

“PIRATING *PINAFORE*: SOUSA’S 1879 ORCHESTRATION”

BY JAMES BROOKS KUYKENDALL AND ELYSE RIDDER



Gilbert and Sullivan’s comic opera *HMS Pinafore* opened at London’s Opera Comique theater on 25 May 1878 to favorable reviews predicting its success for months to come. After an unusually hot London summer seemed to reverse its fortunes, the show’s eventual success was immeasurably beyond what the first-night critics had anticipated. Although *Pinafore* was already the fourth collaboration of W. S. Gilbert (1836–1911) and Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900), it proved to be the transformative work of the partnership: it achieved international success on a phenomenal scale, and its very success precipitated a rethinking of the business model behind the show, leading to the establishing of the D’Oyly Carte Opera Company. Moreover, the Gilbert–Sullivan–D’Oyly Carte triumvirate learned with *Pinafore* the necessity of maintaining tight control of their product, to the extent that they were able. Indeed, the international success of *Pinafore* confronted the partners with a hard lesson about the limitations of their legal control over their product: no international copyright laws protected them from pirate productions and derivative works. Unauthorized *Pinafore* productions, parodies, and publications proliferated, particularly in the United States, where the phenomenon became known as “*Pinafore*-mania.” The prevalence of *Pinafore* in popular discourse became itself a topic of newspaper editorials.¹

For many pirated productions we may know very little beyond a cast list, a venue, and an approximate opening date. Little is known even about which musical numbers were included in any particular production (and to what extent the music was Sullivan’s or newly composed by someone involved with the production), although we know that interpolated songs were common. For these tidbits we are at the mercy of those details that found their way into press accounts. Of countless pirated American

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1. See especially Colin Prestige, “D’Oyly Carte and the Pirates: The Original New York Productions of Gilbert and Sullivan,” in *Gilbert & Sullivan: Papers Presented at the International Conference held at the University of Kansas, May 1970*, ed. James Helyar (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1971), 113–48. Open access scan available at <https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/5875/libseries.num37.pdf>.

productions, one stands out as fortuitously well-documented. That was mounted by Gorman's Philadelphia Church Choir Company, whose musical director would later become one of the most celebrated musicians his country would produce: John Philip Sousa (1854–1932). For this reason, some of the documents which otherwise might have disappeared are extant, even if scarcely examined until now. Patrick Warfield has thoroughly surveyed Sousa's early career, devoting special attention to his Philadelphia sojourn.² It was through Warfield's work that we discovered the excellent undergraduate thesis of Sarah Cole, who did a remarkable job of documenting the activities of the Gorman company, and to whom we are much indebted.³

Regarding the Sousa's musical setting itself, the principal sources are few: Sousa's published recollections, fragments of Sousa's autograph full score orchestration, and a more-or-less intact set of contemporaneous orchestral parts (see Table 1).⁴ These performing materials were purchased from the Gorman company by the J. C. Williamson Opera Company, which was formed when Williamson secured from D'Oyly Carte the performance rights for *Pinafore* in Australia and New Zealand in 1879. (Williamson himself appeared as Sir Joseph Porter to open his new production in Sydney on 15 November 1879.)⁵ The parts bear the signs of considerable use and some alteration over several decades, but they remain a vital source for reconstructing the Sousa orchestration.⁶

Gorman's Philadelphia Church Choir Company fit well with the marketing of *Pinafore* as respectable theater—a novelty in American cities at the time. Quite remarkably for a group of ostensible amateurs, the company was on the road for most of 1879, with a seven-week engagement in New York City in March and April (and another two weeks in late May) and a three-week engagement as far away as Boston in June and July. Indeed, in the five months from the end of February to the end of

2. Patrick Warfield, *Making the March King: John Philip Sousa's Washington Years, 1854–1893* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), particularly pp. 84–97.

3. Sarah Cole, "For They are American: The Gorman Philadelphia Church Choir's Production of *HMS Pinafore*," Richter Independent Study Project, North Central College (13 March 1985).

4. Tangentially related are Sousa's "potpourri" arrangements for piano and flute/violin, including not only *HMS Pinafore* but also the previous Gilbert and Sullivan work, *The Sorcerer*; both settings display Sousa's embellishing approach to his text. These arrangements were published in 1879 by W. F. Shaw in Philadelphia; scans from the Library of Congress of each of these are uploaded to the Internet Music Score Library Project: [https://imslp.org/wiki/H.M.S._Pinafore_\(Sullivan,_Arthur\)#IMSLP245618](https://imslp.org/wiki/H.M.S._Pinafore_(Sullivan,_Arthur)#IMSLP245618) and [https://imslp.org/wiki/The_Sorcerer_\(Sullivan,_Arthur\)#IMSLP245619](https://imslp.org/wiki/The_Sorcerer_(Sullivan,_Arthur)#IMSLP245619).

5. On the origins of the J. C. Williamson company, see De Loitte, Vinia, Comtesse de Vilme-Haumentont, *Gilbert & Sullivan Opera in Australia (1879–1953)* (Sydney: Waite and Bull, 1953).

6. The present authors have prepared a performing edition of Sousa's version, with full score, parts, and critical apparatus to be made accessible through the Internet Music Score Library Project.

Table 1. Principal sources for reconstructing Sousa’s orchestration.

Sousa’s autobiography	<p><i>Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women, and Music</i> (Boston: Hale, Cushman, and Flint, 1928)</p> <p>Sousa briefly describes the company’s rehearsals and tours (pp. 60–63), the visit of Gilbert and Sullivan to a performance in New York City on 11 November 1879 (p. 64), and how his arrangement came to be used by the J. C. Williamson Opera Company in Australia (pp. 271–72).</p>
Sousa’s autograph score	<p>Location: Library of Congress (Washington, DC); no shelf mark</p> <p>40 sheets (the <i>verso</i> of each is blank) in 10 folders; these fragments make up about one third of the whole work:</p> <p>No. 1 “We sail the ocean blue”: 7 sheets (complete)</p> <p>No. 2 Recit. and “I’m called Little Buttercup”: 5 sheets (complete)</p> <p>No. 2a Recit. and “The nightingale”: 2 sheets (complete)</p> <p>No. 3 “A maiden fair to see”: 3 sheets (complete)</p> <p>No. 4 Recit. and “I am the captain of the Pinafore”: 3 sheets (complete)</p> <p>No. 12 Act 1 Finale: 8 sheets comprising three fragments: mm. 62–78, 117–77, 194–218, 243–90, and 313–42</p> <p><i>Entr’Acte</i>: 3 sheets (complete)</p> <p>No. 13 “Fair moon, to thee I sing”: 3 sheets (complete), down a tone (in C)</p> <p>No. 16 “Nevermind the why and wherefore”: 5 sheets (complete)</p> <p>No. 21 Act 2 Finale: last page only, numbered p. 110, and dated 15 June 1879, Boston, Mass.</p> <p>The score is in ink, as is the pagination; there are penciled bar numbers at the end of pages, and occasional red pencil marks possibly connected with the copying of parts. The score shows no signs of being used to conduct, and contains none of the vocal lines. Except for the last five sheets of no. 12, the score is in oblong format.</p>
A set of MS parts	<p>Location: State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, AU; ML MSS 2185</p> <p>Thirteen parts, most dated “Philadelphia, June 1879”: Violin 1 (35pp.), Violin 2 (30pp.), Viola (34pp.), Cello (33pp.), Basso (33pp.), Flute (29pp.), Oboe (29pp.), Clarinet 1 (30pp.), Clarinet 2 (27pp.), Bassoon (29pp.), Horns 1/2 (26pp.), Cornets 1/2 (23pp.), Trombone (20pp.). A part labelled “Drums” is included but is not original to the set, and does not transmit Sousa’s setting.</p> <p>The parts include an interpolated song for Hebe (Mark Hassler’s “You shall never want for care”) immediately before the act 2 Finale.</p>

July, the company was in its home city for only one week. Sousa recalled that “most of the amateurs [had] faded out of the picture and were replaced by professionals.”⁷ This explains how such lengthy tours were possible, but the marketing of the company still emphasized the pious and

7. John Philip Sousa, *Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women, and Music* (Boston: Hale, Cushman, and Flint, 1928), 63. Cole has compiled an itinerary of their 1879 tours based on press reviews; see “For They are American,” 58–59.

home-grown nature of the cast: in the published libretto, each portrait of a principal lists their home congregation;⁸ and playbills have notices such as “GRAND CHORUS OF 75 TRAINED VOICES / Every Member of the Troupe being a Philadelphian” (see Figure 1).

The pirated productions that fueled the American “*Pinafore*-mania” eventually provoked Richard D’Oyly Carte to cross the Atlantic to mount an authorized production of the show, under the direct supervision of the author and composer. All of that was to happen in New York City in December of 1879 in the Fifth Avenue Theater: a number of performances of *Pinafore*, followed on New Year’s Eve by the opening of *The Pirates of Penzance*, produced first in New York in the hopes of securing the US copyright.

Gilbert and Sullivan arrived in New York on 5 November 1879. Sousa’s Philadelphia company arrived for a third residency in New York later in the week, opening on 10 November. On the very next night, Gilbert and Sullivan, together with their lead soprano Blanche Roosevelt, attended Sousa’s performance incognito. Sousa recalled:

Our very alert stage manager, Peaks, recognized them and sent a young woman of the staff to sit by them and catch whatever comments they might make upon the presentation of the piece. This was the burden of her report:

“Piece finely sung,” said Sullivan enthusiastically; “couldn’t be better.”

Blanche Roosevelt declared that she could not vocalize as well as our American soprano the passage which begins:

This very night, with bated breath . . .

Gilbert was indignant because Dick Deadeye had the presumption to interpolate a song by Malloy [*sic*].⁹

Sullivan thought the orchestration excellent. (This, of course, delighted me, since it was mine!)¹⁰

There seems to be no other corroborating evidence for these details, although it seems a safe assumption that Gilbert would have been indignant about any interpolation, given his tight control of performance practice with the D’Oyly Carte company.¹¹ That Sullivan thought it was “finely sung” is likely, as it would be consistent with press accounts of the Philadelphia company, and Sousa’s own recollections of training the

8. Libretto published by J. Travis Quigg, Philadelphia (published without date, although the copy examined was dated in manuscript 12 July 1879); Pierpont Morgan Library, GSC PR 1028656. Only the portrait of Louis de Lange (portraying Sir Joseph Porter) lacks a church affiliation.

9. This was apparently J. L. Molloy’s “Davy Jones,” but the extant performing materials do not include it.

10. *Marching Along*, 64.

11. On Gilbert’s insistence for complete control over every element of his productions, see William Cox-Ife, *W. S. Gilbert: Stage Director* (London: Denis Dobson, 1977), particularly pp. 27–36.

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DICK DEADEYE.....	MR. G. T. R. KNORR
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Fig. 1. Detail of playbill of Boston performances for the week ending Saturday, 28 June 1879. Photographic CREDIT: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, Gilbert and Sullivan Collection 198516, 1r.

chorus.¹² Indeed, of the many *Pinafores* on the boards in New York when Sullivan arrived, it is little wonder that he sought out this one to attend at the first opportunity: seven months earlier an account of their first New York performances made its way into the report of the American correspondent of *The Era*; the composer must have been intrigued to see it there described as “the first really musical performance of the opera yet listened to here. . . . [T]he most remarkable thing of all is that these church singers should have been the first to give Sullivan’s sweet music in all its beauty and integrity.”¹³ It must have galled Sullivan to see the singing of the rival Comedy-Opera Company production (after the split from D’Oyly Carte) praised in reviews. As for Blanche Roosevelt’s remark about the enunciation of Sousa’s Josephine, the tepid reviews of her own New York performances as Josephine and Mabel suggest that she was speaking accurately. Moreover, D’Oyly Carte’s scouting visit to America, in June and July of 1879 convinced him that mounting his own production there would require stronger voices than those to which the London stage was accustomed.¹⁴

But what of Sousa’s “excellent” orchestration? Is this opinion reasonable from Sullivan—a composer whose skill at orchestration has regularly been praised for its subtlety, economy, and effect?¹⁵ On 14 April, a few weeks after *The Era* report on the Philadelphia company, Sullivan wrote to Buffalo, NY music publisher C. K. Remington that his greatest frustration at the proliferation of *Pinafore* productions in America was not the loss of revenue, but that the orchestration was not—could not be—what he had intended:

Orchestral colouring plays so large a part in my works that to deprive them of this is to take away half the attractions. The “pianoforte” arrangement of

12. *Marching Along*, 61. See also Cole, “For they are American,” 16–18. The Dick Deadeye of Gorman’s company, G. T. R. Knorr, was picked up by D’Oyly Carte for an authorized American touring company of *Pinafore*, subsequently playing also the Pirate King in *The Pirates of Penzance*; but there is no indication that any of Gorman’s other principals had similar success. See Reginald Allen, *Gilbert & Sullivan in America: The Story of the First D’Oyly Carte Opera Company American Tour* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1979), 22.

13. *The Era* (30 March 1879); transcribed at <https://www.gsearchive.net/pinafore/reviews/usa/300379era.html> (accessed 18 January 2022). Several reviews of the London production (for which Sullivan was responsible) mention weak voices among the cast; for example, *The Times* (27 May 1878), *The Examiner* (1 June 1878), and—even months into the run—*The Standard* (3 February 1879); see also the selection quoted in Reginald Allen, *The First-Night Gilbert & Sullivan* (New York: Heritage Press, 1958), 73–78.

14. See Tony Joseph, *The D’Oyly Carte Company 1875–1982* (Bristol: Bunthorne Books, 1994), 101.

15. See, for example, Cecil Forsyth, *Orchestration*, 2nd ed. (New York: Dover, 1982), 426–27; Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*, 3rd ed., rev. Jack Westrup (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 323–24; John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 248. For lengthier treatments, see Thomas F. Dunhill, *Sullivan’s Comic Operas: A Critical Appreciation* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1928), 216–232; and Gervase Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan* (London: Macmillan, 1960), 96–118.

the *Pinafore* does not in the least represent the orchestral accompaniment; and I’m told this morning in a letter I received from a friend in New York, who has heard the opera here [in London] very often, that the effect of the whole is quite different as performed in American theatres. This is a pity, because for a very small sum a manager might have had a copy of my score, and my work would then have been given to the American public as I wrote it, instead of in a garbled form, for, however cleverly it may be scored by the local arrangers, it is not mine.¹⁶

Given the tight control that the D’Oyly Carte team exacted over their materials, Sullivan’s offer of his score for a “very small sum” seems extremely unlikely. In any case, Sousa’s orchestration was not the original. Can we trust Sousa’s flattering account? Fifty and more years after the event, even if this was a proud moment that must have lived on in the retelling decade after decade—was he recollecting not fact but instead what he would have wanted to have heard?

With access now to his orchestration as it was performed in 1879, we are finally in a position to consider this question and not just take Sousa’s word for it. Sullivan himself was asked about pirate orchestrations in an interview with the *New York Herald* published on 4 December 1879, about a month after he would have heard the Philadelphia company in performance:

Frankly speaking, and without desiring to be offensive, what American interpretations of *Pinafore* I have heard are merely bold productions of the piano score arranged for a number of instruments instead of one. Consequently there is no delicacy, poetry, or color in the accompaniment. My first object in instrumentation is to give a thorough support to the voices, and, at the same time, never allow my vanity to run me into the danger of overwhelming them. There is always a temptation to the composer to fill up blank spaces on his score, and this I have tried to avoid.¹⁷

Given that all he had was a vocal score, how well did Sousa do?¹⁸

As will be shown, Sousa succumbed to the temptation to “fill up blank spaces on his score.” His procedure seems to have been to make

16. Sullivan to C. K. Remington, Easter Monday [14 April] 1879, and printed also in *The Saturday Musical Review* (24 May 1879), 333; here quoted (though corrected) from the *Magazine of the Sir Arthur Sullivan Society* no. 39 (1994), 14.

17. Sullivan quoted in an unattributed interview (also with Alfred Cellier and Richard D’Oyly Carte), “Damme! It’s too bad,” in the *New York Herald*, 4 December 1879, 10; in the same interview, Sullivan comments on the “thinness” of American orchestras. (A scan of the original is available at <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030313/1879-12-04/ed-1/seq-10/>.) This interview was reprinted (with minor changes) as “An Interview with Cerberus,” in *The Musical World*, 20 December 1879.

18. The American edition of the vocal score (Boston: Oliver Ditson) is clearly dependent on the British edition (London: Metzler, 1878), although it was a new re-setting. It is remarkably faithful to its source, so that there were very few variants to demonstrate that Sousa had used Ditson as his working text (e.g., No. 2, m. 38 bass line error; No. 14, m. 28 bass line error; No. 16, m. 10 third melody note lacks double-sharp).

Ditson vocal score *pp* TENORS & BASSES.

Care - ful - ly on tip - toe steal - ing, Breath - ing

Moderato

Sullivan

Moderato

Vln. I *pp*

Vln. II *pp*

Vla. *pp*

Vc. & Cb. *pp*

Sousa

Moderato *pizz.*

Vln. I *pizz.*

Vln. II *pizz.*

Vla. *pizz.*

Vc. & Cb. *pizz.*

Fig. 2. *HMS Pinafore*, no. 18, “Carefully on tiptoe stealing,” mm. 1–4; composite score illustrating the text of the Ditson piano-vocal score; Sullivan’s string scoring; and Sousa’s string scoring.

a more-or-less mechanical transcription of the piano reduction directly into the string parts. In doing so, he tends to add gratuitous double-stops, which suggests that he was trying to get more sound out of a fairly small band of players. Figure 2 exemplifies Sousa’s tendency to score more thickly in the strings in comparison with Sullivan. It is possible that his bulking up of the strings might have been a safeguard to allow for

Table 2. Comparison of the constituents of Sousa’s orchestration and Sullivan’s original scoring.

Sousa	Sullivan
Flute (doubling Piccolo)	Flutes 1/2 (2 nd doubling Piccolo)
Oboe	Oboe
Clarinets 1/2	Clarinets 1/2
Bassoon	Bassoon
Horns 1/2	Horns 1/2
Cornets 1/2	Cornets 1/2
Trombone	Trombones 1/2
Timp./Perc. [part not extant]	Timp./Perc.
Violin 1	Violin 1
Violin 2	Violin 2
Viola	Viola
Cello	Cello
Double bass	Double bass

reduced forces among the winds in some of his tour cities, but the winds are actually never dispensable—at least in the form in which Sousa’s scoring survives. Moreover, Sousa’s orchestration seems not to have been made with an eye toward practicality: the parts are not easy to play, certainly not easier than Sullivan’s original.¹⁹

The last page of the fragmentary autograph score is dated “June 15th [18]79 Boston Mass.,” although the company had been staging the show since late February. It is possible that the band was somewhat smaller in the first few months. By April their New York playbills are listing “an augmented orchestra.”²⁰ It may be that Sousa re-scored several times mid-run, as the playbill for the Boston production (Figure 1) indicates “Introduced for the first time / NEW INSTRUMENTATION, AND AN ENLARGED ORCHESTRA.”²¹

What the size of Sousa’s orchestra was before this putative enlargement is impossible to say. The ensemble constituents of the Library of Congress score and the Australian parts²² are identical, save that the original percussion part has not been preserved. (The percussion part in the set is spurious.) Table 2 lists his ensemble, compared with Sullivan’s original

19. Cole reports that “During the autumn [of 1879], the company was noted as travelling with its own orchestra” (p. 29).

20. Playbill from the Broadway Theater, New York City, 7 April 1879; Pierpont Morgan Library, GSC PR 198515.

21. Playbill from the Park Theatre, Boston, week ending 28 June 1879; Pierpont Morgan Library, GSC PR 198516.

22. Curiously, the parts have the very same date as the score—15 June 1879—but the signature of the copyist indicates “Philadelphia,” presumably indicating the home of the company rather than the actual site of the copying.

scoring—the details of which would have been unknown to Sousa.²³ Sousa's wind and brass complement is only slightly smaller than Sullivan's scoring, which includes a second flute and a second trombone. Although Sullivan's ensemble is thus larger altogether, he uses it extremely sparingly: only seven of the twenty musical numbers of the show have passages calling for all of the players at once, and never against a solo voice.²⁴ Sousa is much more expansive, scoring for the *tutti* ensemble in most of the introductions and interludes, and particularly when the full chorus is singing. Even at other moments, Sullivan would be justified to complain that Sousa's is just too thickly scored. One of Sousa's habits is to use the first cornet as a melody instrument, doubling both first violins and woodwinds—a robust scoring Sullivan reserves for only the very biggest moments, such as the introduction to no. 4, "I am the Captain of the Pinafore."²⁵

Even when the cornets are silent, Sousa prefers a richer scoring. His scoring at the ending of Ralph's "A maiden fair to see" (no. 3) exemplifies this. The piano reduction in the Ditson score is perhaps a bit deceptive at this point (see Figure 3a). There slowly sustained harmonies move with the men's chorus, not quite doubling, but certainly reinforcing the harmony. Note the pianissimo dynamic. Comparing this to its source—Sullivan's full score (Figure 3b)—surprises are in store: gone are the sustained harmonies of the piano accompaniment. The strings play, but they are pizzicato. The piano reduction seems intended here to enable the singers to learn their notes in rehearsal, not to reproduce the effect of the orchestra in performance. Sousa's orchestration of the same passage appears as Figure 3c. Although Sousa does not call upon the cornets until the cadence itself, the rest of his full ensemble is there—flute, oboe, and violin I doubling Ralph, with everyone else providing the sustained chords. Sousa's strings are arco, and there is even a general crescendo—including the introduction of a timpani roll at the cadence. Topping it off, the clarinets arpeggiate up through the V⁷ harmony (m. 78).

This sort of decorative writing is characteristic of Sousa's score, which is sometimes overlaid by woodwind twiddles and arpeggios. Nowhere is

23. Sullivan was scoring for an orchestra on the larger end of what could be expected for the musical stage in London at the time. Hamilton Clarke (who sometimes served as a musical assistant to Sullivan) in his *Manual of Orchestration* (London: J. Curwen & Sons, [1888]) cites an identical complement as Sullivan used in *Pinafore* as probable for such a work, but comments that "there are very few provincial towns where the principal theater possess a band in which all these instruments will be found; indeed, there are very few theatres in London that have them all" (p. 11).

24. Well, hardly ever. The only moment when Sullivan deploys the *tutti* against just one singer is the Captain's outburst "Hold!" that begins No. 18a.

25. The only other instances of this in Sullivan's score are "Now give three cheers for a sailor's bride" in the act 1 finale (no. 12) and the choral version of "For he himself has said it" which concludes both no. 18a and the act 2 finale (no. 21).

Ditson

74
RALPH
suit-or! Oh, pi-ty, pi-ty me! Our cap-tain's daugh-ter, she, and I that low-ly suit-or.
pp

TENORS
And he, and he that low-ly suit-or.

BASSES
pp

con 8va

Sullivan

74
Fls.
Ob.
Cls. (Bb)
Bsn.
Hns. (C)
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Ve.
Cb.

f
f
pp
a 2
[ppp]
pizz.
arco
f
f
arco
f
pizz.
arco
f
pizz.
arco
f

Fig. 3. *HMS Pinafore*, no. 3, “The nightingale”/“A maiden fair to see,” mm. 74–79. Comparison of (a) Ditson vocal score, (b) Sullivan orchestration, and (c) Sousa orchestration (see following page).

Sousa

The image displays a page of a musical score for Sousa's orchestration. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with multiple staves. The instruments and parts included are:

- Flute (Fl.):** Features a melodic line with dynamic markings of *pp* and *ff*.
- Oboe (Ob.):** Features a melodic line with dynamic markings of *pp* and *ff*.
- Clarinets (Cl. I (B-), Cl. II (B-), Bsn.):** The B-flat clarinets and bassoon play a rhythmic accompaniment with dynamic markings of *pp* and *ff*.
- Horn (Hns. (F)):** Provides harmonic support with dynamic markings of *pp* and *ff*.
- Contrabass (Cnts. (B-), Tbn., Timp.):** The contrabass, trombone, and timpani provide a solid rhythmic foundation with dynamic markings of *ppp* and *ff*.
- Vocalists (RALPH, TENORS, BASSES):** The vocal parts include lyrics such as "suit - or! Oh, pi - ty, pi - ty incl Our cap - tain's daugh - ter, she, and I that low - ly suit - or." Dynamic markings include *pp* and *ff*.
- String Ensemble (Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., Cb.):** The strings play a rhythmic accompaniment with dynamic markings of *pp* and *ff*.

The score is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The dynamic range is wide, from *ppp* to *ff*.

Fig. 3. (c) Sousa orchestration.

this more in evidence than in “I’m called Little Buttercup” near the beginning of act 1. Figure 4 illustrates this even at a glance: Sousa has transcribed Sullivan’s simple waltz accompaniment pattern into the strings (with double-stops as his default). Above this he has clearly succumbed to precisely the temptation that Sullivan decried: “fill[ing] up blank spaces in his score.” Twiddles and arpeggios litter the flute part, and the first clarinet enters with a showy two-octave scale before joining in dialogue

The image shows a page of a musical score for the opera HMS Pinafore. It features ten staves of instrumental parts and two vocal staves. The flute part is the most prominent, showing a series of leaping octaves. The vocal parts for Josephine and Ralph are also visible, with lyrics in English. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (p, cresc.), articulation (acc.), and phrasing slurs.

Fig. 5. *HMS Pinafore*, no. 18a, “Hold! Pretty daughter of mine,” mm. 35–40; Sousa’s orchestration with leaping octave figure in flute.

with the flute. Other woodwinds sustain harmonies. There is a real danger of smothering the singer. Sousa continues in this manner throughout the number.

While there is no other place in Sousa’s score with quite this degree of ornamental intrusion, he certainly seems to have abhorred an empty staff. In many numbers he will start an accompanimental section with strings only, but after a few bars other instruments begin to creep in, and once the accumulation has started it seems to snowball. As seen in the examples above, arpeggios seem to have been one of his favorite filler textures. He also sometimes would highlight a melody by adding leaping octaves in the flute or piccolo, as in Figure 5; this makes a brilliant effect, and he later used it memorably in his band works (e.g., the second strain of his march *The Stars and Stripes Forever*). He also sometimes found ways to have the instruments echo the voices, unprompted by his source text,

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Refrain, Audacious Tar" from *HMS Pinafore*. It is divided into two main sections: "Sousa additions" and "Ditson vocal score".

The "Sousa additions" section at the top features two staves for woodwinds: Flute (Fl.) and Oboe (Ob.) on the top staff, and Clarinet 2 (Cl. 2) and Bassoon (Bsn.) on the bottom staff. The music is in 3/4 time and begins with a dynamic marking of *f*. The woodwinds play a melodic line that echoes the vocal melody.

The "Ditson vocal score" section below shows the vocal line for Josephine. The lyrics are: "Re - frain, au - da - cious tar, Your suit from press - ing; Re - mem - ber what you". The piano accompaniment is marked *fp* and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand.

Fig. 6. *HMS Pinafore*, no. 11, “Refrain, Audacious Tar,” mm. 4–7; composite score showing Ditson piano-vocal score text (below) and Sousa’s echoing woodwind interpolations (above).

the Ditson vocal score.²⁶ Figure 6 illustrates such woodwind echoes, near the beginning of the duet “Refrain, audacious tar.” What Sullivan thought of these when he heard this in New York is not recorded.

Perhaps the most intriguing moments of Sousa’s score are those instances when he apparently perceived a deficiency in his source—where something was needed that was not conveyed by the piano reduction. The opening of the most “operatic” number of the piece is a good example—Josephine’s *scena* “The hours creep on apace” (no. 15). Figure 7 reproduces what Sousa was looking at—the published Ditson reduction. What is not evident here is that Sullivan allocated the first two measures to winds, with an echo in the strings in the next two measures, and he continued this exchange effect in measures 5–8. As it happens, Sousa does precisely the same, even if his wind scoring is somewhat thicker, calling for eight players, essentially doubling every note (including the flute up an octave), where Sullivan calls for just five or six players. Sousa was also perceptive enough to depart from the text in measure 14: he found the bass note on the downbeat to be a weakness, and so he eliminated it. That note was in fact an error in the vocal score (in both the American

26. That the Ditson vocal score was indeed his source is confirmed by his transmission of a handful of variant readings found unique to that source (e.g., no. 2, m. 38 bass line, no. 12, m. 9 beat 3; no. 14, m. 28 bass line).

ABSTRACT

Before he was America’s “March King,” John Philip Sousa was a jobbing musician like so many others of his generation. From 1876 to 1880, he picked up a series of engagements as director of music for a company in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. At the same moment, Gilbert & Sullivan’s successful early shows were appearing in pirated productions in the United States. Sousa orchestrated *The Sorcerer* and *HMS Pinafore* for pirated productions.

Sousa’s score of *Pinafore* survives incomplete in the Library of Congress, but a virtually intact set of parts copied in June 1879 was sent to Australia early on, and continued in use in productions there for decades. (Those materials reside now in the State Library of New South Wales.) Together these manuscript sources have enabled a reconstruction of Sousa’s scoring that had been regarded unrecoverable. The restored orchestration is not hackwork: Sousa employed his creative faculties perhaps a little too much by Sullivan’s standards.

In his memoirs, Sousa recalled Gilbert and Sullivan attending a performance of the pirated production in November 1879, and that Sullivan “thought the orchestration excellent.” This claim now seems dubious.

