\textsuperscript{82}

The words ‘I allowed myself to be led, depending on his acts + judgment’ is a powerful statement on who Gideon felt was in control of her life at this point. Her imagery of ecstasy followed by a void are a description of an emotionally out of control individual being pulled from one extreme to another. Furthermore, the repetition of the word ‘pattern’ is a further indication that this was not an isolated situation but was a familiar part of their past and had the potential to continue forcefully in the future. This bleak situation in which Gideon felt that she was ‘led’ by Ewen (but did not resist), led her to describe her marriage as a ‘façade’ to the outside world.\textsuperscript{83}

The lack of control Gideon had over her life left her isolated: isolated by her husband, isolated in friendship and isolated from academia. In this isolated state, Gideon felt pressured to take the blame for her loss of autonomy. In her diary, she wrestled with this idea, whilst simultaneously acknowledging the lack of support from Ewen.\textsuperscript{84}

‘Democracy of the impoverished.’ I still have problem of making up my own judgments about politics, etc. I have tendency to feel

\textsuperscript{82} Gideon, “Journal 1 Sp.”
\textsuperscript{83} Quotation in full: ‘Façade of ideal marriage with actual factors that were not is very confusing climate to be brought up in.’ ibid. In her journals Gideon sought to understand through psychoanalysis how her loss of control came to be connected to her husband in such a dramatic way. She wrote: ‘-I set up situations where I become involved then often against my will continue and do not pull out, sometimes feeling that the other is doing the compelling.’ ibid.
\textsuperscript{84} Gideon acknowledged a pattern in her lack of an active reaction to this. She wrote in her diary: ‘-When I am in a spot I don’t like, whether of my own making or not, too often I play along, giving no sign of any real feeling.’ ibid. This journal entry further illustrates her active segregation from outside forces and from her husband to could not know her real feelings. Other times, Gideon acknowledged herself to be a passive character who recognised that she had not given herself enough credit for her actions. She noted in her diary, ‘-One picture of myself is a passive person—led like a child by the hand. Actually it appears I have shown much initiative and action on my own.’ Gideon, "Journal 2 Sp No. 348."
persecuted—as if society is against me, when only one part of it is (as in case of F. and college).  

The words ‘democracy of the impoverished’ suggests that Gideon felt constrained to make decisions about her political views. Yet she did not have true independence and indicates that true autonomy should only be granted to those individuals who are worst off. Her experience of inner exile under McCarthyism and the pressure of traditional gender roles paralysed her response to make and stand by a decision on politics.

In an interview in 1991, Gideon publically stated that she ultimately lost her teaching jobs at Brooklyn College and City College because of her husband’s alleged political beliefs, which she described, in a later interview, as ‘sharing.’ Speaking to Ewen’s grandson, Alexander Ewen, in an interview in 1990 Gideon said:

So this is guilt by association, that’s what it is because I was never, my friends and my husband of course were all involved and I felt sympathetic to what they believed in. But I did not, I was not active in any way. I never opposed anything, I went along with what happened in their terms and was fine with me. It really was. But I would say I was a very passive participant in thoughts, feelings and actions at this time.

It was this assumption of guilt in the culture of the McCarthy era that critically triggered Gideon’s inner exile. Her private diaries written at this time indicate that she did not endorse any political viewpoint and was unsure of where her political beliefs lay. She wrote, ‘Inability to know where I stand on politics etc.’. This is a

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85 Gideon, “Journal 1 Sp.”
88 Gideon, “Journal 1 Sp.” The extract in full, ‘Inability to know where I stand on politics etc—“shadow-boxing”—retreating from literal people with meaningless statistics to equally meaningless “hunches”—perhaps recreates situation of mother attempting to face facts with unrealistic Father
significant statement as it revealed that Gideon did not have any control over her
decision to remove herself from her academic post. In addition, it confirmed that the
information held on her FBI file was correct: that rumour and suspicion surrounding
Ewen’s political affiliation was the core reason why Gideon came under government
scrutiny.\textsuperscript{89} Her choice of words in her diary is significant and summed up Gideon’s
involvement in politics. She wrote:

- guilt by assoc.—punishment for uncle, Fred, etc.
- I look to others (Fred espec) for political opinions—helpless, like
  little girl
- Sense of panic is tied up with unclear vision—I must learn to see
  and think for myself.\textsuperscript{90}

However, in the political climate in the academy, Gideon was pressured to show
where her loyalties lay, with Ewen on the left or with Brooklyn College on the right.
The writing in her diaries, in fact, reveal that she endorsed neither position but had
felt compelled to do so. She wrote:

I reveal my inflexibility by retreating into vagueness—but holding
on to shreds of beliefs. Formerly felt a compulsion to take sides (politically) Afraid to say I don’t know, therefore will not take
sides.\textsuperscript{91}

The risk of showing political commitment in the Cold War was extremely
high. Yet, keeping a neutral position was also dangerous. An attack on the freedom
of speech and belief put Gideon into a difficult political predicament. Gender roles,
and expected allegiances as a result of her recent marriage, led academic and

\textsuperscript{89} See Chapter 2 for more details.
\textsuperscript{90} Gideon, "Journal 2 Sp No. 348."
\textsuperscript{91} Gideon, "Journal 1 Sp."

... spinning arabesques.’ Also see Hisama, \textit{Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon}, 166.
government authorities to assume that Gideon held similar leftist views to those of Ewen. Yet, despite her own instinctive neutral position, she did not present this political stance in public. Her feeling of being ‘afraid’ to say that she was unsure about her political inclinations was, perhaps, connected to the fear of being ostracised by both sides; her friends and husband on one side and the senior management at her place of work on the other. ‘Holding on to shreds of beliefs’ was, perhaps, an attempt to avoid a difficult decision, and be accepted into a friendship group to which her husband belonged.

3.6 Forming Friendship Groups on the Political Left

Thus, Gideon became a part of a circle of friends that held left-leaning views. Those who knew her in a professional capacity assumed that Gideon, like her husband, was loyal to the political left. Milton Babbitt, a fellow composer and friend who had studied composition with Roger Sessions alongside Gideon during the late 1940s, said during a recent interview:

Well of course we all knew that Miriam was very much closer if you will to the left of the Communist Party. That was mainly because of Fred—her husband... But you know, we never talked about that, she was never involved explicitly in political things as far as we were concerned and the... the McCarthy aspect of life certainly affected the atmosphere of everything we did.\(^9^2\)

Babbitt’s contemporaneous account of the situation is valuable because it shows that he was aware that Gideon’s connection to the left was due to her association with Ewen’s political views. However, his statement also implies that this reason was not general knowledge amongst her composing friends. Karen Brudney, a former

\(^9^2\) Milton Babbitt, "Telephone Interview with Mary Robb," (9th February, 2008).
childhood piano student of Gideon and friend in later life, revealed in a recent interview that Gideon and Ewen were acquainted with her parents through politics:

My parents, who had their own left-wing history, knew of Miriam and Fred socially, through other friends, who you know... it was kind of the musical, intellectual left-wing circuit and people tended to know one another.\(^{93}\)

It is striking that both of these statements considered Gideon’s political views as inseparable from those of her husband. This is symptomatic of her wider political friendships which formed after Gideon’s marriage to Ewen. She became friends with an acquaintance of leftist political sympathisers, such as Brudney’s parents, who befriended and helped Alger Hiss after he was released from prison. Brudney, in a recent interview, clarified her parents’ relationship with the accused Soviet spy:

When Alger Hiss got out of jail, and again I can’t remember how we met him, but my parents were among the few people who had him regularly for dinner during those dreadful years. And certainly I remember being strictly instructed not to discuss any of this with anybody and Alger remained a close friend for the next four years and indeed, I think my father was instrumental in getting him readmitted into the Massachusetts Bar.\(^{94}\)

In Gideon’s group of friends were two couples, Otto and Susan Deri and Abe and Harriet Magil who were particularly close to Gideon. Her former piano student, John Deri (son of Otto and Susan Deri), indicated that his parents and the Magil’s were in Gideon’s ‘innermost circle of family friends.’\(^{95}\) Harriet Magil was a psychiatric

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\(^{93}\) Brudney, "Interview with Mary Robb." Brudney began studying piano privately with Gideon in either 1956 or 1957. For more on their relationship see Chapter 6.

\(^{94}\) Ibid.

\(^{95}\) John Deri, "Interview with Mary Robb." John Deri’s brother Peter, (also a former private piano student of Gideon) also recalled that Harriet Magil was a good friend to Miriam Gideon. In addition, Peter Deri remarked in his interview that it was much easier to for his mother to idealise communism when living in New York City with all the governmental benefits than in Hungary, where she was originally from. Peter Deri, "Interview with Mary Robb," (16th February, 2009).
social worker and active communist in the 1940s. She was a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) and was married to Abe Magil, a top party leader.\textsuperscript{96} Abe Magil was also a Marxist journalist, pamphleteer and editor who wrote under the name of A. B. Magil.\textsuperscript{97} During the height of the McCarthy era in the early 1950s the Magils moved to Mexico as political refugees in self imposed exile, to avoid further persecution, as many Party leaders had been imprisoned in the United States.\textsuperscript{98} Abe Magil was recalled to New York in 1953.\textsuperscript{99}

Gideon’s other friend, Susan Deri (1915-1983) was a psychoanalyst and was described by her son as ‘naively idealising communism,’ having come to the United States from Hungary in 1942—a country which had its own Communist history.\textsuperscript{100} Gideon had taught piano privately to Susan Deri’s sons, John and Peter Deri. Following her death in 1983, a memorial article written about Susan suggested that her political views may have been strong and prevalent in her discussions with friends. Muriel Zimmerman, also a psychoanalyst and colleague of Susan Deri, noted the presence of politics in conversations with her:

We began taking daily walks and talked about psychology, politics and our personal lives... She was a strong, assertive, articulate, and courageous person who always stood up for her opinions no matter how unpopular they might be. In the 42 years of our friendship, our only disagreements were political, but I always recognised her

\textsuperscript{98} Rubin, "Abe Magil: A Tribute to a Working Class, Marxist Journalist." Also see John Deri, "Interview with Mary Robb."
\textsuperscript{99} Rubin, "Abe Magil: A Tribute to a Working Class, Marxist Journalist."
\textsuperscript{100} John Deri, "Interview with Mary Robb."
intense idealism and the countless yearning for a good and fair world.\textsuperscript{101}

Gideon’s friendship with the Deris also connected her to the left-wing musical and intellectual community. Susan Deri was musical and played the violin\textsuperscript{102} and their father, Otto Deri (1911-1969) was a music faculty member at City College, and a colleague of Gideon. He also taught cello there and performed many of Gideon’s musical compositions.\textsuperscript{103} Though primarily a cellist, he played viola in Gideon’s work \textit{Slow, Slow, Fresh Fount} (1941) in a concert at City College.\textsuperscript{104} The political understanding and connection between Otto Deri and Gideon was strong and they remained good friends after her forced resignation from City College and the non-renewal of her contract at Brooklyn College. Following Otto Deri’s premature death in 1969, Gideon dedicated a new composition, \textit{Seasons of Time} (1969), in his memory.\textsuperscript{105} She described him as ‘a fine cellist, a remarkable human being, and a dear and esteemed friend.’\textsuperscript{106} These friendships, at a crucial political time, show that living under inner exile did not prevent social meetings with leftist


\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., 477.

\textsuperscript{103} John Deri, "Interview with Mary Robb." For more biographical information on Otto Deri see Concert Program, 22 May, 1969. MGP-NYPL, box 16 folder 3. In the Memorial Concert program for Otto Deri it was written, ‘Born in Vienna, he received a Ph.D. degree in law from the university of Budapest, an MA degree in music from Columbia, and Ed.D. degree from Columbia Teachers College. Dr. Deri, well known for his scholarship in contemporary music and its performance, was the author of several articles on the subject; his book, “Exploring Twentieth Century music” was just published in 1968. In addition to writing and lecturing on music and aesthetics, he performed with major orchestras, toured widely as cellist with the Lener String Quartet in North and South America, and later with the New York Trio.’

\textsuperscript{104} MGP-NYPL, box 16 folder 1.

\textsuperscript{105} The first performance of this piece took place in Carnegie Recital Hall on 13 February, 1970 in a program for the League-International Society for Contemporary Music series. \textit{Seasons of Time} was written for voice, flute, cello and piano alternating with celesta. See Benjamin Boretz et al., eds., \textit{Contemporary Music Newsletter}, vol. 4/1 (Published jointly by the Group for Contemporary Music at Columbia University; The Department of Music, New York University; and The Department of Music, Princeton University Jan-Feb, 1970). In MGP-NYPL, 1970 Concert Program. Box 16 folder 4.

\textsuperscript{106} MGP-NYPL, 1970 Concert Program. Box 16 folder 4.
friends but, these tended to take place in private settings. Ironically, teaching piano behind closed doors in Gideon’s apartment, rather than in an institution, might have actually reinforced Gideon’s connections with the leftist musical community. Her private students tended to have parents who, either held communist views, or were sympathetic to the cause of free speech and leftist politics.

However, friendships with musical and intellectual left-leaning social circles also put pressure on Gideon to conform to their ideals. There is no evidence that she was a card-carrying Communist, unlike Abe Magil, nor is there any evidence to suggest that she was a member of the CPUSA or had any interest in following orders from Moscow. She was not a communist either like her friend, Harriet Deri. The term ‘communism’ rather than ‘Communism’ refers to the movement of communism rather than the Party itself. Ellen Schrecker described the difference:

there is an important distinction to be made here between the Communist party and the communist movement. The two were closely linked, but not quite the same. The movement was a political subculture, a loosely structured constellation of left-wing individuals, ideas and organisations of which the party was the institutional core.\(^{107}\)

Although Gideon did not engage in left-wing political activity, she tolerated those who held strong political views. She could be described as a sympathetic, yet uncommitted ‘fellow traveller,’ that is, someone who identified with the beliefs of an organisation, without maintaining formal membership. In the traditional Popular Front model of a red circle symbolising communism with degrees of pink emulating

from the centre, Gideon’s minimal personal political participation placed her on the periphery in the palest pink area. Studies by Michael Denning, Elizabeth Bergman Crist and Ellen Schrecker have shown that members of this ‘pink,’ peripheral group were not only open to liberal, left politics but also tended to show characteristics of supporting equality in other important areas such as race relations. Denning pointed out:

The Popular Front social movement had been built around a politics of anti-racism and anti-imperialism and had struggled for an interracial movement. Moreover, the infrastructure of the Popular Front was made up of an intricate network of ethnic fraternal associations, foreign-language newspapers, and arts clubs that supported a kind of ‘cultural nationalism,’ emphasising the distinctive histories of the peoples of the United States.

Gideon’s left wing sympathies and liberal views made her acceptable to those of Ewen’s friends who had leftist political leanings. Gideon’s former piano student, Karen Brudney remembered that she had long discussions with Gideon about the civil rights movement:

They [Ewen and Gideon] were extraordinary people in terms of their open-mindedness and curiosity and were absolutely non-judgemental in that sense. I remember that... they were less knee-jerk frightened of it and they wanted to understand it and they wanted to see what was going to come out of it.

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108 Michael Denning, The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century (London: Verso, 1998), 5. Michael Denning turns this concept on its head by suggesting that ‘the periphery was in many cases the centre, the “fellow travellers” were Popular Front.’ ibid., 5.

109 Ibid., 34.

110 Brudney, "Interview with Mary Robb." Gideon and Ewen were not the only people in their friendship and professional circles to be concerned with the wider issues of equality and race. Gideon’s first formal composition teacher Lazare Saminsky drew positive connections between Native American music and the music of the present day. He wrote, ‘I think, certainly, there is no doubt that America has out-grown the naive cultivation of the Negro and Indian songs which were supposed to lead, at a certain stage, to the creation of American music.’ Ashley Pettis, "The WPA and the American Composer Author(s)," The Musical Quarterly 26, no. 1 (January 1940). Ewen’s former student proudly wrote to inform him that she was active in the Jewish Youth Congress who formed a ‘youth council with delegates or members from youth organisations of all nationalities (Jews,
Gideon and Ewen’s stance on race equality was radical for that era and contrary to the laws of the United States. Fellow travellers also tended to be open-minded intellectuals and artists. Those in Gideon’s groups of friends could have easily mistaken her for holding the same political ideas as her husband.

However, Gideon’s decision to suppress her truly neutral political tendencies was influenced by the cultural behaviour and radical views of those friendships that had been forged through the political inclinations of her husband. The friendship of three women in this circle, Harriet Magil, Susan Deri and Karen Brudney’s mother, may have put pressure on Gideon to conform to these ideals. This, combined with loyalty towards her husband, may have exerted considerable pressure over Gideon to conform to the left publically, even though privately she had reservations.

The shift in the role of the American composer at this time afforded many to have the opportunity of earning a stable income through teaching in an academic setting. Milton Babbitt, who studied composition with Roger Sessions in the same group class as Gideon noted:

The American composer at least is basically a university composer, now he looks for a job teaching, there were no jobs available in those days, the few accidental jobs (I had one of them) were just that, accidental. One did not know what the future would hold. One was much more concerned how one was going to live day to day and most composers had other, rather grubby jobs.\textsuperscript{111}

In this context, being employed in two academic teaching posts was rather a luxurious position for Gideon to be in. It gave her financial stability which many

\textsuperscript{111} Babbitt, “Telephone Interview with Mary Robb.”
contemporaneous composers lacked. Babbitt indicated that the financial environment for composers in New York at that time was difficult, ‘the musical situation... was very mean and the orchestral proposals were very hard to come by.’

Although Gideon was not personally politically involved, what she said and did had the potential to impact profoundly on her or her colleagues. Her regimen of personal control in the classroom could help to preserve her own employment. Limiting her public behaviour, thoughts and feelings were crucial to her financial, academic and personal survival and that of her academic colleagues in this era. It has been shown that this pattern of seeking order in a disordered life also extended to the particular way in which she wrote some of her diary entries.

3.7 Art, the Unconscious and Psychoanalysis

Psychoanalysis had a major effect on art and literature in the twentieth century. Painters and writers began to experiment with the concept of the unconscious and free association and, in the process, rediscovered the importance of dreams. In literature, Virginia Woolf’s *The Waves* was written with ‘stream-of-consciousness’ techniques. Arnold Schoenberg, during his expressionist years, tried to create music without formal procedures. His search for freedom, in music and in his paintings, was more fundamental as he was largely self-taught and worked as a clerk in a small private bank from about 1889-1904, after his father died. He aimed to write abstract music that held a direct line to his unconscious and he called

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112 Ibid.
114 Ibid., 91.
for the ‘elimination of the conscious will in art.’\textsuperscript{116} In a letter to the artist, Wassily Kandinsky, he declared:

\begin{quote}
But art belongs to the \textit{unconscious}! One must express \textit{oneself}! Express \textit{oneself} \textit{directly}! Not one’s taste, or one’s upbringing, or one’s intelligence, knowledge or skill. Not all these \textit{acquired} characteristics, but that which is \textit{inborn, instinctive}.\textsuperscript{117}
\end{quote}

Through writing music with this process Schoenberg composed his thirty minute monodrama, \textit{Ewartung} (1910), extraordinarily quickly in seventeen days.\textsuperscript{118} In his stage drama, \textit{Die glückliche Hand} (1913),\textsuperscript{119} the composer aimed to ‘make music with the media of the stage:’\textsuperscript{120} colour and light were treated with the same equality as motives and gestures of music. His idea that art should be represented by an inner process paralleled Freud’s ideas in his book, \textit{The Interpretation of Dreams}, though Schoenberg hardly made any reference to Freud’s ideas.\textsuperscript{121} Schoenberg and Kandinsky aimed to create art and music without conscious motivation. Schoenberg’s avoidance of traditional tonality and Kandinsky’s attraction to abstract art occurred at the same time, but independently of each other, sparking an enlightening correspondence between the two.\textsuperscript{122} Their relationship was not always easy and they confronted difficult issues concerning art, religion and creativity in the background of growing anti-Semitism in Europe. Kandinsky wrote to Schoenberg on

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\textsuperscript{117} Letter from Wassily Kandinsky from Arnold Schoenberg. 24 January, 1911. Ibid., 89.
\textsuperscript{118} Neighbour, ”Schoenberg, Arnold.”
\textsuperscript{119} The libretto of \textit{Die glückliche Hand} was completed in 1910 and the music was composed from 1910-13. Auner, \textit{A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life}, 81-82.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 82.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 89.
\textsuperscript{122} Correspondence between Schoenberg and Kandinsky began in early 1911 after Kandinsky attended a concert of Schoenberg’s works which included his Second String Quartet (1908) and Three Piano Pieces (1909). Ibid., 88.
\end{flushright}
22nd July, 1922 starting, ‘I love you as an artist and a human being, or perhaps as a human being and as an artist... I reject you as a Jew, but nevertheless I write you a good letter and assure you that I would be so glad to have you here in order to work together.’\footnote{Jelena Hahl-Koch, ed. \textit{Arnold Schoenberg, Wassily Kandinsky: Letters, Pictures, and Documents} (Translated by John Crawford. Boston: Faber and Faber,1984), 77-78. In Auner, \textit{A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life}, 167-68. In this letter, Kandinsky also approached Schoenberg about becoming director of the Musikhochshule in Weimar.} They had earlier collaborated on \textit{The Blue Rider Almanac} with other artists, creating the notion that art can reflect the unconscious across disciplines.\footnote{Schoenberg displayed his paintings, many of which were self-portraits, at an exhibition in October 1910 while Kandinsky wrote a stage composition \textit{Der gelbe Klang}. Kandinsky’s stage work had similar aspirations to Schoenberg’s \textit{Die glückliche Hand} in what he called the ‘renunciation of any conscious thought.’ Auner, \textit{A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life}, 79 and 114.} Amongst a private collection of Gideon’s effects are a set of expressionist art works including some by Paul Klee (a member of the \textit{Blue Rider}) and the post-impressionist artist, Vincent van Gogh. Several of Gideon’s own amateur drawings in this style, dated as 1947, are also held in this collection. In Gideon’s art, the faces of the figures are blurred, a lying body contains no recognisable features and city landscapes are suggested blocks of black paint.\footnote{AEC-MG.}

Whilst Schoenberg and Kandinsky, at one stage, created abstract art and expressionist music through the unconscious, Gideon was drawn to writing music with denser structures during the McCarthy era, at a time of great stress. Previously, she had been exposed to a whole array of highly structured styles by her compositional colleagues and her teacher, Roger Sessions, in their lessons from 1935-1943. She said in an interview:

\begin{quote}
He [Sessions] taught privately, as well as in a group, which was more practical as far as his time went and beneficial to everybody involved. My first contact with him was a part of a group of composers that included David Diamond, Milton Babbitt, Leon
\end{quote}
Kirschner, Hugo Weisgall, Vivian Fine, Edward T. Cone, and quite a few others. We used to meet at the Dalcroze School for three or four hours in the morning, and later at a studio Sessions had in New York. We all brought our recent work and played for one another. It was a great experience. There was a lot of give and take between teacher and pupils and among the students themselves.126

Most notably, her colleague Milton Babbitt had already begun writing twelve-tone music in 1940, which he shortly expanded into integral serialism.127 Leon Kirchner’s compositional style favoured compact music structures that followed the sentiments of Schoenberg, whilst eschewing the dodecaphonic techniques.128 At the beginning of the 1950s, Sessions began gradually to adopt elements of the twelve-tone method, inspired after a developing friendship with Schoenberg. This began with his String Quartet no.2 (1950–51) and then his Violin Sonata (1953), in which twelve-tone organisation was ‘unconsciously incorporated.’129

In 1952, Gideon’s musical style was powerfully informed by the compositional climate and her past training. Unlike Schoenberg and Kandinsky, who had tried to remove themselves from formalised procedures to channel the unconscious in the creation of their works, Gideon took the opposite path and created works with a clear, systematic approach in the minute details of musical structure.

126 Pinnolis, "A Conversation with Miriam Gideon (1906-1996): Sunday, June 19, 1977," 121. In Jensen-Moulton, "Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 33-34. A similar sentiment that Gideon gave in an interview can be found in Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 207. Gideon said in her interview with Ardito, ‘He had small groups of composers who came to meet and spend half the day discussing and listening to their works. I was in one of those groups. We played the compositions and discussed them and that was all extremely interesting for me.’


The silent, unspoken power of one’s experience to influence and create music has been theorised by critical musicologists such as Susan McClary, Lawrence Kramer, Steven Baur et al., Lydia Goehr and Tia DeNora during the 1990s. They argue that music is intrinsically connected to human values, deeply imbedded in human culture and cannot be considered in isolation from the human contexts that create, distribute and consume it. This very notion is consistent with the sociologist Howard Becker’s rejection of art as an autonomous form. It acknowledges that the creation of music is inevitably and powerfully informed by social, economic and political factors such as ethnicity, income, taste, the artist’s relationship to the state and a composer’s relationship with her or his spouse. Every creator in Becker’s ‘art world’ is influenced by their own social history, such as training and age; the methods and means of distribution of the music (for example, the artist’s relationship to the state); and the taste and social context of audiences. Society is not only deeply ingrained in the creation of art, but that art also ‘reflects’ the social environment from which it was created.

Gideon’s ‘art world,’ comprising internal and external factors such as her workplace, husband, class, social status, financial income, gender, age, ethnic identity and educational background, had a fundamental impact on the creation of her


132 See Howard Saul Becker, Art Worlds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).


music. Her music also reflects the ‘art world’ in which it was composed. A composer cannot be isolated from the music produced by others and musical works are not autonomous in their own right. More fundamentally, Gideon’s immediate personal situation (the crisis created by anti-communist politics) and environment of living under inner exile had a deep impact on the music that she composed. These pressures led her to rely on the training and background of her past musical training and she seems to have sought greater stability of the structure in her compositions as well as in other areas of her life. Although she was not a composer who wrote political works, her portfolio was affected by the political environment and exclusion of inner exile.  

Gideon responded to inner exile in a particular way. In her music compositions her response was to create music with precision and with strict music structures. As will be shown in the following chapter, the first movement of her 1952 song cycle, *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* was composed with systematic attention to the treatment of tones. She was informed by the musical climate, training and views of her teacher and colleagues who used compositional methods in the post-tonal tradition. But the creative force of Gideon’s desire to compose in this way has

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135 Gideon was not known for writing political music. Unlike other American composers such as Copland, she did not write workers songs nor did she compose music in protest of political action. In addition, there is also little evidence that Gideon was a subtle activist composer, such as Shostakovich, who commented on the governmental regime in his musical works. However, two works are notable exceptions in her repertoire. ‘Hiroshima,’ the second movement in her song cycle, *The Condemned Playground* (1963), was written almost two decades after the atomic bombs were dropped on the city Hiroshima on 6th August, 1945. Furthermore, *Hound of Heaven* was composed in 1945 at the close of the Second World War (Japan signed the surrender papers with the United States on 2nd September, 1945). Judith Pinnolis has shown in her study that *The Hound of Heaven* is a work of early Holocaust literature. The horrors of the holocaust began to filter through to the United States public from newspaper sources around 1942. Gideon’s choice of timing when to writing these pieces indicates that she was not reactionary composer who sought to make a current political statement. For more on *The Hound of Heaven* see Pinnolis Fertig, “An Analysis of Selected Works of the American Composer Miriam Gideon (1906-) in Light of Contemporary Jewish Musical Trends”.

intrinsic value in itself. She used these techniques to write witty, engaging music, rather than abstract expressionist or modernist pieces.

Parallels can be drawn between the way in which she wrote parts of her diary and in the composition of her music during this period. The psychoanalytically based passages in her diary and her music both feature free creativity. However, some of the free stream of consciousness entries in her diary have been annotated and truncated by Gideon. This suggests that, having lost order in her professional world, she was attempting to retain stability and a better understanding of her thoughts in her inner world. Correspondingly, as Gideon felt that her ‘creative bank account’ had run out during this period of inner exile, she restored stability in her compositions by using, initially, a highly structured style of composition which incorporated elements of serialism (the processes of transposition and inversion with trichords). This highly defined structure, and its stylistic conventions, had the advantage of providing her compositions with consistency within this paradigm. Gideon’s song cycle, *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* is used as an example in Chapter 4 to show how this pattern of order was also present in the way in which she composed music. Establishing a stable compositional base then allowed Gideon to develop her style more freely. Chapter 5 illustrates that her piano work *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953) was a musical and professional attempt by Gideon to emerge from the constraints of inner exile.

### 3.8 Conclusion

This is the first study that considers Gideon’s life within the frame of inner exile. An exploration of the concept of inner exile in this chapter has shown how
exclusion affected one composer, who faced restrictions imposed on her by the United States government. Although Gideon was neither subpoenaed to appear in court, nor convicted of any crime, she could no longer exist without constraints in the academic world. Campus life was uneasy and she withdrew, lowered her profile and self-censored what she said in the classroom, afraid that she might lose her employment. Political impositions not only occurred at a physical level, but also affected her psychologically. The trauma of these events was sufficient for her to seek psychoanalytical treatment in the early 1950s. However, new evidence from Gideon’s private diaries has shown that this withdrawal was also partly self-imposed. Her inward reaction to the combination of these events was her personal way of coping and brought Gideon into further isolation. This, most probably, was not just for self preservation but also to minimise the risk of further, more serious, attention from the college authorities and the state on her and her music colleagues.

The length of time that Gideon lived under these conditions also indicates the importance of this study. It was not just a matter of weeks or months, but years, from at least 1952-55, that she worked and composed music under this repressed state. Gideon’s diary provides a striking perspective and further new insight in the relationship of how her private thoughts might have influenced her compositions during this period. The way in which some of her diary entries have been written show a desire for order in her thoughts, as illustrated by her annotations of her psychoanalytical thoughts. This contrasts sharply with the external disorder in Gideon’s everyday personal and professional life at this time. Her internal response, most likely, provided a stable refuge in an otherwise confused professional world over which she had increasingly less control.
Becker has shown that art, in the broadest sense, is not an autonomous function and cannot be separated from everyday social surroundings. It is therefore very likely that the events affecting Gideon would have been reflected in her compositions from this period in her life. The relationship of inner exile to Gideon’s compositions from this time will be considered in the following two chapters by examining a song cycle in Chapter 4 and a piano composition in Chapter 5. By examining these pieces in this way, I hope to show that inner exile is a relevant concept to musical scholarship and a neglected area of research.
CHAPTER 4:
A SONG CYCLE WRITTEN DURING INNER EXILE:
EPITAPHS FROM ROBERT BURNS (1952)

*Epitaphs from Robert Burns* is a four movement song cycle that Gideon
composed in 1952.\(^1\) The text comprises poems selected from the writings of the
famous Scottish poet, Robert Burns (1759-96). Traditionally, an epitaph is a short
poem that honours a deceased person. According to custom, the words are often
inscribed on a gravestone or on a deceased person’s plaque to commemorate their
life. Epitaphs can also be used figuratively or to remind readers of their own
mortality, as in the famous case of W. H. Auden’s ‘Epitaph for the Unknown
Soldier.’ Gideon chose four epitaphs and set them to music in the same year that
Ewen was forced to take early retirement from his academic post at Brooklyn
College. She had to wait until her problems in the McCarthy era died down to enjoy
the first performance of this work in New York City in 1959. The première was

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\(^1\) In this Chapter *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* is also referred to in its shortened title, *Epitaphs*. The
date that this piece was written, 1952, was deduced from the date on a copyrighted holograph score
that the American Composers Alliance (ACA) received. This score is held in Gideon’s archive at the
New York Public Library (NYPL). In addition, a typewritten copy of Robert Burns’ text is also
preserved there and dated 1952, and Chodacki’s citation of the première in her 1986 catalogue of
Gideon’s works further confirms this. Unusually, the NYPL catalogue dates *Epitaphs from Robert
Burns* as 1957. Of the other two ACA *Epitaph* facsimile edition scores in the NYPL collection, one is
undated, and the other is marked 1957. Inconsistent referencing of this piece has also led to confusion
as to the real name Gideon gave to *Epitaphs*. Composer facsimile edition scores of the piece held in
the NYPL provide two similar titles, *Four Epitaphs on Robert Burns* and, *Epitaphs on Robert Burns*.
See MGP-NYPL, box 3 folder 3. This discrepancy was brought to my attention by the name recorded
in Jensen-Moulton, ""Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 61. The 1990
recording of the work shortens the title to simply: *Four Epitaphs*. In this Chapter the work is referred
to by the name designated in Gideon’s 1957 American Composers Alliance (ACA) composer’s
facsimile edition of the score (from which the 2007 version was published), *Epitaphs from Robert
Burns*. This is also the title described by the New York Times at the performance of the work in 1959
and in the NYPL catalogue. See Eric Salzman, "Shirley Sudock Offers Modern Songs at Carnegie
Recital Hall," *New York Times* April 28, 1959. For more on the date, title and première see the
Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions detailed in this thesis.
given at the Contemporary Music Festival at the University of Louisville in Kentucky in 1952 and was performed by her friend and New York based composer, George Perle and soprano, Dorothy Gilsder.²

As the previous chapters have shown, Gideon continued to teach at Brooklyn College and City College, but found the environment to be politically repressive and was apprehensive of working under these pressured circumstances. Living under inner exile affected her daily professional and social life. She was cautious about what she said in public as she did not wish to draw further, unwanted political attention to herself. The psychoanalytical treatment recorded in her diary, written in the early 1950s, revealed thoughts from Gideon’s private unconscious that she later annotated and made acceptable to her rational consciousness. To what extent was this pattern of trying to regain stability in her inner life mirrored in other aspects of her life? Did her personal response to inner exile also manifest itself in Gideon’s approach to composition structure?

This chapter examines the way in which Gideon composed the music in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns*. It will be shown that she wrote this work with a rigid compositional aesthetic, which aligned the piece with the prevalence, in the 1950s, of the twelve-tone and serial movement. Furthermore, the piece contains repetitions of motives rather than the development of them, which rather contradicted her own uniquely free atonal style. Gideon’s divergence from her mature musical language is unusual, especially because she was ambivalent about composing with systematic treatment of pre-composed motives. So why did she compose *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* in this way? Gideon’s piece is examined in the context of the style of music

² Chodacki, "Miriam Gideon, a Classified Catalog of Compositions", 71.
that symbolised the type of works composers created in the academy, and this is the focus of the chapter.

The catalogue of Gideon’s compositions detailed in the Complete Catalogue of Gideon’s Works listed later in this thesis shows that she had not set the poet’s words to music previously and nor would she again. Burns’ writings are often humorous and this may have been a factor in Gideon’s choice. It is well recognised that humour can be used as a device to release tension in stressful situations. Setting music to text from an author known for his sardonic style may have been a response to her experiences during the McCarthy era. One response to personal anguish is to externalise it and, in Gideon’s artistic world, she expressed her anguish in the private aspects of her life, including in her private diaries and also to an extent in her creative work.

However, an incongruity of Epitaphs from Robert Burns is the central theme of death and dying situated alongside humour and a systematic musical aesthetic. In all four poems Gideon incorporated her own sceptical wit into her song cycle through musical means. It will be shown that, despite Gideon’s own passing assessment of ‘creative bankruptcy,’ she was able to produce an intricate collection of music that was written during a period of difficult personal circumstances. Her choice of sardonic humour in the text, death as a common theme, and her use of a compositional style using systematic post-tonal conventions contribute to a concise, yet, accessible work. It is Gideon’s musical interpretation of Burns’ text which provides another layer of interest in the four movements of the song cycle, Epitaphs

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from Robert Burns: ‘Epitaph for a wag in Mauchline,’ ‘Epitaph on wee Johnie,’ ‘Epitaph on the Author’ and ‘Monody on a Lady Famed for her Caprice.’

4.1 Tonality, Atonality and Composing with Twelve Tones

Gideon’s mature compositional language can be considered ‘dissonant.’ Her works are not anchored in a key or tonal centre and her style is found within the spectrum of post-tonal musical writing, whose underlying processes were atonal. In atonality, the hierarchy of pitch class distinctions of tonal music are eliminated. Rather, the emphasis changes to a focus on interval structure, ‘note-groups may succeed each other without the dependent relationships of tonality.’ In the traditional tonal idiom, components of tonality such as tension, consonance and dissonance, or the function of a triad, for example, are taken for granted. In post-tonal or dissonant music, these mechanisms acquire new meaning, as they are not anchored in a key.

An essential characteristic of music written in the earliest stages of the abandonment of tonal harmony was brevity of design. Pieces were initially short because large forms such as melody could not be supported or sustained without the underpinning of tonal features, such as resolution. Furthermore, as Schoenberg

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4 There is no evidence that this work was commissioned, but Gideon very rarely worked without commission or (in her earlier days) a performance in mind. She said in an interview during the 1970s about her approach to composing a new work: ‘It’s so completely set by the occasion for which it’s going to be performed. It’s a long time since I’ve written anything which didn’t have a performance in view. And I don’t know how I’d work at something I didn’t have a performance for. I very well may but at the moment it’s been many, many years.’ See Pinnolis, ”A Conversation with Miriam Gideon (1906-1996): Sunday, June 19, 1977,” 133. Very little is known in scholarship about this work. Jensen-Moulton’s doctoral thesis is one of the few works that mention Epitaphs. See Jensen-Moulton, "Sparring with Fate:" Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 61-62.
6 Ibid.
stated, traditional melody was linearly organised, ‘from the repetition of a more or less varied basic motive.’ In atonal music, large structures were abandoned and composers were preoccupied with the treatment of the smallest component of musical design: the motive.

One the most prominent and successful ways in which Gideon composed with motives was to present a musical ‘cell’ of two to four notes and then expand it throughout the piece. Milton Babbitt characterised Gideon’s decision to focus on small-scale events, in this way, as ‘motivic music.’ He said in a recent interview:

Well, Miriam wrote a music which, later on, was characterised as contextual it [was] really motivic music. It was very simply music which began referentially as a small motive and expanded and that was a technique which all of us were either taught, or better studied, and much in Miriam’s case derived from middle Schoenberg.

Ellie M. Hisama, George Perle and Ellen Dale Lerner have shown that ‘motivic saturation’ was a consistent style and characteristic of Gideon’s compositional language from about 1945 to almost the end of her career. Her distinctive sound

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7 Schoenberg wrote this in a short essay entitled ‘Why New Melodies are Difficult to Understand,’ 10 October, 1913. Auner, A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life, 122. His work, Four Orchestral Songs Op. 22, written between 1913-1916 is an example of one of his early pieces that contains attributes of this design.
9 Hisama, Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon, 152. See also Jensen-Moulton, ”‘Sparring with Fate’: Miriam Gideon’s 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 92.
10 Babbitt, ”Telephone Interview with Mary Robb.”
11 As Stephanie Jensen-Moulton noted, the ways in which Gideon used motivic saturation in her works have been analysed by Ellen Dale Lerner and Ellie M. Hisama. Lerner found Gideon’s 1970 song cycle Seasons of Time to be was highly motivic while Hisama’s analysis of ”Night is my sister” from the vocal chamber work Sonnets from ”Fatal Interview” (1952) and ”Esther” from Three Biblical Masks for violin and piano (1958) showed the works to be motivically saturated, particularly with trichords. See Ellen Dale Lerner, ”The Music of Selected Contemporary American Women Composers: A Stylistic Analysis” (Thesis (MA), Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1976). Also see Hisama, Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon, 139-80. Found in Jensen-Moulton, ”‘Sparring with Fate’: Miriam Gideon’s 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 83. George Perle also noted that ‘the larger melodic and harmonic components are generated from minimal basic cells’ in Gideon’s work The Hound of Heaven (1945).
world was recognisable, especially when placed in the context of the work that other composers of her generation developed. Many used motivic design to initiate a more stable way to transition out of tonality.

Gideon’s unique musical language and focus on motivic saturation as a compositional technique developed during the 1940s. A landmark composition in her mature style is her vocal chamber music work, *The Hound of Heaven*, completed in 1945. This was the first piece which Gideon described as ‘written in what I would call my own style.’ Prior to this work, her early compositions mainly comprised small-scale pieces using traditional diatonic tonalities and included songs in the tradition of German romantic lieder. *The Hound of Heaven* was commissioned by her first formal composition teacher, Lazare Saminsky for the 100th anniversary of the founding of Temple Emanuel. Gideon chose the text by the catholic writer, Francis Thompson (1859-1907) and used aspects of the poem to focus the piece on Jewish suffering. The piece has been described by Judith Pinnolis Fertig as ‘an exceptional work of the early Holocaust literature’ and it was written during the last months of World War Two.

The piece was a landmark composition in terms of Gideon’s mature style as it is one of the earliest of her pieces to reveal the compositional principles that she would employ for the majority of her career: the careful development of small motivic cells. Cells consisting of two or three pitches were expanded throughout the piece to create an organic growth of melodic material. In their analyses of *The Hound*

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15 Ibid., 58.
of Heaven, scholars such as George Perle\textsuperscript{16} and Pinnolis Fertig\textsuperscript{17} both identified this expanding motivic design. Pinnolis Fertig’s detailed description of the opening statement of the vocal line demonstrates the basic principle of this technique throughout the work.\textsuperscript{18} She described the vocal line as beginning in bar 14 with a three note basic cell, E, D\textsuperscript{#}, E, consisting of an ascending and descending interval of a minor second. See Example 4.1. This basic cell contains the interval on which the harmonic expansion of the piece is based. This is immediately demonstrated in the following bar. In bar 15, Gideon presents a second cell which emphasises and expands upon this intervallic pattern. At first, the interval F, E retains the interval of a minor second, but this is then expanded to ascend to an interval of a major second at the end of the bar: E, F\textsuperscript{#}. The first two cells in the opening vocal line of The Hound of Heaven are detailed in Example 4.1 below.

\textbf{Example 4.1 The Hound of Heaven vocal line Bars 13-15}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Più mosso (d = 76)}
\begin{align*}
13 \\
& \text{mf} \\
\end{align*}
\end{center}

As the vocal line progresses, this intervallic pattern continues to expand. In the following bar (bar 16) a third expanding cell appears and follows the same pattern of re-stating and then expanding the basic cell motive. The interval from the last note of

\textsuperscript{17} See Pinnolis Fertig, "An Analysis of Selected Works of the American Composer Miriam Gideon (1906-) in Light of Contemporary Jewish Musical Trends", 55-90.
\textsuperscript{18} Pinnolis Fertig’s analysis of the opening vocal line in \textit{The Hound of Heaven} see ibid., 72-75.
bar 15 to the first note of bar 16 states the minor second cell (F♯, G). But this basic cell is followed by a further stage of intervallic expansion to a minor third (G, E) in bar 16. See Example 4.2 below:

**Example 4.2 The Hound of Heaven Bars 16-17**

![Example 4.2 The Hound of Heaven Bars 16-17](image)

In her musical reading of *The Hound of Heaven*, Pinnolis Fertig found this type of interval expansion to be continuous and constant. Each pitch is individually positioned with precision to create a lyrical melody. Commenting on Gideon’s mature style, Pinnolis Fertig wrote, ‘it shows a tight construction by the composer in the development of motivic construction and expansion.’ In Perle’s earlier close reading of the piece, he noted that this type of motivic design was not constrictive; rather it had the potential to generate material for the whole piece. He wrote:

> The larger melodic and harmonic components are generated from minimal basic cells in this way. This is a technique that imposes economy and the exclusion of irrelevancies—a technique that may be indefinitely expanded and within which a composer may grow.

Gideon found this method of composing fruitful and other scholars have shown that she adopted it for most of the remainder of her composing career. Ellie M. Hisama’s

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19 For the full score of Gideon’s *The Hound of Heaven* see Appendix C
20 Pinnolis Fertig, "An Analysis of Selected Works of the American Composer Miriam Gideon (1906- ) in Light of Contemporary Jewish Musical Trends", 75. For Pinnolis Fertig’s full analysis of *The Hound of Heaven* see ibid., 70-74.
musical analysis of ‘Night is my Sister,’ the second of Gideon’s 1952 Sonnets from Fatal Interview, demonstrates that ‘motivic saturation organises the structure of the vocal line and of the instrumental trio, and is a means through which Gideon unifies the song.’ In a further analysis, Hisama also showed that Gideon’s later work, ‘Esther’ from Three Biblical Masks (1958) was motivically saturated, particularly at the trichordal level. Gideon’s only opera Fortunato, written in 1958, is also preoccupied by small-scale motives, despite the length of the work. Stephanie Jensen-Moulton has shown that the opera is constructed by saturating the musical language with motives from four main pitch collections: diatonic, octatonic, hexatonic and Avahah Rabbah. Gideon’s song cycle, Seasons of Time, written in 1970, was also found to be highly motivic in an early study by Ellen Dale Lerner. Lastly, in surveying Gideon’s work, fellow contemporaneous composer, Milton Babbitt remarked that motive music was ‘very familiar to Miriam ... that’s what obviously influenced her very music... she considered herself a motivic composer.’

Although motivic saturation was Gideon’s preferred style of composition, it stood out and was unusual when compared to the innovations that her fellow contemporary composers such as Milton Babbitt and George Perle were exploring. Composers pursuing the extension of harmonic practice looked to other techniques, including the development of twelve-tone music. Twelve-tone music refers to a method of composition whereby the twelve notes of the chromatic scale are treated

22 Hisama, Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon, 152. For Hisama’s full analysis see ibid., 137-62.
26 Hisama, Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon, 152.
equally and presented in a fixed order. In today’s usage it is often used interchangeably with the term ‘serialism.’

Schoenberg, most notably, developed this technique to include the transformative properties of prime (P), retrograde (R), inversion (I) and inversion retrograde (IR). The method was taken up by his pupils Alban Berg and Anton Webern and also later by Babbitt across the Atlantic, who used it as a staple technique in the majority of his compositional portfolio. A significant step in Schoenberg’s career, towards this transition, were the works that he composed with motives. For example, his work, *Five Piano Pieces*, Op. 23 was created by an approach which Schoenberg described as ‘composing with tones.’

The first piece of Op. 23 is filled with motivic elements. Each note is a member of a motivic group and every note is accounted for. A characteristic of this style of composition is that the design of the music is watertight and contains few extra additions to the structure, including trills, ornaments or appoggiaturas. By the fifth piano piece, ‘Waltz,’ Schoenberg tried to initiate an analogy to key by using one form of a row throughout the piece. The composer noted that musical themes, motives, accompaniment and chords were built from ‘a basic set of twelve tones.’ But while the theme did not consist of twelve notes, it was one of his first twelve-tone works, completed in July, 1920.

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30 Ibid., 153.

31 Neighbour, "Schoenberg, Arnold."
Twelve-tone music had a high profile in the American contemporary music scene during this period and was used mainly by those who were connected with institutional support. Gideon’s compositional colleagues such as Milton Babbitt, George Perle and Louise Talma, and older composers such as Aaron Copland altered their compositional approach to fit with the trends of this development.\textsuperscript{32} The twelve-tone movement and the extension of harmony was enriched by the immigration of European composers such as Schoenberg, Hindemith and Stravinsky who all resided in the United States from 1940 to 1945. Schoenberg stayed there until his death in 1951, Hindemith until his death in 1961 and Stravinsky until his death in 1971.\textsuperscript{33} This musical movement and its development was most prominently promoted by Babbitt who outlined his opinion in his radical, and often misunderstood, 1958 essay, \textit{The Composer as Specialist}, that was first mistakenly entitled \textit{Who Cares if you Listen}? The original title was applied to the original publication by an editor without Babbitt’s knowledge.\textsuperscript{34} He argued that music as a subject should be treated with the same seriousness as other scientific subjects. Just as the general public may not understand advanced chemistry, he thought that the concert-going public should not be expected to comprehend a difficult musical work. Music, he argued, should be reserved for study in an academic environment. The prevalence of twelve-tone composition was protected and encouraged in academic institutions. It is the particular musical transformative processes of P, R, I and IR to which Gideon was subsequently attracted and it will be shown later how this technique relates to the

\textsuperscript{32} Joseph N. Straus, \textit{Twelve-Tone Music in America} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xvii. In the previous decade this movement was advanced by the immigration of émigré European twelve-tone composers such as Ernst Křenek, Stefan Wolpe and Hanns Eisler.
trichordal design of Gideon’s vocal work, Epitaphs from Robert Burns (1952). In this context, ‘tonality’ refers generically to harmonic practice rather than to the system of diatonic keys employed in tonal music.

Twelve-tone music was also used by composers to associate themselves with, or against, communist ideologies. During the 1930s, Copland wrote music that was underpinned with strong diatonic tonalities to express a left-wing political view. As Straus indicated, the United States government took this seriously to the extent that, after the Second World War, the ‘CIA funded a number of new music groups, including groups that were closely involved with twelve-tone composition, as a form of propaganda war against Communism.’

Both motivic music and twelve-tone composition were designed with pre-composed material. The structure of the work had inherent predetermined qualities at the smallest level, such as choice of intervals in the motive. Pre-composition is not an unusual concept as it is found in all kinds of artistic activity, for example, the painter using a pre-selected palette before painting the definitive picture, and the composer using pre-conceived melodic structure to outline the thematic content of a composition. Pre-composition, in this sense, is an integral part of the way in which composers write music. However, what is interesting and exciting was the change in emphasis from broad, large scale, melodic structures in traditional composition, to the preoccupation of tonality in minute detail in the post-tonal tradition. The way in which Gideon composed Epitaphs from Robert Burns, in the year 1952, was striking. In the first piece of the song cycle, ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline,’ it will be

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35 For more, see Crist, Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland During the Depression and War.
36 Straus, Twelve-Tone Music in America, 231. Wallingford Riegger and Ruth Crawford Seeger composed twelve-tone music to position themselves politically and for Křenek and Dallapiccola, twelve-tone music was an expression of an anti-fascist regime.
shown that she composed the piece with a systematic technique and serial devices, employing the processes of transposition and inversion to trichords. Every note had a reason for being there, which was rather a particular type of aesthetic. In the second piece of the collection, ‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie,’ Gideon limits the expansion of the central motives. However, Gideon was consistently ambivalent about this style of systematic composition in her compositional portfolio. So why did she decide to compose in this way in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns*?

Gideon resisted and wrestled with the practice of adopting systemically pre-composed motives which composers closest to her had adopted. In her private diaries she referred to such compositional method as ‘Babbitts,’ indicating the serial method that her friend and former colleague from the Roger Sessions school, Milton Babbitt had developed since the 1940s:

-Goals on 2 levels e.g. desire for recognition of values of Babbitts while disdaining them and having other more profound values (dreams of Jill show this double scale) (So does dream of Mort. show desire to be recognized (obeisance) even tho I no longer desire or respect the recognizer) (Pique and relief) Desire to spare feelings of person in dream by not speaking out my perceptions is example of what I carry into waking life—perhaps I seem to protect myself.37

Gideon’s unease with the values of pre-structured compositions is evident from the contradictions within the text of this diary extract. She did not consider Babbitt’s musical world and all that he symbolised to be as of high worth as freely atonal music. But she had difficulties of reconciling these feelings with her own values. The words ‘desire to be recognised (obeisance) even tho I no longer desire or respect the recognizer’ uncover several conflicting issues. In her self-analysis of her dream, she

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37 Gideon, “Journal 2 Sp No. 348.”
found that she had a latent desire ‘to be recognised’ as a composer. However, in the same sentence she also acknowledges that she did not respect those who would bestow recognition on her, ‘even tho I no longer desire or respect the recognizer.’ To be a distinguished composer who received awards Gideon would most likely have to align her compositional style with the serial language of those composers who composed in the academy. These issues were of some importance to Gideon and her true feelings are mixed in with dream analysis and described in musical terms, ‘(dreams of Jill show this double scale).’

Her judgement was based on what she thought was important in tonality within the post-tonal tradition. Fellow composer, George Perle noted that Gideon’s musical reaction to the evolution of serialism was of concern for the ‘rightness’ of a particular note and motive:

Miriam Gideon’s reaction to this situation has been to concern herself with the pitch-value of every single note to an extraordinary degree, a concern that is reflected in every page she writes, and which persists long after a work is ‘completed,’ as her continual revisions bear witness. To her the inherent ambiguity of pitch-functions in the contemporary tone-material means that one must be more careful than ever, and this sense of the significance of every note pervades her work. A melodic or harmonic idea will recur with one or more individual elements inflected by a semitone, a shade of difference that may or may not have a large structural meaning but that imbues her music with a kind of personal, reflective quality, almost as though the composer’s search for the ideal formulation of her thought had become part of the composition itself.\(^\text{38}\)

Perle was an American composer and theorist who was attracted to the systematic approach of twelve-tone composition. His unique compositional sound was created by borrowing some of the concepts of serialism, such as set and inversion, but used

them to develop music that retained some hierarchy in tonality. Perle and Gideon were friends and had both studied composition with Roger Sessions around the same time during the 1940s. Perle published analyses of Gideon’s work including of her 1945 work, *The Hound of Heaven* and their work appeared together in a Paradox recording of cello and piano music in 1949 performed by Seymour Barab and William Masselos. Stephanie Jensen-Moulton has shown that the reception of Gideon’s music during the 1950s was considered in opposition to the serialism that many composers adopted during this era. The reviewer, Howard Taubman singled out her work *Fantasy on a Javanese Motive* from the other music on the disc such as Ben Weber and Anton Webern who had employed tone rows. In a recent interview, composer Milton Babbitt identified that, ‘the one who was closest to Miriam at that time was George Perle.’ Perle’s discussion of Gideon’s music is significant because it comes from a unique position of personal understanding of her compositional style.

Gideon’s concern with the value of systematic compositional methods also suggests that she was uncomfortable with the manner in which she exerted order over her music. Perhaps she understood, from her experiences of McCarthy politics, that strict power does not necessarily lend itself to free expression in music or people. In an interview with Linda Ardito in 1991 Gideon said:

40 Jensen-Moulton, ”Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 55.
41 Perle, ”The Music of Miriam Gideon.”
42 Jensen-Moulton, ”Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 52-53.
43 Ibid., 53.
44 See Howard Taubman’s review ‘Records: New Music: Old and Young Composers Among Many Represented in Recent Releases,’ New York Times, 22nd January, 1950. This was noted by Stephanie Jensen-Moulton in ibid., 53. The music of Henry Cowell was also featured on the recording. Ibid., 53.
45 Babbitt, ”Telephone Interview with Mary Robb.”
If I find that composers are relying so heavily on methods, I begin to wonder if they’ve got that much to say. Of course, everybody has something to say but it could be so minimal that they can be drowned in their fascination with methods.\textsuperscript{46}

Gideon’s public ambivalence for a systematic compositional approach continued throughout her life and she acknowledged this in interviews during the 1970s and the 1990s. In 1977 Judith Pinnolis asked the composer if she would describe her music as atonal. Gideon replied:

I think so. But I think I would use the term ‘free atonality.’ Something that means, or at least in my case means, I am not using any precompositional elements; that is, no row, no series. I have done it occasionally, but it doesn’t serve me at all. That is absolutely contrary to the way I feel. So since I can’t say that this is in such and such a key, you know, atonality is a very relative thing anyway... If you want to pin down any moment, you may find it’s tonal. But in [a] general way, I’d say it’s dissonant and without a basic key centre. And I feel it’s always highly charged harmonically. I kind of perceive things in a vertical construction. I tend to do that more than linearly.\textsuperscript{47}

Gideon articulated that she sought ‘more profound values’ than those exhibited by a highly structured approach. However, the striking paradox is that the first piece in \textit{Epitaphs from Robert Burns} is a highly dense work which is constructed out of a systematised musical scheme. Although she indicated that she did not favour this method, during the stressful political period of the early 1950s, she relied on a systematic approach in order to continue composing. It was, for

\textsuperscript{46} Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute," 211. Gideon singled out the twelve-tone and serialist methods of composition as a system which she found particularly restricting. She described a moment in which she tried composing in this idiom. She said in this interview: ‘I knew even when I was in the midst of writing the twelve-tone piece, which I tried writing as an experiment, that I could not subscribe to this kind of thing. But I thought I’d try it and that was the result. Of course I realise that people are very different and some people work better if they have a preconceived or preordained system and they follow it, and there’s plenty of freedom within that too. I simply cannot function that way and if I tell you that I write intuitively, I hope that my reader will understand.’ ibid., 211.

Gideon, a form of control and survival during her self-acknowledged bankruptcy of creative ideas. In the same way that she conformed to the political inclinations of her friends and husband, she also assumed the structural values of composition in her private musical work, from her colleagues. Gideon explained this paradox in her private diary with the words: ‘Difficult to “stay alive” –creatively one senses one’s “bank account” is running out and this may explain retreat of some into schools, techniques, etc.’ The word ‘retreat,’ in this context, suggests that using pre-composed material in a systematic way was for Gideon, a secondary choice and a formulaic method fit for a fall back option when creative energies were drained. Although Epitaphs from Robert Burns was composed with elements of serialism (the processes of transposition and inversion), the music itself is not ultra modernistic or dry. Rather, as it will be shown, her musical language is rich in meaning, flows freely and is a deeply personal response to her experiences during the McCarthy era.

48 Gideon, "Journal 1 Sp."
4.2 ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’

Figure 4.1 Text of ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’

*Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline*¹

Lament him, Mauchline husbands a’,²
He often did assist ye.
For had ye stayed hale weeks awa’,³
Your wives they ne’er had missed ye.
Ye Mauchline bairns,⁴ as on ye press
To school in bands togerther--
O tread ye lightly on his grass.--
Perhaps he was your father.

¹ a village in Scotland
² all
³ away
⁴ children

The protagonists in many of Burns’ poetry are often loosely based on a person that the poet knew. In the first piece in Gideon’s song cycle, ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline,’ the ‘wag’ to which Burns refers, was his witty friend James Smith (born 1st March 1765) who, for some time, kept a small draper’s shop in the village of Mauchline in Scotland.⁵⁰ His father died when Smith was young and he was brought up in his step-father’s rigid discipline. In this poem, Burns hints at some of the less desirable characteristics of his friend in an amusing way. The title of the epitaph contains the word ‘wag,’ which is a young man with womanising tendencies and the poem suggests that he was augmenting the population of Mauchline while

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⁴⁹ Gideon’s inclusion of a small glossary of words ‘translating’ the old Scots to modern English suggests that she intended the work to be performed to an international audience. It also implied that that the singer and the audience may not be familiar with the dialect and inflections of Burns’ old Scots language.

the husbands of the village were away. As will be shown, Gideon’s musical emphasis on the final line in this poem underlines to the listener, the impact and irony of the final phrase, ‘Perhaps he was your father,’ focusing on the activities and the consequences of the behaviour of the protagonist. Example 4.3 on the next page shows the full score for ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline.’
Example 4.3 ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ Full Score
The musical construction of ‘Epitaphs for a Wag in Mauchline’ is an indication of how Gideon’s desires for order in her daily life were reflected in the musical structures of her compositions. Control in the music manifests itself by Gideon limiting, throughout the piece, features such as, dynamics, pitch range and, most importantly, through her organisation of pitches. She chose trichord set classes 3-2 (013) and 3-5 (016) from the octatonic collection to permeate the entire work. The set classes do not originate from a particular phrase or motive. Rather, the inversions, transposition and interaction between these set classes were infused rigorously throughout the work. Gideon imposed systematic order in the placement of the trichord groups within the piece, as well as in the structure of the trichords themselves. From her very first formulations of the work she limited, isolated and controlled the design of the work right down to the smallest components of the piece.

4.2.1 Interval Structure

The construction of trichords was an intricate procedure that required careful planning. Gideon chose a closed interval structure and restrictive transpositional

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51 Throughout this thesis, all collections and their set classes, pitch class set and trichord group derivatives are referred to first by the name given by the theorist Allen Forte and second, by the prime form which is indicated by parentheses and no commas. In the latter, set classes are identified through the prime form of the normal form. The normal form is the most compressed way of writing a pitch-class set. For Forte’s classifications see Allen Forte, The Structure of Atonal Music (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), Appendix 1, 179. In this work, Forte devised a standardised way of naming set classes. On his list, each set class is identified by a pair of numbers, separated by a dash. As Joseph Straus noted, ‘The first number tells the number of pitch classes in the set. The second number gives the position of the set on Forte’s list. Set class 3-4, for example, is the fourth set on Forte’s list of three-note sets.’ See Joseph N. Straus, Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory, Third edition ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Pearson prentice Hall, 2005), 57. In this study, integers are also used to represent letter names of pitch classes. For example, C-D♭-E♭ is represented by integers 0-1-3. Integers 10 and 11 are replaced by T and E respectively. For clarity, section one in ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ refers to bars 1-4; section two refers to bars 5-8; section three refers to bars 9-12; and section four refers to bars 13-17. The separation of these sections is informed by the four distinct musical and the textual phrases within Gideon’s ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline.’

52 For the full trichordal design of Gideon’s ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline,’ see Appendix D.
qualities to tightly control the sound and structure of the trichords. Trichord pitch classes were chosen for their intervallic properties and connection to the octatonic collection. The two set class trichords used, and their transpositions and inversions, were subsets of the octatonic collection. This link provided the framework which connected the small cells together and created meaningful relationships between the tones. Trichords direct the style and sound of the piece. In particular, the octatonic collection or, 8-28 $\text{OCT}_{0,1}$ (0134679T) has limited intervallic properties and is generated in scale form by alternating whole tones and semitones. The interval class of the octatonic scale, therefore, can only be written in two ways, either beginning with the step of a semitone (1): 1-2-1-2-1-2-1 or beginning with a whole tone step (2) and alternating 2-1-2-1-2-1-2. Neither the tone nor the semi-tone in the octatonic collection predominates over the other and the continuity of the interval class gives the impression of unending circularity.

Gideon used these interval properties throughout the piece as an expanding motive. They were used to great effect in the final phrase of ‘Epitaph on a Wag in Mauchline’ from bars 13-16. The semitone whole tone alternation forms almost the entire vocal phrase, supporting the sentiments of the words. Only the interval of a major third in the third note from the end breaks this pattern: 1-2-1, 1-2-1, 2-1-2-1, to deliver Burns’ final punch line. Example 4.4 below depicts the musical realisation of

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53 Charles Wilson, "Octatonic," in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online (http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50590 Date accessed 12 April, 2010). Also see Straus, Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory, 144.

54 Jensen-Moulton, "Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 68. A further striking feature of the octatonic collection is that it is highly symmetrical (both transpositionally and inversionally) as it can only map onto itself four times: only three distinct transpositions are possible. For more on the octatonic collection and its features see Straus, Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory, 144.

55 See for example, the vocal line of bar 1 (A-B♭-C) and its repetition in bar 3. Also, the anacrusis in the vocal line to bar 5 (C-B-A- B♭-C) also adopts the 1-2-1-2 interval structure. The latter is later reversed in the vocal line at bars 10-11 (F-G-A♭-B♭-B) to create intervals of (2-1-2-1).
Gideon’s intervallic structure in the fourth section of ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline.’

Example 4.4 ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ Interval structure Bars 13-17

The intervallic limitations of the octatonic scale led Messiaen to define this collection as a ‘mode of limited transposition’ (1944).\textsuperscript{56}

4.2.2 Trichordal Structure

In ‘Epitaph for a wag in Mauchline’ Gideon does not state the octatonic collection in its complete form. Rather, she employed two chief trichordal subset structures from the collection to generate the entire pitch content of the piece.\textsuperscript{57} Her resolve to connect both trichords to this collection is a significant statement of control. The transpositional qualities of the octatonic subsets have restrictive qualities, as Joseph N. Straus pointed out:

\textsuperscript{56} Wilson, “Octatonic.” Gideon perhaps became familiar to this musical style directly from Bartók whom she had met in New York. For more on Gideon’s relationship with Bartók see Chapter 5 and Rosenberg and Rosenberg, The Music Makers, 64.

\textsuperscript{57} In a circumstance where a set contains all the pitch classes of another larger set, the smaller set is called a ‘subset.’ The larger set is called the “superset.” John Roeder, "Set (ii),” in \textit{Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online} (http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25512 Date accessed 14 April, 2010).
Each subset can be transposed at $T_0$, $T_3$, $T_6$, and $T_9$ without introducing any notes foreign to the collection. Conversely, it is possible to generate the octatonic collection by successively transposing any of its subsets at $T_0$, $T_3$, $T_6$, and $T_9$. If you take a major triad, for example, and combine it with its transposition at $T_3$ and $T_6$, and $T_9$ you create an octatonic collection.\(^{58}\)

These characteristics are vital to the construction of musical language in ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ and they also unify and specify the sound of the composition.

Gideon’s choice of pitch-class was a crucial stage in the composition of the piece. As Straus stated, pitch-class sets contain the intervallic structure and identifying characteristics of the work. They are the ‘basic building blocks of much post-tonal music’\(^{59}\) and form the structure of set classes. They also contain the identity of a musical idea which provides the thematic content at the smallest level and also contributes to the unique sound quality of the piece.\(^{60}\)

Set classes 3-2 (013) and 3-5 (016) share significant properties, which increase the potential for multi dimensional interaction throughout the piece. In particular, they share the interval structure of a semitone—a key characteristic of the octatonic collection. Through the interaction of these set classes (which always retain their intervallic properties), the semitone becomes a fundamental feature of the sound of the piece. Example 4.5 below shows the two set classes in their prime normal form side-by-side and depicts this intervallic property:

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\(^{58}\) Straus, *Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory*, 144.

\(^{59}\) Ibid., 33.

\(^{60}\) A set class contains a family of twelve pitch-class sets that have been inverted and transposed from normal prime form. Ibid., 53. Straus explained: ‘Pitch-class sets are the basic building blocks of music post-tonal music. A pitch-class set is an unordered collection of pitch-classes. It is a motive from which many of the identifying characteristic- register, rhythm, order- have been boiled away. What remains is simply the basic pitch-class and interval-class identify of a musical idea.’ Ibid., 33. For a further explanation see Straus’ chapter on ‘Pitch-Class Sets’ in ibid., 33-87. In this study of the first piece in Gideon’s *Epitaphs from Robert Burns*, the retrograde is not considered in the transposition or inversion of a set class, as the order is preserved with this function.
Example 4.5 ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ Intervallic Properties of 3-2 (013) $T_0$ and 3-5 (016) $T_0$ in Prime Normal Form

![Musical notation]

3-2 (013) $T_0$ 3-5 (016) $T_0$

The inclusion of the tritone in set class 3-5 (016) leaves limited potential for structural change. Only one pitch class differs when the normal form of the trichord is inverted and transposed. For example, Example 4.6 compares the prime form $T_0$ and its inversional equivalent $T_{11}$.

Example 4.6 ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ A Comparison of the Pitch Classes of $T_0$ and $T_{11}$ from 3-5 (016)

![Musical notation]

3-5 (016) $T_0$ $T_{11}$

The further twelve transpositions of $T_{11}$ maintain these intervallic properties where only one note differs. Gideon’s decision to use set class 3-5 (016) highlights the interval proportions she considered important to the piece. They are extremely restrictive and the consistent use of this set class in Gideon’s system also creates
cohesion and clear aural comprehension. It is striking that, in a piece whose duration is only seventeen bars, Gideon composed only with two sets of trichord set classes. By choosing to compose from a collection with limited interval structure and redundant transposition, she engineered significant musical control from the very start of the composition.

4.2.3 Controlled Interaction of Trichord Groups

The matrix of the twenty-four members of set classes 3-2 (013) and 3-5 (016) are used as a compositional resource to saturate the entire work. Gideon combined them carefully and systematically to create a coherent pitch sonority. The trichord groups not only form the structure of the vocal and piano parts, but also members of these set classes appear in a melodic cell, a chord, a large-scale structure, and by combining the piano and vocal lines together. They are varied by register, timbre, articulation and texture.

In this piece, the trichords are transposed and inverted in meaningful ways. Coherence is created by relationships among sets, within a set class and through systematic combinations of trichord placement. Every two bars contains a permutation of transposition and inversion of the set classes 3-2 (013) and 3-5 (016).61 They are often repeated more than once. Examples 4.7 and 4.8 below show this relationship on two levels: Firstly, on the level of interaction between the voice and piano and secondly, the four permutations in the vocal line alone.

61 Ibid., 59. For the full trichordal design of Gideon’s ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline,’ see Appendix D.
Example 4.7 ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ Showing the Four Levels of Permutation in Bars 1-2 in Both Hands

In bars 1-2, the four permutations $T_9$ and $T_{21}$ from set class 3-2 (013) and $T_3$ and $T_{81}$ from set class 3-5 (016) are structurally placed to overlap in multidimensional and systematic ways. $T_9$ engulfs the bottom, middle and top registers; $T_{21}$ encompasses the bottom and middle registers; $T_{81}$ is focused just on the middle register while $T_3$ is reserved for the top register. It is a very clear and methodological ordering of the four pitch classes.
Gideon also applied these principles separately to the voice and piano. Bars 5-6, shown in Example 4.8, depict a linear and systematic arrangement of a trichord transposition and inversion from set classes 3-2 (013) and 3-5 (016). The interaction of the four groups (transposition and inversion) of both set classes noticeably increases as the piece progress creating a dense network of operations. Continuity of this system creates a meaningful, aurally recognisable and rich network of musical relationships in both the background and foreground.

4.2.4 Controlled Trichord Exclusion and the Emphasis of Irony in the Ending

A further method by which Gideon exerted significant musical order in her work was through the exclusion of pitch classes and trichord groups through the piece. In particular, the vocal line in ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ is constructed

62 See Appendix D for the full trichordal design of Gideon’s ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline.’
in such a way that two new pitch classes are reserved and introduced in each section. In the first section, only six pitches (in this order, B♭, A, C, E♭, E and G♯) are used in bars 1-4 of both the piano and vocal part. The second section, bars 5-8 introduces pitch classes B and D♭ (in that order); section three, bars 9-12, adds F and G (in that order) and the final section, bars 13-17, reserves D and G♭ for the close of the piece.

Gideon considered the message of this poem important and drew special attention to it by indicating that the singer should practically whisper, ‘Perhaps he was your father’ as this final passage is marked ppp. The sense of drama and twist in the narrative is heightened by the question of paternity being whispered, as if to emphasise that this was an open, rueful secret in the village. The ironic denouement in the text is reinforced by Gideon’s choice of pitch classes at the end of the piece, which do not resolve satisfactorily into a cadence. It suggests that the question of paternity remained open and would never be answered, as the wag was dead. She isolates a unison descending B♭-A in the piano and vocal part which is unusually stark and emphasises simultaneously the sparseness of texture. These are the same two pitches that open the work, but here, at the close of the piece these musical indications mirror the whisperings of a secret, a rumour and an unkind but possibly true thought. In addition, the last three pitches of the vocal line B♭, A and F do not conform to the set class trichord system 3-2 (013) or 3-5 (016) that Gideon employed throughout the entire piece. The deviations from the set class system at this point and the meandering of the vocal line in bar 13, followed by the fermata in the preceding bar suggests unease. It highlights further the doubt and revelation posed by the text in the final two bars: ‘Perhaps he was your father.’ See Example 4.9 below.
The surprise of the words ‘Perhaps he was your father’ is also reinforced by the placement of new musical material at this moment. In the final two bars of the work (bars 16-17), five new forms of 3-2 (013) and 3-5 (016), are introduced that have not been heard before. In keeping with the systematic and ordered nature of the piece, Gideon reserved an inversion and transposition of both set classes for the ending. These are $T_6$, $T_{11}$ and $T_{3}I$ of 3-2 (013) and $T_8$ and $T_{4}I$ from set class 3-5 (016) and they perform an important musical function. Their inclusion at this important point in the piece suggests that this is part of Gideon’s wider systematic, pre-composed musical system. New musical material presented at the end of the work is a clever and controlled twist.

Burns was not sentimental in his references to the innocent in the poem, the children. Nor did he portray them as victims. However, to set up the paradigm of the ending, Gideon emphasised the consequences of the wag’s actions halfway through the piece. The word ‘bairns’ (children) is placed in a higher register with a subito $p$ setting in bar 9 when the second stanza of Burns’ text begins. The texture becomes
denser and Gideon’s treatment of trichords attracts aural importance, due to their duration, repetition and placement in this piece. From midway through bar 8 through to the end of bar 10, six notes appear as a cluster in the piano part. C-D♭-E♭-F-G♭-B are repeated four times during the course of three bars. From these six notes in the piano, seven trichord connections can be made. Gideon used trichords T₀, T₆I from set class 3-2 (013) and from set class 3-5 (016) and placed pitch-class sets T₀, T₅, T₁₁, T₀I and T₆I.⁶³ The repetition of this dense, six note cluster indicates the point at which the piece matures, consolidates and gathers musical momentum. See Example 4.10.

Example 4.10 ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ Six Note Cluster Bars 8-10

In bar 11, the density of Gideon’s pitch combinations continues. In the first two beats of bar 11, seven notes are articulated (C-D♭-E♭-F-A♭-B♭-B). The diversity of pitch classes in this short space is dramatic and intense. On beat three of bar 11,

⁶³ The large number of connections between the pitch-class sets is due to Gideon’s choice of trichord combinations.
the pedal F in the lowest register moves down a tone to an \( E^b \) occurring on the word ‘school.’ Sudden vocal leaps and the silence of rests have stopped in this phrase and the vocal range is condensed. See Example 4.11 below.

**Example 4.11 ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ Bar 11**

Burns has demonstrated in this text that irony and humour can be used to expose secrets that have been repressed. The ending of the poem holds a striking message, ‘Perhaps he was your father.’ Considering that this was an epitaph for the dead, the allegations against the wag, on one level can be considered insulting, as the deceased has no recourse of reply. The theme of death runs throughout *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* and its meaning in ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ holds a strong musical message. However, the most striking aspect of this piece is Gideon’s desire to seek greater order in the most intricate structures of her composition. It was contradictory to her more ambiguous freely atonal style of composition and motivic saturation in the central portfolio of her works. As the previous chapter showed, Gideon’s reaction to the external events of the McCarthy era was a particular and
personal response to adversity. She sought complete order in her professional behaviour and this manifested itself creatively as she amended and corrected the natural flow of her thoughts in her private diary. It is possible that this pattern of control, which resulted from her entry into inner exile, also extended to the meticulous order of structure in ‘Epitaphs for a Wag in Mauchline.’ The unusual change in direction of her compositional language indicates that it was a secondary choice of style and was indicative of her state of mind.

4.3 ‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie’

‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie’ is the second piece in Gideon’s song cycle. As Bentman noted, the real identity of the subject in Burns’ concise four line poem is not clear: ‘It is common to assume that Burns meant this for his own printer, John Wilson of Kilmarnock; but there was a bookseller in Mauchline, also of diminutive stature, named John Wilson.’64 What is known about this poem is that both of these characters were connected with books and possibly geographically related to the protagonist in the first of Gideon’s Epitaphs, who also lived in Mauchline. Gideon modified the poet’s original text shown on the right in Figure 4.2. She adapted the old Scot’s language to be suitable to American audiences, and also emphasised that the protagonist, ‘Wee Johnie’ had no soul.65

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64 Burns and Bentman, The Poetical Works of Burns, 54.
65 Epitaphs from Robert Burns was not the only poem that Gideon re-worked. Judith Pinnolis Fertig has demonstrated that Gideon re-worked a poem by the Catholic priest, Francis Thompson in her vocal chamber work The Hound of Heaven, symbolising Jewish personal response to the Holocaust. See Pinnolis Fertig, ”An Analysis of Selected Works of the American Composer Miriam Gideon (1906-) in Light of Contemporary Jewish Musical Trends”, 59. In Jensen-Moulton, ”Sparring with Fate:’ Miriam Gideon’s 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 93.
Figure 4.2 Gideon’s Translation and Burns’ Original Epitaph on ‘Wee Johnie’ in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Epitaph on Wee Johnie</em> (Gideon’s translation)</th>
<th><em>Hic jacet</em> wee Johnie (Burns’ Epitaph)66</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whoe’r thou art, O reader, know</td>
<td>Whoe’r thou art, O reader, know,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That Death has murdered Johnie.</td>
<td>That Death has murder’d Johnie,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And here his body lies full low,</td>
<td>An’ here his body lies fu’low-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For soul he ne’er, ne’er, ne’er had any.</td>
<td>For <em>saul</em> he ne’er had onie.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On several levels, Burns’ writing contains wry humour. In the second line, the idea that ‘Death has murdered Johnie’ is upside down. Murder is a cause of death, but here it is implied that Death itself was the reason that Johnie was deceased. The humour in this statement lies in the way in which the two ideas have been linked together and inverted. It is a distortion of the common, but somewhat meaningless phrase, ‘she/he has died a death.’ At another level, Burns implies that the character of Johnie was so poor and immoral that he did not have empathy or a soul. The sarcastic comment, on reflection, is quite a cruel statement. It is the latter which Gideon emphasised in her setting of Burns’ poetry to music, providing further, personal meaning in her interpretation of the original poem.

In the last line Gideon added two extra articulations of ‘ne’er’ while Burns’ original epitaph reads simply, ‘For *saul* he ne’er had onie.’ The additions of ‘ne’er’ upsets and elongates Burns’ precise rhyming scheme: the words ‘know’ and ‘low’ as well as ‘Johnie’ and ‘onie’ (any) rhyme and create a simple ABAB scheme. The pattern of metre, 7,8,7,8 also ensured comprehensibility of the text. In Gideon’s reading of the poem, she extended the meter of the last line to 12 rather than Burns’

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8. This established a loss of pace in Burns’ rhyming scheme and emphasised, in her compositional writing, that the Johnie did not have a soul. Example 4.12 on the next page shows the full score of ‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie.’
Example 4.12 ‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie’ Full Score
Burns drew attention to the ‘body’ and ‘soul’ by placing them in italics and emphasising the open vowel sounds. Gideon expressed this intention through her musical writing. In particular, she placed heightened harmonic emphasis on the words ‘for soul he ne’er’ which culminates in the climax of the poem. The words are treated to three sequential intervals of a sixth in an ascending motion (A-F, F-D and A-F♯) in the vocal line of bars 13-14. Supporting this in the piano part are major and minor thirds preceded with a *poco crescendo* to *subito pp*, allowing for maximum impact of the harmony. The pace of the piano part also slows. Placing emotion onto the protagonist was paradoxical to his character. Without a soul, Johnie was not fully human and lacked the full range of emotions. However, Gideon’s harmonic decisions depicted sympathy for the character of wee Johnie. This is also supported by the marking of ‘Tenderly’ at the beginning of the piece, indicating compassion and pity for the character, even though he was not worthy of a heart or soul. Using these particular harmonies as an anchor for this function was a unique decision for Gideon as the rest of the piece remains in her freely atonal style.

Her music has a quality of ambivalence, for example, between minor and major thirds. This was similar to the musical style of Benjamin Britten. George Perle noticed the similarities between the musical writing of these two composers and used this to persuade William Glock at the BBC to arrange a performance of Gideon’s 1950 song cycle, *Sonnets from Shakespeare*. In a letter to Gideon, Perle wrote of his successful conversation with Glock:
Here is what I told him about the FIVE Shakespeare Songs for SOPRANO, [trumpet] and string quartet:

1. It is the best American work of the last fifty years. (He said he would still be interested if it were the best of merely the last twenty-five years.)

2. That the British musical public especially would take to it.

3. That it’s the kind of thing B. Britten would like to write but can’t. 67

As has been shown earlier, a central characteristic of Gideon’s distinctive compositional language and wider repertoire is the expansion of motives in various dimensions. However, the writing in ‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie’ departs from her usual musical style. Rather than developing motives to create a coherent musical theme, Gideon, instead, repeats the main motives in their precise form without development. In particular, the musical ideas presented at the beginning of the piece appear at the end in an unaltered state. The two bar gesture in the piano part of bars 4-5 is later repeated exactly in bars 18 and 19. In addition, the highest voice of the piano part in bars 3-5 is re-articulated exactly in bars 17-19. See Examples 4.13 and 4.14 for comparison.

67 MGP-NYPL. Jensen-Moulton notes that the letter from Perle to Gideon is dated 6 July, but the year on the postmark is unreadable. In Jensen-Moulton, ”Sparring with Fate:’ Miriam Gideon’s 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 57. Perle had also managed to get Sonnets from Shakespeare performed in Italy around the 1950s. Jensen-Moulton notes that this information was found in a separate letter from Perle to Gideon, dated 21 December. Again, the year on the postmark is illegible. Ibid. She infers that the correspondence of both of these letters was around early 1950s as content of the letter discusses the newly composed work, Sonnets from Shakespeare written in 1950.
Example 4.13 ‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie’ Bars 3-5

Example 4.14 ‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie’ Bars 17-19

This design is exhibited throughout the piece. For example, the rhythmic frame of the vocal part in bars 6-7 remains unchanged in bars 12-13, despite two transformations of time signatures in between: 5/8 in bar 10 and 4/8 in bar 11. When the time signature returns to 6/8, the motive or rhythmic gesture is not expanded but simply presented again. See Example 4.15 for this comparison.
This style was rather detached from Gideon’s usual compositional writing of expanding motives. It also contrasts strongly with her treatment of motives in the previous *Epitaph*, ‘Epitaph on a Wag in Mauchline.’ But, by maintaining this framework, the piece has remained clean and steady, allowing the words and interesting harmonies to project. It is a further example of a continuing theme of caution in Gideon’s musical writing at this moment. Her musical language is ordered and not expanded and this reaction was also similar to the way in which she carefully ordered her thoughts in her private diary.

This measured reaction in music was also similar to her personal, professional response to the real life protagonists that so severely affected Ewen’s academic life in this year. In both cases, Gideon toned down and internalised her
public response. Her choice of poem in this *Epitaph* further emphasises a general statement about the treatment of individuals under difficult circumstances. Burns’ poem was a translation of a Latin epigram in *NugæVenales*, 1663, and can be interpreted as holding common truths of suffering and wrongdoing.

One of the only moments where Gideon wrote with full, unreserved emotion exists on a surviving fragment of paper in her archive, which is not included in her diary. This fragment sheds remarkable light on the immense emotional reaction she felt immediately after learning of Ewen’s forced resignation:

We demand to be self-appreciated seekers of Nature. When she is thrust upon us we are appalled—disgusted, bored (three frequent stages in a violent reaction) we build us a sardine can to live in and punch breathing holes thru the top. We mope.

Thus may we clothe [with] philosophic abstractions the sensations of he who has just been fired. First of all—to get down to brass tacks—we’re stunned with the unexpected fulfilment of our expectations—then we’ve been misused, unappreciated; next, well, it’s their look-out and their loss; and finally, what a huge relief—except that the forbidden [sic] leisure time which monetary pursuits have crowded out has lost its glamour completely. But joy upon joy there always comes the overpowering sense of the huge force in which we are etching out a caper.

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68 Of the Latin translation Raymond Bentman wrote, ‘It has further been denoted, by Chambers, that the trifle is literal translation of a Latin epigram in *NugæVenales*, 1663.’ In Burns and Bentman, *The Poetical Works of Burns*, 54.

69 Many of Robert Burns’ poems are politically oriented. The historian, Marilyn Butler, has determined that a high percentage of ‘at least twenty’ of the eighty or so poems which Burns published concerned current political events. See Marilyn Butler, “Burns and Politics,” in *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, ed. Robert Crawford (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 87. This theme appears in his poems such as *Address of Beelzebub* (108), written in 1786 (published in 1818), which highlights the anti-landlord and anti-aristocratic resentment, despite the land of opportunity in North America. Ibid., 91-92. Burns has also been reclaimed by the left to be a bard who had strong socialist values. Hugh MacDiarmid reported during the 1950s that Robert Burns’ work was evident in the ‘Iron Curtain’ countries of the Eastern bloc. When discussing the poet’s influence in the magazine, *Scottish Field* in 1959 he wrote: ‘Burns owes his vast reputation to the fact that, albeit imprecise and contradictory, he was on... the side of the poor and oppressed, the side of justice and mercy and peace.’ See Alan Riach, "MacDiarmid's Burns," in *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, ed. Robert Crawford (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 121. Gideon did not chose to highlight Burns’ proto-socialist views and this is aligned with her wider approach of not overtly commenting on current politics in her musical work.

70 MGP-NYPL. In Jensen-Moulton, “‘Sparring with Fate:’ Miriam Gideon’s 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 52. Italics are placed by the author.
Though this paper is officially undated, Gideon’s reference to her husband (‘he who has just been fired’) identifies this extract as probably having been written in 1952, the same year that she composed *Epitaphs from Robert Burns.* This valuable fragment is one of the very few surviving materials that described, without limitations, her situation in her own words, at this point. This rare, personal insight is an expression of Gideon’s state of mind at the time of writing as well as a literal description of the situation.

The writing style of the extract suggests that it had been written at once without stopping. Long sentence structures of three and six lines, broken up by semicolons, commas and em dashes are indicative of a long flow of thought, and of the writer not stopping to edit her language. This lies in direct contrast to many of her diary entries from this time, which show annotations or amendments to her free flowing thoughts in her psychoanalytic writing. At only one point in the long extract does Gideon limit her language. The word ‘forbidden’ is crossed out in the second paragraph indicating that, either she interrupted the flow of writing to correct a possible mistake, or she went back after completing the passage to amend it. In either case, Gideon had edited what had naturally flowed from her.

At the heart of this extract is compelling emotional imagery. Gideon does not separate her emotional response from the reality of her living situation, ‘we build us a sardine can to live in and punch breathing holes thru the top. We mope.’ The last sentence is short, clear and to the point: it only contains a noun and a verb. This image depicted a situation in which individuals had been silenced, metaphorically locked up and joy extracted from their lives. Although this situation is serious, the

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image of sulking in a sardine can is also quite humorous. The phrase is also ironic because the can suggests protection from further external events, but it also symbolises a place where creativity cannot thrive. Similarly, her description of boredom as the third stage in her reaction is also satirical: it is humorous to imagine that after feeling ‘appalled—disgusted,’ tedium could set in. It is as if Gideon has been processed in a factory.

Within Gideon’s frantic emotions she tried to create order by thinking through the positive opportunities that could come out of the forced retirement of her husband. Her description of ‘relief’ that the political events had finally culminated, and the prospect of carving out a new adventurous chapter in her life, is apparent in the final sentence of the fragment, ‘But joy upon joy there always comes the overpowering sense of the huge force in which we are etching out a caper.’ Although the words ‘joy upon joy’ are ironic, the resilience of Gideon’s approach is the prevailing theme and was also evident in her compositional writing. ‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie’ concludes on a major third, hinting at Gideon’s thoughts of resolution.

Evidence of heightened emotion or even humour in Gideon’s interviews and writings in the public domain are rare. The words written on the fragment of paper are the exception as her descriptions of turmoil are overlain with deep imagery. Contrastingly, this emotion is only hinted at, and is much more muted, in ‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie.’ In her piece, emotion was not a reckless, spontaneous moment of emotion but shows a calculated and somewhat guarded approach. Her cautious display of emotion in this piece can be considered to mirror her usual diary style (which at points limited her natural flow of writing) and her lack of display of emotion in public. The lack of development in the motives of this piece is an unusual
step away from the free expression of atonality that is usually prevalent in Gideon’s preferred style of compositional language. Her musical reaction was similar to that of ‘Epitaphs for a Wag in Mauchline.’ Although Gideon took a different musical approach in each composition, the structure of both pieces stemmed from a desire for order in her disordered world.

4.4 ‘Epitaph on the Author’

Figure 4.3 Text of ‘Epitaph on the Author’ in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952)

*Epitaph on the Author*

He who of Rankine sang lies stiff and dead,
And a green, grassy hillock hides his head.
Alas, alas, a devilish change indeed!

The third poem in Gideon’s song cycle, ‘Epitaph on the Author’ was written about Burns’ friend John Rankine of Ayrshire, who was a farmer at Adamhill, which was in the parish of Craigie and near to Lochlie in Scotland. Burns creates ironic humour in the poem through a play on his friend’s line of work in farming. The subject, Rankine, no longer works on top of the land but now finds himself underneath it. The placement of the words ‘Alas! alas!’ in this context is sarcastic and crucial to setting up the final punch line, ‘a devilish change indeed!’ In addition, the original Scots rhyming pronunciation of ‘deid,’ (dead), ‘heid’ (head) and ‘indeed’ at the end of each line rhyme and propel the momentum of the poem forward, allowing the final line to roll off the tongue easily. Although Burns may have found this reversal in fortune amusing, in reality it describes part of the normal lifecycle of

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72 Burns and Bentman, *The Poetical Works of Burns*, 50.
death and burial. There is less overt irony in this epitaph than in the two preceding poems. Example 4.16 on the page shows the full score of ‘Epitaph on the Author.’
In the subject of death Burns found humour, but there was a darker side to this poem too. He wrote this epitaph on his deathbed and it was forwarded to Rankine after the author had passed away.\textsuperscript{73} Although Rankine and Burns were friends, with the poet referring to him as an ‘honest man,’\textsuperscript{74} this three line epitaph is almost completely void of the personality of the deceased. There are few identifying features of his character or who he might have been. Even Rankine’s face is disguised in the poem, ‘hillock hides his head’ with the alliteration on the letter ‘h’ emphasising the emptiness of the protagonist’s personality.

Gideon’s interpretation of this epitaph took a different approach to that of the first two epitaphs in her song cycle. Here she treats the individual, Rankine, as the poem’s raison d’être and emphasises his human qualities through her musical writing. The only information known about Rankine is the following found in the first line of the epitaph: ‘He who of Rankine sang.’ Gideon draws the listener to this snippet of character by elongating the word ‘sang’ to cover two and half beats in bar 3. The change of time signature and elongation of the rhythm in the left hand provided a distance between the first and second half of the opening line, drawing the listener’s attention to the subject’s personal characteristics. The importance of these words is indicated by the loudest dynamic marking of \textit{forte} in the piece. Further attention is drawn to the word ‘sang,’ as the accented tie from bar 2 creates a natural diminuendo in the musical gesture in the right hand of the piano.

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 198.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 50.
The loss of life and the emphasis on the individual are highlighted by the marking at the top of the work, ‘Gravely’ indicating a slow tempo of crotchet = ca. 60. Gideon also implemented a systematic decreasing dynamic gradient from forte at the beginning of the piece, to mf midway through the work (marked in the anacrusis to bar 6) and finally leading to pp subito in the penultimate bar. This use of a diminishing dynamic is akin to a person passing away peacefully. To make this effective, Gideon replaced Burns’ sarcastic ‘Alas!’ in the anacrusis to bar 8 with an indication of a subito p and followed by a swift decrescendo to pp in bar 9. Burns’ punch line ‘a devilish change indeed!’ is barely audible. These devices shift the focus away from the poet’s dark humour and towards a more open, traditional interpretation of an epitaph, indicating the end of life.
Gideon’s setting of Burns’ poetry in her song cycle attracted criticism at the piece’s first New York performance at Carnegie Hall in 1959. In a program of vocal music that included works from Webern, Babbitt and other contemporary composers, the critic Eric Salzman found that ‘Burns’ ironic humour was missed altogether,’ but he did not attempt to explain why he felt this was the case. Thus far

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75 Salzman, “Shirley Sudock Offers Modern Songs at Carnegie Recital Hall.” In Jensen-Moulton, “Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon’s 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 62. Of Gideon’s work, Salzman also wrote, ‘more than the above works, these songs are carefully arranged so that the singer has few difficulties in pitch. The result was that the piano part usually seemed more interesting than the vocal line.’ As Jensen-Moulton pointed out, Salzman’s negative comment that the piece was easily sung, without artistic compromise, was one of Gideon’s greatest compositional strengths. The limited vocal range and other features, such as the short length of the piece (one minute), cleverly concealed the dense structure of the work. In the liner notes to the recording of Epitaphs Salzman later wrote that Gideon’s works, written immediately after the Second World War, were ‘representative of the composer’s growing creative maturity.’ See Miriam Gideon, Retrospective (Liner notes by Eric Salzman. New World Records Recorded Anthology of American Music, 80393-2, 1990). Alongside writing reviews for the New York Times Salzman was also, ‘a composer, writer and artistic director of the American Music Theatre Festival.’ ibid.
it has been shown that Gideon’s musical interpretation of Burns’ text, in some ways, actually enhanced the sardonic humour. She did not miss the irony of Burns’ poetry but she does address the more serious undertones of the whole song cycle, the theme of death and dying.

Her musical interpretation of the poem further draws the listener to acknowledge the qualities of the deceased and perhaps remind audiences of their own mortality. Hiding the head of the deceased can be considered to be a parody of society’s reaction to death: in both cases, the subject is avoided, out of sight and out of mind. Confronting death is uncomfortable in western society. Gideon extends the discomfort further by composing a brief quaver pause, in the penultimate bar (bar 10) and changing the time signature to 5/4 to elongate the rhythm of the lonely upwards gesture in the final bar. This last gasp, followed by a calando marking, instructing the music get softer and die away provides a moment of reflection for the listener, and also perhaps, for Gideon herself.

‘Epitaph on the Author’ was written from the point of view of working and living in a society that had, effectively, rejected her professionally. The title of this third piece is reflective of Gideon’s musical response to her loss of autonomy. Taken literally, the title suggests that her creativity had come to an end: in her writings she had recorded that she felt she was artistically bankrupt at this particular stage in her life. An epitaph is a citation written after death and this title has a certain irony. Gideon was neither dead nor had she stopped composing, although her output did diminish during her period of living under inner exile. By choosing this title, ‘Epitaph on the Author,’ it is almost as if Gideon was suggesting that she was creatively dead.
Additionally, Gideon perhaps also identified herself with the protagonist, Rankine. Both had significantly lost their identity; Rankine was buried and had no living physical presence in the village any longer. Only memories and the words of this epitaph linger on and this does not project him to have any obvious personality. This probably coincided with Gideon’s view of herself, shown in the previous chapter, as losing her independence as a composer, a teacher and a wife. The fact that Rankine is described as being a singer may also have been another resonance for Gideon, as a musician. By reinterpreting Burns’ intentions in the poem Gideon also re-articulated and personalised the work, by asserting her identity as a composer. Her re-interpretation could easily have been entitled ‘Epitaph on the Composer.’

4.5 ‘Monody on a Lady Famed for her Caprice’

The final piece in Gideon’s song cycle is the only one that concerns a female protagonist. The character in ‘Monody on a Lady Famed for her Caprice,’ upon whom Burns based this poem, was his friend, Maria Riddell, the daughter of William Woodley, Commander and Governor of St. Kitts and the Leeward Islands. The poet was fond of Riddell and had written her a song in her honour, but his drunken and lewd behaviour one night at a party led to a temporary loss of their friendship. ‘Monody on a Lady Famed for her Caprice’ was written after their friendship was finally renewed. The poem consists of five stanzas followed by the ‘Epitaph,’ but

76 Burns and Bentman, The Poetical Works of Burns, 178.
77 During the period of a break in their friendship, Riddell had been the subject of some ill-themed works. The day after the party, Burns wrote an apologetic letter to Riddell ‘from the regions of hell, amid the horrors of the damned.’ He added ‘To the men of the company, I will make no apology:—Your husband, who insisted on my drinking more than I chose has no right to blame me; and the other gentlemen were partakers of my guilt.’ ibid., 179.
78 Ibid., 196.
Gideon chose not set Burns’ entire poem and cut to the heart of the dark sentiments of the poem by removing four stanzas. The text that she selected to set to music is shown in Figure 4.4 and is followed by the text in its original form in Figure 4.5.

**Figure 4.4 Text of ‘Monody on a Lady Famed for her Caprice’**

*Monody on a Lady Famed for her Caprice*

How cold is that bosom which folly once fired,
How pale is that cheek where the rouge lately glistened.
How silent that tongue which the echoes oft tired,
How dull is that ear which to flatter’y so listened.
Here lies now a prey to insulting neglect,
What once was a butterfly gay in life’s beam.
Want only of wisdom denied her respect,
Want only of goodness denied her esteem.

**Figure 4.5 Original Text of ‘Monody on a Lady Famed for her Caprice’**

**MONODY**

*On a Lady Famed for her Caprice*

I
How cold is that bosom which Folly once fired!
How pale is that cheek where the rouge lately glistene’d!
How silent that tongue which the echoes oft tired!
How dull is that ear which to flatt’ry so listen’d!

II
If sorrow and anguish their exit await,
From friendship and dearest affection remov’d
How doubly severer, Maria, thy fate!
Thou diedst unwept as thou lavedst un-love’d
III
Loves, Graces, and Virtues, I call not on you:
So shy, grave, and distinct, ye shed not a tear.
But come, all ye offspring of Folly so true, and flowers let us cull for Maria’s cold bier!

IV
We’ll search through the garden for each silly flower,
We’ll roam thro’ the forest for each idle weed,
But chiefly the nettle, so typical, shower,
For none e’er approach’d her but rued the rash deed.

V
We’ll sculpture the marble, we’ll measure the lay:
Here Vanity strums on her idiot lyre!
There keen Indignation shall dart on his prey,
Which spurning Contempt shall redeem from his ire!

THE EPITAPH
Here lies, now a prey to insulting neglect,
What once was a butterfly, gay in life’s beam:
Want only of wisdom denied her respect,
Want only of goodness denied her esteem.

Gideon’s selection of text underlines the irony that Burns presented in the poem. By précising the text she juxtaposed a seemingly complimentary description of Riddell in the first stanza with an increasingly less flattering view by the second. The opening of the poem suggests that the subject was gregarious (‘that bosom which folly once fired’) and that she took care of her appearance (‘the rouge lately glistened’). However, by the third line Burns hints that her sociability was irritating (‘How silent that tongue which the echoes oft tired’) and that she did not mind flattery (‘How dull is that ear which to flattr’y so listened’). The description of the protagonist becomes further embittered by the second stanza and might reflect Burns’ resentment about the events that led to a temporary break in their friendship. The full score is shown on the following two pages in Example 4.19.
Example 4.19 ‘Monody on a Lady Famed for her Caprice’ Full Score
At the heart of Gideon’s interpretation of Burns’ poem is her assertion of respect and value for the dead woman ‘famed for her caprice.’ These sentiments appear in bar 32-40 with Burns’ words ‘want only of wisdom denied her respect, want only of goodness denied her esteem.’ Gideon sets these words to music literally and forcefully. She emphasises the first line of these words by limiting them to one note in the vocal line—a low B natural. Each of the eleven syllables in the vocal line are articulated against a repeating major seventh E/F interval pedal resolving to octave F’s in the left hand of the piano each time this motive appears. See Example 4.20.

Example 4.20 ‘Monody on a Lady Famed for her Caprice’ Bars 32-36

A return of the principles of the octatonic collection in the following line, ‘want only of goodness denied her esteem’ leaves no uncertainty to the message Gideon is portraying here. She indicates that the protagonist was not given the admiration she deserved. Gideon translated and reinforced this message into a musical context by presenting an octatonic scale, but denying it its full complement of notes. The upwards movement in the octatonic scale form is 8-28 OCT₁₂.
Bars 37-40 contain this scale with the exclusion of a B♭ in the vocal line. A busy and complicated piano part complements the vocal line. Example 4.21 and Example 4.22 compare the similarity of the vocal scale to that of the octatonic collection, OCT_{1,2}.

Example 4.21 ‘Monody on a Lady Famed for her Caprice’ Bars 37-40

Example 4.22 OCT_{1,2} in Scale Form

\[ \text{OCT}_{1,2} [1,2,4,5,7,8,t,e] \]

The emphasis, of the way this near octatonic sequence in the final line is presented, is far removed from the meandering lines of the first piece, ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline,’ in this song cycle. Each tone of the upward moving scale in bars 37-40 is highlighted by an indication of a large crescendo to ff, a ritardando and accents
placed on the last five notes in the piano part. This emphasis of the last word ‘esteem’ reinforces Burns’ rhyming phrase. In his ABAB scheme ‘esteem’ rhymes with ‘beam’ (‘what once was a butterfly gay in life’s beam’).

Gideon’s interpretation of the final stanza contains powerful emotional imagery and seems to parallel the feelings and frustrations that she experienced as composer at this point. In her music compositions, Gideon had the opportunity of being able to express herself freely, even if she was unable to do so outwardly in her daily life. She acknowledged this by the following statement in her diary, ‘-I have no autonomy in many spheres (in music I have——) act only when permission is given.’ Her indications of suppression in other areas, except music, are significant as creative space was a precious resource during difficult times. The final piece in _Epitaphs from Robert Burns_ embodied these private thoughts and ideas; it was under these repressive circumstances that ‘Monody on a Lady famed for her Caprice’ was conceived and composed.

Some parallels can be drawn between Gideon’s musical interpretation of Burns’ poetry and her difficult experiences at this time, particularly in the second stanza of the poem. The hammering of Burns’ phrase, ‘want only of wisdom denied her respect’ are marked _p subito_, and may well mirror Gideon’s inability or reluctance to express herself freely in public. The structure of this passage is analogous to the repeated, and insistent, political attempts to label her as the wife of a communist sympathiser. The female protagonist has been neglected and insulted: Gideon had been considered as a composer and an artist but now her identity was linked with the political activity of her husband. The protagonist was happy as a

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79 Gideon, “Journal 2 Sp No. 348.”
butterfly but is no more: Gideon was happy in her employment but was effectively
forced to leave academia. The female protagonist has lost her respect: Gideon was
shunned by the establishment. Finally, the protagonist has lost her esteem: this was
certainly was also the case for Gideon, as evidenced in by her writings in her private
papers. Burns’ words are rich in emotion and imagery, but the personal, musical
voice belongs to Gideon, herself.

4.6 Conclusion

An examination of Gideon’s song cycle, *Epitaphs from Robert Burns*, has
demonstrated that the work is an engaging song cycle that provides insight into how
she was able to compose despite living under inner exile. The themes of the text are
filled with irony and contain a central theme of death in all four songs. Yet, there is
an underlying optimism within the work, both musically and in the text. On one
level, her choice of text and interpretation of Burns’ poems reflects the low point in
Gideon’s professional and personal life in 1952. Gideon may have had similar
feelings to those expressed by Burns through the characters, particularly in ‘Epitaph
on the Author’ and ‘Monody for a Lady Famed for Her Caprice.’ Her loss of identity
and the sentiments of the third piece in the collection, ‘Epitaph on the Author,’
particularly sums up Gideon’s sense of helplessness in her political situation and the
loss of confidence in her ability to compose accomplished music.

However, despite the seriousness of her situation, Gideon did choose poems
that contained some ironic humour, which she brought out in her musical treatment
of the text. This suggests that Gideon had good insights into her difficult predicament
and she had not lost her sense of humour altogether. She recorded in her private diary
that she felt creatively bankrupt, but despite this was able to produce a reflective and musically concise work. It may well have been an attempt to make light of her difficulties in her professional and domestic spheres. Wit works best when shared with others, rather than with oneself. Humour is not a feature in her private diaries but, in contrast, some humour is present in the song cycle. Her musical interpretation of the text emphasises a sense of ruefulness and may have been a mechanism for release of tension.

At another level, the stylistic choices that Gideon made in the structure of her music indicate that this was a difficult year for her. Repeating motives, rather than developing them, in ‘Epitaph on Wee Johnie’ and treating trichords with systematic serial processes of transposition and inversion in ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ was not her usual approach to composition. As Gideon indicated in interviews throughout her life, she did not place much value on this way of composing. However, she used this secure and stable approach to overcome a period of creative difficulty. Gideon appears to have sought order in her inner thoughts, as recorded in her personal diaries, and correspondingly may very well have sought stability in her compositional writing. The highly structured approach in this composition is probably a reflection of Gideon’s response to inner exile.

Gideon’s stylistic choices within this piece indicate that she was strongly influenced by the compositional devices of her teacher, Roger Sessions. Composing with close attention to the systematic treatment of pre-composed motives was a trend of the twelve-tone movement. This was developed in various ways by her fellow composers who studied in group classes together in the 1940s. Gideon’s experimentation with this approach demonstrates the scope and wide-ranging use of
serial principles within the post-tonal tradition in New York City. While this was not Gideon’s preferred approach to composition, nevertheless she used these techniques to write a compelling work which did not fit into either abstract expressionism or ultra-modernist music. The music within this song cycle is a valuable statement as her freely atonal style is still evident within the structures of the techniques that she used. It will be shown in the next chapter that Gideon began to emerge musically out of her inner exile and transitioned into the next stage of her career.
CHAPTER 5:
TOWARDS EXITING INNER EXILE

ALTERED STEPS TO ALTERED STATES (1953):
A PIANO COMPOSITION

In 1953, Gideon was on the verge of being removed from her teaching posts at Brooklyn College and City College in New York City. Her employment status was becoming increasingly insecure and daily life in the academy was a difficult environment in which to teach. The previous chapter has shown how Gideon was able to produce an engaging song cycle, despite living under political duress and in a state of inner exile. Her reaction to this repression was to seek order in her personal life and this was reflected in her approach to compositional techniques in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns*. This mechanism, combined with her use of humour, were an indication that Gideon sought ways in which to cope with her adverse political situation. This chapter considers to what extent she initiated a more permanent change in her circumstances away from life in an academic setting, to composing in a musical world outside of the academy. An examination of her piano work, *Altered Steps to Altered States* written in 1953 shows, on several levels, that she sought this change. Significantly, the piece was written in between two major events. It was written one year after the completion of *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* and Ewen’s forced retirement from his teaching post (1952), and one year before her teaching contract was not renewed at Brooklyn College.
During the early 1950s, the number of Gideon’s larger scale compositions decreased significantly whilst under political investigation. Yet, in 1953, a high proportion of Gideon’s piano works were composed during that period. Two out of three of her works were piano compositions, comprising the first three movements of *Altered Steps to Altered States, Six Cuckoos in Quest of a Composer* (both for piano) and the third, *Symphonica Brevis*, an orchestral work. The orchestral piece was commissioned by City College, the very institution that would summon Gideon to appear before a McCarthy committee in the following year. These works for piano were a change of compositional direction from the majority of her portfolio which, to date, had mainly comprised works for voice in various genre settings. George Perle observed, as early as 1958, that Gideon was ‘moved by poetry and great prose almost as much as by music.’

*Altered Steps to Altered States* was a piano work that was composed with an instructional element for the less experienced pianist. This work contrasted with Gideon’s preferred genre of songs and with the serious style of music composition that was thriving in an academic setting. She abandoned the systematic treatment of pre-composed material that she had used previously in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns*.

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1. This was a common phenomenon in artists who created works under constraints. For example, Copland’s large scale pieces also diminished during his political difficulties. Jennifer Lois DeLapp, “Copland in the Fifties: Music and Ideology in the McCarthy Era” (Thesis (PhD), Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1997), 178.

2. *Symphonica Brevis* was premiered on 16th May, 1953. Chodacki, "Miriam Gideon, a Classified Catalog of Compositions", 38. Also see the Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions detailed in this thesis.

3. For evidence of this see the Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions.

4. Perle, "The Music of Miriam Gideon," 5. Gideon described her eighteen-year-old self as: ‘already addicted to poetry,’ For full quotation see Page, "Gideon and Talma at 80-Composers and Neighbours." In Jensen-Moulton, "Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 25. Many others have commented on Gideon’s love and inspiration for writing music from poetry including J. Michele Edwards, "Review: [Untitled]," *American Music* 14, no. 2 (Summer, 1996): 244. Music preserved in Gideon’s archive shows that she set music to texts by writers such as Siegfried Sassoon, Paul Engle, E. E. cummings, James Joyce, Archibald MacLeish, Shakespeare, Robert Herrick and her husband, Ewen. See for example, her song cycle, *The Resounding Lyre* with text by F. Ewen, S. von Trimpberg and Heinrich Heine. MGP-NYPL, box 8 folder 16-17.
and adopted a more open treatment of motives and thematic content. What was the reason for Gideon’s reorientation of instrumentation and attraction toward writing an educational work? Was it an attempt to secure her future in a musical world outside the academy that offered a more flexible approach to musical style? Furthermore, what does this tell us about Gideon’s transition out of inner exile? The arguments presented in this chapter continue the themes outlined in the previous two chapters; that creative works reflect the social circumstances in which they are created.

5.1 A Musical World Outside of the Academy

Gideon’s teaching posts in academic institutions were her main form of regular employment. However, she was also familiar with a second musical world in which distinguished composers earned their living outwith an academic position. Many musicians in this group, such as Gideon’s former compositional teachers Roger Sessions and Lazare Saminsky, wrote piano music for children and considered it an essential, and responsible, part of being a composer. Both composers published intricate piano pieces for young children. Saminsky, in collaboration with Isadore Freed, edited a volume of eighteen newly commissioned works for student pianists entitled Masters of Our Day that was first published in the 1950s.5 It was unusual for its time because it commissioned works from established contemporary composers such as Aaron Copland,6 Henry Cowell,7 Darius Milhaud, Lazare Saminsky, Randell

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6 Copland contributed two pieces to this collection, Sunday Afternoon Music and The Young Pioneers. Masters of Our Day: 18 Solos in the Contemporary Idiom for the Young Pianist Vol. 1.
Thompson⁸ and Virgil Thomson. Each piece had an educational aim such as an exploration of the pentatonic scale or five-finger staccato passages,⁹ but the difficulty was minimal and the harmonies were mature—a perfect balance for a contemporary music piece for a real beginner.¹⁰ One of Sessions’ contributions to piano music for children was published alongside twenty-nine other pieces by nineteen promising American composers including Vivian Fine, Miriam Gideon and Joseph Prostakoff,¹¹ all of whom were students of both Sessions and the piano teacher and pedagogue Abby Whiteside. They contributed to a volume entitled Contemporary American Piano Music which was compiled in 1956 by Joseph Prostakoff and George Perle and which had similar aims to that of Saminsky and Freed’s publication.¹²

Historically, this approach to composition stemmed from a particular tradition of music education. For years, many distinguished composers had written

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⁷ Cowell wrote Irishman Dances (1935) for the collection. The fifths in the bass of the piano part suggested pipe drones. Ibid., 22.
⁸ Thompson contributed two pieces to this collection, Song After Sundown which uses the dorian mode and Prelude (both 1935) which was written in a neo-classical style with minor seconds and the crossing of the hands. Ibid., 28.
⁹ Douglas Moore composed a minuet structure in his piece, Careful Etta and his other works contained derivatives of the mixolydian mode. Ibid., 13. Darius Milhaud’s contribution to this volume was a 1941 pentatonic work titled Touches Noires (black keys). The companion piece to this was titled Touches Blanches (white keys) ibid., 4. The editors included some small supplementary editorial notes written at the top of each piece to explain the broad musical organisation of each individual piece.
¹⁰ The volume also took care to include ‘American’-derived music such as Fiddlin’ Joe, an old New England folk dance, adapted by Douglas Moore. Very few American composers in the 1950s wrote music for children and even fewer provided American folk melodies in their volumes. Freed and Saminsky both understood the market for this edition and secured an American identity for the volume to make it distinct from their European competitors that were published in the United States. Interestingly, neither Freed nor Saminsky were from the United States.
¹² It is unknown what works by these composers were included in Prostakoff’s Contemporary American Piano Music. A library search of www.worldcat.org in December 2010 uncovered only one copy of this volume in existence, located in Germany. In a review of Prostakoff’s 1963 publication New Music for the Piano the author noted that ‘All works are published for the first time’ and were recently composed for the edition. See Thomas Nichols, “Review: [Untitled],” Notes 21, no. 3 (Summer, 1964).
successful music for children, such as Elgar’s *Nursery Suite*, and Mendelssohn’s *Children’s Pieces Op. 72*. However, there are very few historical pedagogical educational volumes for children, or inexperienced players, that undertook the rigours of composing beginner works for piano and were underpinned by a strong creative aesthetic. Schumann’s *Album for the Young* op. 68 and J. S. Bach’s *Notebook for Anna Magdalena Bach* are exceptional examples of keyboard work that also contain quality musical teaching pieces for younger students, whilst also teaching points of technique.

The trend in writing piano pieces for children with musicality at the fore, rather than predominantly technical considerations, was not solely the province of contemporary American composers. For example, Béla Bartók’s *Mikrokosmos* is one of the best known piano pedagogical volumes for the less experienced player. The work is a six volume collection of 153 progressive piano pieces and thirty-three

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15 Gillies, "Bartók in America,” 190. *Mikrokosmos* was composed over many years. Bartók began work on a piece of music that would later become part of the *Mikrokosmos* collection on 31st October, 1926. He completed the pieces that would appear in the first volume, at the very end of the process in June 1939. The word, *Mikrokosmos*—‘Little World’—can be interpreted equally as a musical world of different styles for little children or as a collection of works that represents a small world. Suchoff, *Bartók's Mikrokosmos: Genesis, Pedagogy, and Style*, ix. Bartók stated this interpretation of the title in an interview for New York City radio interview broadcast on 2nd July, 1944. Each piece in the volume is short in length so as to accommodate the concentration span of a young piano student. The collection also contains a variety of musical genres including musical homages to Bach (no. 79), Schumann (no. 80) and Couperin (no. 117). See Christine Brown, *Bartók's Mikrokosmos: A Guide for Piano Teachers* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1988), 11. Many of the pieces in the collection were inspired by folk melodies using modes such as aolian and dorian but were reworked to contain the composer’s own original modernist fingerprint.
exercises suitable for all levels of experience and was published in 1940. Gideon had met Bartók in New York City during the 1940s when he emigrated to the United States. As will be demonstrated later in this chapter, her composition for children, *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953), shares similar compositional procedures with those of Bartók, which aligned her work with the techniques of composers who operated outside of the academy. Their educational works were succinct, musical and had a technical message that was accessible to the most inexperienced, and yet, could be performed credibly on the concert platform, because of their mature content. Furthermore, both works were composed after a change in their circumstance. They had been used to teaching advanced students but both adapted musically by refocusing their compositional repertoire towards the less experienced player, usually children.

The widening gap between composers within the academy and those working outside an academic environment is illustrated by the relationship between Gideon and Babbitt. Although both composers had been taught the same musical values from Sessions, they held strong, contrasting opinions on a composer’s role and responsibilities to music education. Part of the reason for this divergence was that writing piano music for children, or less experienced players, was generally not done

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16 Benjamin Suchoff, *Béla Bartók: A Celebration* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 23. When preparing the piano volumes for publication Bartók proposed that it should include illustrations, indicating that these pieces were intended for children. Ibid., 85.

17 *Mikrokosmos* was conceived over a period of thirteen years, formatively as an aid to help Bartók’s younger son, Peter with his musical development. He had been dissatisfied with Peter’s instruction in his mandatory singing classes at school and had taken it upon himself to personally attend to his son’s education. Gillies, "Bartók in America," 190. Bartók had previously generally only accepted advanced students, eventually accumulating twenty-five years of teaching as Professor of Piano at the Academy of Music in Budapest. Suchoff, *Bartók’s Mikrokosmos: Genesis, Pedagogy, and Style*, 12. As Peter’s experience grew, Bartók also noticed that there was insufficient wider material for beginner pianists that were of real musical value. He composed other early piano pedagogical works out of this concern. Of the eighty-five pieces he wrote for a collection entitled *For Children* (1908-09) Bartók said: ‘This idea originated in my experience as a piano teacher; I had always the feeling that the available material for beginners has no real musical value, with the exception of very few works.’ Ibid., 13. Bartók had also composed Ten Easy Pieces for Piano in 1908.
in academic settings because this type of work was not likely to be recognised by prestigious awards such as a Guggenheim. Nor was it valued by hiring committees in academia.\textsuperscript{18} The development of piano education for children in New York lay in the hands of a small community of contemporary composers who were not connected to academic institutions. They sought the acceptance of modern music in a new generation of pianists who were largely based within the family home where musicality was a core value. In 1953 an unexpected, but critical, piano commission prompted Gideon’s gradual transition to this new musical environment.

5.2 The 1953 Piano Commission

Gideon received a commission to compose a piano piece for inclusion in the book, \textit{American Composers of Today: 23 Piano Pieces Imparting Appreciation of Contemporary Music}. The aim of the publication was to create a volume of works that were ‘fundamentally easy to play’ but that also had valuable musical qualities.\textsuperscript{19}

In the foreword to the book the editors explained:

\begin{quote}
Only intensive occupation with the music itself will open the door to understanding; only then, as by intuition, will we become aware of how to play a certain phrase or line, or how to emphasise an important harmony. Progressing from there, we will begin to comprehend the entire work.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{18} See Harker, "Milton Babbitt Encounters Academia (and Vice Versa).” In an interview, Sophia Rosoff noted that Gideon wrote music because it had a deep meaning to her. She did not compose in order to secure prizes. She said, ‘Miriam, no matter what happened, every morning she got up and composed and she didn’t go after grants she didn’t go after Guggenheims or anything she just had the consensus and that is what she was doing every morning.’ Sophia Rosoff, "Interview with Mary Robb,” (16th August, 2010).

\textsuperscript{19} In the forward of the 2009 publication it is written: ‘Great care has been taken to select music for this volume that is fundamentally easy to play.’ \textit{American Composers of the 20th Century: 23 Piano Pieces for the Student Pianist}, (New York, NY: Marks Music Corp., 2009), vi. The original volume was published in 1956 with a slightly different title. \textit{American Composers of Today: 23 Piano Pieces Imparting Appreciation of Contemporary Music}, (New York, NY: Marks Music Corp, 1956).

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{American Composers of the 20th Century: 23 Piano Pieces for the Student Pianist}, vi.
It was not the aim of the editors to provide pieces of music that taught pianistic technique. Rather, they considered it most important for the student to select a piece of music to study that was appealing to their personal musical taste. The editors suggested that pupils need not work steadily through the book but could tackle the most challenging works as their confidence increased. They also suggested that problems with musical perception in some of the modernist compositions would ‘disappear on closer penetration of the content.’

The commission appealed to Gideon as it provided an opportunity to compose a work in a setting that was not related to academic life. This volume stood out from other contemporaneous pedagogical books from the 1950s as it contained pieces of music written by prominent American composers and did not contain short exercises or finger-drills. This idea was the reverse of many editions of piano pedagogy. Usually volumes were structured according to a sliding scale of difficulty that progressed throughout the book and contained explanations of the technical aims of the piece. European editions re-published in the United States such as Eckstein Piano Course in Six Books copyrighted in 1951; Eckstein’s Facility Studies from Czerny copyrighted and published in 1952; and Eckstein’s Adult Piano Book 1: A First Instructor for the Adult Beginner copyrighted in 1953 contained basic instructional exercises supplemented with a few music pieces. As Eckstein’s books progressed in order of difficulty, the editors included imaginative works

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21 Ibid., vi.  
22 Czerny (1791-1857) was a renowned pianist and teacher who was born and died in Vienna. As a child he was taught piano by his father and for some time he studied with Beethoven and Liszt. As a composer he specialised in writing pieces that solved technical problems. See Maxwell Eckstein and Carl Czerny, Eckstein Facility Studies from Czerny (New York: Carl Fischer, 1952).  
demonstrating different styles and nationalities of music such as a minuet, nocturne, ‘bagpipe tune’ or ‘Russian Barge Song.’ These were short pieces designed to teach the simpler elements of playing technique, rather than focusing on the value of musicianship as its core message. The style of compositions leant toward exercises, rather than miniature pieces suitable for the concert platform. They were often accompanied by lively illustrations and diagrams depicting correct hand placement, note values and a translation of the Italian musical terminology.

By contrast, *American Composers of Today* contained pieces that could be performed professionally by adults as well as by children in the home. It contained works by well-established composers such as Norman Dello Joio, Milton Babbitt, Roger Sessions and Henry Cowell who provided a mature and advanced musical aesthetic, whilst also setting narrow technical parameters so that their works could be accessible to both experienced and less experienced pianists. Gideon’s commissioned work followed these aims and she presented piano technique within a strong musical basis. She considered it essential to teach students technical structures in a musical fashion, rather than through a series of seemingly redundant exercises.

This new commission coincided with Gideon’s forthcoming departure from her academic posts and the start of her adaptation to building a new professional and creative musical life. Teaching children the piano, and composing pieces with her pupils in mind, was to become a pre-occupation in her transition out of academia. *Altered Steps to Altered States* like *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* was written during her period of inner exile. The ways in which *Epitaphs* seems to represent Gideon’s despair during this dark period have been illustrated in the previous chapter.

However, here it will be argued that *Altered Steps to Altered States* represents the beginning of a reorientation of Gideon’s musical style, career and eventual emergence from inner exile.

### 5.3 Overview of *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953)

Although Gideon composed three pieces that formed part of *Altered Steps to Altered States*, only the second piece, ‘Sliding Thirds’ (originally titled ‘Walk’) was published in the 1956 edition of *American Composers of Today*.\(^\text{25}\) The three movements are also known by their original title, *Piano Suite for Children* and were composed with a specific interval per movement: ‘Hesitating Seconds,’ (initially titled ‘Waltz’) ‘Sliding Thirds,’ and ‘Insistent Fourths’ (originally titled ‘March’). In the 1990s, at the request of pianist Şahan Arzruni, Gideon expanded and completed the piano cycle by the addition of three extra movements to complete the six movement cycle.\(^\text{26}\) Each of the later three movements is based on the remaining intervals of tonality ‘Stretching Fifths,’ ‘Everything at Sixes and Sevens’ and ‘Wounded Octaves.’ Upon completion, the six movement work was re-named *Altered Steps to Altered States* and recorded by Arzruni in 2002.\(^\text{27}\) According to Arzruni, the title was conceived jointly by Gideon and Ewen, who had a wonderful way with words.\(^\text{28}\) These two works have a curious cataloguing history. In the New

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\(^\text{25}\) This was, presumably, to give a full variety of compositional styles to the students who bought the volume.


\(^\text{27}\) Arzruni, *Childhood Memories: Music for Younger Pianists.*

\(^\text{28}\) Arzruni, "Interview with Mary Robb."
York Public Library (NYPL) no connection is highlighted in the catalogue between *Altered Steps to Altered States* and *Piano Suite for Children*. They are catalogued separately and both dated as 1957.\(^{29}\) Furthermore, Ardito’s *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* article on ‘Miriam Gideon’ contains no record of either composition in the Works List.\(^{30}\)

As only the first three movements were written in 1953 they are selected for discussion in this chapter.\(^{31}\) The latter three pieces in the cycle retain the intervallic aims of the composition but there is a major stylistic change, as they were written almost forty years later. From here on, the three movements written in 1953 will be referred to by the name provided in the publication, *Altered Steps to Altered States*. The movements to be discussed here comprise ‘Hesitating Seconds’, ‘Sliding Thirds’ and ‘Insistent Fourths’.\(^{32}\)

The structure of each piece in the collection was designed to enable young students to learn specific interval recognition on the piano. Each of the three movements is focused on exploring one interval and, as such, is composed with a limited tonal structure and intervallic parameters. The narrow intervallic framework reserved for each movement provided Gideon with a strict tonal structure that had its

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\(^{29}\) See MGP-NYPL, Box 13 folder 1 and box 4 folder 15.

\(^{30}\) Ardito, "Miriam Gideon."

\(^{31}\) Şahan Arzruni recorded the work in 2002. The first three movements of *Altered Steps to Altered States* are documented to have been composed in 1953 because this is the date that Arzruni provides in his C.D. liner notes. It is an authentic and reliable source as Gideon and Arzruni were in close contact while she composed the latter three pieces in the piano cycle for him during the 1990s. See Arzruni, *Childhood Memories: Music for Younger Pianists*. In addition, Chodacki also dates this work as 1953 and it was first published by the American Composers Alliance in 1957. See Chodacki, "Miriam Gideon, a Classified Catalog of Compositions", 8.

\(^{32}\) *Altered Steps to Altered States* was not Gideon’s first work for children. While studying the pedagogical approach of her piano teacher Abby Whiteside, she composed a sketch entitled *Settings of Spanish Children’s Songs* c1950. It is a work that contains easy to sing melodies arranged for the piano and invoked the imagination of children to perform the piece with musical characteristics of small animals. The movements were entitled ‘Mouse,’ ‘Cat’ and more seriously, ‘Love.’ Like *Altered Steps to Altered States*, they were designed for the more advanced beginner, containing time changes from 3/8 to 3/4, the use of ties and two note chords. MGP-NYPL, box 12 folder 13 (sketch).
own set of tonal conventions. She abandoned the systematic procedures she had adopted in the previous year for example, in the first movement of *Epitaphs from Robert Burns*, and in this new work, sought an alternative approach that focused on the meaning of tonality and its function. The result was a highly original composition that favoured free atonality and was based on non-tonal centres. Part of the work retained the elements of a pre-composed system but this was placed in the periphery of the composition and was not used with a systematic approach. Rather, she projected an individualistic and original approach to the function of the second, third and fourth intervals in her work.

The titles of Gideon’s movements *Altered Steps to Altered States* indicate that she shared Bartók’s compositional vision as an educator of music rather than just of the piano. *Mikrokosmos* also included pieces titled *Sixths and Triads*, *Fourths* and *Thirds* and were similarly composed with narrow intervallic parameters. Many years later Gideon said, in an interview conducted in 1970, that she went through ‘a Bartók stage.’ She had met Bartók at a concert sometime between 1940-45 when he emigrated to the United States. He had made a great impression on her. At that time, Gideon was studying with Roger Sessions, and continued until 1943, and was actively engaged in the contemporary music scene. She had been struck by the

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33 See Chapter 4 for a discussion of *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952).
34 *Mikrokosmos* was composed with the premise that ‘one cannot be a pianist without being a musician.’ Suchoff, *Bartók's Mikrokosmos: Genesis, Pedagogy, and Style*, 30. The titles of Bartók’s pieces suggest the ways in which they were designed to teach principles of musical style whilst also inspiring a child’s imagination. Pieces such as *Hungarian Dance, In a Russian Style* and *Bagpipe Music* contain archetypal musical characteristics of the attributed country or culture. Other pieces tell more dramatic stories such as *From the Diary of a Fly* where the desperate attempts of the fly to escape the spider’s web are musically articulated by tremoloando chords. Bartók also frequently performed extracts from the collection in concerts indicating the strength of the musical qualities of the pieces. Brown, *Bartók's Mikrokosmos: A Guide for Piano Teachers*, 12.
35 The pieces in *Mikrokosmos* also have an additional didactical dimension such as no. 63, *Buzzing* which was composed to teach a slow trill, inspired from the sound of moving insects. See Brown, *Bartók's Mikrokosmos: A Guide for Piano Teachers*, 12. The teaching aims of *Change of Time, Staccato and Legato* and *Whole-tone Scales* from volume V are more self explanatory.
creative environment in New York City and by the musical influences of European composers, many of whom had come to the United States to escape Nazi persecution.

In an interview with Rosenberg she said:

[In New York] ‘I heard works by Stravinsky and Schoenberg as well as by my American colleagues. The creative scene was lively. Many European composers visited or emigrated to the United States, and we met them at concerts and receptions. I remember especially Béla Bartók. I didn’t do any more than say, ‘How do you do, Mr. Bartók?’ but I was struck by his beautiful blue eyes. I must add that Bartók influenced a great many composers, myself included. There’s hardly one of us who hasn’t gone through a Bartók stage, especially when it comes to string quartets.’

Bartókian influences permeate many of the compositional procedures in each of the three movements of *Altered Steps to Altered States* and these will be highlighted in the following examination of the work.

### 5.4 ‘Hesitating Seconds’

Gideon’s compositional language in the first movement, ‘Hesitating Seconds’ from *Altered Steps to Altered States* shares similarities to the style and procedures that Bartók used in his Fourteen Bagatelles for solo piano op. 6. The work was completed in May 1908 and represents Bartók’s first major attempt to ‘discard the triad as the exclusive harmonic premise.’ The modernism of this collection lies in

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36 Rosenberg and Rosenberg, *The Music Makers*, 64.
37 Access to the original full score can be found in MGP-NYPL, box 13 folder 1.
38 Elliott Antokoletz, "'At Last Something Truly New': Bagatelles," in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Malcolm Gillies (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 110. After hearing Bartók perform the work in his piano class, the composer, Busoni recommended them to publishers Breitkopf & Härtel. However, the publishers considered them to be ‘too modern’ for the public’s conservative taste in music.
39 Ibid., 110.
the composer’s equal treatment of the twelve semitones and incorporation of eastern European folk song. Yet, the work retains a tonal centricity.\textsuperscript{40}

Bartók organised pitch with symmetrical procedures in the Fourteen Bagatelles no. II and in other works such as no. 135 from \textit{Mikrokosmos}. As Elliot Antokoletz has demonstrated, Bartók’s use of symmetrical pitch collections eliminates the priorities of major and minor and establishes a tonal centre.\textsuperscript{41} Bagatelle no. II is symmetrically organised around an implied axis of A-A which is expanded on a large scale throughout the work.\textsuperscript{42} The A$^b$-B$^b$ dyad that spans bars 1-2 of the work marks the first axis of symmetry. Both A$^b$ and B$^b$ straddle ‘A’ by one semitone. In bar 3 the second and third points of symmetry are articulated in the left hand. B, G expands the axis of symmetry again by one semitone with the following C-G$^b$ furthers this pattern. See Example 5.1.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 111.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 141. See also Richard Taruskin, \textit{Music in the Early Twentieth Century} (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 387-91.
\textsuperscript{43} The full score of Bartók Bagatelle no. II from \textit{Fourteen Bagatelles} can be found in Appendix E.
Example 5.1 Bartók Bagatelle no. II from *Fourteen Bagatelles*, Bars 1-3

Taruskin suggests that Bartók inherited this technique from Richard Strauss, particularly the harmony of *Salome*, and it is also composed into the fourth of Webern’s Six Bagatelles for string quartet op. 9 (1913). In ‘Hesitating Seconds,’ Gideon uses exactly the same axis of symmetry (A-A or D♯-D♯) as Bartók also to establish a non-traditional ‘tonal’ centre. The axis of symmetry that she used is enharmonically noted below in Figure 5.1.

**Figure 5.1 Symmetry of Axis A-A**

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
A & A'^\# & B & C & C'^\# & D & D'^\# \\
A & G'^\# & G & F'^\# & F & E & D'^\#
\end{array}
\]

In ‘Hesitating Seconds,’ the source of the axis, ‘A’ is represented, in passing, by a single quaver note in the right hand of the first bar. The quaver functions as a transitory note to the music material in the second bar and conceals its importance as the origin of the symmetrical dyads that occur in the opening phrase of the piece. The first dyad in bar 1, articulated in the right hand (A♯-G♯), its repetition on the first beat

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45 Antokoletz, "At Last Something Truly New": Bagatelles," 123. As Antokoletz explained, ‘An axis of symmetry is always represented by two notes (either unison or half-step), since the axis forms the intersection of two inversionally related intervals cycles. Such an inversive alignment of cycles is the source for all symmetrical formations.’ ibid., 116.
of bar 2, and the second minim dyad that follows (B, G) contains the first two points of symmetry from the A-A axis. This opening gesture is then repeated and expanded in bar 4 to include the third related dyad C, F#. Gideon re-establishes the source of the axis, A in the anacrusis to bar 6 after symmetrically transposing the second and third dyads up five semitones to C#, D# and C, E in bar 5. At the end of the phrase, the first point of symmetry A#, G# dyad functions as the resolution to the tonal centre in bar 6. Gideon’s axis of symmetry in the first phrase of the piece is shown in Example 5.2.

Example 5.2 Symmetrically Related Dyads on the Axis of A. ‘Hesitating Seconds’ Bars 1-6

This linear movement, locally disrupted by the E-F ‘seconds’ motive in bar 3, is re-introduced in the recapitulation beginning in bar 23. The musical gesture from the first two bars of the work, the first three points of symmetry, is represented identically in bars 23-24. However, this time Gideon draws a different musical conclusion. The second point of symmetry, the A#, G# dyad becomes the focus rather than functioning as an expansion of the A-A axis. A#, G# is repeated in bar 26 and 27 and juxtaposed next to the E-F motive that concludes the work. See Example 5.3 on the following page.
Example 5.3 Recapitulation of Symmetrical Dyads ‘Hesitating Seconds’ Bars 23-28

Example 5.4 on the next page shows the full score of ‘Hesitating Seconds.’
Example 5.4 ‘Hesitating Seconds’ Full Score
5.4.1 American Composers Who Used Bartókian Compositional Devices in the 1950s

This perspective of expanding tonality within tonal centres was also aligned with the style of other American composers who published their works in the same 1956 volume of *American Composers of Today* in which Gideon’s ‘Sliding Thirds’ appeared. Sol Berkowitz’s work, *March of the Puppets*, heavily references the style and motives of Bartók’s Fourteen Bagatelles, no. II. The wedge-shaped whole tone dyad is an intrinsic feature of both compositions. Berkowitz’s whole tone $B^b$, $C$ dyad first appears in bar 16 after a short antiphonal introduction between the two hands. The regular quaver articulations of the dyad dominate the work and are intersected at two regular points with a tritone $A$, $E^b$ (in bar 18 and bar 21) After ten and a half bars, the whole tone dyad $B^b$, $C$ is transposed up a tritone to $E$, $F^#$ in bar 27. This pattern of tritones intersected with whole tone dyads continues throughout this transposed section until the whole tone dyad expands to a minor third in bar 37. See Examples 5.5 and 5.6.

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48 A full score of Sol Berkowitz, *March of the Puppets* can be found in Appendix F.
In Bartók’s Bagatelle no. II, a similar tonal construction is used. The importance of the $A^b$, $B^b$ dyad as a motive in this piece indicated by its solitary articulation in the first two bars of the work and its transposition down a tritone in bars 18-20. See the opening bars of the work in Example 5.1 and bars 19-21 in Example 5.7.
The combination of a similar whole tone motive, tritone and thirds accompaniment and articulation suggests that Berkowitz, like Gideon, was part of a specific group of American composers who sought to define atonality without the use of Schoenberg’s twelve-tone principles. Many other composers who published their work in Composers of Today 23 Piano Pieces Imparting Appreciation of Contemporary Music were not associated with an academic music department and composed with a similar approach. Lou Harrison’s three movement work in the collection also organised pitches with the expansion and contraction of a whole tone dyad as the focus of the work. In the first movement ‘Pastorale’ from Little Suite for Piano, Harrison’s dyad increases from a whole tone to a perfect fifth at its largest point. The harmonic interest is exchanged from one hand to another from high to low. See Example 5.8.\(^\text{49}\)

\(^{49}\) A full score of Lou Harrison’s ‘Pastorale,’ Second Movement from Little Suite for Piano can be found in Appendix G.
Harrison, Berkowitz, Gideon and Bartók’s expanding dyads are expressed in a unique way. This individualistic approach reflects their personal opinion of this function in their work. This group of compositions represents an alternative way in which to imply atonality, whilst remaining grounded in a tonal centre.

Gideon’s intervallic organisation in ‘Hesitating Seconds’ turned the traditional values of major and minor and consonance and dissonance on their head. Her personal trend away from composing with elements of serial technique (transposition and inversion) in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952) to writing music with a Bartókian footprint, also mirrors her professional transition to the periphery of the academy in 1953. This musical response was reflective of Gideon’s adaptation out of inner exile. It was a step towards a return to using her favoured compositional design of motivic expansion, although she amended this approach by using Bartók’s
principles of symmetry as a framework for the composition.\textsuperscript{50} Like Bartók, she also took this occasion to engage young students with modern tonalities.\textsuperscript{51}

5.5 ‘Sliding Thirds’\textsuperscript{52}

Example 5.9 on the following page shows the full score of Gideon’s ‘Sliding Thirds.’

\textsuperscript{50} Gideon’s attraction to microcosmic musical design was also a means through which other European composers such as Stravinsky found freedom to compose. He said on the matter: ‘The more art is controlled, limited, worked over, the more it is free... My freedom consists in my moving about within the narrow frame that I have assigned myself for each one of my undertakings. I will go even further: my freedom will be so much the greater and more meaningful the more narrowly I limit my field of action and the more I surround myself with obstacles.’ Joseph N. Straus, "Ruth Crawford's Precompositional Strategies," in \textit{Ruth Crawford Seeger's Worlds: Innovation and Tradition in Twentieth-Century American music}, ed. Ray Allen and Ellie M. Hisama (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 44. For a discussion and explanation of Gideon’s motivically conceived style see Chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{51} Ylda Novik had found in her study of \textit{Mikrokosmos} that the children who learned music pieces in this collection did not realise that they were playing unfamiliar tonalities and later, more readily accepted contemporary music material. Ylda Novik, "Teaching with 'Mikrokosmos'," \textit{Tempo}, no. 83 (Winter, 1967-1968): 12.

\textsuperscript{52} Access to full score in MGP-NYPL, box 13 folder 1.
Example 5.9 ‘Sliding Thirds’ Full Score
5.5.1 Hexatonic Collection

Gideon’s fascination with intervallic functions in 1953 enabled her to compose with a renewed modernist focus. The compositional procedures through which she created the first and, as will be shown, third movements in the piano cycle indicate that her interest in serial processes had declined during this period. The musical organisation of the second piece of the piano cycle, ‘Sliding Thirds,’ however, contains various structures from the hexatonic collection. The presence of some pre-composed material without serial treatment reflects Gideon’s transition from the systematic musical systems that she had used in the previous year, and shows that she moved toward a greater freedom in her treatment of musical material in her compositions.

The hexatonic collection has been most widely explored in music from the early twentieth century. Liszt, Rimsky-Korsakov and Bartók all enjoyed the texture of this structure and notable hexatonic passages in modernist works include Schoenberg’s Little Piano Piece Op. 19 no.2, from Six Little Piano Pieces, written in February, 1911;\(^53\) Bartók’s String Quartet No. 2, first movement composed from 1914-17;\(^54\) and Milton Babbitt’s 1954 String Quartet No. 2.\(^55\) It is Gideon’s treatment of this collection in ‘Sliding Thirds’ that is most striking. She used the hexatonic collection in its entirety without the use of the serial process of transposition and inversion, which she had previously employed in relation to trichords in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952).

\(^{53}\) Straus, *Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory*, 150.
\(^{54}\) Ibid., 150.
\(^{55}\) Ibid., 150.
5.5.2 Intervallic Properties of the Hexatonic Collection

The intervallic properties of the hexatonic collection made it a natural choice for Gideon to include in ‘Sliding Thirds.’ In scale form it alternates intervals of one semitone and three semitones. The interval of a semitone was particularly useful to Gideon as it was a significant characteristic of her musical writing. In addition, the semitone, combined with a minor third layered on top, also provided a structure of a major third between the lowest and highest notes, complementing the musical nucleus of the piece.

Set-class 6-20 (014589), forms the hexatonic collection, has a limited membership of tones. It contains only four distinct members as it is both transpositionally and inversionally symmetrical at three different levels. These four levels are listed in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Hexatonic Collection

HEX$_{0,1}$ [0,1,4,5,8,9]  
HEX$_{1,2}$ [1,2,5,6,9,10]  
HEX$_{2,3}$ [2,3,6,7,10,11]  
HEX$_{3,4}$ [3,4,7,8,11,0]

From the beginning of the piece, Gideon marked her intention of using the hexatonic collection as the basis for ‘Sliding Thirds.’ Bar 1 depicts a subset of the first three integers of HEX$_{3,4}$ in reverse order. The first three notes of the piece G, E, E$^b$ (pitch

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56 These intervallic properties are similar to the octatonic scale which alternates semitones and tones. For further demonstration in Gideon’s Epitaphs from Robert Burns see Chapter 4.
57 For a more detailed description of the hexatonic collection see Straus, Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory, 149.
58 This hexatonic collection diagram was found in ibid., 149.
classes 7, 4, 3) move from the right hand of the piano to the left in an intervallic step of three semitones, followed by a step of one semitone. The sound of these intervals has a sliding quality, as if the minor third has slipped further than intended. From the start, Gideon captured the musical idea in the title of the piece ‘Sliding Thirds’ through the texture and sound quality of this opening motive. At the same time, this motive also distinguished the key difference between a major and a minor third and provided an opportunity for Gideon to use this repeating pattern of major and minor thirds for an educational purpose. See Example 5.10.59

Example 5.10 ‘Sliding Thirds’ Subset 7, 4, 3 of HEX3,4 in Inverted Order Bar 1

This idea of placement of these tones is solidified in the rest of the introduction of the piece. In the first two bars, Gideon alternates a pattern of major thirds and minor thirds, firstly, between the two hands of the piano and, secondly, between the intervals in the left hand. This pattern is then reversed in bars 3-4 with alternating minor thirds with major thirds, firstly, between two hands and, secondly, just in the left hand. In Example 5.11, the major thirds are marked by a box with a darker shade and the minor thirds by a lighter gradient.

59 The musical examples of ‘Sliding Thirds’ are taken from the 2009 Marks re-publication of the volume American Composers of the 20th Century: 23 Piano Pieces for the Student Pianist.
With this pattern, Gideon provides a modernist twist on the musical values of major and minor thirds and creates a unique sound world where consonances can sound dissonant and dissonances appear consonant.

5.5.3 Whole Hexatonic Collection in ‘Sliding Thirds’

A typical feature of Gideon’s free atonal writing was that, at any given moment, the work could not be pinned down either as tonal or atonal. Ambiguous tonality was a strong characteristic of her past writing, such as *The Hound of Heaven* (1945), and she reclaimed this in the composition of ‘Sliding Thirds.’\(^{60}\) The internal symmetries of the hexatonic collection support the structure of Gideon’s indeterminate tonality. Typical formations among the hexatonic subset structure are the major seventh chord, the major or minor triad, and the augmented triad.\(^{61}\) The structure of this collection accounts for the rather traditional sound world of ‘Sliding Thirds’ with a modernist twist.

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\(^{60}\) For more on *The Hound of Heaven* (1945) see Perle, "The Music of Miriam Gideon." Also see Pinnolis Fertig, "An Analysis of Selected Works of the American Composer Miriam Gideon (1906-) in Light of Contemporary Jewish Musical Trends".

\(^{61}\) For a further explanation of the hexatonic collection properties see Straus, *Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory*, 149.
In ‘Sliding Thirds,’ Gideon presented the hexatonic collection as an entire unit in two locations in the work. HEX\textsubscript{3,4} is expressed in its entirety in bars 12-15 in the left hand with pitch classes 0, 11, 7, 4, 8 and 3 assembled as a continuous line. Pitch classes 7 and 4 (G and E) are repeated within this passage and emphasise the major/minor alternating pattern of ‘sliding thirds’ between the right and left hands. See Example 5.12.

**Example 5.12 ‘Sliding Thirds’ Hexatonic Collection Bars 12-15**

The second place in which the hexatonic collection is presented is at the very end of the piece, in the anacrusis to bar 24 and ending at the double bar (bar 26). The tonality at the end of the piece is even more significant. Each note expressed in the last three bars of the piece and the anacrusis are all members of the hexatonic collection, HEX\textsubscript{3,4} [3,4,7,8,11,0]. The outer voices function as supporting harmony to the middle, tenor, voice which Gideon designated as containing every pitch class of the hexatonic collection. See Example 5.13.
Using a hexatonic collection in its entirety at the end of the work, resolved the issue of cadence and resolution between the major and minor thirds. Gideon presents both. In bar 24, pitches of both the C major and C minor triad are organised between the hands (C, E♭, E and G) creating an ambiguous tonality. Ending the work on an ‘open’ fifth dyad further clarified Gideon’s intention of presenting a diverse tonality, as neither major nor minor gain preference.

Music structures with systematic conventions were used by Gideon in her compositions in the earlier part of her dark period of creative bankruptcy during the McCarthy era. The first piece of *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952) is a particularly clear example of this. The appearance of the hexatonic collection in only two major places in ‘Sliding Thirds’ is a significant departure from the systematic music structures she had previously employed. The introduction of the hexatonic material in this particular form was a reminder that Gideon’s free compositional style was yet to emerge fully. It would appear that she was still in a transient creative, stage and had not fully moved away from the compositional procedures that had dominated her work during the previous year.
5.6 ‘Insistent Fourths’

Example 5.14 on the following two pages shows the full score for ‘Insistent Fourths.’

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62 Access to the original full score can be found in MGP-NYPL, box 13 folder 1.
Example 5.14 ‘Insistent Fourths’ Full Score
Gideon, and the group of New York composers who composed outside of the academy, were not just attracted to Bartókian procedures of symmetry, but also to the styles of other major compositional figures who offered an alternative to serialism. Gideon’s third piece from *Altered Steps to Altered States*, ‘Insistent Fourths,’ focused on the treatment of the interval of a fourth. In the 1950s, musicologists in the United States found the perfect fourth and tritone difficult to classify. The composer, Vincent Persichetti and author of the book *Twentieth Century Harmony* published in
1961, regarded the perfect fourth as either consonant or dissonant, whilst he
designated the tritone as, ‘ambiguous, can either be neutral or restless.’ 63 He wrote:

Chords containing a tritone tend to have a restless quality, while
those without tritones have stability even when extremely dissonant.
The presence of a perfect fourth in a chord lends ambiguity because
of this interval’s ability to function either as consonance or
dissonance; other intervals in the chord must determine its character,
the chord being classifiable only in its tonal interval context. The
consonant-dissonant quality of chords containing a perfect fourth is
defined by the interval formed by the bass note and the note not
involved with the fourth. When this interval is a mild or sharp
dissonance, the perfect fourth sounds like an open consonance; when
it is a soft consonance the perfect fourth sounds mildly dissonant. 64

The concept of fourths being ambiguous, and dependent on context to determine
consonance or dissonance, is a reflection of the current trends of 1950s contemporary
music scene in New York City. Without the stability of the triad in 20th century
music, the fourth neither resolved down to the third or up to the fifth. Bartók and
Debussy explored this function in their works in the early part of the 20th century and
it was also an attractive musical device for Gideon. For example, Bartók only used
perfect fourths in no. 131 ‘Fourths’ from Mikrokosmos, while Debussy only admitted
perfect, diminished and augmented fourths in ‘pour les Quartes’ from Douze Etudes
(1915). 65 Persichetti’s accepted notion that the interval had a ‘restless quality’ made
it a perfect tool for Gideon to explore in ‘Insistent Fourths.’

64 Ibid., 21.
5.6.1 Intervalllic Movement of Fourths

The fourths are ‘insistent’ in Gideon’s work because perfect fourths occur at almost every point in the left hand of the piano. They are articulated in limited groupings of a dotted quaver and a semiquaver; a pair of quavers; a crotchet; a dotted crotchet and a minim. The perfect fourth dyads move steadily upwards and downwards in intervallic steps of major thirds, major seconds and semitones for the first thirteen bars. Of particular importance is the movement of perfect fourths up and down perfect fourths near the start of the work.66

From bars 15-18, Gideon transposes the perfect fourths in the left hand of the piano up and down by intervals of five semitones (a perfect fourth). The upper note of the first perfect fourth dyad functions as a pivot and becomes the lower note of the perfect fourth in the second dyad of each bar. For example, in bar 16 the first perfect fourth dyad D#, G# is transposed up five semitones to G#, C# with the G# accentuated in each dyad and acting as a pivot. This procedure is repeated in bar 18 and bars 19-20. See Example 5.15.

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66 Rising and descending fourths are also a dominant theme in Schoenberg’s Chamber Symphony No.1 Op. 9 (1906), particularly in the opening gestures. For additional analysis see Walter Frisch, The Early Works of Arnold Schoenberg, 1893-1908 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 220-47.
Gideon treats the perfect fourth as an important vertical structure in the piece. Transposing perfect fourths by perfect fourths is the ultimate way in which the sound, and pattern, of that interval is secured in this piece. Her careful placement of these notes created a distinctive sound world and a unique expression of tonality that defined ‘Hesitating Fourths.’ The perfect fourth is treated as the basic structure from which tritones and semitones, that complement the work, are teased out. The interval also functions as a learning tool for student pianists. The pivot, balanced by the position, distance and hand shape of the fourth, helps students locate the feel and hand structure of the perfect fourth. The upper note of the first dyad acts as a ‘finding note’ for the second perfect fourth dyad.

Gideon expanded the transposing pattern of perfect fourths by a semitone to include the other important interval in this piece; the transpositions by a tritone. In the development section of ‘Insistent Fourths,’ perfect fourth dyads were transposed up and down six semitones, reinforcing Gideon’s intention for the sound of the fourth and its expansion to a tritone, to dominate the work. This musical idea was first suggested in bar 28 and, after a one measure break in bar 29, was quickly
reiterated in each of the following thirteen bars in the left hand. From bars 37-42 Gideon wrote seven perfect fourth dyads in succession, each rising in ascending tritones. All seven chords were articulated with an accent and constitute the main focus of this section. By contrast, only a tied D played in the right hand, spans four bars, and the final two bars of the section (bars 41-42) features the left hand only. See Example 5.16.

Example 5.16 ‘Insistent Fourths’ Bars 31-42

5.6.2 Intervallic treatment of the ‘Atonal Triad’ and Inversion

Gideon’s vertical treatment of ‘Insistent Fourths’ has its roots in what Richard Taruskin has termed, the ‘atonal triad.’ The atonal triad is a superimposition of two fourth chords—a perfect fourth plus a tritone layered together, three tones in total. This structure is flexible; it can be both inverted and extended by alternating perfect and augmented fourths above the original atonal triad. Just as a normal triad
of thirds can contain major and minor thirds, the fourths in an atonal triad can also be varied. Taruskin has shown how this harmonic structure is the basic building block of harmony in Schoenberg’s *Ewartung* and *Sechs Kleine Klavierstücke*, Op. 19, no. 1. The structure is also so frequent in Stravinsky’s *The Rite of Spring* that Taruskin designates it with a special name: the ‘Rite-chord.’ It is also used by Webern in works from different periods, such as the Five Songs op. 3 and Variations for piano op. 27.

In 1953, Gideon used the atonal triad in ‘Insistent Fourths,’ as one of the main harmonic components of the piece. She articulated it in the original form and inversion. For Gideon, this structure originated, and was adapted, from her staple trichord 3-5 (016) used in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952). She favoured this chord in her works because it contained a tritone and a semitone – both her preferred intervallic sounds. However, in ‘Insistent Fourths’ the intervals were treated to create a different harmonic flavour, though the piece is grounded in the traditions of early 20th century musical compositional technique.

The very first appearance of the atonal triad appears in the anacrusis to bar 1 in ‘Insistent Fourths.’ Its location sets the texture of the work from the very start of the piece. Just like Stravinsky, Webern and Schoenberg before her, Gideon layers the intervals in the same original form; a perfect fourth with a tritone on top and the semitone sounds between the highest and lowest notes, F♯, B, F. This construction of this atonal triad contains both a traditionally ‘consonant’ interval (perfect fourth) and

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68 Ibid., 331.
69 For more on Webern’s Five Songs op. 3 and the function of (016) see Straus, *Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory*, 104.
the tritone, a dissonant or neutral interval, giving a sense of musical instability and ambiguity. See Example 5.17.

Example 5.17 ‘Insistent Fourths’ Atonal Triad in the Anacrusis to Bar 1

This dissonant structure permeates the entire piece. In the first phrase (bars 1-6) the atonal triad is articulated eleven times, without development as indicated in Example 5.18. Each triad contains the same intervallic content (016) and Gideon focuses aural interest on the variation of registral spacing. She organises the intervals in two main ways. Firstly, a semitone is placed on top of a perfect fourth: see bar 2 beat two (F#, B, C) and bar 4 beat two (G, C, C#); bar 5 first and second beats and bar 6, first beat (A#, D#, E). At each of these points, perfect fourths appear consistently in the left hand, reinforcing the ‘insistency’ of the interval within the piece.
Secondly, the other main way in which Gideon varied the registral spacing was by inverting the perfect fourth to a perfect fifth and placing a tritone on the top. This first occurs in the second phrase bar 7, first beat: (D, G, C♯), as shown in Example 5.18. Interestingly, Gideon never inverted the atonal chord to place a semitone in the lower register with a perfect fourth or tritone on top. In keeping with the design and musical language of the piece, the insistent fourths firmly remain in the left hand except in three instances for example bar 14 beat two, the perfect fourth in the left hand is extended to a tritone with a semitone on top. See Example 5.19.

Example 5.19 ‘Insistent Fourths’ Bars 8-15

70 In bar 14, tritones take the place of the perfect fourth; and in bars 56-59 and in bars 62-63 (middle voice) perfect fourths are replaced by major thirds.
As the work progresses, Gideon expands the atonal triad to include additional fourths in the atonal triad combination. She combined two fourths together (one in the right hand and the other in the left hand) and placed them one semitone apart. By doing so she created two tritones, two semitones and two major fourths almost doubling the content of the atonal triad. The first articulation of this tetrachord in the same register of the piano occurs on the first beat of bar 52: $E^b, A^b, A, D$ (see Example 5.20). This striking chord produces musical tension, interest and occurs a further three times from bars 52-55, as indicated in both high and low registers.

**Example 5.20 ‘Insistent Fourths’ Bars 49-55**

The arrangement of the tetrachord straddling bars 52-53, and its exact repetition in bars 54-55, reproduces the opening chord to the work. In both the anacrusis to bar 1 (see Example 5.18) and in the tetrachord, both chords contain the exact ratio of intervals (perfect fourth with a tritone on top). Although the tetrachord is similar to that of the opening atonal trichord, its meaning has been completely transformed by the development of the structure of this work. Gideon marks this special moment by its unusual placement; the climax occurs right at the end of the piece with little room to resolve the tonality. Like Schoenberg before her, this atonal
triad placed verticality, stretched conventional tonality. She uses fourth chords to
suspend the third-based tonality which then resolves onto a fourth.

The careful thought that Gideon gave to the space between intervals in
‘Insistent Fourths’ signified a change of compositional direction. Her use of
Schoenberg and Stravinsky’s atonal triad to explore relationships between the perfect
fourth, tritone and semitone reveals a distinct modernist twist on her favoured
trichord 3-5 (016) she used in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952).

**5.7 Conclusion**

In 1953, Gideon was at a compositional crossroads, prompted by her
difficulties with the political investigations and impending departure from academia.
The *Altered Steps to Altered States* piano commission was, most probably, a critical
catalyst in her decision to orientate this work towards pedagogical pieces for
children. In writing this piece, Gideon joined, and maintained, the tradition of
established and respected composers writing material for the less experienced player.
But the piece also maintained her credibility as a varied and flexible composer who
could compose music without the support of an academic institution.

The compositional style of *Altered Steps to Altered States* was focused on
musical procedures used in the early 20th century, but with a new interpretation on
the tradition. Gideon’s approach was similar to the methods that other composers
contributing to the volume had used, especially Bartókian influences. An
examination of the intricate procedures of her work seen through the perspective of
inner exile illustrates an additional perspective of her life. The overarching structure
of the piano cycle, with each piece focused on a different interval, forced Gideon to
reconsider a freer style of composition. She abandoned the systematic treatment of pre-composed material, prevalent in *Epitaphs from Robert Burns*, and instead, provided a unique insight into her personal opinion of intervals of seconds, thirds and fourths. In composing this piece, she reassessed what tonality meant to her, and her transition back to a freer atonal style indicates that she no longer desired complete order in the creative design of her works. It was an astute choice of composition that embodied several different significant elements: it was creatively satisfying to compose but was accessible to the less experienced player, and yet, it contained an instructional element but was also musically successful for an audience to hear it on the concert platform.

A study of Gideon’s piano cycle also illuminates the widening gap between two musical worlds: music composed inside and outside the academy. Whilst it was written when she was employed in an academic teaching post, the purpose of the piece was to help less experienced students who had not yet reached the level of admittance into the academy. This accessibility, toward more general public understanding, stands in stark opposition to the growing movement of music as a serious subject in universities. As Babbitt and others were protecting the status of ‘difficult’ music, Gideon’s style of writing was transitioning away from academia and into a new, more open musical environment. This is shown through the aims of her piano composition and the style in which it was composed.

Through writing the work, Gideon also turned the corner from the dark period that consumed her creativity during the previous year. She articulated her own feelings of this transition much later in her career. In 1983 she received an Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from Brooklyn College which had not renewed her
academic contract during the McCarthy era. In a letter thanking the current president of the College for the award, Gideon wrote:

At the end of that period the gathering clouds of McCarthyism forced me to leave. I can only rejoice that the academic climate and the administration under your gracious guidance has now come to recognise the injustice of those dark days, and to reinstate the true human values. 71

Gideon’s choice of title, *Altered Steps to Altered States* for this collection of pieces is probably not serendipitous. The development of musical style in the three pieces can be considered as a transition within the work and also reflecting her eventual adaptation to life out of academia. She had effectively entered into an ‘altered state’ and *Altered Steps to Altered States* was the way in which this change was articulated creatively in her eventual emergence from inner exile. It is ironic that the McCarthy era may have had some small influence on how new piano pieces were composed for children. The next chapter will show that Gideon’s decision to exit inner exile was reinforced further by the substantial lengths to which she studied piano pedagogy. It will argue that Gideon took a long-term approach in her preparation for her new role as a piano teacher and that Gideon’s teaching philosophy also underpins the structure of *Altered Steps to Altered States*.

CHAPTER 6:
EXITING INNER EXILE: PEDAGOGICAL INFLUENCES

The imminent loss of teaching employment at Brooklyn College and City College led Gideon to consider a professional life outside the academy. In preparation for leaving the academy, she tailored her expertise as an educator to become a successful self-employed piano teacher, educating mainly young students within the home. The thoroughness of her pedagogical re-training and the absolute development of her teaching philosophy points toward a positive long-term approach and an active choice. It was not a temporary financial solution, but a considered, pragmatic decision and a significant step towards securing her professional future without the support of an academic institution. By teaching in a more intimate and relaxed environment in her own home, she was able to develop a close relationship with her students, many of whose parents held leftist leaning views or were sympathetic to the cause of free speech and movement. Many of her students eventually became successful musicians and, by taking a long term approach with her pupils, Gideon’s legacy as a teacher was confirmed.

This chapter details the steps Gideon took to secure life as a piano teacher working outside the academy and will show how she applied the pedagogical principles learnt from her teacher Abby Whiteside, to her own teaching practice. In addition, it presents the ways in which she channelled these principles into her

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1 The relationship between Gideon and the left leaning views of her student’s parents is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.
creative output, as shown in a discussion of the musical structures of her piano work, *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953).

### 6.1 Becoming a Piano Teacher in the Community

On the verge of rejection by academic institutions, Gideon did not wait for change in the government’s anti-communist policy. Rather, she quickly made provisions for adapting to a new, but related, position within the music profession. She modified the two small rooms in her apartment at 410 Central Park West in Manhattan, New York City to be suitable for private teaching whilst continuing to teach at her two posts at Brooklyn College and City College. Gideon’s positive response to impending isolation was not just born out of financial necessity, but also initiated from a much desired safe working environment. One room of Gideon’s apartment was her studio, which contained her (small) piano, music manuscripts, books and a desk for composing. The other room where Ewen authored books, was their joint living room, bedroom and kitchenette with an extra worktop that folded out from the wall. It was also lined with shelves of books. Many former students and friends emphasised Gideon’s modest studio and working space, as ex-piano pupil Steven Blier recalled:

> She took me on as a private student in that tiny little apartment. I guess I realised that’s where they lived. Honestly, in the two rooms were a piano that fit in one of them and there wasn’t that much space around it. And the other room was their dining room, their living

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2 Former student, Karen Brudney (among others) commented on the small size of Gideon’s apartment. Brudney, "Interview with Mary Robb." Their address is noted from archive evidence in MGP-NYPL, box 21 folder 2 'Correspondence'.

3 Arzruni, "Interview with Mary Robb." Victor Brudney, "Telephone Interview with Mary Robb," (12th February, 2008).

room and their bedroom. It was really quite tiny... how they lived there I don’t quite know.\(^5\)

Although the space was not ideal it was sufficient to teach and most importantly, it was a safe environment away from the anti-communist policies that had dominated campus life. In her home Gideon taught on her own terms as she developed as a teacher. Adapting her apartment was also more economically secure rather than hiring a studio, and aligned her with the lifestyle of those who taught music outside of an academic setting. Although she had little choice over where she worked, her major efforts to adapt resulted in a workable situation. She was, perhaps, inspired by the potential creativity of her space since her teacher, Roger Sessions, had used it as his studio before it became Gideon’s apartment.\(^6\)

There was a tradition of teaching in Gideon’s family and this change of emphasis in her teaching took her into what was not an unfamiliar professional world. Both her parents were professional teachers: her father, Abram was an academic while her mother, Henrietta ‘Hattie’ was a schoolteacher before marrying.\(^7\) Gideon’s decision to teach individual classes was also likely to have been reinforced by her own experience of private music instruction. She had been taught piano, cello and composition on an individual basis following a historic tradition of instrumental tuition.\(^8\) Like Gideon, her own teachers, Roger Sessions and Lazare Saminsky also

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\(^5\) Steven Blier, "Interview with Mary Robb," (9th February, 2008).
\(^6\) Sturm, "Encounters: Miriam Gideon Interview."
\(^7\) For more detailed information on Abram and ‘Hattie’ Gideon see the Biographical Sketch in Jensen-Moulton, "'Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 16-22. When Gideon lived with her uncle Henry in Boston during her teenage years she also overheard many music lessons that her uncle gave. At that time she was not so interested in composing but with playing the piano and she studied the piano with Felix Fox. See Pinnolis, "A Conversation with Miriam Gideon (1906-1996): Sunday, June 19, 1977," 116 and 118.
learned composition privately as individuals from Bloch and Rimsky-Korsakov, respectively.¹⁹

At the point of her enforced departure from the academy Gideon probably understood that her chances of her returning to teach in a public university were remote, as there seemed to be no sign of a change in the political climate. The world that she would temporarily join had a culture of expectation that female composers would follow their traditional role of teaching instrumental lessons to children. This is not without historical precedent: Ruth Crawford Seeger, Fanny Hensel Mendelssohn and Clara Schuman all played piano whilst composing.¹⁰ The relatively high number of female composers that also gave piano lessons is perhaps indicative of the difficulties that they faced in gaining an academic position. Most of Gideon’s male contemporaries aspired to teach at the advanced level within a university institution, while a higher number of instrumental teachers in the community were female. Many of Whiteside’s female piano students were also highly skilled and advanced composers and included Gideon’s contemporaries such as Louise Talma and Vivian Fine.¹¹

Saminsky were all also taught on an individual basis and in the wider context of music history, this was the norm.⁹ Lazare Saminsky had been a student of Rimsky-Korsakov. Hisama, Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon, 6. Cone noted that Sessions had been a student of Bloch and wrote that Sessions could locate his own musical heritage as far back as J. S. Bach. See Edward T. Cone, "In Honor of Roger Sessions," Perspectives of New Music 10, no. 2 (1972): 137. Gideon took great pride in the lineage that she had inherited from Sessions and said of her studies with him: ‘We did study sixteenth-century counterpoint. He had learned this with Bloch... and I agree that it’s a fine teaching tool.’ See Pinnolis, "A Conversation with Miriam Gideon (1906-1996): Sunday, June 19, 1977," 122. Saminsky, who had been taught by Bloch, taught Gideon composition from 1931-34. Ibid., 117.


¹¹ Rosoff, "Interview with Mary Robb." Fine was also a student of Sessions while Talma was a neighbour of Gideon. Page, "Gideon and Talma at 80-Composers and Neighbours."
The prevailing attitude that female composers would follow their traditional role of teaching instrumental lessons to children was endorsed by both men and women and was even evident in the writings of Gideon’s own piano teacher Abby Whiteside. Within the piano pedagogical world, Whiteside believed that the greatest musical performances could only be achieved by male musicians and that women were better suited to teaching the piano. In her first book on piano playing, *The Pianist's Mechanism: A Guide to the Production and Transmission of Power in Playing*, she wrote that the physical power of a woman pianist was less than that of a male musician:

> The reason for this lies in the fact that there is plenty of surplus power in a man’s physique for piano-playing, so that some of it can be wasted and there still remain a sufficient supply for playing without the effort that distracts attention from the message. A women’s physique is less powerful. Women are adequate to the demands of the piano, especially when they choose the heavier compositions—which, of course, they usually choose —only when the mechanism has every advantage that can be attained by placing the great bulk of all the demands on the large muscles.12

Furthermore, Whiteside’s writings revealed the attitude that some of her female students encountered when pursuing a concert piano career. To illustrate the difficulties of hand size and span she used a case study of teaching a female student. Within her account stands a much established reflection of attitudes that some teachers had toward female students. She wrote:

> C had an extremely narrow hand, with unusually long, slender fingers. She had an octave span, but all chords were difficult for her, and large chords she considered impossible. The teachers to whom

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she went for assistance said, ‘You had better give up the playing idea and go into the teaching profession.’

Whiteside’s approach of teaching men and women the piano was reflective of attitudes at the time this book was written. In her following two books, observations on female and male pianists occupied a less prominent position in her teaching philosophy.

6.2 Whiteside's Pedagogical Approach

Gideon was heavily influenced by the pedagogical approach of Whiteside (1881-1956) when she began to develop her piano teaching practice as an adult. She continued lessons with Whiteside until her teacher’s death in 1956 and then furthered her study of these principles by taking piano lessons with Whiteside’s disciple, Sophia Rosoff.

Whiteside had developed her own fundamental principles of piano playing that centred on teaching piano technique through the study of musicianship. She did

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13 Ibid., 54.
14 Abby Whiteside was born in Illinois and grew up in Vermillion, South Dakota. It is documented in Whiteside’s publications that she was born in Vermillion but the 1920 United States census records and the California Death Index corrects this claim. See "Fourteenth Census of the United States," (Portland, Oregon: Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, 1920-population). Also see "California Death Index," (Sacramento, CA: State of California Department of Health Services, Centre for Health Statistics, 1940-1997). Whiteside majored in music, graduating with highest honors from the University of South Dakota in May 1899. After working as an instructor in piano at the University of Oregon from 1904-07, Whiteside moved to Germany where she continued her music studies with Swiss pianist, Rudolf Ganz. Upon return to the United States, she joined the newly established Portland division of the University of Oregon School of Music in 1917 as the piano faculty member. She relocated to New York City in 1923 where she lived and taught until her death in 1956. This biographical summary is based on the author’s forthcoming AmeriGrove article, on ‘Abby Whiteside,’ See Mary Robb, "Abby Whiteside," in The Grove Dictionary of American Music, ed. Charles Hiroshi Garrett (Accepted for inclusion and to be published online (at http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com) and in print by Oxford University Press in December, 2012). A text version of this article appears in Appendix B. For more on Whiteside’s biography see Patricia Ann Wood, "The Teaching of Abby Whiteside: Rhythm and Form in Piano Playing" (Thesis (DMA), Columbus, OH: Ohio State University, 1987), 3. Also see Graciela Guadalupe Martínez, "Basic Principles of Beginning Piano Study: A Comparison of Methodic Approaches of Josef Lhévinne and Abby Whiteside" (Thesis (PhD), East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, 1990).
not use piano exercises or drills to teach students technical points, but required them to absorb these functions through the awareness of musical value. Her practice was outlined in three books: The Pianist’s Mechanism,\textsuperscript{15} Mastering the Chopin Etudes and Other Essays\textsuperscript{16} and Indispensables of Piano Playing.\textsuperscript{17} The last publication, Indispensables of Piano Playing, was written in approximately 1948 and published in 1955—the exact period in which Gideon studied with Whiteside.\textsuperscript{18} Mastering the Chopin Etudes and Other Essays was compiled, transcribed and edited by her students, Sophia Rosoff and Joseph Prostakoff, posthumously from Whiteside’s notes. Rosoff in particular would become a key figure in Gideon’s process of adaptation.

Whiteside’s philosophy was focused on absorbing a musical piano technique by integrating it into an emotional response to music. In particular, she tried to capture what she termed ‘basic emotional rhythm,’ a process that naturally occurs, for example, in the instinctive movement of a child in response to a passing musical phrase.\textsuperscript{19} She studied the movement of jazz musicians and dancers who made it their art to convert natural rhythmic responses into exciting bodily expressions. Whiteside encouraged her piano students to pinpoint this natural emotional reaction and assimilate it into the process by which they learned how to play the piano.

Whiteside believed that to achieve ‘basic rhythm’ the total body must be emotionally involved and not just the fingers: it should engage the arms and torso in

\textsuperscript{17} Abby Whiteside, Indispensables of Piano Playing (New York: Coleman-Ross Co., 1955).
\textsuperscript{18} Rosoff and Prostakoff wrote in their edited book that Whiteside completed her book in 1948. See Whiteside, Mastering the Chopin Etudes and Other Essays, 3. Whiteside’s book was first published in 1955, the second edition in 1961 and it was published again in 1997. See Whiteside, Indispensables of Piano Playing.
\textsuperscript{19} Wood, "The Teaching of Abby Whiteside: Rhythm and Form in Piano Playing", 11.
a continuous free movement. Whiteside wrote that the bodily activity of the pianist began at the centre of the body and moved towards the periphery of the hands and fingers.\(^{20}\) At no point should a body apparatus be trained separately from the rest of the body; the hand must not be treated as disconnected from the arm, and the fingers are simply an extension of the back and torso.\(^{21}\) As Sophia Rosoff explained:

> The whole person plays the piano, not just the fingers. The fingers are the tail of the dog, it is not the dog. So it is a way of learning that would have had an influence on Gideon and anyone that came into contact with her [Whiteside].\(^{22}\)

Whiteside’s teaching philosophy was radical because it abandoned the widely accepted concept of ‘fingers first,’ where the fingers are trained to be responsible for controlling the sound produced by touch.\(^{23}\) In Whiteside’s approach, the physical reaction of the total body movement is responsible for producing a beautiful and emotionally informed performance. She contended that the movement should be natural, simple and flowing and that total control of the physical aspect of piano playing was a crucial and powerful tool for musical success. Treating the body as a whole being, and not in isolation, could also prevent injury and the overuse of particular muscle groups.\(^{24}\)

A journal entry in Gideon's private diary reveals the depth of expertise she achieved in mastering Abby Whiteside’s approach to piano playing. Whilst it is not documented anywhere in Gideon’s extant archive the date when she first started

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\(^{20}\) Whiteside, *Mastering the Chopin Etudes and Other Essays*, 198.

\(^{21}\) Whiteside, *Indispensables of Piano Playing*, 47.

\(^{22}\) Rosoff, "Interview with Mary Robb."


\(^{24}\) Rosoff, "Interview with Mary Robb." Whiteside defined ‘basic rhythm’ as, ‘an emotionally involved power which, in response to an auditory image, moves in a balanced, centred, lilting way towards a distant musical goal.’ Whiteside, *Mastering the Chopin Etudes and Other Essays*, 198.
studying with Whiteside, a single diary entry pinpoints a lesson that she took in Whiteside’s studio to the early 1950s. The diary entry, that usually recorded Gideon’s psychoanalytical treatment, captures the basic piano philosophy that Whiteside taught to her pupils. It is an invaluable document that unveils the extent of Gideon’s understanding of these principles at this point in her adaptation to life as a serious and professional piano teacher.\textsuperscript{25} She wrote:

\begin{quote}
Whiteside
- Keep power low and in back—upper arm, even when releasing key
- movement carries thru entire body—follow them ‘over the hill’ therefore comfort and ease to move about which sitting.
- Let starting impulse carry them\textsuperscript{26}
\end{quote}

In this diary entry, Gideon penned the fundamentals of Whiteside’s piano playing technique, which combined in a unique and coordinated way, the entire bodily response to an emotional rhythm. The terminology and content of this entry showed that Gideon was at an advanced stage of study with Whiteside. Gideon specified that the ‘power’ to lift the finger from the keyboard came from the upper arm and not the fingers, while the words ‘movement carries thru entire body’ refers to the circularity of the bodily rhythm that carried the surge of the musical idea. The movement of the body originates from the base of the torso in the back. Her account of ‘comfort and ease’ when seated also represents Whiteside’s concept of the ‘dancing pelvis’ and the contraction of pelvic muscles.\textsuperscript{27} Whiteside documented in her writings that the

\textsuperscript{25} Curiously, the rest of her private diary refers to the psychoanalytical treatment the composer received during the early 1950s (see Chapter 3 for more details). It seems that for one of Gideon’s piano lessons, she forgot her usual music notebook for Whiteside’s class, which did not survive and is not preserved in her library archives. Instead Gideon wrote her remarks on her lesson in her private journal. See Gideon, "Journal 2 Sp No. 348." In MGP-NYPL.

\textsuperscript{26} Gideon, "Journal 2 Sp No. 348.”

resistance of the piano stool to the ischial bones and muscles literally creates the freedom of rhythmic response to music.\textsuperscript{28} The absence in Gideon’s notes of any discussion of the fingers, the focus point of the body that actually creates the sound from the piano keys, further indicates an awareness of Whiteside’s principle of utilising the entire body for an emotional response to music.

6.3 Whiteside's Principles Taught by Gideon to Her Students

One of the crucial moments in Gideon’s transition to becoming a professional piano teacher was her active communication of Whiteside’s principles to her own private students. Whiteside’s profound and valuable ideas of total bodily control, combined with an emotional connection to the music, were appealing to Gideon. The adoption of Whiteside’s principles by Gideon and their utilisation throughout her teaching career confirm that her commitment to teaching was a lifelong project, and not just an interim solution after leaving academia.\textsuperscript{29}

Former piano student John Deri remembered that Gideon taught him the importance of playing from the whole body and that power came from the back of the torso. In an interview, Deri noted, ‘her approach to the keyboard was one of the whole body approach to the instrument.’\textsuperscript{30} He learned not to express a musical phrase with his fingers, but rather, ‘emotional rhythm’ was essential to a successful musical performance.\textsuperscript{31} Furthermore, during one summer, Gideon recommended to him not to attend a music camp, because she thought that his temporary teacher might

\textsuperscript{28} Wood, "The Teaching of Abby Whiteside: Rhythm and Form in Piano Playing", 22.
\textsuperscript{29} Hanani noted in her article that at the time of her interview in 1976, Gideon had stopped accepting private students. See Hanani, "Portrait of a Composer,” 24.
\textsuperscript{30} John Deri, "Interview with Mary Robb.”
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
emphasise prescriptive technique over the emotional necessity of creating beautiful musical lines.

Steven Blier, a former piano and theory student and now a concert accompanist and faculty member at The Julliard School in New York City, remembered that Gideon encouraged him to connect to music by improvising at the piano. She directed him to use the entire range of the piano and to create music through an awareness of his imagination. Blier’s memory of improvising in his private classes is supported by lesson plans that Gideon made in a staff notebook. In a section that contained her notes on piano teaching, she wrote that her young students should ‘improvise’ in a structured manner. In a specific exercise for beginner pianists, Gideon taught the names of the notes through improvisation. Students were first instructed to spell each letter of the note name that they played, then to sing the pitch of that note. Lastly, they were directed to match the right note on the piano by pressing down on the right key. Only after these procedures had taken place was the pupil allowed to check the accuracy of the note by looking.

Gideon’s notebook read:

Improvisation
Keyboard Sense
Alert: spell and sing while playing
Hear: sing
Find single notes by touch
(check each after playing)

32 Blier, “Interview with Mary Robb.”
33 MGP-NYPL, box 20 folder 7.
34 Ibid., box 20 folder 7. This type of educational pattern occurred throughout Gideon’s notebook. In a later entry she wrote:
'(For scale and chord drill:)
S. plays in various rhythmic patterns
1. assigned
2. invented by him, analysed by class’
('S.' is an abbreviation of student.) Ibid., box 20 folder 7.
Beginner students were also instructed by Gideon to freely improvise a chord with one hand and place single notes in the other. Reflecting on the different personalities of her students, she wrote that a ‘dissonant chord, maintained throughout is good for inhibited beginners.’ From the earliest piano instruction pitch names, note values, notation, rhythm, meter, tempo, dynamics and interval recognition were all also taught with the same musical values. An autonomous body movement on the piano had a significant, deep connection to the meaning of music.

Further teaching notes, held in Gideon’s archive at the New York Public Library (NYPL), provide evidence that improvisation was a widespread technique that she used for her more advanced students. The exercises for intermediate piano players had a higher level of difficulty but the idea and procedures remained at the core:

Improvise at piano
   1. Same 2-tones anywhere, any way
   2. Same interval—any location
   3. 2 tones and n.t.[note]
   4. Same 2 tones in one hand. Same 2 (or any 2) etc. in other hand
      (white, black, etc.)
   5. One tone-combine with all others (pedal?—chords, etc.)
   6. Sequences

Suggestions:
   - 4 hands
   - Set up rhythmic pattern in one hand
   - Set up form (A-B, A-B-A, etc.)
   - Set up character (lively, sad, etc)
   - One hand interval, other melody
   - Ask individual each student to suggest how to work with student at piano
   - Use for ear-training (intervals)

35 Ibid., box 20 folder 7.
36 Ibid., box 20 folder 7.
Challenging her pupils to consider the character and personality of the improvised composition ‘(lively, sad, etc)’ indicated that Gideon emphasised the importance of musical imagination in the student’s piano performance. Improvisation through closed parameters, by establishing the same interval in different locations using the entire keyboard, underlines that Gideon was just as concerned about the development of the ear as she was about the emotional and physical connection of the body to music.

Gideon’s more advanced students had to ‘improvise a phrase’ using formal figured bass patterns such as ‘I-IV-V in l.h. [left hand].’ Once the pupil had achieved a melodic improvisation and continuous phrasing, Gideon instructed them to ‘repeat several times’ and to ‘use different formal patterns.’ She suggested the following for more complex musical structures:

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \ A \ A \ A2 \\
A & \ A \ B \ A \ (\text{repetition may be slightly modified}) \\
A & \ B \ A \ B \\
A & \ B \ A \ C \\
A & \ B \ C \ D \ \text{etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

Once these processes of improvisation were practiced and learned, the student could, ‘Finally: use any sequence of phrases... without planning in advance.’ The foundations of improvisation from a young age enabled students to connect more easily to the emotional characteristics of printed music. Gideon utilised the same

37 Ibid., box 20 folder 7. ‘l.h.’ is an abbreviation of ‘left hand.’
38 Ibid., box 20 folder 7.
39 Ibid., box 20 folder 7.
40 Ibid., box 20 folder 7.
41 Ibid., box 20 folder 7. Gideon taught her students to harmonise a piece from sight using the rules of avoiding consecutive 5ths and octaves etc. and in the process, co-ordinating the right hand and left hand together. She also extended improvisation techniques to harmonising familiar songs. At first, the student would play a song at the speed it was usually sung and then secondly, she or he would chose
improvisation principles to teach her beginner students as she did to teach the technique of figured bass to her most advanced students. Another lesson strategy for this level of group read:

**Figured Bass**

Procedures
1. Write syllabic mel. to fig. bass
2. Write embellished mel. to fig. bass
3. Improvise syll. mel. to fig. bass
4. Improvise embel. mel. to fig. bass
5. Improvise free mel. to fig. bass;
   One chord to a meas. at first
   Use motive
   Avoid consec. 5th s and 8ves in B and S between successive strong beats. \(^\text{42}\)

The extent of her teaching notes demonstrated that she sought to deliver good quality education to children as a long-term, even lifelong, commitment. She believed that improvisation not only taught ear training but most importantly, a bodily emotional connection to music that did not just rely on the fingers. The principles of learning ‘basic rhythm’ revolutionised the way in which Gideon taught piano during her period of inner exile and in the following section, it will be shown how these principles were composed within *Altered Steps to Altered States*.

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chords to harmonise the song. In this way, the pupil practiced basic and familiar phrasing, harmony and typical cadences that had been learned and recalled from their memory. Gideon also held separate devices for teaching and developing the student’s ear. See ‘Ear Training’ *ibid.*, box 20 folder 7. \(^\text{42}\)

As a precursor for teaching figured bass, Gideon also wrote in her notebook:

‘Melodic principles:
1. Balance between step and skip.
2. Climb
3. Avoid consec. 5ths and 8ves between B and S.

Fill in range,’

‘Mel.’ is short of ‘melody’; ‘embell.’ is shortened from ‘embellish’; and ‘consec.’ stands for ‘consecutive.’ See *ibid.*, box 20 folder 7.
6.4 Whiteside’s Principles in Gideon’s ‘Hesitating Seconds’ from *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953)

Whiteside’s pedagogical philosophy was an overarching principle within the musical structure of *Altered Steps to Altered States*. Gideon articulated this in three main ways in the work: firstly, through bodily control, secondly, with the principles of ‘basic emotional rhythm,’ and thirdly, by teaching principles of technique through musicianship. These are illustrated in the first piece ‘Hesitating Seconds’ of Gideon’s piano cycle.43

6.4.1 Bodily Control

In ‘Hesitating Seconds’ the functional necessity for an emotional bodily connection to the music is apparent from the first few measures of the piece. Gideon articulates an E-F motive throughout the first ten bars in the left hand, which contains the musical nucleus of the piece. They are the only tones permitted in the left hand during these ten bars. See Example 6.1.

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43 For the full score see Chapter 5.
Through careful placement of this motive in multiple ranges of the keyboard, Gideon invites the pianist to make an emotional, bodily connection to the interval of the minor second. For the student to make the required range of octave leaps without causing inaccuracies, sudden accents or loss of musical connection, they must move their whole arm from one end of the piano to the other, whilst maintaining a supple torso and correct sitting posture. The placement of this motive encourages the pianist to develop physical flexibility in the back muscles. This exercise also improves the pianist’s proprioception in relation to knowing where the piano keys are located, without having to look for them. To achieve ‘basic rhythm,’ the pianist must also connect musical understanding of the purpose of the minor second (explained below) to an emotional bodily response that involves the entire body and not just the fingers. The piece is designed for this purpose.
At first, Gideon creates the leap of an octave with the overlap of the right hand over the left in the space between bars 2-3. Concurrently, the left hand must also travel two octaves within the same space to place a delicate piano low F-E in bar 3. The wide range of the piano keyboard, of which Gideon uses six octaves in ‘Hesitating Seconds,’ also involves active and extended leaps including those that also retract, such as the ascending then descending octave movement in the left hand of bars 4-6. The ‘upwards’ and ‘downwards’ octave movement again occurs in the left hand of bars 7-10 as well as contrary octave movement and the crossing of the hands at this moment. Gideon’s articulation of these leaps increased the difficulty of executing a musical performance of the motive. In the third beat of bar 6 (a rest), the left hand must also leap one octave in one beat, shortly followed by a further octave in just a quaver’s rest. Gideon marked a piano dynamic at this crucial moment requiring that the body is in total command of its apparatus. The student cannot ‘reach’ or ‘hit’ the key with their fingers but must have a completely controlled movement in the torso, arms and fingers to place the notes musically with subtle piano dynamic. See Example 6.1.

6.4.2 Basic Emotional Rhythm

Further composed into the core of this piece is Whiteside’s musical concept of ‘basic emotional rhythm.’ At the end of the work, the importance and the value of the E-F motive is defined by its divisive reiteration in the final six bars of the work. The final two bars of ‘Hesitating Seconds’ require absolute control of the body and command of the musical motive, as Gideon presents it in a pianissimo dynamic, staccato and prefixed by a large three octave leap. The E-F motive concludes the
movement with the right and left hand in octave unison. Both hands move simultaneously and are coordinated with the *una corda*. A *pianissimo* staccato in octaves for a child’s physique would be a challenge. Gideon’s technical direction to ‘hold “E” with middle pedal’ indicates that she intended this piece to be accessible for children as well as adult pianists. However, most adult pianists would have a sufficient hand span to play comfortably an octave. See Example 6.2.

**Example 6.2 ‘Hesitating Seconds’ Bars 23-28**

At both the beginning and the end of the piece, only the E-F interval and the notes themselves are permitted in the left hand. This technique of locating the same interval in a variety of different places on the entirety of the keyboard was similar to the weekly improvisatory exercises that Gideon created for her regular private piano students. In ‘Hesitating Seconds,’ however, the interval of the minor second was focused on the E-F motive rather than the intervallic properties of the minor second placed randomly over the twelve notes. Through careful musical direction, Gideon composed the musical values she had studied with Whiteside into *Altered Steps to*
Altered States. Few pieces for a student pianist exposed them to this high expectation of bodily control.  

6.4.3 Principles of Technique Learned Through Musicianship

Gideon also presented the educational aspects of Altered Steps to Altered States in a highly musical manner. Whiteside advocated that systematic trills, stepwise motions and technical exercises written without musical phrasing did not promote musicianship as the most important aspect of piano playing. Rather, it conditioned the pianist into a mechanical delivery of notes without a sense of where the real music of the piece lay. She wrote:

A note-wise procedure ties the music down to a laboured progression because it does not automatically highlight important tones; more important, it literally destroys the possibility of developing one’s potential gifts for musical perception.

For Whiteside, technical exercises and drills were the most destructive type of piano practice as they emphasised bad habits of tone production and ignored the lift of musical ideas and phrasing in a piece. Rather, Whiteside ingrained into her students the idea of practising the piano in the way that one might like to perform. To give an example, practising a trill routine in isolation did not produce the same kind of

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44 For a contemporaneous comparison of works for the less experienced player see, for example, Eckstein, Eckstein Piano Course in Six Books: Melodious Lessons for Learning to Play the Piano, Suitable for Private Teaching of the Individual Pupil or for Group Instruction.
45 In her book Indispensables of Piano Playing Whiteside wrote: ‘Systematically working to develop finger-hitting power is worse than simply a waste of time. Its by-product is the establishment of habits of tone production which tend to blot out the vivid awareness that a surging rhythm is what makes the music shine. The inevitable result of training fingers for tone production is the conditioning of listening habits to a note-wise procedure, and this is probably more destructive even than the pain of neuritis, which can and often does result from strain. A note-wise procedure can cause havoc in the full development of powers. It can slow up the process of learning repertoire, and trespass on a continuing rhythm.’ Whiteside, Indispensables of Piano Playing, 5.
46 Ibid., 5.
47 Ibid., 5.
exciting rhythm the pianist would require for a performance.\textsuperscript{48} Whiteside believed that it would be more beneficial to practice emotionally involved trills in a musical context. In this way, the pianist ingrains the habit of ‘feeling the rhythm’ of a performance. She wrote, ‘mechanical practice develops the habit of mechanical playing, which cannot readily be shaken off and therefore is always bad.’\textsuperscript{49} In *Altered Steps to Altered States* Gideon incorporated aspects of technique for the student to develop but presented them in a highly musical and sensitive context.

In bars 14-23 in the left hand of ‘Hesitating Seconds,’ a one-octave chromatic scale is broken up and composed across ten bars. At first it appears as a partial scale of nine descending tones starting on $F^\#$—the loudest and most climactic point of the piece. Gideon marked this point (bars 14-15) with a crescendo to *forte*. The right hand moves in contrary motion in thirds and seconds, counterbalancing the chromaticism of the left hand, and creating a graceful musical line. Parts of the chromatic scale are then reiterated in three note sequences at bars 16 and 18. Gideon then expands this to four note sequences in bars 18-19 and then the remaining tones are articulated over three bars from 21-23, as indicated in Example 6.3. At each point, the intervals of the descending chromatic scale are musically enhanced by the free movement of the right hand of the piano. In addition, the chromaticism is interspersed, and perhaps interrupted, by minor second intervals. These minor seconds have a dual function; they recall the theme of the piece (the E-F motive at the start of the work) and they also complement the aims of learning the properties of the chromatic scale in a musical context. The result is a melodic and modernist.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 55.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., 55.
musical line which appears to move freely, whilst also functioning as a learning tool for the chromatic scale. See Example 6.3.

**Example 6.3 ‘Hesitating Seconds’ Bars 13-24**

Through this skilled compositional writing, the music functions on various levels. The student learns the properties, qualities and spacing of the chromatic scale within the context of a musical setting. Gideon achieved the adroit fusion of technique with music which was at the core of her aims in *Altered Steps to Altered States*.

**6.5 Emphasis on Musicality in Gideon’s Lessons**

Emphasis on musicality was a significant part of all Gideon’s piano classes. Former private piano students recalled that she only made technical corrections when it was absolutely necessary and it was rare that she interfered with the student’s natural musical inclinations. Karen Brudney, a piano student of Gideon remembered
that, ‘Miriam was never technical, always encouraging musicality.’\textsuperscript{50} Lessons would regularly begin by Gideon playing to the pupil a piece of music from a recording or by her playing on the piano. If the student liked the piece, they would practise it for the next week.\textsuperscript{51} This approach not only engaged the pupil in different styles, genres and types of music, but it also educated them in the potential sound that great pianists could produce. In an interview, former student Steven Blier recalled, ‘there was always something she wanted me to hear.’\textsuperscript{52} Brudney who studied with Gideon for over a decade described how a typical lesson would begin:

The way that we would start each lesson was... she [Gideon] would play several bars of whatever it was I was going to move onto and if I liked it then that would be for the week what I would work on. She never was prescriptive about what I should be playing... she would play something... I mean there was no point setting me onto something that I hated and I was little a bit philistine in my tastes and occasionally she would push something a bit more modern down my way but really I was very traditional.\textsuperscript{53}

Blier and Brudney’s memories of how lessons began are supported by the lesson notes Gideon documented in her teaching book. She would frequently ask students to sight-read music and then to evaluate, using musical terminology, what she or he had heard. Through these exercises, a student’s sight-reading abilities would improve and they would also develop their analytical skills in assessing the type and style of the music they heard. The development of these good aural skills trained students to recognise and correct and develop their own musicianship. This

\textsuperscript{50} Brudney, “Interview with Mary Robb.”
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{52} Blier, “Interview with Mary Robb.”
\textsuperscript{53} Karen Brudney could only remember one occasion in which Gideon interfered with her choice of a piece. She recalled in an interview, ‘The only time she ever sort of stopped me from playing something was somewhere when I was about 15. I was in a Chopin phase and I didn’t want to play anything except Chopin. And she finally said “you know really there are other composers, it’s time for you to move on. I think it would be a good idea for you to develop your musical intellect a little bit.” And so she allowed me to move onto Beethoven.’ Brudney, “Interview with Mary Robb.”
particular type of training also enabled students to be independent in their weekly
home practice in between lessons, and aimed to make faster and more defined
progress in their studies. Gideon wrote in her notes:

TESTS AT BEGINNING

1. Sight harmonis. [sic] at piano
   - Familiar song
   - Unfamiliar melody from book
2. Piano performance
3. Hearing
   S. plays back what I play. S. Analyses what he hears as I play^54

From the very beginning, Gideon taught her students the essential qualities of a
musician. Her non-prescriptive approach, in allowing students to develop their own
musical taste, also extended to their study of Gideon’s compositions. Brudney
remembered that occasionally Gideon would allow her students to absorb and learn
her piano compositions, but that she did not push anyone to do so.\(^55\) Allowing the
student to decide what they wanted to play was a rather radical approach to music
education. The teacher is often the only means through which a child can develop
musical taste and experience a relationship towards music. However, Gideon felt,
just as Bartók, Whiteside and the editors of \textit{American Composers of today} did, that
trust in a child’s initial reaction towards a piece of music should take priority; it
usually signified that the student had a positive and strong emotional connection to
the music.

\(^{54}\) The initial, ‘S.’ is short for ‘student.’ MGP-NYPL, box 20 folder 7.
\(^{55}\) Former student Karen Brudney recalled: ‘And Miriam, you know, as she was composing
occasionally as I got older, would let me play one of her pieces. She didn’t really like to do that. But
occasionally, she would let me play one of her pieces. She felt as if she didn’t want to be forcing
herself on her students. That that was improper.’ Brudney, "Interview with Mary Robb."
Gideon’s long-term vision for her students can be evidenced in the care she took to get to understand the personality and character of her students outside of their piano lessons. This had several positive effects from the earliest early stages of tuition; with the knowledge of the pupil’s personality, she could better guide them towards a selection of music that they might enjoy performing. In addition, Gideon could gauge the level of musical taste and value to which they could connect. She did this gradually throughout years of study with her private students, and where possible, she also established a crucial relationship with their parent(s). This not only informed the parent as to the requirements of study when learning to play the piano, but it also solidified her friendships with the leftist musical community of which Gideon became a part after her marriage to Ewen. Former piano student John Deri described how his teacher became a confidant to him through time spent together before and after the lesson, which he took at Gideon’s apartment:

After the lesson father virtually almost always picked me up particularly when I was younger... so before the lesson I would generally spend 15-20 minutes alone with Fred [Gideon’s husband, Frederic Ewen]. And after the lesson, I believe my lesson was usually the last of Miriam’s schedule of the day, we would spend some time together the four of us. Miriam, Fred, my father and myself. And those were times that were warm and [they] both loved me very much. They are really memories that I cherish of being in an intact family unlike my own. To be surrounded by so much love.

The affection Gideon showed to Deri was not unique amongst her pupils. Steven Blier described how she taught him piano and music theory with ‘feeling and

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56 This is further detailed in Chapter 2.
57 John Deri, "Interview with Mary Robb." Gideon enjoyed the company of bright and interested youngsters and did not have any children of her own. A divorce decree between Frederic Ewen and Dorothea Werker Ewen shows that their child, Joel Joachim was placed in the custody of Ewen’s ex-wife. FEP-TLNYU, Divorced decree is dated 17th October, 1940. Box 1 folder 7.
Karen Brudney also recalled that she would talk with Gideon, either before or after the lesson, about exams, high school friendship tensions, relationships and the general teenage issues that naturally cropped up as she grew through adolescence. Once in college, Brudney would return to Gideon’s home for a special piano lesson followed by an invitation from her former teacher to stay afterwards for dinner. The friendship was mutual and equally Gideon shared her own life stories with Brudney including of her travels to Europe. Gideon imparted to her students that their life experiences were intimately intertwined into the way in which music is expressed.

At the end of every academic year Gideon would organise an annual recital for all of her students to perform the works that they had studied during the year. Due to Gideon’s small apartment, the concert rotated to a different student house each year and was recorded onto an L.P. disc. The recital was an opportunity for the young performers to gain performance experience and to take pride in their work, whilst also being a friendly and social event. Later, Gideon would give a copy of the recital recording to each performer as a gift and as a marker of their progress to becoming young pianists.
6.6 Pedagogical Legacy

After Whiteside’s death in 1955, Gideon studied with Sophia Rosoff, a disciple of Whiteside, underlining Gideon’s long-term commitment to her late teacher’s pedagogical philosophy. There was, however, another connection. Rosoff was the composer’s sister in-law from Gideon’s second marriage. In a sense, Gideon continuing to study Whiteside’s philosophy under Rosoff was a family matter. Both women shared a mutual interest in piano teaching and playing, through the influence and respect for their former teacher. The two had met through mutual music circles when a friend, who also played piano, introduced them. Sophia married Noah Rosoff, and Gideon married his brother, Peter Rosoff. They remained close friends for decades after Gideon and Peter Rosoff’s divorce during the late-1940s. Gideon bequeathed her piano and clavichord in her will to her friend. Sophia Rosoff’s poems are also found amongst Gideon’s personal papers in her archive at

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former private music theory student, Jodi Beder specifically noted that they were never taught serial technique as a theoretical component. Beder, "Interview with Mary Robb." Also see John Deri, "Interview with Mary Robb." Under Gideon’s direction, Beder composed species counterpoint, Bach counterpoint, two part inventions and movements from dance suites. She also completed chord analyses, music composition in the style of various composers as well as being guided by Gideon in free music composition. Beder noted that her teacher treated her as serious composer even though she was not yet an adult. Gideon performed and recorded everything that her student wrote; instructed her to give titles to her compositions, and also learned the technique of neatly writing out completed compositions with special ink and paper. See Beder, "Interview with Mary Robb." Students described Gideon as modest and as someone who understood her limits as a teacher, passing her most promising students on to more experienced piano teachers. Gideon recognised that Steven Blier was capable of a career in piano performance and persuaded him to study with a more eminent piano teacher. Blier thought that Gideon felt she had reached the limit of what she could teach him. See Blier, "Interview with Mary Robb."

Rosoff, "Interview with Mary Robb."

Gideon scholar Stephanie Jensen-Moulton has found no specific date for Gideon and Rosoff’s divorce. However, Gideon’s relationship with Frederic Ewen began in 1948 and therefore it is very likely that her separation with Rosoff occurred before 1948. Jensen-Moulton, "'Sparring with Fate:' Miriam Gideon's 1958 Opera Fortunato", 38.

Ibid., 45.
the NYPL. Similarly, it was Rosoff who organised the ticketing for a concert entitled a ‘Tribute to Miriam Gideon’ and also organised concert programs of Gideon’s works, the most recent occurring in February, 2011 at Carnegie Hall in New York City. This family link may well have been another factor that influenced Gideon’s decision to remain involved and contribute to the work of Abby Whiteside for over forty years. The skills that Gideon learned from this group of like-minded composers and teachers served her for her entire life, especially during the difficult period of 1952-1955. Along with colleagues Vivian Fine, Robert Helps and Milton Babbitt, Gideon was an original and valued founding member of the board of the Abby Whiteside Foundation. The link between Rosoff, Gideon and Whiteside continued until the composer’s death in 1996 when Rosoff was the president of the Foundation.

Teaching the piano in the community may not even have been Gideon’s original intention. On taking her on as a student, Karen Brudney noted:

I think Miriam was doing this as a sort of social favour, I mean, she didn’t really teach very many children, and perhaps she needed the money...
However what might have started as a ‘social favour’ to Brudney’s parents and a necessary financial solution during the McCarthy era burgeoned into a successful, lifelong career imparting musical meaning to young students. Many of her former students became successful professional musicians. At the time of writing Steven Blier is a faculty member at The Juilliard School in New York City and also a successful piano accompanist and vocal coach. Jody Rockmaker is now an accomplished composer and currently an Associate Professor at the Arizona State University School of Music. Former theory and composition student Jodi Beder held the post of principal cellist of Princeton Symphony Orchestra and specialises in performance of contemporary music. Margaret Garwood, who was taught composition and was mentored by Gideon, became a noted composer and recently was the subject of a doctoral thesis entitled, *The Cliff’s Edge (Songs of the Psychotic)*. She also studied piano with Abby Whiteside’s protégé Joseph Prostakoff. It is clear that many of Gideon’s former students were talented. However, it is unusual for a teacher to have such a large number of successful students with diverse specialities that were educated privately, from childhood and from outside an academic institution.

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73 A biography of Steven Blier can be found at: http://www.nyfos.org/bios/Blier,_Steven.php Date accessed 23rd October, 2010. His faculty page at The Julliard School can be found at: http://www.julliard.edu/degrees-programs/music/faculty/detail.php?FacultyId=31&School=College&Division=Music Date accessed 1st September, 2011.


75 Anne Christopherson, "The Cliff’s Edge (Songs of a Psychotic) by Margaret Garwood: An Exploration" (Thesis (DMA), Columbus, OH: Ohio State University, 2004), 7.

76 Ibid., 6.
6.7 Conclusion

Gideon’s pedagogical principles were influenced by her teacher, Whiteside, and underpinned her role as a composer of piano music for the less experienced student. Gideon’s long-term study of Whiteside’s teaching philosophy is indicative of her motivation towards excellence as a teacher, but also a desire to build a life outside of an academic institution. Her pedagogical approach was unusual for era in which she worked. Unlike many of her contemporaries, Gideon believed, and taught, that musicality flowed from the body as a whole and that technique could be absorbed through the study of real pieces of music, as opposed to technical piano exercises. Additionally, she believed that learning the piano was best achieved, for the less experienced student, by letting pupils choose a piece that appealed to them, and not simply having them work their way through a series of illustrative exercises and tunes. The influence of Whiteside’s pedagogical philosophy on Gideon’s approach to teaching the piano has not been previously examined and also represents an original contribution to this research. *Altered Steps to Altered States* combines musicality with an underlying concise compositional structure that also contains clear pedagogical principles for the less experienced player. The musicality and intricate structure of the piece is such that it would not be out of place in a concert programme.

*Altered Steps to Altered States* reflects Gideon’s transition from her role as a teacher in an academic setting towards her future career as a piano teacher in the community. This was to provide a practical and creative solution for her eventual loss of employment at Brooklyn College the following year (1954) and at City
College in 1955. Writing piano music for children was unusual for a composer working within the academy in New York City at that time, as composers generally achieved academic recognition for larger scale works that were not written for less experienced instrumentalists. By writing for her pupils, Gideon became part of a group that, historically, included eminent composers such as Bach and Bartók who were part of the musical canon, but who also wrote for their piano students. Although her compositional output dropped during her period of inner exile, the majority of her compositions completed in 1953 were works for the piano, reflecting this change in her orientation. Gideon had the fortitude to maintain her compositional output during this difficult period and this was, most probably, part of the mechanism through which she began to emerge from inner exile. She re-established herself as a teacher and composer but in a musical world without institutional support.

A composer’s contribution to teaching is generally a neglected area of research. But this chapter has shown the importance of not considering Gideon’s professional life solely in the domain of a composer, but also as a teacher. Her adaptation of her teaching skills was a key factor in her response to inner exile and its eventual resolution. It is relevant to include this important aspect, of teaching both inside and outside of the academy, when examining her music compositions from this period.
CHAPTER 7:
CONCLUSION

The notion of inner exile illuminates a highly significant moment in Gideon’s personal and professional life. This study has shown that the anti-communist politics on campus during the McCarthy era and Gideon’s personal reaction to political events drew her into inner exile. This dissertation has also brought to light aspects of Gideon’s biography from the period 1952-55 when she lived under severe practical and psychological restrictions. It has shown that her personal experiences of political repression were mirrored in the compositional works and musical structures of *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952) and *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953). As she prepared to leave academia, Gideon took several significant steps to safeguard her income by re-orientating her professional activities towards teaching the piano privately whilst, at the same time, maintaining an engaging compositional output.

But how did Gideon’s inner exile resolve?

7.1 Re-entering the Academy: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1955

Composing piano works remained somewhat of an anomaly in Gideon’s compositional portfolio. After writing an unusually high number of piano compositions in 1953, she returned to writing in her favoured genres of vocal works and songs and she wrote only four further works for the keyboard (plus the remaining movements of *Altered Steps to Altered States*). *Three Biblical Masks* for
organ was composed in 1958, a piano suite *Of Shadows Numberless* was completed in 1966, Gideon wrote a piano sonata in 1977 and finally, a work written in tribute to her compositional teacher, Roger Sessions, *Hommage à Roger* was published in 1978.¹ Although Gideon did not continue composing much music for piano, she did actively maintain and enjoy teaching children music. Following her success with teaching young musicians the piano during the 1950s, she began to teach at the Manhattan School of Music (MSM) in 1967 in the preparatory division.²

After 1953 and the completion of *Altered Steps to Altered States*, compositional colleagues who operated outside of the academy continued to support Gideon during the continued period of instability, especially when she was about to lose her academic posts. In particular, help came from those with whom she had formed strong friendships before she began teaching at Brooklyn College and City College. During her period of compositional study with Roger Sessions in the 1940s, Gideon belonged to a tight-knit group of composers who spent hours learning and studying together during group classes. Together they had founded a student contemporary music society, ‘Forum Group’ which was linked to the International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM).³ Gideon described the social nature and creative activity of this group in an interview with Judith Pinnolis. She said:

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¹ See the Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions detailed in this thesis. *Hommage à Roger* was published alongside other compositional tributes to Sessions. See Andrew Imbrie et al., "Moments Musicaux for Roger Sessions in Celebration of His Plus 80 Years," *Perspectives of New Music* 16, no. 2 (1978).
He [Sessions] thought it would be a good idea for some of these young composers to organise a kind of apprentice group around the ISCM... We called ourselves the ‘Forum Group’ and... sometimes we were performed by the parent group itself.¹

In 1954, the year that Gideon lost her job at Brooklyn College, one member of this group, Hugo Weisgall commissioned the only work that Gideon composed that year. *Adon Olom* (Master of the World) was a Jewish inspired choral work based on Hebrew liturgy. She wrote it for the Temple Chizuk Amuno Congregation in Baltimore, Maryland where it was premièred on 23⁴th May, 1954.⁵ The timing of the commission was probably not a coincidence but a generous gesture by a friend, helping a fellow musician in need. Weisgall had previously conducted some of Gideon’s works at home and abroad, on several occasions, and their friendship dated back to at least 1938 when they both had new works performed at a festival concert sponsored by the League of Composers.⁶ On 7⁶th December, 1941 he performed Gideon’s *Epigrams* (written from 1938-41) a suite for orchestra in Baltimore, Maryland.⁷ Furthermore, whilst stationed as an army sergeant in England, U.K. during the Second World War, on 9⁷th April, 1944 he conducted Gideon’s *Lyric Piece* for string orchestra (1941) with the London Symphony Orchestra.⁸

² For details of the subsequent arrangement of this work see the Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions detailed in this thesis. For details of Weisgall’s commission and the stylistic premise of *Adon Olom* see Pinnolis Fertig, "An Analysis of Selected Works of the American Composer Miriam Gideon (1906-) in Light of Contemporary Jewish Musical Trends", 97.
⁶ Chodacki, "Miriam Gideon, a Classified Catalog of Compositions", 40.
After Weisgall completed his studies with Sessions he became the director of a new department in the Cantor’s Institute at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS) which was established in 1953. The following year, when Gideon resigned from her second teaching post at City College, after refusing to testify before a committee connected with McCarthy, Weisgall arranged for her to have a job interview at the Seminary.\(^9\) She had already demonstrated her talent and interest in writing Jewish inspired music during the 1940s with her choral works, *The Hound of Heaven* (1945) and *How Goodly Are Thy Tents* (1947), the latter of which won her the Ernest Bloch award.\(^10\)

The dean of the JTS had been briefed on Gideon’s background and in the interview he asked her to swear allegiance to the principles of the American flag.\(^11\) She was successfully re-admitted to the academy in 1955 and her survival from the McCarthy era and inner exile was assured at a professional level with this financially secure and creative position.\(^12\) Her academic duties were similar to the type of music teaching she had undertaken at Brooklyn College and City College and she did not specialise in the liturgical music for which the Cantor’s Institute was renowned.\(^13\) On accepting the post Gideon recalled in an interview:

“Yeah. Well, I’ll tell you. Frankly, it was a job! And also Weisgall was a very, very good friend of mine since the days we studied with Sessions. We know each other’s music... So, when he organised the Cantors’ Institute, in 1953... a year or so later when it got on its feet, he asked me to come and teach there. It was that simple. You see, so it wasn’t that I had a choice. Nobody else asked me. I felt very

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9 Jensen-Moulton, "‘Sparring with Fate’: Miriam Gideon’s 1958 Opera Fortunato", 41.
inclined toward it too.\textsuperscript{14}

Although Gideon stated that she had a limited choice in her employment, the combination of her music teaching experience in public colleges, her Jewish heritage and the opportunity to compose Jewish influenced works was a professional success: she taught at the JTS from 1955-91 and she was awarded a Doctorate in Composition of Sacred Music in 1970.\textsuperscript{15}

Starting at the JTS was a significant stage in Gideon’s move away from inner exile as it restored a stable professional base from which she continued teaching and composing and, from a practical point of view, it provided a regular income for her. It is very likely that Weisgall’s commission, \textit{Adon Olom} (1954) was a deliberate attempt by a fellow colleague and musician to help another in need. This work combined with the commission from the previous year, \textit{Altered Steps to Altered States} (1953) assisted with her creative emergence from inner exile as she was obliged to continue composing and consider what music meant to her, despite the difficulties under which she was living. These works were composed on the verge of her changed environment and both contain the promise of a renewed style of composition. Gideon had not previously composed much Jewish inspired music, nor had she shown an overt interest in composing for the piano.

While Gideon’s forced resignation from City College in 1955 marked the height of the repression she faced during the McCarthy era, it was also the year in which resolution at professional, economic and creative levels solidified. However it

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 133.
took much longer for the institutional and political dimensions within the public educational system in New York City to settle.

### 7.2 Reconciliations with Former Academic Worlds

It is reasonable to conclude that, by the time Gideon started her employment at the JTS, she was well on the way to emerging from inner exile, having regained stability at a professional level. However, from a personal level both Ewen and Gideon had to wait many years before some restitution was made from the public educational system for the wrongdoing against them during the McCarthy era. A formal first step was taken by Brooklyn College over thirty years after Ewen was forced to resign from his teaching post there.

On 12th March, 1987 Ewen received a letter from Robert L. Hess, the President of Brooklyn College from 1979-91. He invited Ewen to a ceremony to honour victims of the injustices of the era. As part of the invitation Hess wrote, ‘We cannot right the wrongs; we can express our sense of outrage.’ Enclosed with the letter was a copy of the 1987 Resolution which made a formal apology for the unfair treatment of some staff during the McCarthy era. It had been jointly approved by the faculties of Brooklyn College and City College. This expressed their:

> profound regret and dismay at the injustice done to former colleagues on the faculty and staff of the College and University who were dismissed or forced to resign because of their alleged political associations and beliefs and their unwillingness to testify publically about them during subsequent legislative inquiries and investigations.

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At the same time, Ewen was also invited to participate in a conference organised by
Brooklyn College entitled ‘McCarthyism: The Lessons of History’ at which he was a
guest speaker.\footnote{Ibid., Letter from Sharon Zukin, professor of sociology at Brooklyn College to Frederic Ewen. 11 March, 1987.} After the event, he received letters from the dean of graduate studies and a professor of education at Brooklyn College thanking him for his moving and thoughtful presentation, ‘McCarthy Era at Brooklyn College.’\footnote{Ibid., See letter from Stephan F. Brumberg, professor of education at Brooklyn College to Frederic Ewen 5 June, 1987 and also see letter from Leslie S. Jacobson, dean of graduate studies at Brooklyn College to Frederic Ewen. 4 May, 87.} In 1988, the year of Ewen’s death, Brooklyn College created the first Frederic Ewen Lecture on Academic Freedom, which has continued to be given in the Frederic Ewen Academic Centre in the Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labour Archives at New York University.\footnote{Ibid., Letter from Robert Viscusi to Frederic Ewen 12 January, 1988. For the continued work of Ewen’s legacy see the “Frederic Ewen Academic Freedom Centre,” The Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives. http://www.nyu.edu/library/bobst/research/tam/ewen/ Date accessed 5 August, 2011.}

At City College, amends were made to Gideon when she was invited to rejoin the faculty where she taught from 1971-76.\footnote{Jensen-Moulton, "Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon’s 1958 Opera Fortunato", 43.} At the time of her retirement she was made an Emeritus Professor,\footnote{Ardito, "Miriam Gideon: A Memorial Tribute,” 209.} but from a personal level, the events at City College that had triggered Gideon’s inner exile were only resolved some seventeen years after her departure in 1954. Furthermore, Gideon, unlike her husband, did not appear to have received an apology from Brooklyn College. She had never testified before an investigative committee during the McCarthy era and Brooklyn College’s Resolution and expression of regret did not extend to teachers and staff who, like Gideon, had lost their employment as a result of an association with an alleged communist. Rather, the Resolution emphasised those individuals who had lost
employment as a result of appearing before an investigative committee. Although ‘guilt by association’ was a key component of the success of the McCarthy era, the individuals who were affected in this way largely remain overlooked. It is hoped that this study has gone some way to redress this imbalance.

However, in 1983, Gideon was awarded an honorary doctorate from Brooklyn College and this was, most probably, an attempt by the College to reconcile events from the past, as well as recognising her enormous contributions as a composer. When Gideon wrote to the President of the College, Hess, to thank him for the service she noted that, ‘the gathering clouds of McCarthyism forced me to leave.’ She added in the letter that, ‘I can only rejoice that the academic climate and the administration under your gracious guidance has now come to recognise the injustice of those dark days, and to reinstate the true human values.’ From a personal level, the events at Brooklyn College that triggered her inner exile were only resolved officially some twenty-nine years after her departure in 1954.

Gideon’s inner exile may be considered to have begun to resolve at a professional level in 1955 when she took up her post at JTS. However, it took many more years before resolution from inner exile at a personal level occurred. The acknowledgment of wrong doing from two public educational institutions brings to light the complex and bifurcated nature of McCarthyism, for which there were several layers of responsibility. As Ellen Schrecker pointed out, this made it easier for participating agencies to disassociate from their responsibility, ‘Rarely did any single institution handle both stages of McCarthyism. In most cases, it was a government agency which identified the culprits and a private employer which fired

24 Ibid., Letter from Miriam Gideon to president Hess, June 1983.
them.\textsuperscript{25} The political dimension of inner exile also persisted for many years after the end of the McCarthy era. Ewen’s FBI file was finally closed in 1970 and after 1981 no more notes were recorded in Gideon’s FBI file, signifying the closure from a government political point of view.

These efforts of reconciliation acknowledged the difficult and unfair circumstances of those who had been summoned to testify before a committee. For both Gideon and Ewen these gestures of apology and reconciliation were a genuine attempt at closure after some highly regrettable politically driven action. However, they did not compensate Gideon for the professional and economic hardships, or social exclusion she had faced as a result of her association with Ewen.

7.3 Conclusion

This study has examined two important works by Miriam Gideon, \textit{Epitaphs from Robert Burns} (1952) and \textit{Altered Steps to Altered States} (1953) from the perspective of inner exile. These two works were written during a period of significant political repression and they reflect Gideon’s struggle into and out of this dark period. They are also a statement of her musical style at this time and show that Gideon’s compositional language had diversified, yet she continued to write engaging and musically satisfying music within the paradigms of free atonality and serial processes. Her treatment of pre-composed material significantly shaped their sound and style. Neither composition has been examined previously either as individual musical work or within the context of the McCarthy era and inner exile. This study represents an original consideration of this perspective of Gideon’s life,

\textsuperscript{25} Schrecker, \textit{No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities}, 9.
the meaning of these works and of the way in which she composed these two pieces of music.

A detailed narrative of Gideon’s personal history during the 1950s has shed new light on the political events that led to her loss of her employment at two academic institutions. The new, original documents presented in this thesis highlight the seriousness of Gideon’s personal situation. They also underline the pervasiveness of anti-communist tactics in the McCarthy era and their effects not only on the individual, but also on their friends and colleagues, because of ‘guilt by association.’ In particular, it has drawn attention to the complex and intricate way in which this culture functioned. External repression is readily evident from historical documents and this is a recognised aspect in scholarship. The FBI files, the City College archives, and Frederic Ewen and Gideon’s archives clearly show that Gideon was affected in this way and this highlights the importance of study in this area.

However, this thesis has also shown that Gideon’s private, internal responses to anti-communism on campus went further than just practical restrictions.

An exploration of the concept of ‘inner exile,’ has shown that the condition is multifaceted and has physical, social and psychological aspects. Inner exile was not only imposed on citizens by external events, but private reactions to political problems can also further deepen the sense of isolation. Without the liberties of being able to leave the homeland, it is difficult to escape the internal constraints that this condition can cause. Inner exile, as opposed to geographical or internal exile, has not been explored extensively in musical scholarship, especially with regards to music composed under democratically elected governments and states. The thesis is the first, to the author’s knowledge, to have studied Gideon’s music and its relationship
to this perspective of political events, and to provide a detailed historical account that documents her personal difficulties during this time.

Although Gideon was not politically active, this study has shown that her reaction to political events during the McCarthy era was reflected in two of her music compositions, *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* and *Altered Steps to Altered States*. By treating her music as a historical document, a different perspective upon her personal and professional experiences emerges. Gideon’s entry into inner exile is marked by her reaction to disorder in her professional and personal life. As she restored order in her personal life, this was mirrored in *Epitaphs* by her use of a highly structured method of composition. She treated pre-composed motives to systematic serial processes (transposition and inversion) and also did not develop or expand motives in her usual compositional approach. This was a significant deviation from her preferred style of writing freely atonal music and shows the diversity of Gideon’s compositional writing. It also indicates that her reaction to inner exile was musical, and that Schoenberg, Babbitt and Sessions’ influence of working with twelve tones was wide reaching among composers in New York City during the 1950s.

Although Gideon indicated that she felt creatively bankrupt, she continued to write expressive music that maintained her unique compositional footprint. Her selection of text by Robert Burns and her re-interpretation of the humour in the poems provide an interesting perspective on how she coped, whilst writing under political duress. Gideon’s work for piano, *Altered Steps to Altered States* indicates further ways in which she attempted, creatively, to exit inner exile. She abandoned the highly structured approach and reoriented her musical language towards using
devices that composers, such as Bartók, used in the early twentieth century. This work also demonstrates a change in her intended audience as it was composed for piano and included educational elements for less advanced players. This change in direction parallels Gideon’s continuing interest in piano pedagogy, and the influence of Whiteside’s approach also underpins the technical direction of *Altered steps to Altered States*. The work is an elegant witness to combining attractive musical ideas with points of piano technique in short pieces that would also not be out of place in a professional concert programme. By exploring the meaning of intervallic relationships in this work, Gideon not only began to compose herself out of creative bankruptcy resulting from inner exile, but also found an enjoyable, pragmatic solution to her problems of employment on campus. This was a positive outcome from the McCarthy era and an attribute which stayed with her for the remainder of her professional career as a performance teacher.

There has not been any previous detailed discussion of Gideon’s piano teaching philosophy or of her work with young students. Her wider approach to teaching within the academy has also been neglected. More generally, it is an area of music scholarship which does not receive much attention with regards to a composer’s wider output. However, as has been shown in this study, the modern composer is usually also a teacher. The interaction between teaching and composition during the 1950s New York contemporary music scene was also linked to expectations of compositional style, both inside and outside of an academic setting. Gideon is a valuable composer to study within this paradigm because she was connected to both sides of the compositional and teaching spectrum. She was part of a group of post-Second World War composers whose compositions owed
much to the Schoenbergian innovation of composing with twelve tones, but she also remained grounded in her own personal, freely atonal style. The music of Gideon’s fellow colleague, Milton Babbitt took a divergent compositional path that symbolised the wider break of music being taught in an academic setting and the different direction his musical compositions took.

Unlike Babbitt, Gideon is considered to be a composer on the periphery of the canon and her repertoire is yet to achieve high status amongst scholars, although at one time she was one of the most recorded women composers.26 There are various reasons why composers were excluded from the canon of great musical works, which itself was a construct. Minorities such as women and non-white composers are hardly represented, and ‘masterpieces’ are difficult to define when written, comparatively, recently.27 This study hopes to have shown that Gideon’s compositions are important to study for their intrinsic musical worth. The two pieces chosen for consideration in this thesis, *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952) and *Altered Steps to Altered States* (1953) demonstrate that Gideon was capable of creating musically satisfying and accessible works for audiences in a period which was dominated by serial innovations. Although her compositional output reduced dramatically to six works during the period of 1952-55, her overall portfolio of works number 130. A complete list of Gideon’s catalogue of works, presented in the next section of the thesis, is based on the material contained in her archive. Her works are listed by genre,

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26 Jensen-Moulton provides a Discography of Gideon’s works. From 1950-2007 there were fifty-three recordings of Gideon’s works. See Jensen-Moulton, ”Sparring with Fate: Miriam Gideon’s 1958 Opera Fortunato”, 305-10.
alphabetically and by year of composition. It is hoped that this catalogue will be of use to future scholars as it contains new insights into her output as well as listing her unpublished and undated works.

The two pieces of music that have been examined in this study demonstrate Gideon’s inner fortitude to adverse circumstances, a desire to continue composing and an ability to tailor her compositions and talents as a teacher. *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* and *Altered Steps to Altered States* illustrate Gideon’s personal reaction to inner exile. It is hoped that this study has shown that there are several ways in which to examine music written by a women composer during the 1950s who was exiled at home during the McCarthy era.

### 7.4 Future Directions

The scope of this dissertation ends in 1955 when Gideon lost her employment at City College and acquired a new teaching position at the Jewish Theological Seminary. It would be most beneficial, in future scholarship, to contextualise the style of music that Gideon wrote during this period with the rest of her musical portfolio. To date, most scholarship has focused on Gideon’s music from the 1940-60s. Her early tonal songs from the 1920s and the music that she composed before she consolidated her mature style in 1945, with her vocal work *The Hound of Heaven*, is an area which has received almost no attention in scholarship. This is partly due to many unpublished songs only recently appearing in the public domain after the opening of her archive at the NYPL in 2005. An examination of Gideon’s earlier compositions would go some way to enhancing an understanding of her transition from a traditional, tonal style of writing to her freely atonal musical
approach in the mid-twentieth century. Furthermore, a study of Gideon’s compositions from the end of her composing career in the 1970s and 1980s is also an area which would benefit from further study. Did Gideon wholly maintain her mature style right until the end of her life?

The concept of inner exile, as opposed to geographical exile or internal relocation, has also not received wide attention in music scholarship. Parallel studies of American composers, who were also affected by inner exile during the McCarthy era, could give a further understanding of how other musicians coped professionally under these complex circumstances. It would be especially interesting to consider the music of those who, like Gideon, were not politically motivated, as the entire effects of this period on artistic endeavours are not fully understood. Inner exile affecting artists, especially in democratically elected countries, would add further diversity to the topic.

The complete catalogue of Gideon’s portfolio of compositions works that follows in the next section shows the breadth of her unpublished work that remains unknown to the musicological community and it is a potentially rich field of investigation for musicologists. Many of her music manuscripts remain in their original condition, handwritten and often fragile to touch. There is an urgent need for future work to bring to light these forgotten and underappreciated works. Stephanie Jensen-Moulton, has already started this process by painstakingly transcribing Gideon’s entire handwritten opera, *Fortunato* (1958) enabling this work to be performed and heard in the future.28 However, there are many important works in

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Gideon’s portfolio of compositions which also deserve critical and rigorous consideration.
A COMPLETE CATALOGUE OF MIRIAM GIDEON’S PORTFOLIO OF COMPOSITIONS

The material that follows is a complete catalogue of Gideon’s published and unpublished works. Her music is listed chronologically, by genre and alphabetically. Sketches and other incomplete works are not included.

A complete list of Gideon’s compositional works has been necessitated to ensure accuracy of information and to include the addition of new material.¹ The catalogue is indebted to the work done by previous scholars in this area: Lester Trimble and Linda Ardito’s contribution to their articles on ‘Miriam Gideon’ in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians and Lester Trimble, "Miriam Gideon," in the New Grove Dictionary of American Music² and to Matthew Snyder who archived the composer’s scores at the New York Public Library (NYPL) in 2005. The vast majority of information regarding the premières of Gideon’s work are compiled in this catalogue from the meticulous and excellent research done by Roberta Chodacki who created a catalogue in 1986 in consultation with Gideon.³ Almost all of Gideon’s compositional material is available to the public and preserved in her archive in the music division at the NYPL, opened to the public in 2005. It is hoped that this catalogue will enable researchers to access quickly information and conduct further scholarship on Gideon’s compositional work.

¹ As part of this research, each musical work in Gideon’s catalogue at the NYPL was examined. She enjoyed decorating her compositions with drawings, newspaper cuttings and colourful diagrams. Often a work of art on a postcard would be stuck onto the cover of the piece she was working on. Furthermore, Gideon would correct her compositional writing with red and/or blue pencil.
² Ardito, "Miriam Gideon." Also see Trimble, "Miriam Gideon," 216.
³ Chodacki, "Miriam Gideon, a Classified Catalog of Compositions".
For clarity and consistency, the following citation method is used in the Catalogue:

*Title,* (author of text [where relevant]), instrumentation, date of completion, conductor of the première [where relevant], place of première, date of première, publication details.

All works are published unless otherwise specified. From the citation below, the following information can be extracted:


‘Where Wild Carnations Blow’ is a choral work with soprano, alto, tenor and bass soloists as well as a SATB chorus. The orchestration contains flute, oboe, trumpet, timpani, violin, viola, cello, double bass and the text is by C. Smart. The work was completed in 1983 but was not premièred until the following year, on 8th May, 1984. At the first performance the choral piece was conducted by A. Kaiser and is a published work.

The following chamber work citation by Gideon illustrates a further use of the Catalogue:


From this citation it can be inferred that Gideon’s piece is a chamber work for viola and piano and called ‘Incantation on an Indian Theme.’ She completed the work in 1939 and in the same year, it received its première on 31st March. Despite being performed, the piece remains unpublished.
8.1 Listed Chronologically

The works listed in the catalogue are organised chronologically, according to decade.

1920-29

*America, Our Homeland* (G. Du Bois), SATB, pf, 1928, unpublished.


*Psalm XXIX* (King’s X), SATB, org, c1928 unpublished.

*Ye are Blessed* (Ps.), SATB, pf, 1928, unpublished.

*Chanson* (P. Louÿs), v, pf, 1929, unpublished.

*Das Mädchen im Kampft mit sich selbst* (F. Hebbel), v, pf, 1929, unpublished.

*Thrice Toss These Oaken Ashes in the Air*, SATB, 1929, unpublished.

*Song from Without the World* (anon.), v, pf, 1929, unpublished.


*German Songs* (1929-37):- Abendlied (Claudius) 1937, Ach du, um die Blumen sich verliebt (Lenz) 1937, Einsamkeit (Lenau) 1929, Leise zieht durch mein gamut (H. Heine) 1929, Lockung (J. Eichendorff) 1937, Vergiftet sind meine Lieder (Heine) 1937.
Evening Song (J. Toomer), v, pf, 1930, unpublished.

La Pluie au Matin (P. Louys), v, pf, 1930, unpublished.

Passacaglia, pf, 1930, unpublished.

Rondo, pf, 1930, unpublished.

May the Words (prayer from the Sacred Service for the Sabbath), SATB, 1931, Boston, 1932.

Slumber Song (S. Sassoon), v, pf, 1931, unpublished.

Sonata, pf, 1931, unpublished.

Be Still. The Hanging Gardens Were A Dream (T. Stickney), v, pf, 1934, unpublished.

Dances for Two Pianos, 2pf, 1934, New York, 19 Jan 1934, unpublished.

Orion (P. Engel), v, pf, 1934, unpublished.


Theme and Variations, pf, 1935, unpublished.

Three-Cornered Pieces (Suite no.1), pf, 1935, arr. fl, cl, pf, 1935.


Indian Summer Day on the Prairie (V. Lindsay), 2S, A, pf, 1936, unpublished.

Passacaglia and Fugue, pf, 1936, unpublished.

The Cloud (S. Teasdale), S, A, pf, 1936, unpublished.

Waltz, pf, 1936.
A Communication to Nancy Cunard (K. Boyle), SATB, pf, 1937, unpublished.

At the Aquarium (M. Eastman), v, pf, 1938, unpublished.

Brothers, Hear the Call (P. Stuart), 2v, pf, c1938.

Im Traum (Heine), v, pf, 1938, unpublished.


Sonnet (E. E. cummings), v, pf, 1938.

Incantation on an Indian Theme, va, pf, 1939, New York, 31 March 1939, unpublished.

She Weeps Over Rahoon (J. Joyce), v, pf, 1939.

Southern Road (S. A. Brown), solo vv, SATB, pf, 1939, unpublished.

The Too-late Born (A. MacLeish), v, pf, 1939.


Sketches (Suite no.2), pf, 1937-1940, unpublished.

See also suite of German Songs (1929-1937).

1940-49

Allegro and Andante for Orchestra, 1940, unpublished.

Gather Ye Rosebuds While Ye May (Herrick), v, pf, 1940, unpublished.

The First American Sailors (W. Rice), SATB, c1940, unpublished.

Verses on Man’s Mortalitie (anon. 17th C.), SATB, str, c1940, unpublished.

[Untitled], vn, pf, c1940, unpublished.

Lyric Piece, str quartet, 1941, Baltimore, MD, 14 Jan 1962, arr. str orch., 1941.

Pack, Clouds, Away (T. Heywood), SATB, pf, 1941, unpublished.


(Trad.), Black is the Color of My True Love’s Hair, arr. Gideon, T, SATB, 1942, unpublished.


Motets, 3v, 1944, unpublished.


String Quartet, 1946, Yaddo (Saratoga), NY, 14 Sep 1946.

How Goodly are thy Tents (Ps. lxxxiv), SSA/SATB, org/pf, 1947, cond. I. Freed, Lawrence, NY, 1948.


See also Epigrams: Suite for Orchestra (1938-41)

See also Sketches (Suite no.2) (1937-1940)
1950-59


Tango Langoroso, pf, c1950.


Piano Suite no.4, pf, 1951, Newark, NJ, 1953.

Piano Suite no.5, pf, 1951.


Sonnets from ‘Fatal Interview’ (E. St. Vincent Millay): Gone in good sooth you are, Night is my sister, Moon that against the lintel of the west, v, pf, 1952, arr. v, vn, va, vc, 1955, New York, 14 Jan 1956.


Fortunato (chamber opera in 3 scenes, Gideon, after S. and J. Quintero), S, Mez, T, Bar, SATB, orch/pf, 1958.


1960-69


Questions on Nature (Adelard of Bath): How the earth moves, Why the planets, Whence the winds arise, Whether the stars fall, Whether beasts have souls, Why we hear echoes, Why joy is the cause of weeping, v, ob, pf, tam-tam, glock, 1964, New York, 26 April 1964.


Spiritual Madrigals: Die Engle (R. Maria Rilke), Wähebûf und nichtenvint (S. von Trimperg), Hallelujah (H. Heine), TTB, bn, va, vc, 1965, cond. R. Konetchy,
22 May 1968, rev. Die Engle (Rilke), Wähebûf und nichtenvint (Trimperg), 

The Habitable Earth (Proverbs), S, A, T, B, SATB, ob, pf/org, 1965, cond. I. 
Rubenfeld, New York, 10 May 1965.


Seasons of Time (ancient Jap. Tanka): Now it is spring (Yakamochi), The Wild 
Geese Returning (Kunimoto), Can it be That there is No Moon (Narihira), 
Gossip Grows Like Weeds (Hitomaro), Each Season More Lovely 
(Yakamochi), In the Leafy Tree-tops (Yakamochi), A Passing Show’r 
(Anon.), I have Always Known (Narihira), To What Shall I Compare This 
World? (Mansei), Yonder in the Plum Tree (Anon.), v, fl, vc, pf+cel, 1966, 

Rhymes from the Hill (C. Morgenstern): Bundeslied der Galgenbrüeder, 
Galgenkindes Wiegenlied, Die Korfsche Uhr, Palmstroem’s Uhr, Der 
Seufzer, v, cl, mar, vc, 1968, cond. G. Meier, New York, 22 May 1968, arr. v, 
pf, 1968.

Slow, Slow Fresh Fount (B. Jonson), TTBB, 1968, arr. SATB, 1941.

Lyric Intermezzo, fl, ob, va, 1969, unpublished.

1970-79

Sacred Service for Sabbath Morning (Heb. liturgy), cantor, S, A, T, B, SATB, fl, ob, 


Hommage à Roger, pf, 1978.


A Woman of Valor (Eishet chayil) (Pss., Proverbs): Behold, an inheritance of the
Lord, our Children, A Woman of Valor, The Labor of thy Hands, v, pf, 1981,
Waco, TX, 24 Jan 1983.

Ayelet hashakhar [Morning Star]: Kein Latsipor [The Nest] (Ch. N. Bialik), Rogez
[The Cat is Angry] (M. Yalan-Stekelis), Ayelet Hashachar [Morning Star] (L.
Goldberg), Nad-neid [The See-saw] (Ch. N. Bialik), v, pf 1980, New York,
18 Jan 1981.

Spirit above the Dust: Prologue (A. Bradstreet), Theory of Poetry (A. MacLeish),
The Two Trees (MacLeish), The Linden Branch (MacLeish), Black Boy (N.
Tosten), My Caliban Creature (Rosten), The Snow Fall (MacLeish), v, fl, ob,

Where Wild Carnations Blow (C. Smart), S, A, T, B, SATB, fl, ob, tpt, timp, vn, va,

Wing’d Hour: Silent Noon (D. G Rossetti), My Heart is like a singing bird (C.
Rossetti), Autumn (W. de la Mare), v, fl, ob, vib, vn, vc, 1983, cond. L. Ding,
Chicago, 29 July 1984.

Creature to creature (N. Cardozo): The Fly, Spider, Snake, Firefly, Hoot-Owl,

Blessing for the Sabbath Lights (Heb. liturgy), v/unison chorus, org, 1986, New
York, 1986.

Steeds of Darkness (F. Pick, E. Mahon), v, fl, ob, vc, pf, perc, 1986, cond. R. Black,

Shooting Starres Attend Thee: The shooting starres attend thee (R. Herrick), Give me more love, or more disdain (T. Carew), Know, Celia, since thou art so proud (T. Carew) Around my neck an amulet (S. Menashe), v, fl, vn, vc, 1987.


1990-91


Undated

Comrades, Arise, v, pf, undated, unpublished.

Divertimento for Piano Four Hands, 2pf, undated, unpublished.

Fêlise (Swinburne), v, pf, undated, unpublished.

Lorelei (E. Manacher), v, pf, undated, unpublished.

Piece for Flute and Piano, undated, unpublished.

Prelude, pf, undated, unpublished.

Sonata, pf, undated, unpublished.

Suite, 3 recorders, undated unpublished.

Woodwind Quartet, undated, unpublished.
A Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions

Published Unless Otherwise Stated

8.2 Listed by Genre

Opera

Fortunato (chamber opera in 3 scenes, Gideon, after S. and J. Quintero), S, Mez, T, Bar, SATB, orch/pf, 1958.

Orchestral


Allegro and Andante for Orchestra, 1940, unpublished.


Choral

America, Our Homeland (G. Du Bois), SATB, pf, 1928, unpublished.

Hymn of Glory, SATB, 1928, unpublished.

Keep Not Thou Silence, Oh God (Ps. Old Testament), SATB, org, c1928, unpublished.

Psalm XXIX (King’s X), SATB, org, c1928 unpublished.

Ye are Blessed (Ps.), SATB, pf, 1928, unpublished.

Thrice Toss These Oaken Ashes in the Air, SATB, 1929, unpublished.

May the Words (prayer from the Sacred Service for the Sabbath), SATB, 1931, Boston, 1932.

A Communication to Nancy Cunard (K. Boyle), SATB, pf, 1937, unpublished.


Southern Road (S. A. Brown), solo vv, SATB, pf, 1939, unpublished.

The First American Sailors (W. Rice), SATB, c1940, unpublished.

Verses on Man’s Mortalitie (anon. 17th C.), SATB, str, c1940, unpublished.

Pack, Clouds, Away (T. Heywood), SATB, pf, 1941, unpublished.


(Trad.), Black is the Color of My True Love’s Hair, arr. Gideon, T, SATB, 1942, unpublished.


How Goodly are thy Tents (Ps. lxxxiv), SSA/SATB, org/pf, 1947, cond. I. Freed, Lawrence, NY, 1948.


Song Cycle

Sonnets from Shakespeare (W. Shakespeare): Music to hear, Devouring time, Full many a glorious morning, No longer mourn for me, No, time, thou shalt not boast, v, tpt, str qt/str orch., 1950, cond. P. Wolfe, New York, 1 April 1951.

Sonnets from “Fatal Interview” (E. St. Vincent Millay): Gone in good sooth you are, 
   Night is my sister, Moon that against the lintel of the west, v, pf, 1952, arr. v, 

Songs of Voyage: Farewell Tablet to Agathocles (F. Wilkinson), The Nightingale 

The Condemned Playground: Pyrrah (Horace trans. J. Milton), Hiroshima (G. Spokes 
   trans. S. Akiya), The Litanies of Satan (C. P. Baudelaire trans. E. St Vincent 

Questions on Nature (Adelard of Bath): How the earth moves, Why the planets, 
   Whence the winds arise, Whether the stars fall, Whether beasts have souls, 
   Why we hear echoes, Why joy is the cause of weeping, v, ob, pf, tam-tam, 

Seasons of Time (ancient Jap. Tanka): Now it is spring (Yakamochi), The Wild 
   Geese Returning (Kunimoto), Can it be That There is No Moon (Narihira), 
   Gossip Grows Like Weeds (Hitomaro), Each Season More Lovely 
   (Yakamochi), In the Leafy Tree-tops (Yakamochi), A Passing Show’r 
   (Anon.), I have Always Known (Narihira), To What Shall I Compare This 
   World? (Mansei), Yonder in the Plum Tree (Anon.), v, fl, vc, pf+cel, 1966, 

Rhymes from the Hill (C. Morgenstern): Bundeslied der Galgenbrueder, 
   Galgenkindes Wiegenlied, Die Korfsche Uhr, Palmstroem’s Uhr, Der 
   Seufzer, v, cl, mar, vc, 1968, cond. G. Meier, New York, 22 May 1968, arr. v, 
   pf, 1968.
Nocturnes: To the Moon (P. Bysshe. Shelley), High Tide (J. Starr Untermeyer),
   Witchery (F. Dempster Sherman), v, fl, ob, va, vc, vib, 1975, St. Paul, MN,
   21 Feb 1976.

Songs of Youth and Madness (F. Hölderlin, trans. M. Hamburger): To the Fates, To
   Dec 1977.

The Resounding Lyre: Mutterbildniss [Portrait of a mother] (F. Ewen), Wähgebif und
   nichtenvint [Hey-pick-up and Find-nothing] (S. von Trimpberg), Halleluja
   [Hallelujah] (H. Heine), v, fl, ob, bn, tpt, vn, va, vc, 1979, cond. D. Ghezzo,
   New York, 6 Feb 1980.

Voices from Elysium: The Swallow (Children’s Song, Anon), Cicada (Anakreonteia),
   Prayer to Hermes (Hipponax), Epitaph for a Sailor (Theodoras), Of the
   Sensual World (Praxilla), Hesperos (Anon.), Rest (Alkman), trans. J. A.
   Symonds, W. Barnstone, R. Lattimore, v, fl, cl, pf, vn, vc, 1979, New York,
   18 April 1979.

Ayelet hashakhar [Morning Star]: Kein Latsipor [The Nest] (Ch. N. Bialik), Rogez
   [The Cat is Angry] (M. Yalan-Stekelis), Ayelet Hashachar [Morning Star] (L.
   Goldberg), Nad-neid [The See-saw] (Ch. N. Bialik), v, pf 1980, New York,
   18 Jan 1981.

Spirit above the Dust: Prologue (A. Bradstreet), Theory of Poetry (A. MacLeish),
   The Two Trees (MacLeish), The Linden Branch (MacLeish), Black Boy (N.
   Tosten), My Caliban Creature (Rosten), The Snow Fall (MacLeish), v, fl, ob,


Shooting Starres Attend Thee: The shooting starres attend thee (R. Herrick), Give me more love, or more disdain (T. Carew), Know, Celia, since thou art so proud (T. Carew) Around my neck an amulet (S. Menashe), v, fl, vn, vc, 1987.

Songs

Chanson (P. Louÿs), v, pf, 1929, unpublished.

Das Mädchen im Kampf mit sich selbst (F. Hebbel), v, pf, 1929, unpublished.

German Songs: Abendlied (Claudius) 1937, Ach du, um die Blumen sich verliebt (Lenz) 1937, Einsamkeit (Lenau) 1929, Leise zieht durch mein gamut (H. Heine) 1929, Lockung (J. Eichendorff) 1937, Vergiftet sind meine Lieder (Heine) 1937.

Song from Without the World (anon.), v, pf, 1929, unpublished.

Evening Song (J. Toomer), v, pf, 1930, unpublished.

La Pluie au Matin (P. Louÿs), v, pf, 1930, unpublished.

Slumber Song (S. Sassoon), v, pf, 1931, unpublished.

Be Still. The Hanging Gardens Were A Dream (T. Stickney), v, pf, 1934, unpublished.

Orion (P. Engel), v, pf, 1934, unpublished.


Indian Summer Day on the Prairie (V. Lindsay), 2S, A, pf, 1936, unpublished.
The Cloud (S. Teasdale), S, A, pf, 1936, unpublished.

At the Aquarium (M. Eastman), v, pf, 1938, unpublished.

Brothers, Hear the Call (P. Stuart), 2v, pf, c1938.

Im Traum (Heine), v, pf, 1938, unpublished.

Sonnet (E. E. cummings), v, pf, 1938.

She Weeps Over Rahoon (J. Joyce), v, pf, 1939.

The Too-late Born (A. MacLeish), v, pf, 1939.

Gather Ye Rosebuds While Ye May (Herrick), v, pf, 1940, unpublished.

Motets, 3v, 1944, unpublished.


Wing'd Hour: Silent Noon (D. G Rossetti), My Heart is like a singing bird (C. Rossetti), Autumn (W. de la Mare), v, fl, ob, vib, vn, vc, 1983, cond. L. Ding, Chicago, 29 July 1984.


Comrades, Arise, v, pf, undated, unpublished.

Félie (Swinburne), v, pf, undated, unpublished.

Lorelei (E. Manacher), v, pf, undated, unpublished.

Chamber


Incantation on an Indian Theme, va, pf, 1939, New York, 31 March 1939, unpublished.

[Untitled], vn, pf, c1940, unpublished.

Lyric Piece, str qt, 1941, Baltimore, MD, 14 Jan 1962, arr. str orch., 1941.


String Quartet, 1946, Yaddo (Saratoga), NY, 14 Sep 1946.


Lyric Intermezzo, fl, ob, va, 1969, unpublished.


Piece for Flute and Piano, undated, unpublished.

Suite, 3 recorders, undated unpublished.

Woodwind Quartet, undated, unpublished.

**Keyboard**


Passacaglia, 1930, unpublished.

Rondo, 1930, unpublished.

Sonata, 1931, unpublished.

Dances for Two Pianos, 2pf, 1934, New York, 19 Jan 1934, unpublished.


Theme and Variations, 1935, unpublished.

Passacaglia and Fugue, 1936, unpublished.

Waltz, 1936.

Sketches (Suite no.2), 1937-1940, unpublished.


Tango Langoroso, c1950.


Piano Suite no.4, 1951, Newark, NJ, 1953.

Piano Suite no.5, 1951.


Hommage à Roger, 1978.


Divertimento for Piano Four Hands, 2pf, undated, unpublished.

Sonata, undated, unpublished.

Prelude, undated, unpublished.
A Complete Catalogue of Miriam Gideon’s Portfolio of Compositions

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8.3 Listed Alphabetically

A Communication to Nancy Cunard (K. Boyle), SATB, pf, 1937, unpublished.


Allegro and Andante for Orchestra, 1940, unpublished.


America, Our Homeland (G. Du Bois), SATB, pf, 1928, unpublished.

At the Aquarium (M. Eastman), v, pf, 1938, unpublished.


Be Still. The Hanging Gardens Were A Dream (T. Stickney), v, pf, 1934, unpublished.

(Trad.), Black is the Color of My True Love’s Hair, arr. Gideon, T, SATB, 1942, unpublished.


Brothers, Hear the Call (P. Stuart), 2v, pf, c1938.


Chanson (P. Louÿs), v, pf, 1929, unpublished.


Dances for Two Pianos, 2pf, 1934, New York, 19 Jan 1934, unpublished.

Danza, chbr orch, 1959, cond. M. Kupferman, Bronxville, NY, May 1959,
      unpublished.

Das Mädchen im Kampft mit sich selbst (F. Hebbel), v, pf, 1929, unpublished.


Divertimento for Piano Four Hands, 2pf, undated, unpublished.


Evening Song (J. Toomer), v, pf, 1930, unpublished.


Fortunato (chamber opera in 3 scenes, Gideon, after S. and J. Quintero), S, Mez, T, Bar, SATB, orch/pf, 1958.

Gather Ye Rosebuds While Ye May (Herrick), v, pf, 1940, unpublished.

German Songs: Abendlied (Claudius) 1937, Ach du, um die Blumen sich verliebt (Lenz) 1937, Einsamkeit (Lenau) 1929, Leise zieht durch mein gamut (H. Heine) 1929, Lockung (J. Eichendorff) 1937, Vergiftet sind meine Lieder (Heine) 1937.


Hommage à Roger, pf, 1978.

How Goodly are thy Tents (Ps. lxxxiv), SSA/SATB, org/pf, 1947, cond. I. Freed, Lawrence, NY, 1948.

Hymn of Glory, SATB, 1928, unpublished.

Im Traum (Heine), v, pf, 1938, unpublished.

Incantation on an Indian Theme, va, pf, 1939, New York, 31 March 1939, unpublished.

Indian Summer Day on the Prairie (V. Lindsay), 2S, A, pf, 1936, unpublished.


Keep Not Thou Silence, Oh God (Ps. Old Testament), SATB, org, c1928, unpublished.

La Pluie au Matin (P. Louÿs), v, pf, 1930, unpublished.


Lyric Intermezzo, fl, ob, va, 1969, unpublished.

Lyric Piece, str qt, 1941, Baltimore, MD, 14 Jan 1962, arr. str orch., 1941.

May the Words (prayer from the Sacred Service for the Sabbath), SATB, 1931, Boston, 1932.


Motets, 3v, 1944, unpublished.


Orion (P. Engel), v, pf, 1934, unpublished.

Pack, Clouds, Away (T. Heywood), SATB, pf, 1941, unpublished.

Passacaglia, pf, 1930, unpublished.

Passacaglia and Fugue, pf, 1936, unpublished.


Psalm XXIX (King’s X), SATB, org, c1928 unpublished.

Piece for Flute and Piano, undated, unpublished.


Piano Suite no.4, pf, 1951, Newark, NJ, 1953.

Piano Suite no.5, pf, 1951.

Poem for Flute and Piano, undated, unpublished.


Piano Suite no.4, pf, 1951, Newark, NJ, 1953.

Piano Suite no.5, pf, 1951.

Prelude, pf, undated, unpublished.

Questions on Nature (Adelard of Bath): How the earth moves, Why the planets,
   Whence the winds arise, Whether the stars fall, Whether beasts have souls,
   Why we hear echoes, Why joy is the cause of weeping, v, ob, pf, tam-tam,

Rhymes from the Hill (C. Morgenstern): Bundeslied der Galgenbrueder,
   Galgenkindes Wiegenlied, Die Korfsche Uhr, Palmstroem’s Uhr, Der
   Seufzer, v, cl, mar, vc, 1968, cond. G. Meier, New York, 22 May 1968, arr. v,
   pf, 1968.

Rondo, pf, 1930, unpublished.


Sacred Service for Sabbath Morning (Heb. liturgy), cantor, S, A, T, B, SATB, fl, ob,

Seasons of Time (ancient Jap. Tanka): Now it is spring (Yakamochi), The Wild
   Geese Returning (Kunimoto), Can it be That There is No Moon (Narihira),
   Gossip Grows Like Weeds (Hitomaro), Each Season More Lovely
   (Yakamochi), In the Leafy Tree-tops (Yakamochi), A Passing Show’r
   (Anon.), I have Always Known (Narihira), To What Shall I Compare This
   World? (Mansei), Yonder in the Plum Tree (Anon.), v, fl, vc, pf+cel, 1966,

She Weeps Over Rahoon (J. Joyce), v, pf, 1939.

Shirat Miriam l’Shabbat [A Sabbath Evening Service] (Heb. liturgy), cantor, SATB,
Shooting Starres Attend Thee: The shooting starres attend thee (R. Herrick), Give me more love, or more disdain (T. Carew), Know, Celia, since thou art so proud (T. Carew) Around my neck an amulet (S. Menashe), v, fl, vn, vc, 1987.


Sketches (Suite no.2), pf, 1937-1940, unpublished.


Slumber Song (S. Sassoon), v, pf, 1931, unpublished.


Sonata, pf, 1931, unpublished.


Sonata, pf, undated, unpublished.


Song from Without the World (anon.), v, pf, 1929, unpublished.


Sonnet (E. E. cummings), v, pf, 1938.
Sonnets from “Fatal Interview” (E. St. Vincent Millay): Gone in good sooth you are,
Night is my sister, Moon that against the lintel of the west, v, pf, 1952, arr. v, vn, va, vc, 1955, New York, 14 Jan 1956.

Sonnets from Shakespeare (W. Shakespeare): Music to hear, Devouring time, Full
many a glorious morning, No longer mourn for me, No, time, thou shalt not

Southern Road (S. A. Brown), solo vv, SATB, pf, 1939, unpublished.

Spirit above the Dust: Prologue (A. Bradstreet), Theory of Poetry (A. MacLeish),
The Two Trees (MacLeish), The Linden Branch (MacLeish), Black Boy (N. Tosten), My Caliban Creature (Rosten), The Snow Fall (MacLeish), v, fl, ob, bn, hn, str qt, 1980, New Haven CT, 11 Feb 1981.


String Quartet, 1946, Yaddo (Saratoga), NY, 14 Sep 1946.


Suite, 3 recorders, undated, unpublished.


Tango Langoroso, pf, c1950.


The Cloud (S. Teasdale), S, A, pf, 1936, unpublished.


The First American Sailors (W. Rice), SATB, c1940, unpublished.


The Too-late Born (A. MacLeish), v, pf, 1939.

Theme and Variations, pf, 1935, unpublished.


Three-Cornered Pieces (Suite no.1), pf, 1935, arr. fl, cl, pf, 1935.

Thrice Toss These Oaken Ashes in the Air, SATB, 1929, unpublished.


[Untitled], vn, pf, c1940, unpublished.

Verses on Man’s Mortalitie (anon. 17th C.), SATB, str, c1940, unpublished.

Voices from Elysium: The Swallow (Children’s Song, Anon), Cicada (Anakreonteia),

Prayer to Hermes (Hipponax), Epitaph for a Sailor (Theodoras), Of the

Sensual World (Praxilla), Hesperos (Anon.), Rest (Alkman), trans. J. A.

Symonds, W. Barnstone, R. Lattimore, v, fl, cl, pf, vn, vc, 1979, New York,

18 April 1979.


Waltz, pf, 1936.

Where Wild Carnations Blow (C. Smart), S, A, T, B, SATB, fl, ob, tpt, timp, vn, va,


Wing’d Hour: Silent Noon (D. G Rossetti), My Heart is like a singing bird (C.

Rossetti), Autumn (W. de la Mare), v, fl, ob, vib, vn, vc, 1983, cond. L. Ding,

Chicago, 29 July 1984.

Woodwind Quartet, undated, unpublished.

Ye are Blessed (Ps.), SATB, pf, 1928, unpublished.


AEC-MG. Alexander Ewen Collection of Miriam Gideon Materials in his private possession.


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APPENDIX A

‘MIRIAM GIDEON’ article. Accepted for inclusion in *The Grove Dictionary of American Music*, Charles Hiroshi Garrett, ed., to be published online (at www.oxfordmusiconline.com) and in print by Oxford University Press in December 2012. Permission for the text of this article to be included in this dissertation has been obtained from Oxford University Press.


Gideon received her earliest formal training while living in Yonkers, NY. She began studying piano with Hans Barth in 1916 and by 1921 she moved to Boston to live with her uncle Henry Gideon, who was a pianist, organist and music director of Temple Israel and who supervised her music education. After completing her high school education, Gideon studied piano privately with Felix Fox and attended Boston University with a major in French literature and a minor in mathematics, taking all the music courses offered. After graduating in 1926, she relocated to New York and took graduate classes in music at New York University studying with Marion Bauer, Charles Haubiel, and Jacques Pillois.

Gideon’s earliest identified compositions date from 1928. Works such as *America*, *Our Homeland* (1928) and *Ye are Blessed* (1928) contain strong diatonic tonalities,
traditional chord progressions and regular time and key meters. Lazare Saminsky, a Russian émigré composer and former student of Rimsky-Korsakov, was Gideon’s first formative composition teacher and taught her from 1931-4. At Saminsky’s suggestion, Gideon continued her composition studies with Roger Sessions. From 1935-43 he taught her privately and in group classes with other young composers including Milton Babbitt, David Diamond, Vivian Fine and Hugo Weisgall. In this environment, Gideon’s stylistic aesthetic matured. She abandoned traditional tonality and composed in a freer atonal style. A characteristic of her writing was the manipulation and expansion of small motivic cells. *The Hound of Heaven* (1945) marks the pivotal point at which she used motivic saturation in her compositions.

Gideon completed a Master's degree in musicology at Columbia University in 1946 and began teaching music at Brooklyn College, City University of New York (CUNY) in 1944 and at City College, CUNY in 1947. During the 1950s she and her husband, Frederic Ewen were victims of McCarthyism. Ewen, a member of Brooklyn College’s English department, was forced to take early retirement in 1952 due to his leftist political views. Gideon was guilty by association and in 1954 her contract at Brooklyn College was not renewed. Rather than co-operate with investigators, she resigned from her teaching post at City College in 1955 after being called to a committee meeting connected with McCarthy.

Dissonant harmonies incorporating irregular rhythms and meters continued to dominate Gideon’s musical language in the mid-century. She used subsets drawn from the octatonic and hexatonic collections to give structure to her atonal style. In
1958 she composed her only opera, *Fortunato*, and in the following decades, solidified her fascination with language and poetry. She composed songs and song cycles in dual languages such as *The Condemned Playground* (1963) and *Songs of Youth and Madness* (1977), blending world music settings with diverse historical texts.

At Hugo Weisgall’s invitation, Gideon joined the faculty of music at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in 1955. This appointment rekindled her attraction to Jewish synagogue music and she composed two liturgical services. The Seminary awarded her a Doctor of Sacred Music for her work *Sacred Service for the Sabbath Morning* (1970). Gideon taught at the Manhattan School of Music from 1967-91 and educated students privately in piano, theory and composition throughout her life. In 1971 she was appointed as full professor at City College and was inducted into the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters in 1975. She continued to compose until 1991, creating a considerable portfolio of musical works.

**Works List**

Published unless otherwise stated

**Opera**

Fortunato (chamber opera in 3 scenes, Gideon, after S. and J. Quintero), S, Mez, T, Bar, SATB, orch/pf, 1958;
Orchestral

Vocal

Choral
America, Our Homeland (G. Du Bois), SATB, pf, 1928, unpubd; Hymn of Glory, SATB, 1928, unpubd; Keep Not Thou Silence, Oh God (Ps. Old Testament), SATB, org, c1928, unpubd; Psalm XXIX (King’s X), SATB, org, c1928 unpubd; Ye are Blessed (Ps.), SATB, pf, 1928, unpubd; Thrice Toss These Oaken Ashes in the Air, SATB, 1929, unpubd; May the Words (prayer from the Sacred Service for the Sabbath), SATB, 1931, Boston, 1932; A Communication to Nancy Cunard (K. Boyle), SATB, pf, 1937, unpubd; Kaleidoscope (F. P. A.), SATB, 1938, unpubd; Southern Road (S. A. Brown), solo vv, SATB, pf, 1939, unpubd; The First American Sailors (W. Rice), SATB, c1940, unpubd; Verses on Man’s Mortalitie (anon. 17th C.), SATB, str, c1940, unpubd; Pack, Clouds, Away (T. Heywood), SATB, pf, 1941, unpubd; Slow, Slow Fresh Fount (B. Jonson), SATB, 1941, New York, 28 March 1941, arr. TTBB, 1968; (Trad.), Black is the Color of My True Love’s Hair, arr. Gideon, T, SATB, 1942, unpubd; Sweet Western Wind (R. Herrick), SATB, 1943,

**Song Cycle**


**Songs**

Chanson (P. Louÿs), v, pf, 1929, unpubd; Das Mädchen im Kampf mit sich selbst (F. Hebbel), v, pf, 1929, unpubd; German Songs (Claudius, J. Eichendorff, H. Heine, Lenau, Lenz), v, pf, 1929, 1937; Song from Without the World (anon.), v, pf, 1929, unpubd; Evening Song (J. Toomer), v, pf, 1930, unpubd; La Pluie au Matin (P. Louÿs), v, pf, 1930, unpubd; Slumber Song (S. Sassoon), v, pf, 1931, unpubd; Be Still. The Hanging Gardens Were A Dream (T. Stickney), v, pf, 1934, unpubd; Orion
(P. Engel), v, pf, 1934, unpubd; Wander Thirst (G. Gould), v, pf, 1935, unpubd;
Indian Summer Day on the Prairie (V. Lindsay), 2S, A, pf, 1936, unpubd; The Cloud
(S. Teasdale), S, A, pf, 1936, unpubd; At the Aquarium (M. Eastman), v, pf, 1938,
unpubd; Brothers, Hear the Call (P. Stuart), 2v, pf, c1938; Im Traum (Heine), v, pf,
1938, unpubd; Sonnet (E. E. cummings), v, pf, 1938; She Weeps Over Rahoon (J.
Joyce), v, pf, 1939; The Too-late Born (A. MacLeish), v, pf, 1939; Gather Ye
Rosebuds While Ye May (Herrick), v, pf, 1940, unpubd; Motets, 3v, 1944, unpubd;
The Hound of Heaven (F. Thompson), v, ob, vn, va, vc, 1945, New York, 23 March
1945; Little Ivory Figures Pulled With String (A. Lowell), v, guit, 1950, New York,
June 1950; Mixco (M. Angel Asturias), v, pf, 1957, New York, 1957; To Music (R.
Herrick), v, pf, 1957, New York, 1957; The Adorable Mouse (Gideon, after J.de La
Fontaine), v, fl, cl, 2hns, timp, pf, str qt/str orch, 1960, 24 May 1960 arr. v, fl, cl, bn,
hn, timp, hpcd, 1972; Oh, Freedom, v, pf, 1965, unpubd; Bells (W. Jones), v, pf,
1966, New York, 18 Sep 1966; A Woman of Valor (Eishet chayil) (Pss., Proverbs),
v, pf, 1981, Waco, TX, 24 Jan 1983; Wing’d Hour (C. and D. G. Rossetti, W. de la
Mare), v, fl, ob, vib, vn, vc, 1983, cond. L. Ding, Chicago, 29 July 1984; Blessing for
the Sabbath Lights (Heb. liturgy), v/unison chorus, org, 1986, New York, 1986;
Steeds of Darkness (F. Pick, E. Mahon), v, fl, ob, vc, pf, perc, 1986, cond. R. Black,
New York, 22 Jan 1987; Böhmischer Krystall (H. Heilmann), v, fl cl, vn, vc, pf,
1988; Songs from the Greek for Pipes and Strings (Macedonius the Consul,
Meleager, Agathias), v, ob, cl, bn, pf, 1989, New York, 25 Feb 1989; Comrades,
Arise, v, pf, undated, unpubd; Félise (Swinburne), v, pf, undated, unpubd; Lorelei (E.
Manacher), v, pf, undated, unpubd;
Instrumental

Chamber

Incantation on an Indian Theme, va, pf, 1939, New York, 31 March 1939, unpubd;
[Untitled], vn, pf, c1940, unpubd; Lyric Piece, str qt, 1941, Baltimore, MD, 14 Jan 1962, arr. str orch., 1941; Sonata, fl, pf, 1943, New York, Dec 1943, unpubd; Str Qt, 1946, Yaddo (Saratoga), NY, 14 Sep 1946; Divertimento, ww qt, 1948, New York, 21 March 1949; Fantasy on a Javanese Motive, vc, pf, 1948, New York, 14 Jan 1956;

Keyboard

1 pf unless otherwise stated

Suite Ancienne, 1929-1930, unpubd; Passacaglia, 1930, unpubd; Rondo, 1930, unpubd; Sonata, 1931, unpubd; Dances for Two Pianos, 2pf, 1934, New York, 19 Jan

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Mary Robb
‘ABBY WHITESIDE’ article. Accepted for inclusion in The Grove Dictionary of American Music, Charles Hiroshi Garrett, ed., to be published online (at www.oxfordmusiconline.com) and in print by Oxford University Press in December 2012. Permission for the text of this article to be included in this dissertation has been obtained from Oxford University Press.


Whiteside received her earliest education at a public school in Vermillion, SD. She majored in music at the University of South Dakota, graduating with highest honors in May 1899. After working as a piano instructor at the University of Oregon from 1904-07, she moved to Germany where she continued music studies with Swiss pianist, Rudolf Ganz. Upon her return to the United States, Whiteside joined the newly established Portland division of the University of Oregon School of Music in 1917 as the piano faculty member. In 1923 she relocated to New York City where she set up a successful piano studio. She resided there for the rest of her life developing a piano pedagogical philosophy that centered on “basic rhythm.” Whiteside’s pioneering pedagogical approach taught that continuous fluid movement in the entire body was fundamental to musical expression. When playing with “basic rhythm,” the whole body, not just the fingers, responds naturally and emotionally to the contours of a musical phrase. Students absorbed technical facility through
emotionally involved playing and an awareness of musical meaning in the pieces they studied. Piano exercises and drills were not part of Whiteside’s repertoire as they encouraged mechanical playing and ignored tone production and musical phrasing. Many of Whiteside’s successful students were composers and pianists including Miriam Gideon, Vivian Fine and Robert Helps. Her teaching philosophy is outlined in three books that she wrote (one published posthumously) and her work is continued by the Abby Whiteside Foundation.

Writings


*Indispensables of Piano Playing* (New York, 1955)


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Mary Robb
APPENDIX C

Example C.1 Miriam Gideon, *The Hound of Heaven*, Full Score
APPENDIX D

The full pitch-class set design of Gideon’s ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ from *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* is detailed in Figure D.1 on the following page. This figure illustrates that Gideon’s work is saturated with trichords from set classes 3-2 (013) and 3-5 (016) and that this deployment has a consistent design: every two bars of contains a permutation of a transposition and transposition/inversion of the set classes 3-2 (013) and 3-5 (016).

The first column in Figure D.1 indicates the bar numbers under consideration and the section in which they appear in the piece. There are four distinct sections in Gideon’s work, marked by the musical phrasing of the vocal line.¹ The second to fifth columns detail the type and degree of transposition and transposition/inversion for all the pitch-class sets from the set classes 3-2 (013) and 3-5 (016).

Note that these columns do not show the order in which the trichords appear in Gideon’s piece: many of the pitch-class sets are repeated within each bar. Rather, the purpose of this figure is to clarify Gideon’s pitch-class trichordal design and to show that her work is motivically saturated in an organised manner using the serial processes of transposition and inversion. Additionally this figure also shows that the interaction of trichords grows with intensity throughout the piece creating a meaningful and aurally recognisable and rich network of musical relationships.

¹ The full score of ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ can be found in Chapter 4.
Figure D.1 Full trichordal design of Gideon’s ‘Epitaph for a Wag in Mauchline’ from *Epitaphs from Robert Burns*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set class trichords and pitch-class sets</th>
<th>3-2 (013)</th>
<th>3-5 (016)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transposition/Inversion</td>
<td>Transposition</td>
<td>Inversion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 1 (with anacrusis)—bar 2 (3\textsuperscript{rd} beat)</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{9}</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{2}I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 2 (4\textsuperscript{th} beat)—bar 4 (3\textsuperscript{rd} beat)</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{9}</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{2}I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 5 (with anacrusis)—end of bar 6</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{9}</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{0}I T\textsubscript{9}I T\textsubscript{11}I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 7—bar 8 (2\textsuperscript{nd} beat)</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{0} T\textsubscript{9}</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{8}I T\textsubscript{11}I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section III</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 8 (3\textsuperscript{rd} beat)—bar 10 (4\textsuperscript{th} beat)</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{0} T\textsubscript{5}</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{4}I T\textsubscript{6}I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 11 (with anacrusis)—bar 12 (3\textsuperscript{rd} beat)</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{0} T\textsubscript{2} T\textsubscript{7} T\textsubscript{10}</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{1}I T\textsubscript{4}I T\textsubscript{7}I T\textsubscript{11}I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section IV</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 12 (4\textsuperscript{th} beat)—bar 15 (3\textsuperscript{rd} beat)</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{2} T\textsubscript{4} T\textsubscript{8} T\textsubscript{9}</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{0}I T\textsubscript{1}I T\textsubscript{2}I T\textsubscript{4}I T\textsubscript{7}I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 15 (2\textsuperscript{nd} beat)—end of bar 17</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{2} T\textsubscript{5} T\textsubscript{6} T\textsubscript{7} T\textsubscript{11}</td>
<td>T\textsubscript{1}I T\textsubscript{2}I T\textsubscript{3}I T\textsubscript{4}I T\textsubscript{6}I T\textsubscript{9}I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E

Example E.1 Béla Bartók Bagatelle no. II from *Fourteen Bagatelles* Full Score
Example G.1 Lou Harrison, ‘Pastorale,’ Second Movement from *Little Suite for Piano* Full Score