

Belasco and Puccini: “Old Dog Tray” and the Zuni Indians

Allan W. Atlas

La Fanciulla del West occupies a special place in Puccini’s output. It stands at the beginning of what some have called the composer’s second period, as with *Fanciulla* Puccini broke with the *tragédie larmoyante* and its steady stream of lyrical showstoppers that he had cultivated so successfully from *Manon Lescaut* through *Madama Butterfly*.¹ It is the Puccini opera for which there is apparently the greatest amount of extant early sketches and continuity drafts that he himself realized, and the only opera by the composer for which there are corrected proof sheets.² It is probably the least appreciated—by both critics and public—of Puccini’s mature masterpieces.³ And it is Puccini’s only “all-American” opera: in terms of subject matter (the rough and tumble days of the California Gold Rush), dramatic source (David Belasco’s *The Girl of the Golden West*), and place of first performance (New York’s Metropolitan Opera, on 10 December 1910).

This article identifies one of the American sources for *Fanciulla*: the model for the melody of “Che faranno i vecchi miei,” the song that the minstrel Jake Wallace sings near the beginning of act 1. The recent Puccini literature about this matter is, at best, ambiguous and confusing, at worst, simply wrong. But the correct source can be identified beyond a shadow of a doubt, and ironically, the answer was available—admittedly in an obscure corner—all the time. As a counterpoint to this, I will also discuss the melody that Belasco used for his own Jake Wallace in the parallel scene of *The Girl of the Golden West*, which Puccini saw in New York in January or February 1907 (see note 6). Finally, I shall discuss the changed functional-dramatic context to which Puccini subjected the model and show how he wrestled with it in his earliest sketches for the opera. These last two aspects afford us a glimpse into certain of Puccini’s cultural attitudes and into his compositional process at its most elemental stage.

Andante tranquillo ♩ = 46
 JAKE WALLACE (interno molto lontano)

20 Andante tranquillo ♩ = 46 "Che fa -

ran - no i vec - chi miei là lon - ta - no, là lon -

ta - no? che fa - ran - no? Tri - stie

Example 1. *La Fanciulla del West*, act 1, Jake Wallace's song (20/1/2–22/2/4)

1

Soon after the curtain goes up on act 1 of *La Fanciulla*, the roving minstrel Jake Wallace entertains the miners who are milling about the barroom of the Polka Saloon with the song in Example 1 (he begins off-stage, approaches slowly, and enters at the words "La mia mamma").⁴

(avvicinandosi) poco rit.

so - lii vec - chi miei pian - ge - ran - no, pen - se -

NICK

J. WALLACE *espressivo* Ra -

ran - no che non tor - ni più!

NICK

gaz - zi, v'an-nu-nzio Jake Wal - lace il canta-stor-te del cam - po!

21

Example 1. continued

J. WALLACE

(entrando)

"La mia

corta (continuando)

mam - ma, che fa - rà s'to non

corta

corta

tor - no, s'to non tor - no? Quan - to

Example 1. continued

J. WALLACE

TRIN *pian - ge-rà!*
pp

HARRY *Quan - to pian - ge-rà!*
pp

JOE *Quan - to pian - ge-rà!*
pp

SONORA *Quan - to pian - ge-rà!*
pp

BELLO *Quan - to pian - ge-rà!*
pp

HAPPY *Quan - to pian - ge-rà!*
pp

(Alcuni Tenori) *Quan - to pian - ge-rà!*
pp

(Alcuni Baritoni o Bassi) *Quan - to pian - ge-rà!*
pp

pp *espressivo*

Example 1. continued



Example 1. continued

After the two-measure interlude, shown at the end of Example 1, the miners, who had just echoed Jake's "quanto piangerà," continue to sing along with him. Their words are as follows:⁵

<i>Alcuni minatori</i>	
Al telaio tesserà	[At the loom she'll weave
lino e duolo	linen and sorrow
pel linzuolo	for the shroud
che poi la ricoprirà ...	that will cover her ...]
E il mio cane dopo tanto ...	[And (will) my dog after so long ...]
<i>Jake Wallace</i>	
Il mio cane	[(Will) my dog]
<i>Altri minatori</i>	
Il mio cane	[Will my dog
mi ravviserà?...]	recognize me?...]
<i>Harry</i>	
O mia casa, al riva accanto ...	[Oh, my house, by the bank ...]
<i>I Minatori</i>	[below]
Là lontano ...	[Far away ...]
<i>I Minatori</i>	[above]
Là lontano ...	[Far away ...]
<i>Tutti</i>	
... Chi di noi ti rivedrà?	[Which of us will you see again?]

This scene is closely modeled on the corresponding scene near the beginning of Belasco's *The Girl of the Golden West*, which, as noted, Puccini saw during a five-week visit to New York in January and February 1907.⁶ In the play, Jake Wallace enters, sings the popular song "Wait for the Wagon," and then, after being introduced by Nick (as he is in the opera), fields a request from Sonora: "Aw—give

us 'Old Dog Tray,' Jake." Jake then introduces his song as "Old Dog Tray, or Echoes from Home":⁷

Jake

"How often do I picture
Them old folks down to home;
And often wonder if they think of me!"

Sonora [interrupting]
Slugs worth of chips.

Jake

"Would angel mother know me,
If back there I did roam?
Would Old Dog Tray remember me?"
Now boys!

All

"Oh, mother, angel mother, are you
a-waitin' there,
Beside the littul cottage on the lea?"

Jake

"On the lea—"

All

"How often would she bless me, all in them
days so fair—
Would Old Dog Tray remember me?"

Sonora

"Remember me!"

Although the text of Puccini's song is not a line-by-line translation, it retains Belasco's imagery⁸ and sentimentality. But what of Puccini's melody? It is here that the Puccini literature has run into trouble.⁹

Michele Girardi writes, "The melody of his [Jake Wallace's] song is that of one of the most popular among California folksongs, *Old Dog Tray*."¹⁰ Charles Osborne asserts, "The melody . . . is that of an old American song, 'Old Dog Tray,'"¹¹ while William Ashbrook also identifies the minstrel's song as "Old Dog Tray."¹² Enzo Restagno's monograph on *La Fanciulla* states, "As is well known, the melody sung by the minstrel is nonoriginal; it derives, in fact, from Puccini's research into American folklore."¹³

Finally, in 1959 Mosco Carner wrote, somewhat inconsistently, about the model for Jake Wallace's song on two occasions: in a sym-



Example 2. Wordless African-American chant

posium paper on Puccini's musical "exoticism" and in the first edition of his still-standard study of the composer's life and works. In the symposium article, Carner cites Jake Wallace's melody as an example of Puccini's having "freely varied certain exotic melodies or . . . used them as models for the invention of melodies constructed in similar fashion."¹⁴ More specifically, he includes a music example with the intent of showing the derivation of the head motive of Puccini's melody from one of two "canti popolari negri" that he believes that Puccini used in the opera. Example 2 gives Carner's proposed model for Jake Wallace's song, together with the bracket that he includes to show the point of correspondence.¹⁵ If this identification is rather ambiguous (and altogether suspect), Carner was more explicit in his biography of Puccini, where he identifies Jake Wallace's melody specifically with "Old Dog Tray": "The melody most frequently employed—one which in fact assumes the role of a theme song—is the nostalgic *Old Dog Tray*, also known as *Echoes from Home* . . . first heard from the minstrel's lips."¹⁶

It was Puccini and Belasco themselves who inadvertently started this wild-goose chase. Puccini, as he had done when he searched for authentic Japanese melodies for *Madama Butterfly*, scoured through a number of publications of American music to get the right "atmosphere," as he put it. Three letters written to his friend Sybil Seligman in London in the space of less than two weeks in July 1907 attest to his search: (1) 12 July: "have you any means of obtaining, in America or London itself, some early American music . . . I'm writing on my own account—but as I need as much as possible in order to get the atmosphere, will you look round too"; (2) 18 July: "About the music, good—many thanks"; and (3) 22 July: "Thank you for the Indian songs you sent me; I've also written to America to get them—and I await those you promised me."¹⁷ As for Belasco, according to William Winter's "authorized" biography of the playwright, Puccini, while attending a performance of *The Girl* in New York (of which, of course, he understood hardly a word), evinced little enthusiasm until Jake Wallace offered his rendition of "Old Dog Tray," at which point Puccini said, "Ah, there is my theme at last."¹⁸

2

Puccini's melody, however, is unrelated to any song entitled "Old Dog Tray," including the well-known one by Stephen Foster. First, Puccini's melody and Belasco's words are incompatible. And we need not rely solely upon our musical intuition, since there is evidence that has escaped notice that permits us to reconstruct the melody of Belasco's minstrel: the original musical materials used by Belasco's music director, William Wallace Furst (1852–1917),¹⁹ are preserved at NYp(m), where they have the signature: "JPB—82—38: Furst, William. *The Girl of the Golden West*."²⁰ Box 4, folder 15, contains the music for "Entr'acte No. 3," which was played between acts 3 and 4 of *The Girl*.²¹ There, second in the medley of six well-known songs that made up the entr'acte, is "Old Dog Tray," arranged by Furst for a male quartet of two tenors, baritone, and bass, with the accompaniment of a small pit orchestra.²² And as Example 3 illustrates, the words that the quartet sings in entr'acte 3, no. 2, are precisely those sung by Jake Wallace at the beginning of act 1.²³

As was the common practice of the time, the second tenor carries the melody. If there were any doubts about this, they are put to rest by box 4, folders 6 and 16, which contain booklets marked "Leader" and "Conductor," respectively.²⁴ At the spot in entr'acte 3 where the "Old Dog Tray" quartet should appear, we find the following: "Here voice Dog Tray 1 verse," followed by the second tenor part only (folder 6, 34), and "Quartett," with just the second tenor part entered (folder 16, 30, 37). Further, the "part book" for the on-stage banjo player in box 4, folder 16, presents the second tenor part as a solo song with banjo accompaniment. This was undoubtedly the version of the song that Belasco's Jake Wallace sang (Ex. 4).²⁵

Clearly, the Jake Wallace songs in *La Fanciulla* and *The Girl* are unrelated to one another, and those statements that claim or imply that Puccini's melody for Jake Wallace in *La Fanciulla* is based on the American song "Old Dog Tray" and that Puccini borrowed that melody after having heard it in Belasco's *The Girl of the Golden West* are wrong. The evidence is unequivocal. Or is it?

3

In writing about the relationship between Puccini's and Belasco's songs for their respective minstrels, Gerardi, as I noted, characterized the "Old Dog Tray" that he presumed Puccini to have borrowed from

Tenor I
How of-ten do I pic-ture Them old folks down to home; And of-ten won-der

Tenor II
[How of-ten do I pic-ture Them old folks down to home; And of-ten won-der

Baritone
[How of-ten do I pic-ture Them old folks down to home; And of-ten won-der

Bass
[How of-ten do I pic-ture Them old folks down to home; And of-ten won-der

6
if they think of me! _____ Would an-gel moth-er know me, if

if they think of me! _____ Would an-gel moth-er know me, if

if they think of me! _____ Would an-gel moth-er know me, if

if they think of me! _____ Would an-gel moth-er know me, if

Example 3. *The Girl of the Golden West*, entr'acte 3, no. 2: "Old Dog Tray," arranged by William Furst for male quartet, NYp(m), Furst Collection, JPB-82-38, box 4, folder 15

Belasco as "one of the most popular" among the songs of Old California. And if Osborne, Ashbrook, and Carner are not quite as explicit about the popularity of "Old Dog Tray," they nevertheless refer to it with a tone of familiarity that seems to take its renown for granted. Yet this is an odd way to characterize a song that seems to have had little—if any—life outside of Belasco's *Girl*.²⁶

But Girardi's reference to the great popularity of "Old Dog Tray" might make more sense if we allow that the song that Girardi and the

11

back there I did roam? Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me, re-mem-ber me? Oh,

back there I did roam? Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me? _____ Oh,

back there I did roam? Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me, re-mem-ber me? Oh,

back there I did roam? Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me? _____ Oh,

17

moth-er, an-gel moth-er, are you a-wait-in' there, Be-side the lit-tul

moth-er an-gel moth-er, are you a-wait-in' there, Be-side the lit-tul

moth-er, an-gel moth-er, are you a-wait-in' there, Be-side the lit-tul

moth-er, an-gel moth-er, are you a-wait-in' there, Be-side the lit-tul

Example 3. continued

others had in mind was not the "Old Dog Tray" (which was also known as "Echoes from Home") used in *The Girl*, but another song entitled "Old Dog Tray," one that was, in fact, one of the most popular songs in mid-nineteenth-century America and well known to the minstrels of the California Gold Rush: the one written in 1853 by America's most popular composer; Stephen Collins Foster (Ex. 5).²⁷

Just how popular Foster's "Old Dog Tray" was can be gauged from the following: (1) within six months of its having been issued, its publisher, Firth, Pond & Co., could claim some 48,000 copies sold;²⁸ (2) it formed part of the repertory of such mid-century superstars as the Christy Minstrels (whose name appears on the original

22

cot-tage on the lea? On the lea— How of-ten would she bless me, all

cot-tage on the lea? _____ How of-ten would she bless me, all

cot-tage on the lea? On the lea— How of-ten would she bless me, all

cot-tage on the lea? On the lea— How of-ten would she bless me, all

27

in them days so fair— Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me, re-mem-ber me?

in them days so fair— Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me?]

in them days so fair— Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me, re-mem-ber me?]

in them days so fair— Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me?]

Example 3. continued

title page) and Henry Russell;²⁹ and (3) it was parodied, its tune adapted to new words, with great frequency,³⁰ with one of these parodies being an authentic song of the California Gold Rush, "The Unhappy Miner," published in *Put's Golden Songster* in 1858 and perhaps even part of the repertory of Belasco's "real-life" Jake Wallace.³¹ When reference was made to "Old Dog Tray" in mid- to late-nineteenth-century America, it can usually be assumed that the Foster song was meant.

Why introduce Foster's song at this point, since it too is unrelated to Puccini's melody? Because Belasco or Furst was indecisive about which "Old Dog Tray" to use in *The Girl*.

The Furst collection contains copies of published sheet music for most of the songs that were included in both entr'actes 1 and 3 (the songs of the medleys are listed in note 22), and indeed, in box 4, folder 14, we find Foster's "Old Dog Tray": three copies, each marked "#2-3rd entract." Thus at some point in the planning of *The Girl*, Belasco and Furst must have considered using Foster's "Old Dog Tray," at least in entr'acte 3, instead of the tune that serves as the basis for the male quartet. The entr'acte 3 quartet in box 4, folder 16, of the Furst collection is entered twice in the book marked "Conductor": first on page 30, in its correct position as no. 2, with this entry having been subsequently crossed out, and then again on page 37, where, though it is now out of place, it was left standing. What seems to have happened, then, is that Belasco and Furst originally intended to use the "Old Dog Tray" that begins with the lines "How often do I picture/Them old folks down to home" (also known as "Echoes from Home") and that Furst arranged it for male quartet and orchestra. They then switched their allegiance to the more popular song by Stephen Foster, as witness the cancellation of the original quartet on page 30, and they finally returned to their original choice, as evidenced by the second, out-of-place appearance of the quartet on page 37. Furst had indeed expended some effort on Foster's "Old Dog Tray." Not only did he acquire and mark up three copies of the song, but he arranged it for voice and ten-piece orchestra; the arrangement is preserved in box 4, folder 15, where, like the sheet music copies of the song, it bears Furst's annotation that it is to be played as "No. 2 in 3rd Entre Act" (Ex. 6).³²

The indecision that Belasco and Furst exhibited about which "Old Dog Tray" to use raises three questions, only two of which can probably be answered satisfactorily.

First, at what point in the "compositional process" of *The Girl* did this indecision occur? I believe that it must have taken place early in the genesis of the play, certainly before the production went into rehearsal. This seems evident since, at least as far as Jake Wallace's song in act 1 is concerned, both Belasco's carbon typescript and Blanche Bates's prompt book, both of which were used during rehearsals, have Jake singing the "Old Dog Tray/Echoes from Home" that begins with the words "How often do I picture." Nowhere is there even a reference to Foster's song. And it seems unlikely—though

How of-ten do I picture Them old folks back to home; And

of-ten won-der if they think of me! _____ Would an-gel moth-er know me, if

[d in ms]

back there I did roam? Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me? _____ Oh,

The image shows a musical score for a song. It consists of three systems of music. Each system has a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system starts with measure 1. The second system starts with measure 7 and includes a performance instruction '[d in ms]' above the piano part. The third system starts with measure 13. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4.

Example 4. *The Girl of the Golden West*, act 1, Jake Wallace's "Old Dog Tray," with banjo accompaniment, NYp(m), Furst Collection, JPB-82-38, box 4, folder 16

clearly not impossible—that Belasco and Furst used one "Old Dog Tray" for the minstrel's song in act 1, but another "Old Dog Tray" in entr'acte 3.

Could Belasco have had Jake Wallace perform a parody of Foster's song with Jake singing the words of the "other" "Old Dog Tray"—"How often do I picture / Them old folks down to home"—to Foster's melody? The answer is almost certainly no. Although the two terzets with which Jake begins his song in act 1 can be fitted to the melody of Foster's "verse" easily enough, and though the first two phrases of Foster's "chorus" will absorb the first line sung by all the miners (in both sections, one need only add an occasional repeated note to accommodate the greater number of syllables [Ex. 7]), after this point, the structures of the two texts proceed differently, and the remainder of Belasco's words cannot be sung to the rest of Foster's melody without denying the integrity of both.

19

moth-er, an-gel moth-er, are you a-wait-in' there, Be-side the lit-tle cot-tage on the
lea? _____ How of-ten would she bless me, all in them days so

25

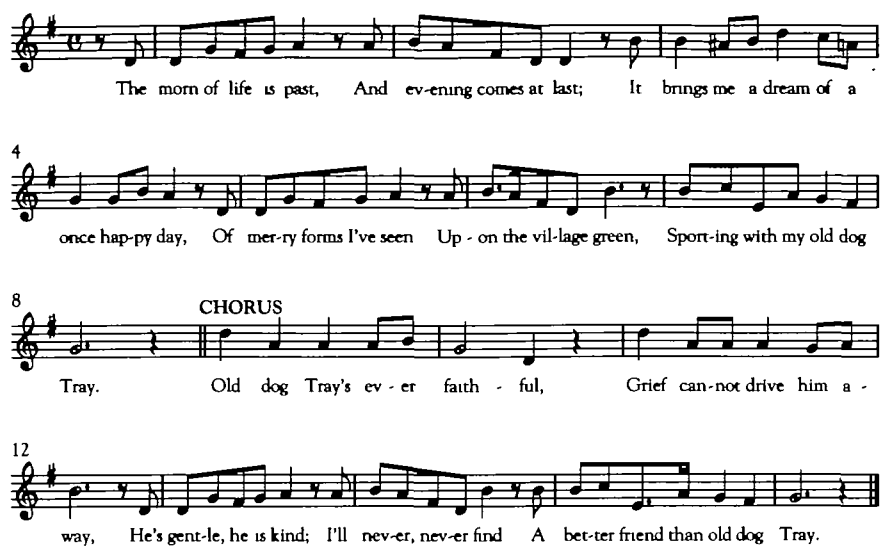
fair- _____ Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me? _____

30

fair- _____ Would Old Dog Tray re-mem-ber me? _____

Example 4. continued.

Finally, the conjunction of the two “Old Dog Tray” songs with *The Girl of the Golden West* raises a question for which there is no certain answer. As noted above (n. 22), the playbill for *The Girl* lists under the title “The Songs of the Golden West” the songs that made up the medley of entr’acte 3. However, some copies of the playbill account for “Echoes from Home” (i.e., Jake’s “Old Dog Tray” of act 1), while others do not. A pattern to the discrepancies seems to emerge (Table 1), but it requires a word of explanation. Although the playbills themselves carry no dates, some of them are “dateable” based on the context of the collections in which they were found; thus, if a playbill comes from a collection of mementos that also has dated ticket stubs for the same play, the playbill probably was obtained at the same performance. Depending on the collateral evidence, then, some copies of the playbill can be dated with greater or lesser precision.



The morn of life is past, And ev-ening comes at last; It brings me a dream of a
 4 once hap-py day, Of mer-ry forms I've seen Up - on the vil-lage green, Sport-ing with my old dog
 8 **CHORUS**
 Tray. Old dog Tray's ev - er faith - ful, Grief can-not drive him a -
 12
 way, He's gent-le, he is kind; I'll nev-er, nev-er find A bet-ter friend than old dog Tray.

Example 5. Stephen Foster's "Old Dog Tray," melody and text of first verse and chorus. After Richard Jackson, ed., *Stephen Foster Song Book: Original Sheet Music of 40 Songs by Stephen Collins Foster* (New York: Dover, 1974), 97–99

Table 1. Playbills that do or do not include "Echoes from Home"

Date of Playbill	City	Theater	"Echoes from Home"	Location
1905–1906 season	New York	Belasco	No	NYp(t)
25 Feb. 1906	New York	Belasco	No	NYm
1 May 1906	New York	Belasco	No	NYm
5 May 1906	New York	Belasco	No	NYm
29 Oct. 1906	New York	Belasco	Yes	NYm
7 Jan. 1907	New York	Academy of Music	Yes	NYp(t)
25 Sept. 1907	New York	Academy of Music	Yes	NYm
1907–1908 season	Boston	Majestic	Yes	NYp(t)

The pattern is clear. Of the eight dateable playbills that I was able to consult, the four copies from the 1905–1906 season fail to list "Old Dog Tray/Echoes from Home"; the four copies from the 1906–1907 and 1907–1908 seasons include it. Two answers seem possible: either all the playbills—or at least their "program page"—for the

play's opening season (1905–1906) had been printed at the same time and simply omit “Echoes from Home” because of a typographical error, one that was caught and corrected for the subsequent seasons; or during the 1905–1906 season, Belasco and Furst continued to be plagued by indecision about which “Old Dog Tray” to use in entr’acte 3, and the song was, therefore, omitted. By the time Puccini saw the play at the Academy of Music in January or February 1907, the “Old Dog Tray” that Jake Wallace sang in act 1 and that was played a second time in entr’acte 3 was the one that appears as the second tenor part of the vocal quartet.

4

Where, then, did Puccini find the song that Jake Wallace sings in *La Fanciulla*? Incredibly, its identity has been part of the literature on Puccini (as opposed, perhaps, to the “Puccini literature”) for eighty years, having first been noted just one week after the opera had its premiere.

In what might perhaps be counted as the first “scholarly” article on *La Fanciulla*, published in the issue of *Musical America* for 17 December 1910, the American composer-publisher-ethnologist Arthur George Farwell quotes Jake Wallace’s melody in a music example and then says the following about it: “The first of the ‘American’ themes which he has employed is Indian, and is the melody of the ‘Festive Sun Dance of the Zunis.’ This ceremonial song was recorded by Carlos Troyer, of San Francisco, and is one of the series of Indian works given out by the Wa-Wan Press.”³³

Clues about the Wa-Wan Press—of which Farwell was both founder and publisher³⁴—and Carlos Troyer³⁵ simplify the identification of Puccini’s model. In one of its quarterly publications of 1904, *Traditional Songs of the Zunis*, the Wa-Wan Press had issued Carlos Troyer’s rather romanticized arrangement of a Zuni Indian “Festive Sun-Dance,” the second section of which—“Chorus of Virgin Maidens”—contains the exact melody (with two obvious alterations) that Jake Wallace sings at the beginning of *La Fanciulla* (Ex. 8). A comparison of the Zuni Indian melody with that sung by Jake Wallace (Ex. 1) establishes the identity of Puccini’s model: it is indeed Troyer’s arrangement of the Zuni “Festive Sun-Dance.” There is conflicting testimony about where Troyer, himself a committed Indianist, found the melody. It does not come from Troyer’s favorite source, a pathbreaking article by Benjamin Ives Gilman in which there are

Flute

Clarinet

Cornet

Trombone

Drums [Timpani]

Voice

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Cello

Bass

The

Example 6. Stephen Foster's "Old Dog Tray," arranged by William Furst, NYp(m), Furst Collection, JPB—82—38, box 4, folder 15

transcriptions of nine Zuni melodies recorded at Zuni, New Mexico, by Jesse Walter Fewkes as part of the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition in the summer of 1890.³⁶ In 1898, Gilman claimed that Troyer drew on the experience of Dr. Frank Hamilton Cushing, who served as an intermediary between Troyer and the Zuni: "Cushing sang [the melodies] repeatedly, until by Mr. Troyer's careful pen, they were transcribed to the satisfaction of both. Mr. Troyer has a valuable

5

morn of life is past, And ev-ening comes at last; It brings me a dream of a once hap-py day, Of

Example 6. continued

collection of about forty of these.³⁷ Farwell, however, credits Troyer with having recorded the melody himself.

In any event, the identification of the model for Jake Wallace's melody as a Zuni Indian song permits one of Puccini's letters to Sybil Seligman to fall neatly into place. As noted above, Puccini had written to Sybil on 22 July 1907, and thanked her for the "Indian songs" that she had sent him. He went on to say that he too would write to

9

mer-ry forms I've seen Up - on the vil-lage green, Sport-ing with my old dog Tray.

Example 6. continued

a contact in the United States to get them (although why he should write for music that Sybil had already sent him is not clear) and that he looked forward to receiving another shipment of materials from her. In all, we can be sure that among the items that Puccini received from Sybil or his American contact was a copy of the Wa-Wan Press's 1904 publication of Troyer's "Festive Sun-Dance."

CHORUS
13

CHORUS
pp

mp

CHORUS

CHORUS

Old dog Tray ev-er faith - ful, Grief can-not drive him a - way, He's

CHORUS

Example 6. continued

5

I should like to close this discussion by considering Puccini's dramaturgical use of his model and his compositional reaction to it. One of the things that must surely strike us is its transformation from a joyous religious-ceremonial song—marked “Tempo di Marcia” in Troyer’s arrangement—into a sentimental minstrel song that expresses the “white man’s” nostalgia for home, “mamma,” and faithful pet dog and

17 D.C.

gent-le, he is kind; I'll nev-er, nev-er find A bet-ter friend than old dog Tray. D.C.

Example 6. continued

that, with Puccini's simple, yet touching harmonization, brings tears to the eyes of the homesick Jim Larkins (32/1/1).

We can compare this to the music that Puccini wrote for one of the real Indians in the opera, Billy Jackrabbit's squaw, Wowkle, who works as Minnie's maid. At the beginning of act 2, Wowkle sings the following lullaby (Ex. 9) to her newborn infant, who—significantly, perhaps, in the eyes of Belasco's and Puccini's audiences—was born out of wedlock (something surely unimaginable for the virtuous

How of - ten do I pic - ture Them old folks back to home; And

3
of - ten won - der if they think of me! Would an - gel moth - er know me, If

6
back there I did roam? Would Old Dog Tray re - mem - ber me?

9 CHORUS
Oh, moth - er, an - gel moth - er, are you a - wait - in' there...

Example 7. Lines 1–7 of Jake Wallace’s “Old Dog Tray/Echoes from Home” set to the verse and beginning of the chorus of Foster’s “Old Dog Tray” (added notes enclosed in brackets)

Minnie and Dick Johnson):³⁸ The difference is striking. Wowkle’s “lullaby” approximates the stereotypical Indian music of countless Saturday afternoon cowboy films.³⁹ Unmelodic and tinged with dissonance, it stands on the edge of barbarism. Jake’s song, however, seems to have had its Indian attributes stripped away, or at least well obscured. And even though its pentatonicism—interrupted, to be sure, by the “yearning” C-sharp in its opening phrase—and square phrasing give it something of the air of a cowboy song, its Americanism has, in the end, gone through the filter of an Italian opera composer. Clearly, Puccini was not about to duplicate—dare we say waste?—the lyricism of his “cantastorie” on an unwed Indian mother.⁴⁰

Finally, we may consider Puccini’s compositional reaction to his Zuni Indian model. Example 10 superimposes the first period of the Zuni melody as it appears in Troyer’s arrangement above the parallel period in Puccini’s treatment of it. What is immediately evident is that Puccini did away with the repetition of the opening phrase and compensated (in terms of maintaining a sense of symmetry) for having dropped that phrase by adding an echo-like repetition of the last

CHORUS of VIRGIN MAIDENS.

Hail to thee! You are wel-come broth-er braves, Come and join us in the dance, For your

hearts are true, to the Sun - god. We give thanks to moth-er - god, For her

works are great and good; As we learn and know, and by steps grow.

Example 8. Carlos Troyer, "The Festive Sun-Dance," mm. 18–26 (repeated as mm. 35–43 with slight variants and new text). After *Traditional Songs of the Zunis, with English Text, Second Series, Transcribed and Harmonized by Carlos Troyer* (Newton Center, Mass.: 1904), 6–9, repr. in Vera Brodsky Lawrence, ed., *The Wa-Wan Press: 1901–1911* (New York: Da Capo, 1970), 2:229–32.

fragment of the period. The effect of the changes is to increase the sense of movement at the beginning of the period and to slow it at the end so that the melody seems to have a greater sense of direction and flow in Puccini than it does in Troyer (or perhaps in the Zuni original upon which Troyer drew). Further, as a comparison of

WOWKLE. (cullando il bambino con voce piana e dolce)

"Il mio bimbo è grande e pic -
ci - no, è pic - ci - no, sta den - tro la cu - na, è gran - de e toc - ca la
lu - na, toc - ca la lu - na col suo di - ti - no. Hao, wa - ri! Hao,

(Violini)

pp

pp

pp

pp

Example 9. *La Fanciulla del West*, act 2, Wowkle's "lullaby" (150/1/3–150/3/3)



Example 10a. The Zuni melody—Troyer's arrangement (mm. 18–23)



Example 10b. The Zuni melody—Puccini's melody (20/2/1–20/4/1)

Examples 1, 4, and 8 makes clear, Puccini enriched Troyer's harmonization of the Zuni melody (but retained its D-major tonality) and replaced Troyer's eighth-note accompaniment with a sixteenth-note figure, perhaps a reminder of the similar motion that he had heard in the accompaniment that the banjo player provided for "Old Dog Tray" in act 1 of *The Girl*.

As I noted at the outset, we are fortunate in having for *La Fanciulla* a substantial—at least for a Puccini opera—amount of early sketches and continuity drafts, material that antedates the fully orchestrated autograph score preserved in the archives of Casa Ricordi, Milan. As far as I can tell, all the extant sketches and drafts for *La Fanciulla* are now housed among the rich collection of Puccini materials at NYpm and, briefly, consist of the following:

1. Koch 989: twenty individual folios or bifolios that transmit items that range in scope from the earliest and most tentative fragmentary sketches (including some that were never used in the opera) to somewhat more fully developed, but still "short-range" (that is, pertaining to a single "number") continuity drafts;
2. Koch 282: a single folio with a short-range continuity draft of the type found in Koch 989; and
3. Lehman Deposit (without signature): a continuity draft—still showing heavy revision and correction—for all of acts 1 and 2, this no doubt being the last stage prior to the fully orchestrated autograph score.⁴¹

Three of these items, all in Koch 989, have a direct bearing on the composition of Jake Wallace's song.

Example 11 shows what must certainly be Puccini's earliest attempt to realize the minstrel's song from Troyer's arrangement.⁴² A

The image shows a musical score for three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second and third staves are piano accompaniment, also with treble clefs and one sharp. The first system is labeled 'in re maggiore' and the second 'accompagnamento Wallace'. The piano part in the second system has a large 'X' drawn over it, indicating a revision or deletion of that section. The score is divided into three measures by vertical bar lines.

Example 11. NYpm, Koch 989, item III, fol. 2v, staves 6–8—the earliest sketch for Jake Wallace's song

comparison of the sketch with both Puccini's final version and Troyer's model (Exx. 1 and 8) shows that Puccini intended the Zuni melody for Jake Wallace from the beginning, that he had already decided to retain Troyer's key of D major, and that he had already made up his mind to do away with the repetition of the opening phrase. What was still not settled was the meter and the relationship to the time values to be used. Puccini wavered between 4/4 and 2/4, between quarter-note and eighth-note motion. These matters were ironed out in what is presumably the next stage in Puccini's work on the song. Finally, the opening harmony in the sketch, with its simultaneous D and C-sharp, was eventually replaced by a plain D-major triad.

What is presumably the next step in the evolution of Jake Wallace's song appears in Koch 989, item IV, fols. 1r–1v, and consists of the second and third periods of the song. It is part of a bifolio, of which fols. 2r–2v are blank. Further, since fol. 1r begins just after the upbeat to the second period, it must have been preceded by at least another, now lost folio, one that contained the preceding six measures of the song. What we have here is part of Puccini's first attempt to draft the essential features of Jake Wallace's song in its entirety, at least up to the point at which the miners enter with "Al telaio tesserà." It might be called a short-range continuity draft (Ex. 12).⁴³ Here the indecision about meter and note values that prevailed in the earlier sketch is resolved, and both elements appear as they do in the final version of the opera. In fact, the only significant alteration that Puccini would still make would be to remove the echo-like repetition

[fol. 1^r]

so - li i vec - chi [miei] pian - ge ran - no[, pen - se ran - no ch'io non tor - ni più! . . .

[5] NICK

Ra - gaz - zi v'an - nun - zio [?] J[ake] W[al - lace] il me - nes - trel [?] del

[cam - po!]

bis

[?]

archi pizzicato

Example 12. NYpm, Koch 989, item IV, fol. 1r (staff 1)–1v (staff 7) (= 20/4/1–22/2/1)

of the cadential phrase just before Nick introduces Jake (mm. 4–5 of the transcription) and to reserve it for the very end, where the miners echo Jake's "quanto piangerà" (thus adding one measure beyond the point at which this draft ends). The libretto, too, is now fully developed (despite Puccini's stinginess with Jake's words at the beginning of the draft), with the only noteworthy feature in this respect being Nick's use of the word "menestrel" instead of "cantastorie"—as in the

The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major and 3/4 time. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note arpeggiated pattern in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

[fol. 1^a] J.W. [10]

La mia mam-ma che fa - rà s'io non

arpe

tor - no s'io non tor - no? quan-to [pian - ge - rà!]

Example 12 continued

final version—to introduce Jake Wallace. “Menestrel” or “menestrello” would continue to appear in the Lehman Deposit continuity draft, the autograph score, the published libretto of 1910, and the earliest published orchestral scores. Obviously, the word “cantastorie” became part of *La Fanciulla* rather late in the game.

One last comment about the draft concerns the lack of harmonization for the music of both Jake and Nick. As I noted above, the draft shown in Example 12 constitutes the final two—second and third—periods of Jake’s song. While all three periods are essentially the same melodically, Puccini harmonized each of the three periods slightly differently in the final version of the opera. What is not clear, then, is if the absence of harmonies in this draft means that at this still relatively early stage Puccini intended to do nothing more than repeat the harmonization of the first period (which we can only assume was present on the lost folio), or that he had already decided to vary the harmonization but had not yet worked out the details of the changes.

One last sketch remains to be discussed, one that not only antedates the continuity draft transcribed in Example 12, but may well

(a) [staves 1-2] *mi maggiore* (b) *buon accompagnamento*

(c) [staff 3]

Example 13. NYpm, Koch 989, item II, fol. 2v, staves 1-3 (= 21/2/2-21/3/1)

have been written even prior to the first tentative attempts at Jake's melody shown in Example 11. One of the most ear-catching features of the draft that we have just considered—and of the final version as well—is the two-measure, banjo-like orchestral vamp that serves as an interlude between Nick's introduction of Jake and the latter's third and final period. A series of three early sketches for that interlude appears in Koch 989, item II, fol. 2v (Ex. 13). Two features of the sketches are striking. First, there is once again—as there was in the initial attempts at Jake's head motive (Ex. 11)—the painfully slow groping toward the final combination of meter and note values: 12/8 with eighth-note motion, 3/2 with eighth notes, and finally, 3/4—but with the incorrect time signature 3/2—with sixteenth-note motion. Even upon arriving at the combination of meter and time values that would eventually appear in the finished version—the one labelled (c)—Puccini struck it out, leaving only the second, "slow-motion" version standing. More important, though, is the tonality, which remained a constant E major throughout. As we have seen, what appears to be the earliest attempt at deriving Jake Wallace's melody from Carlos Troyer's arrangement of the Zuni Indian song was already firmly set in D major. Thus the E-major orchestral vamp was either conceived before Jake's melody was itself earmarked for D, or the vamp was not even originally thought of in connection with the minstrel's song, in which case, of course, the question of chronological priority is irrelevant. (I believe the latter explanation is more likely given that the annotation "buon accompagnamento" is not followed by "per Jake Wallace" or something to that effect.)

To sum up: (1) Although the Puccini literature about the song that Jake Wallace sings at the beginning of act 1 has associated both music and text with an American “folksong” entitled “Old Dog Tray,” (2) Puccini scholars have failed to realize that there are two unrelated songs with that title, the extremely popular one by Stephen Foster and another one, less well known, that Belasco used in *The Girl of the Golden West*, and that (3) the song that Jake Wallace sings in *La Fanciulla* is musically unrelated to either “Old Dog Tray”—although its text paraphrases that in Belasco’s play—but instead uses as its model an arrangement by Carlos Troyer of a Zuni Indian song, entitled “The Festive Sun-Dance” and published in Farwell’s Wa-Wan Press series in 1904.

Notes

For H. Wiley Hitchcock. The libraries and their sigla cited in the article are NYm (Museum of the City of New York, John Golden Theatre Research Archive); NYp(m) (New York Public Library, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Lincoln Center, Music Division, Special Collections); NYp(t) (New York Public Library, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Lincoln Center, Theater Division); NYpm (the Pierpont Morgan Library). I should like to thank the following curators and division heads at these libraries for their generous help: Lynn Dougherty and Karen Metz at NYm, John Shepherd and Susan Sommers at NYp(m), and J. Rigbie Turner at NYpm. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

1. See Mosco Carner, s.v. “Puccini, (5) Giacomo,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Already on 23 Feb. 1905, two full years before *La Fanciulla* was even a glimmer of an idea, Puccini wrote to Giulio Ricordi expressing his desire to break new conceptual ground: “Never have I felt as now the swift flight of time . . . a fierce desire to go on. But on, not back!” See Giuseppe Adami, *Letters of Giacomo Puccini*, rev. ed., trans. Ena Makin (London: Harrap, 1974), 167, no. 90. Thus, it is somewhat surprising to find Puccini referring to *Fanciulla* as “una seconda Bohème” in letters to Ricordi of 26 August (?) and 14 Sept. 1907; see Eugenio Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani* (Milan: Ricordi, 1958) 353–54, nos. 521–22, and Adami, 183–84, nos. 99–100.

2. I am preparing a study on the extensive collection of sketches and continuity drafts housed at NYpm. On the corrected proof sheets, see Gabriele Dotto, “Opera, Four Hands: Collaborative Alterations in Puccini’s *Fanciulla*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989): 604–24.

3. To describe either *La Rondine* or *Suor Angelica*, the two other works of Puccini’s maturity that have gained little acclaim, as “masterpieces” would be difficult; *Le Villi* and *Edgar*, his two other somewhat-forgotten operas, are early works, his first and second operas, respectively.

4. References are to the current Ricordi vocal score, plate no. 113300, ed. Mario Parenti (Milan, 1963; repr. 1988) and indicate page/system/measure numbers. This version of the score contains the revisions—cuts and additions—that Puccini made in

the opera during the period 1911–22. For a concise description of the most important revisions, see William Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini* (1968; repr. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 150–51; see also Dotto. The opening two phrases of Jake's melody had already appeared—though in 6/8—at 3/2/3–3/4/3 within seconds of the curtain's having gone up.

5. I give the text with the lineation as it appears in the original libretto published by Ricordi in 1910, plate no. 113301. Words and syllables in italics appear in the libretto but were cut by Puccini and thus do not appear in the score where this section runs from 23/2/1 through 31/1/4. Dots without spaces between them (...) reproduce a style of Italian punctuation and should not be confused with dots separated by spaces (. . .), which will be used to indicate ellipses.

6. Puccini was in New York for a festival of his operas—*Manon Lescaut* through *Madama Butterfly*—at the Metropolitan. After a brief out-of-town run in Pittsburgh in October 1905, Belasco's *Girl* had opened at the Belasco Theatre in New York on 14 Nov. 1905 and was still running strong—though by now at the Academy of Music—during Puccini's stay in New York. Though the precise date on which Puccini saw *The Girl* is uncertain, a letter of 18 Feb. 1907 to Tito Ricordi would seem to imply that he had already seen it by then: "Here too I have been on the look[ou]t for subjects . . . I have found good ideas in Belasco . . . The 'West' attracts me as a background." The letter is reproduced in Adami, 177, no. 97; the original Italian is in Gara, 340, no. 500; see also Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography*, 2nd ed. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1974), 161–62. For the view that Puccini saw the play only after 18 Feb., see Vincent Seligman, *Puccini Among Friends* (1938; repr. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), 119–20. According to William Winter, *The Life of David Belasco* 2 vols. (New York: Moffat, Yard, 1918, 1925), 2:215, Puccini saw both *The Girl* and another of Belasco's plays set in California, *The Rose of the Rancho* (which had replaced *The Girl* at the Belasco Theater on 27 Nov. 1906) during January 1907.

7. There are three easily accessible editions of the play: Samuel French, ed., *David Belasco: The Girl of the Golden West*. French's Standard Library Edition (New York: Samuel French, 1915), which contains a valuable appendix (134–62) with information on the props, staging, lighting, and the role of the vocal quartet; Montrose J. Moses, ed., *Representative American Drama: National and Local* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1935), 53–97; and Daniel C. Gerould, ed., *American Melodrama*, American Drama Library, ed. Bonnie Marranca and Gauten Desgupta (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1983), 183–247. None of the three editions, nor a carbon copy of Belasco's typescript, nor the heavily annotated prompt book that was used during rehearsals by Blanche Bates (in the starring role of Minnie) contain any indication of the melody that Jake Wallace sang in the play. Both the Belasco typescript and the Blanche Bates prompt book are preserved at NYM, under the designation *The Girl of the Golden West*, folders 1 and 2.

8. Puccini's sole departure from Belasco's text is the quatrain "Al telaiò tesserà," which has no counterpart in *The Girl*.

9. Since my intention is only to illustrate the confusion and errors surrounding the model for Jake Wallace's melody in *Fanciulla*, I have kept the following bibliographical survey brief, including nothing that antedates the influential 1959 references by Mosco Carner, on which everyone who follows would seem to have depended, with or without acknowledgment.

10. Michele Girardi, *Puccini: La vita e l'opera*, I grandi musicisti (Rome: Newton Compton, 1989), 127. ("La melodia della sua canzona è quella di una tra le più popolari canzoni folkloristiche californiane *Old Dog Tray*.")
11. Charles Osborne, *The Complete Operas of Puccini* (New York: Da Capo, 1982), 191.
12. Ashbrook, 150.
13. Enzo Restagno, *Giacomo Puccini: La Fanciulla del West*, Collana di guide musicali, ser. 1, no. 6, ed. Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1974), 150. ("La melodia cantata dal *Minstrel* è notoriamente non originale, deriva infatti dalle ricerche che Puccini fece sul folclore americano.")
14. Carner, "L'Elemento esotico in Puccini," in *Giacomo Puccini: Symposium*, ed. Claudio Sartori (Milan: Ricordi, 1959), 180. ("... variare liberamente certe melodie esotiche o . . . usarle come modelli per l'invenzione di melodie costruite in modo simile.")
15. Carner, "L'Elemento esotico," 182, Ex. 16. Carner found the melody in Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk Songs* (1925; repr. Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1963), 27, and gets around the late publication date of Scarborough's book (Puccini was already dead) by saying that Puccini came across the melody in another source.
16. Carner, *Puccini*, 405–6 (reference to the 2nd ed.).
17. The letters appear in Seligman, 138–40; see also, Carner, *Puccini*, 162.
18. Winter, 1:75; see also Carner, *Puccini*, 162; and Lise-Lone Marker, *David Belasco: Naturalism in the American Theatre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 149–50. One must take the information about Puccini in Winter/Belasco with a grain of salt. First, it would have been difficult for Puccini to exhibit much enthusiasm about the play prior to Jake Wallace's song, since the play would only have been a few minutes old when Jake enters. Second, Belasco definitely had things backward when he told Winter, "When negotiations were under way between the great composer Puccini and myself for 'The Girl of the Golden West' to be set to music, I took him to see a performance of the play." Certainly, Puccini did not begin to negotiate for the rights to the play prior to his having seen it. Indeed, it was only after he returned to Italy that he decided on *The Girl* as a subject. Finally, Winter has reversed the first initials of the two librettists of *La Fanciulla*, citing them as "G. Zangarini" and "C. Civinini" (2:215).
19. He is identified as such in the original playbill for the production: "The music of the play, including prelude and entr'actes, by William [Wallace] Furst." Such playbills, spanning the years 1905–08 and coming from theaters in both New York (the Belasco Theatre and the Academy of Music) and Boston (the Majestic Theatre) are preserved at both NYm (*The Girl of the Golden West*, folder 2) and NYp(t) (Programme/*The Girl of the Golden West*—Belasco). Furst was also the music director for Belasco's earlier *Madame Butterfly*, for which he wrote incidental music (see n. 20). For further information on Furst's career, see Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); and Ken Bloom, *American Song: The Complete Musical Theatre Companion, 1900–1984*, 2 vols. (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985), 1, nos. 2130, 3151; neither, however, dis-

cusses Furst's work in connection with either *The Girl* or *Butterfly*, since both plays fall outside their purview of the "musical." See also Bordman, *The Oxford Companion to American Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 279. (A note on Furst's death: an avid horticulturist, Furst died after sustaining injuries when he tripped over a flower pot.)

20. As it pertains to *The Girl*, the Furst Collection consists of sixteen folders of music; these are divided (unequally) among four boxes. The collection seems to include all the music used in the production and preserves sets of parts (both for the musicians on the stage and for those in the pit), conductor's "cue" books, and copies of published sheet music of some of the popular songs that Belasco used in the play. The remaining items in the Furst Collection consist of incidental music that Furst wrote for Belasco's *Butterfly* (signature: JPB-82-37) and for the play *The Yellow Jacket*, by George C. Hazelton and Joseph H. Benrimo (signature: JOB-74-5).

21. The Furst Collection has three copies of entr'acte 3, each preserved in a different state in box 4, folders 6, 15, and 16. We might note that Puccini reduced the four acts of *The Girl* to three in *La Fanciulla* by combining Belasco's acts 3 and 4.

22. The other songs in the medley are no. 1, "Jim Along Josey"; no. 3, "Wait for the Wagon"; no. 4, "Grandma's Old Armchair"; no. 5, "Oh, My Darling Clementine"; and no. 6, "Old Dan Tucker." In the playbill, this entr'acte is entitled "The Songs of the Golden West." Entr'acte 1, entitled "Songs of '49," included seven songs: "Camptown Races," "I'll Build Me a Little House," "Bonnie Eloise," "Oh, Susanna," "Sweet Annie of the Vale," "The Days of '49," and "Sonora Slim." Entr'acte 2 consisted of an original waltz by Furst, "The Girl of the Golden West." The pit orchestra was made up of strings, flute, clarinet, cornet, trombone, and timpani/drums.

23. The copy in box 4, folder 15, has the text beneath the first tenor only; I have added it to the other voices. Since the spelling and punctuation in Furst's manuscript is rather haphazard, I have also adopted those elements as they are printed in Jake Wallace's rendition of the song.

24. The cover of the "Leader" book in folder 6 bears the inscription, "This belongs to the set of Blanche Bates," who must, then, have used the book to compensate for the lack of musical indications in her own prompt book (see note 7).

25. In the "Stage Music" book for banjo, the banjo part is notated a third higher in accordance with the nineteenth-century practice of having the instrument pitched in C but notated as a transposing instrument in A; see Jay Scott Odell, s. v. "Banjo," *The New Grove*. As with the male quartet, Furst's spelling and punctuation is not consistent, and I have once again adopted the spelling and punctuation that appears in the version of the song that was given above. We might note that, although Jake Wallace himself was sung by the male quartet's baritone, Edward A. Tester, and it is for a baritone that Puccini wrote the part of his own Jake Wallace. The banjo part was played by the first tenor of the quartet, who also played the role of one of the unnamed miners. The singers who took the second tenor and bass parts of the quartet, A. M. Beattie and Ira M. Flick, also played the roles of Bucking Billie and the Ridge Boy, both of which were cut by Puccini and his librettists. Finally, the quartet

singers also doubled as stage hands, working the wind machines and opening and closing doors. See French, 4, 158–62.

26. I have not been able to locate the song outside the play, and I suspect that Furst may have written the melody himself. Yet according to Belasco, both his character Jake Wallace and the songs that he sings in the play are based on a “real-life” minstrel (and his repertory) of the same name with whom Belasco actually toured through the small mining towns of California and Nevada in 1875: “I introduced a character in memory of the ‘Jake Wallace’ of long ago. . . . I gave him the same name, made him sing the same songs”; see Winter, 1:74–75, and Marker, 149–50. In addition to having looked through dozens of “modern” books of “old-West” songs, I have consulted the following mid-nineteenth-century California songsters, all of which were published in San Francisco: David E. Appleton, *California Songster* (Noisy Carrier and Stationery Co., 1855); J. E. Johnson, *Johnson’s New Comic Songs, No. 2* (Presho & Appleton, 1863); Johnson, *Johnson’s Original Comic Songs, No. 3* (Presho & Appleton, 1864); John A. Stone, *Put’s Original California Songster* (Appleton, 1855; 5th ed., 1868); Stone, *Put’s Golden Songster, No. 3* (Appleton, 1858).

27. On Foster’s “Old Dog Tray,” see, among others, William W. Austin, “Suzanna,” “Jeannie,” and “The Old Folks at Home”: *The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), 123, 161–62; and Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), 213–14, 225. On still two other songs about “Old Dog Tray,” neither of which is related, either musically or poetically, to the Puccini-Belasco-Foster complex, see Austin, 124, 273.

28. Hamm, 225, allows that the claim could be slightly exaggerated.

29. Austin, 123.

30. Austin, 123.

31. The song begins with the lines, “My happy days are past / The mines have failed at last.” In *Put’s Golden Songster*, the song appears with the annotation, “Air—Old Dog Tray” (36). That it was Foster’s “Old Dog Tray”—and not the one that Belasco used in *The Girl*—is evident from the perfect fit between the words and Foster’s music. The song is printed with Foster’s melody in Richard A. Dwyer and Richard E. Lingenfelter, *The Songs of the Gold Rush* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 153. As Dwyer and Lingenfelter point out, Foster’s songs were among the most popular models for the Gold Rush repertory (2). Their volume also includes a convenient list of Gold Rush songsters, one that enlarges the list given in n. 26 above.

32. There is no part for the voice itself; rather its entrance is signaled by a cue in all parts except that for the cornet. I have transposed both the clarinet in A and cornet in A to concert pitch. For some reason that I cannot explain, the part for the second violin, which, like all the others, is written in G major, bears a pencil annotation—in an obviously later hand—that it should be played in A-flat major. There is a small textual problem at m. 13, where, at the final two eighth notes of the measure, Furst has altered Foster’s melody, changing the original *a’–b’* to *g’–a’* (see Ex. 5, m. 9). Since this alteration is called for in all the parts that double the melody at that point—flute, clarinet, first violin, and cello—it seems that it represents a conscious decision on Furst’s part, and I have let it stand.

33. Farwell, “The Music of Puccini’s Opera,” *Musical America* 13, no. 6 (17 Dec. 1910): 4–5. On Farwell, who was the chief critic for *Musical America* during the

period 1909–14, see Gilbert Chase and Neely Bruce, s. v., "Farwell, Arthur," *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*.

34. For a brief description of the firm's activities, see W. Thomas Marrocco and Mark Jacobs, s. v. "Wa-Wan Press," *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*; the entire output of the Wa-Wan Press is reprinted in Vera Brodsky Lawrence, ed., *The Wa-Wan Press: 1901–1911*, 5 vols. (New York: Da Capo, 1970).

35. On Troyer (1837–1920), who was born in Germany but lived almost exclusively in San Francisco from 1871 on, see Robert Stevenson, s. v. "Troyer, Carlos," *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*; see also Barbara Tedlock, "Songs of the Zuni Kachina Society: Composition, Rehearsal, and Performance," in *Southwestern Indian Ritual Drama*, ed. Charlotte J. Frisbie, School of American Research Advanced Seminars Series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), 7–8. The "References" section of this publication contains a useful list of Troyer's Indian-inspired publications, which include both original compositions based on Indian melodies and studies of the music. I should like to thank Stephen Blum for having called the Tedlock article to my attention.

36. Gilman, "Zuni Melodies," *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology* 1 (1891): 63–91. On Troyer's use of Gilman's article on other occasions, see Stevenson, s. v. "Troyer," *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*. The recordings made by Fewkes during the expedition of 1890 stand as the first sound recordings ever made of American Indian music, while Gilman's article marked the first time that such melodies had ever been transcribed and published.

37. Gilman, "Music of the Zuni Indians of New Mexico," *Musical Courier* 37 (1898): 19; also quoted in Tedlock, 8.

38. Carner, in both Puccini, 406, and "L'Elemento esotico," 182, half-heartedly suggests a connection between Wowkle's melody and that of an "Indian medicine song" that he found in Natalie Curtis, *The Indian's Song Book* (New York: Harper, 1917); the resemblance between the two melodies, though, is nonexistent.

39. An interesting study on the influence that the score of *Fanciulla* had on American film composers is waiting to be done. We might note that no less a critic than Stravinsky referred to *La Fanciulla* as "a remarkably up-to-date TV horse opera" (quoted in Roger Parker's foreword to the reprint of Ashbrook, vi).

40. For similar cultural bias in *Madama Butterfly*, especially in its original version, see Julian Smith, "Tribulations of a Score," in *Madam Butterfly/Madama Butterfly*, English National Opera Guide, no. 26, ed. Nicholas John (London: John Calder; New York: Riverrun Press, 1984), 18ff.; see also Arthur Groos, "Lieutenant F. B. Pinkerton: Problems in the Genesis of an Operative Hero," *Italica* 64 (1987): 654ff (an expanded version of which will appear in the forthcoming *The Puccini Companion*, ed. by Simonetta Puccini and William Weaver and published by W. W. Norton); and "Return of the Native: Japan in *Madama Butterfly/Madama Butterfly* in Japan," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1 (1989): 172ff.

41. As I pointed out in n. 2, I am preparing a study of these materials. One page of the Lehman Deposit continuity draft—page 172 (= 122/1/2–122/4/1)—is reproduced in J. Rigbie Turner, *Four Centuries of Opera: Manuscripts and Printed Editions in The Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: Dover, 1983), 99.

42. Mm. 3–4 of the sketch contain revisions; I have given the earlier reading of the vocal part above the staff in small notes, while the revision, which is written directly over the original, appears on the main staff.

43. Puccini entered the words in this sketch in somewhat fragmentary fashion, sometimes above, sometimes below the staff. I have added the missing words and punctuation (in brackets) in accordance with their appearance in the 1910 libretto, which obviously stands closer to the text that Puccini was working with at this stage than does that in the published score. The crescendo and decrescendo marks always appear above the staff. Finally, Nick's introduction of Jake Wallace (m. 6) is clearly two syllables short as compared to the number of notes that he has. In the final version, this discrepancy would be ironed out by dropping one note by altering the group of four sixteenth notes that fill the second beat to an eighth-note triplet and by adding one syllable by changing the word "menestrel" to "cantastorie."

Source

Allan W. Atlas. **Belasco and Puccini: "Old Dog Tray" and the Zuni Indians.**
Musical Quarterly, 1991; 75: 362 - 398.