

Norman Rockwell's *Shuffleton's Barbershop*: A Musical–Iconographical Riddle

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The tendency of the Vermonter . . . is to try to see how the isolated detail that comes before his eyes in the daily round is related to larger matters.

—Dorothy Canfield Fisher, preface to Walter Hard's
A Mountain Township (1953)

Since appearing on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post* on 29 April 1950, Norman Rockwell's *Shuffleton's Barbershop* has been recognized as one of the artist's greatest works (Figure 1).¹ The painting occupies a unique position among Rockwell's *Post* covers for its calm narrative simplicity: with the furnace aglow during a chilly evening, a group of musicians rehearse in the back room of a barbershop, providing a brief, anecdotal glimpse into their musical lives. No less a critic than John Updike wrote admiringly of “the coziness of the details Rockwell has chosen to illuminate, and . . . the cozy implication that at the back of every small-town barbershop lurks a bunch of music-loving old men; but the barber chair, the reflected light on the stovepipe, the crack in the corner of the big window the viewer is looking through—this is an amazing painting.”²

An amazing painting, indeed—but also a mysterious one, especially for the musically inclined viewers who might puzzle over the odd combination of instruments that constitutes this after-hours ensemble. Clarinet, violin, and cello trios are exceedingly rare; only a handful of compositions for such an ensemble exist—none from the standard repertoire. I will attempt to answer the inevitable questions that arise from a musical–iconographical reading of the painting: who are the players in this strange ensemble, what might they be playing, and why are they playing it? Sifting through the potential clues cluttered within this astonishingly detailed barbershop, one surprising and intriguing musical composition emerges as a likely candidate—a piece of music that will



Figure 1. Norman Rockwell, *Shuffleton's Barbershop* (46.25 × 43 inches), The Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Printed by permission of the Norman Rockwell Family Agency. Copyright © 1950 Norman Rockwell Family Entities.

alter how we view, interpret, and “hear” this painting, while also providing a provocative glimpse into the musical sensibilities of small-town New England in post-World War II America.

Fact and Fiction: The Barbershop and the Players

As an examination of his working methods will show, Rockwell was an artist obsessed with realism, and those of his paintings that attempt to capture the spirit of rural America are often loaded with local history and folklore that can tell us much about the society in which he lived. In the case of *Shuffleton's Barbershop*, this would be the artist's adopted

hometown of Arlington, Vermont, where he and his family resided from 1939 until 1953. Located in the southern part of the state, Arlington (consisting of West Arlington, Arlington, and East Arlington) is nestled just west of the Green Mountains.³ Taken together, these three towns had a population of about 2,300 in 1950—in many respects a typical, even quintessential, small, self-sufficient New England community.⁴ And yet, beginning in the 1920s, Arlington distinguished itself with an influx of several high-profile residents of national and international fame. In addition to Rockwell, Arlington was home to writer and philanthropist Dorothy Canfield Fisher, composer Carl Ruggles, painter Rockwell Kent, and several other *Post* illustrators who followed Rockwell to Vermont, among them George Hughes, Mead Schaeffer, and Jack Atherton; these culturally significant figures likewise attracted an impressive array of prestigious guests to the remote town.⁵ And yet Rockwell lived in Arlington without glitz or glamour, embracing small-town life and integrating himself seamlessly into it: living on a farm in West Arlington accessed via a covered bridge, joining friends at the Green Mountain Diner downtown, acting in community plays, and serving on the dance committee (“he square-danced like a son of a gun,” recalls one resident).⁶ But perhaps most of all Rockwell enjoyed the solitude that Arlington provided. Having been raised on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, he was now free from the “crowds and clamor” of the city and could pursue his busy illustrating schedule with minimal interruption.⁷

Rockwell was also able to find much inspiration in the people, places, and situations found in small-town Vermont life—inspiration that was ideal for the everyday anecdotal illustrations that the editors of the *Saturday Evening Post* wanted for their covers.⁸ Rockwell typically created a magazine cover as follows: (1) brainstorming for scenario ideas with a sketchpad, using a feverish process of spontaneous free association;⁹ (2) roughly sketching a scenario with a carbon pencil on a scrap of paper—eventually used to propose the idea to his editors; (3) gathering models, props, and set pieces (or, in later years, seeking out actual locations); (4) taking dozens or even hundreds of photographs of the models as arranged in the aforementioned sketch;¹⁰ (5) projecting these photographs onto a full-sized sheet of paper with the aid of a balopticon and drawing them one by one into the composition in charcoal;¹¹ (6) sketching in color; and (7) on canvas, painting in layered color the final illustration, which would later be reduced to fit onto the cover of the *Post*.¹² According to Rockwell, an ideal cover would contain “an element of humor and pathos,” making the viewer “smile and sigh at the same time.”¹³

Arlington was invaluable in the third step of this process (obtaining models and set pieces), so much so that residents joked that posing for Rockwell was one of the town's greatest industries (they were paid \$5 for their time).¹⁴ Models did not necessarily play themselves in paintings; instead, Rockwell typically selected his models based on the suitability of a subject's facial features and expressions. For example, round-faced Gene Pelham, Rockwell's photography assistant for many years, appears costumed in many different guises: as a cigar-smoking onlooker at a boxing match in *Strictly a Sharpshooter* (S75), a marine in *Willie Gillis with Food Package* (C391), an enthusiastic skier in *Ski Train* (C440), and a mischievous mustachioed plumber in *Plumbers in a Boudoir* (C456).¹⁵ But there are also plenty of instances in which Rockwell allowed reality to spill into his illustrations; indeed, he believed that capturing the essence of his environment was one of the primary aims of his art.¹⁶ *Homecoming Marine* (also known as *Benedict's Garage*, C421), for example, depicts a group of men in a mechanic's garage listening to the story of a young man in uniform. The location was a real automobile repair shop in Arlington, and its real owner, Bob Benedict, Jr., posed as himself in full mechanic's attire.¹⁷ Duane Peters, posing in uniform, was indeed a former marine whom Rockwell first met at a local square dance. But there is a bit of quaint Rockwellian fiction in this painting, which is otherwise faithful to local history. A newspaper clipping hangs on the back wall with Peters's image: it reads, "Marine Joe —" and "Ex-Garageman a Hero," while a mechanic's jacket labeled "JOE" dangles nearby. Duane Peters was, as just noted, a former marine, and he surely returned with stories to tell his Arlington neighbors. But his name was not "Joe," he was not an ex-garageman, and there never was such a front-page story.¹⁸ This raises a key point: the line between fact and fiction in a Rockwell painting is often very porous. Rockwell's scenarios during the 1940s were typically drawn from his own imagination—inspired by, but seldom taken directly from, real life; for the sake of realism, then, bits and pieces of his local surroundings were rearranged and assembled according to his artistic vision.¹⁹

We may now turn to *Shuffleton's Barbershop*. In 1986, the Norman Rockwell Exhibition at the Arlington Gallery conducted an oral history project with local residents, one of many efforts over the years to speak with members of the community who had posed for Rockwell. Among those interviewed was Harry W. Hayden (1917–2005), who had become closely associated with *Shuffleton's Barbershop*. Thanks to this interview, the models that Rockwell used in this painting have been identified. Grocery clerk German ("Germ") A. Warner (1881–1968) posed as the clarinetist, and railroad worker Bernard ("Bernie")

L. Twitchell (1890–1950) as the violinist. According to census records, both were Vermont natives and had lived in East Arlington for nearly their entire adult lives. Neither was in particularly good health at the time, as they had had overlapping stays of several weeks at the Putnam Memorial Hospital in Bennington in April of 1949.²⁰ Warner did not know how to play the clarinet (he is holding it incorrectly, right hand above his left),²¹ but Twitchell played the violin and holds it with more confidence. As Hayden noted in his 1986 interview,

At the time of the painting the violin was owned by Mrs. E. Hogbin of Arlington and she had loaned it to Bernard Twitchell of East Arlington—a country fiddler. She later decided to sell it and Bernie was ill and unable to buy it (he died shortly afterward [in October of 1950, six months after appearing on the *Post* cover]). It was purchased in the early 1950s by Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Hayden as a Christmas present to their son Harry W. Hayden, and I now play it regularly in the Arlington country music band, The Kelly Stand Symphony.²²

Significantly, Hayden's anecdote confirms that Twitchell's instrument is a *violin*, not a viola, and that Twitchell apparently knew how to play. As for Hayden: he became increasingly fascinated with violins as he grew older—eventually collecting more than twenty. He died in 2005 (shortly before I began research on this project), and the violin used in the painting is currently in the possession of his son in Arlington.²³

Though he is positioned with his back to us, we know the identity of the broadly-built cellist: he is Hayden's cousin, Robert ("Rob") Shuffleton (1879–1966)—yes, the Shuffleton of *Shuffleton's*, as Rockwell himself tells us in the caption that accompanies the painting.²⁴ Since 1907, Shuffleton owned the only barbershop in East Arlington, and, though there was another barbershop down the road in Arlington, Shuffleton's was the place to be. Despite the extra two-mile drive it may have caused him, Rockwell bypassed the Arlington barbershop and got his hair cut at Shuffleton's, heralding him as a "tonorial virtuoso."²⁵ The East Arlington barbershop was a social hub for both men and women (at this time, barbershops frequently doubled as beauty parlors)²⁶ who could catch up on local gossip and enjoy what one life-long East Arlington resident remembers as the "vibrant atmosphere."²⁷ As Dorothy Canfield Fisher writes in her book *Memories of Arlington, Vermont*, "Having your hair cut by the barber is apt to be a social event with a chance to talk over neighborhood news with other men waiting for their turn in the barber's chair."²⁸ Indeed, Shuffleton's position as the East Arlington correspondent for the *Bennington Evening Banner*, the

major local newspaper of Bennington County, surely contributed to this communal atmosphere. Paid by the column inch, Shuffleton would submit an assortment of weekly personal updates from the community (who had traveled out of town, who was sick with the flu, who was receiving guests for the weekend, and so on)—news gathered via discussions with his clientele. “He kept a pad on his counter and jotted down items as fast as they dropped from the lathered lips of his patrons,” recalls the author of a commemorative article in the *Bennington Evening Banner* from 1963, honoring fifty-six years of work from the *Banner’s* only male correspondent.²⁹ Though it seems unlikely that he actually played the cello (nobody I spoke with could recall him ever owning or playing one, though he is referred to as “the cello player” in the *Saturday Evening Post’s* accompanying caption), Shuffleton pursued music as a horn player in the Citizens Cornet Band of East Arlington, which performed at local festivals and on holidays.³⁰ With neither Germ Warner nor Rob Shuffleton knowing how to play the instruments with which they pose, it seems safe to say that this trio rehearsed only in Rockwell’s imagination.

When I spoke with Rob Shuffleton’s nephew, he told me that Rockwell’s painting captures the barbershop exactly as he remembers it from childhood, when, in the 1940s, it occupied the first floor of a two-story building at 218 Old Mill Road in East Arlington.³¹ At that time, Shuffleton operated a sporting goods store out of the barbershop as well, hence the fishing supplies cluttered on the back shelves of the painting. Note the large, unpaned window to the right of the doorway in the archival photograph of the exterior (Figure 2), and imagine looking inside: this is precisely the window through which we witness the trio in the painting. Voyeurism is a common theme throughout Rockwell’s work, though rarely are we, the audience, positioned as the voyeurs.³² But Shuffleton’s unpaned window would not have situated us clearly, and so Rockwell’s painterly insertion of windowpanes clearly places us out of doors on Old Mill Road, peering inside. These narrow windowpanes were modeled after those on the post office across the street from the barbershop (Figure 3); their slender presence is enough to position the viewer while allowing for minimal interruption of the interior. The shimmering gilt appliqué of “BARBER” and “–FFLETON PROP.” (not captured in reproduction) increases the dimensional depth of the work, while also mimicking the medieval use of gold leaf for embellishing icons and illuminated manuscripts; the letters of “BARBER” arch as a proscenium would to adorn the trio in a glistening halo.



Figure 2. Exterior of Rob Shuffleton's barbershop and sporting goods store in East Arlington, ca. 1940. Russell Vermontiana Collection. Reproduced by permission.

As a comparison with a rare archival photograph of the interior of Shuffleton's barbershop shows (Figure 4), the painting is photorealistic in many ways, an effect achieved through Rockwell's extensive use of on-site preparatory photography.³³ The few painterly modifications from



Figure 3. Windows of the post office in East Arlington. Photograph by Blake Howe.



Figure 4. Rob Shuffleton inside his barbershop and sporting goods store, ca. 1934. Russell Vermontiana Collection. Reproduced by permission.

these photographs clarified the composition and heightened the nostalgic mood of the scene. Such adjustments include the aforementioned use of windowpanes, the elimination of side cabinets which permit the decreased depth of the room (thus allowing the elements of the barbershop—chair, stove, bench—to appear in the middle ground), the distortion to the point of illegibility of the titles on the magazine covers,³⁴ the inclusion of two vacant chairs in the foreground facing the musicians (ghostly stand-ins for us voyeurs?), the extreme enhancement of the light emanating from the back room, the evocative coloring of the sepia-tinted scene, and the questionable addition of a lone black cat in the foreground (something even Updike finds cloying).³⁵ In every other respect, the painting reproduces the features of these preparatory photographs so exactly that it is often difficult to distinguish one from the other!

The extreme specificity and exactness of Rockwell's representation imbue the painting with the atmosphere of small-town New England—becoming not just a painting but an iconological slice of the details of a particular community. Thus, according to one local Arlington resident, the small bulging pouch on the back of the barber's chair is the result of years of hair caught in the loose lining.³⁶ The tilting stovepipe recalls damage from a playful wrestling match between the athletic barber and a customer from decades past.³⁷ Then there is my favorite detail: the brilliantly illuminated face of Bernie Twitchell—perhaps the last image of him ever recorded before his death. (Had Rockwell known of Twitchell's poor health? Was this why he chose to paint him into the scene?) The painting exudes the specificity of *place*, a lost but

remembered place, and the rich context that the details provide should lead us to take the puzzling nature of the true visual and narrative focus of the painting—the brightly-lit trio—very seriously.

Assembling Clues and Identifying the Music

Peering into the barbershop now emptied of the bustle of business hours, we catch a glimpse of this clarinet, violin, and cello trio in the act of making music. Or so it would seem. As voyeurs, our field of view is predetermined and limited, not permitting us to see the whole picture; could there be another musician hidden behind the wall? In visual art, the unseen is ultimately the unknown—but there are several contextual clues that might help us determine whether this trio is, in fact, a trio. First, a purely practical problem: the back room of Shuffleton's barbershop originally served as a small storage closet and was packed to the brim with boxes and supplies.³⁸ The musicians, closely crammed against what was presumably the only open space near the arc of the doorway, would not have been able to squeeze another musician into such tight quarters.

The only surviving sketch for *Shuffleton's Barbershop* complicates matters (C452a, see Figure 5). As mentioned previously, these early scenario drawings were the culmination of dozens of ideas that Rockwell improvised on his notepad to serve as a guide when photographing began. Sometimes his finished paintings are nearly identical to the sketch, whereas others show substantial modifications. In the pencil sketch for *Shuffleton's*, one such modification immediately stands out: a mysterious fourth figure looms faintly behind the trio. Skeptical eyebrows may rise—but it is unlikely that Rockwell would have imagined this figure participating in the rehearsal, for it seems to exist outside the triangular visual range of the seated, inward-facing trio. More significantly, it is not holding a visible instrument—an important omission given that the sketch would have served as an informal guide for necessary props. Perhaps this fourth figure is an observer, much like the maid peering over the shoulder of the violinist in *The Old Master* (M24), an earlier Rockwell drawing. The later inclusion of windowpanes in the finished painting would have eliminated the need for such a voyeur.

The imprecision of the sketch can speak, at the very least, to a compositional uncertainty subsequently clarified and simplified by the time Rockwell began preparatory photography on location. One such clarification involves the position of the trio: in the sketch, the musicians are placed behind a much wider doorway, with all musicians (including violinist) seated. When Rockwell arrived at the barbershop



Figure 5. Rockwell's pencil sketch for *Shuffleton's Barbershop* (4 × 4 inches). Printed by permission of the Norman Rockwell Family Agency. Copyright © 1950 Norman Rockwell Family Entities.

and found the doorway narrower than his sketch had indicated, it is important to note that he did not opt for the simplest solution to this compositional conundrum—cutting one of the three musicians to create a duet. Rather, Rockwell considered the instrumentation important enough to *preserve the trio* by rearranging their positions: the violinist now stands, taking advantage of the vertical space of the doorway, thus allowing all three musicians to maintain their membership in the ensemble. From sketch to finished painting, the instrumentation remains consistent, even if it would have been easier to change it.

Another clue will first involve confirming the time of year in which this scene is set. Though the painting first appeared on the *Post* cover in April 1950, Rockwell began shooting photographs about five months earlier, in the cold of an encroaching Vermont winter. This date comes

from the magazine rack in the lower left corner of the painting. Rockwell took one photograph of Shuffleton's complete magazine rack; uncropped, this reveals a fourth shelf (with *Science and Mechanics*) and two full covers on the third shelf (*Good Housekeeping* and to its right *Cosmopolitan*—the latter is the white and red magazine whose “-TAN” is just visible in the painting). All three magazine covers are from November 1949 issues, providing us with a likely timeframe for the month and year of both the preparatory photographs and the scenario of the painting.³⁹ November evenings are cold and wet in Vermont, hence the burning stove, the thermometer on the back wall to the left of the door with a low line of mercury—and, most importantly, the two pairs of untied boots sitting by the fire. Shuffleton, who would have spent his day inside cutting hair, would not have needed to dry his boots by the stove, but his two—and only two—musical guests would have done so.

Though not a practicing musician, Rockwell was no musical neophyte, and so it is difficult to accept that he was somehow naively unaware of this musical ensemble's peculiarity. In his early years, he lived in a house with an impressive opera collection, he sang as a choir-boy in the prestigious choir of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine,⁴⁰ and he worked as a supernumerary at the Metropolitan Opera House (where he exchanged drawings with none other than Enrico Caruso).⁴¹ As an adult, Rockwell became good friends with the composer and amateur painter Carl Ruggles, his Arlington neighbor. Described at age sixty-seven as “bald, boisterous, and the life of the few parties that artists and writers of [Arlington] ever hold,” Ruggles explained his relationship with the illustrator succinctly: “I write music all day, and at night I argue with Norman Rockwell.”⁴² But perhaps most indicative of Rockwell's musical sensibility are the many musicians who appear in his illustrations for magazine covers. As in *Shuffleton's Barbershop*, most of these illustrations depict a lone musician or small ensemble (amateurs or “old masters”) practicing in serene isolation, lost in the act of making music.⁴³ It is a Rockwellian trope, which, like fishing, Christmas, dogs, young love, and the Boy Scouts, seems to sympathetically embody some essence of idealized America. Some paintings even include identifiable music: Mendelssohn's wedding march in *Organist Waiting For Cue* (C296), a Mozart score lying on the ground of *Piano Tuner* (C433), a carol titled “Sing Merrilie” charmingly notated in minims and semiminims in *Christmas Trio* (C251), and a piece for flute solo entitled “Spring Song” in *Man Playing Flute* (C265)—the barely legible opening arpeggios of which might indicate an arrangement of Mendelssohn's “Spring Song” (*Lieder ohne Worte*, op. 62, no. 6). Here, I should also draw attention to *Merry Christmas: Concert Trio* (C328)—a clarinet,

violin, and cello trio dressed in eighteenth-century attire, playing Christmas carols. Painted in 1931 (nineteen years prior to *Shuffleton's Barbershop*), this earlier trio might very well leave readers convinced that Rockwell did not know that this instrument combination was rare. But the two paintings are very different, both in terms of chronology and subject matter. The former is an occasional piece painted with Rococo frivolousness with no narrative content; this earlier trio clearly plays arranged music suitable for the holidays. No music stands are visible in the earlier painting, but the astute observer will be able to just make out the end of a music stand from which the violinist Bernie Twitchell reads—indicating that our barbershop trio plays *composed* and not improvised music. It is always possible, of course, that the trio is playing nonclassical music arranged for their ensemble. But, as others have suggested, the nostalgic formality of the painting suggests music that is serious and classical.⁴⁴ Moreover, perhaps, Rockwell's obsession with realism also suggests that the music may very well be *identifiable*.

Table 1 shows the six trios I have found that were composed for this kind of ensemble before November 1949. The trios of Hans Gál and Ingolf Dahl, however, existed only in manuscript; and since neither composer is known to have been anywhere near Vermont before 1949, it is highly unlikely that Rockwell would have ever encountered either of these compositions.⁴⁵ Johann Baptist Vanhal's trios can be excluded on grounds of inaccessibility. Although his trios were published in 1774, copies of the original edition are extremely rare, and modern editions did not appear until the 1960s and 1970s. One might also think of the fourth movement of Olivier Messiaen's *Quatuor pour la fin du temps*, for which the piano is tacet; but if Rockwell had wanted to depict a rehearsal of this composition, surely he would not have been so coy as to withhold its full ensemble from view. Theodor Blumer's op. 55 presents a possible, though not particularly compelling, option. Not to be confused with his father, also Theodor Blumer (1854–1932), the younger Blumer (1881–1964) was born and raised in Dresden and was serving as director and principal conductor of the Dresden Radio when he composed his trio in 1928. The piece was published by Simrock and appears in the holdings of some major American music libraries. But Blumer himself held positions at Leipzig and Berlin, without ever leaving Germany.⁴⁶

The Rockwell-related coincidences surrounding Adolf Busch's trio make it a far more compelling candidate; indeed, Busch drifts so tantalizingly close to Rockwell and Arlington at precisely the right moment that “coincidence” seems an understatement. Though he is known today mainly as the first violinist of the Busch Quartet and for his collaborations with pianist and son-in-law Rudolf Serkin, Busch was also a

Table 1. Compositions for Clarinet, Violin, and Cello, written before 1949

Composer	Composition	Publication information
Theodor Blumer (1881–1964)	Trio, op. 55	Berlin: N. Simrock, 1928
Adolf Busch (1891–1952)	<i>Hausmusik</i> , op. 26, no. 3 ("Deutsche Tänze")	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1921
Ingolf Dahl (1912–1970)	Concerto a Tre for Clarinet, Violin, and Cello	New York: Arrow Music, 1952 (composed 1947)
Hans Gál (1890–1987)	Serenade, op. 93	London: N. Simrock, 1970 (composed 1935)
Olivier Messiaen (1908–1992)	<i>Quatuor pour la fin du temps</i> , mvt. 4 ("Intermède")	Paris: Durand, 1942
Johann Baptist Vanhal (1739–1813)	Trios, op. 20, nos. 1–3, 5	Paris: Chevardière, 1774 (modern editions in Budapest: Editio Musica, 1976 [nos. 1–3]; and London: Schott, 1965 [no. 5])

If multiple editions exist, the ones closest to 1949 are listed. Assembled from Wayne Wilkins, *The Index of Clarinet Music* (Magnolia, AR: The Music Register, 1975), 36; Oskar Kroll, *The Clarinet: Revised, with a Repertory*, rev. Diethard Riehm and trans. Hilda Morris (New York: Taplinger, 1968); and the *International Clarinet Association (ICA) Research Center Score Inventory*, University of Maryland, <http://www.lib.umd.edu/PAL/SCPA/clartrio4.html#CVVc> (accessed 2 November 2006).

published, if not widely performed, composer.⁴⁷ Busch composed *Hausmusik*, op. 26, in 1921, while in Austria; the opus includes two untitled duets for violin and clarinet, and a third piece with an added cello, this one entitled "Deutsche Tänze." Published in parts (but never in score) by Breitkopf & Härtel, *Hausmusik* made its way to the United States, and did so with Busch himself. After leaving Germany for America in 1941, Busch and his family spent many summers in towns around Brattleboro, Vermont, and, in 1948, he purchased a home in Guilford—roughly fifty-five miles east of Arlington.

East to Guilford, or: Adolf Busch & Co.

The highly talented members of the Busch family include violinist and composer Adolf Busch; Adolf's older brother Fritz, the famous conductor;⁴⁸ Adolf's younger brother Hermann, who would join Adolf in the Busch Quartet as cellist; Adolf's first wife Frieda, who dabbled as an

amateur clarinetist, pianist, and soprano; and pianist Rudolf Serkin, who married Adolf's daughter Irene and famously collaborated with his father-in-law in joint recitals and chamber music concerts throughout the world.⁴⁹

As it did to many, Germany's political instability in the early 1930s shook the life of the well-established violinist to the core. A proud, prominent German and an extremely successful performer, Busch decided to leave Germany in self-imposed exile, moving his entire family to Riehen, Switzerland, in 1932.⁵⁰ The Nazis begged Busch—one of the few unequivocally brilliant "Aryan" musicians whose talent was not lumped into the censorable category of *Entartete Musik*—to return and give concerts in Germany. But Busch would have none of it, and when, in 1942, Riehen proved to be uncomfortably close to the German border, Adolf and Frieda Busch decided to leave Europe and follow their daughter and son-in-law to New York City. It would be a disastrous move for Busch's concert career. American audiences had come to expect flashy virtuosity from its violinists and were cool to Busch's dry, stoic, intellectual, and unapologetically German manner of playing.⁵¹ Nor were there sufficient performance outlets for Busch's beloved chamber music repertoire. Busch blamed booking agents for the preferential treatment of music requiring large forces, remaining optimistic that American audiences would respond to the chamber music repertoire if given the opportunity to appreciate it in an intimate setting.⁵² Though he did perform in the United States (more so when he reassembled his quartet and founded the Busch Chamber Players and Little Busch Symphony), but not often enough; he would sometimes go whole seasons without playing a concerto with an American orchestra. Serkin flourished in America, but Busch earned barely enough to get by and relied instead on a modest international schedule.

In 1945, both the Busches and the Serkins spent the summer in Ames Hill, a small farming community outside Brattleboro, Vermont. The rural surroundings of Vermont provided the homesick immigrants with a landscape similar to the European countryside: the Vienna Woods, or the Jura foothills, for example.⁵³ The Serkins eventually bought 125 acres of farmland in Guilford, and, in 1948, the Busches purchased a smaller property nearby. Guilford lies along the two-lane Guilford Service Road, which extends about seven miles out from the more urban Brattleboro, then Vermont's fourth-largest city. Irene Serkin wrote about the move years later: "Our feeling toward Vermont is one of gratefulness to not only have a house, but a place for the children to grow up in security, mental I mean, and learning real values in life. Vermont is for us not 'the end of nowhere' but the beginning of

everything.”⁵⁴ Retired from solo performances and living year-round in Guilford, Busch set his energies on a project he had long dreamed of: a summer music school dedicated to chamber music.

The Marlboro School of Music, begun rather tenuously in August 1950 and opening officially the following summer with greater success, was the realization of Busch's vision. Using the facilities of the newly founded Marlboro College (ten miles west into the Green Mountains from Brattleboro), the school filled the gap in American musical life that Busch perceived upon his arrival in the country. As biographer Tully Potter writes, “[Busch] had long wanted to create an environment in which professional players, would-be professionals and rank amateurs could make music together, studying the chamber literature in depth and giving concerts only when and if they wished to do so.”⁵⁵ But Busch would only see the school in its infancy: in June 1952 he died from heart troubles at his home in Guilford. Serkin, who had co-founded the school with Busch and the members of the Moysé Trio, continued running Marlboro until his death in 1991.⁵⁶

Now, although I have found no “smoking gun” that links Adolf Busch of Guilford directly to Norman Rockwell of Arlington, Busch's op. 26 was certainly available in the United States, and Busch could easily have gotten a copy to Rockwell by one means or another if the opportunity ever presented itself. Likewise, Rockwell could have come across the piece through encounters with local musicians who might have known Busch and his trio; perhaps he even heard a performance of it.⁵⁷ Arlington is about a seventy-minute drive from Brattleboro: first west across the picturesque Green Mountains for forty winding miles into the town of Bennington, then fifteen miles north along Route 7. This trip over the mountains is not a lark (and impossible for Busch to have done by himself, since he did not drive), and it would have made any happenstance encounter between artist and musician improbable. Nor does it seem likely that Busch (an occasional amateur painter himself)⁵⁸ would have been especially interested in Rockwell: as Busch's granddaughter Elizabeth Serkin puts it, “I think [Busch] would have regarded Rockwell's work as low culture, and dismissed it as he dismissed peanut butter and pop music, American abominations.”⁵⁹

Although there is no evidence that Busch and Rockwell knew each other personally, there were several instances in the late 1940s when Rockwell might have encountered “Deutsche Tänze.” On 10 July 1948, The Book Cellar on Brattleboro's Main Street hosted a book signing with Norman Rockwell for Arthur Guptill's *Norman Rockwell: Illustrator*.⁶⁰ Perhaps it was that trip to Brattleboro that inspired Rockwell to return to Brattleboro early the next month on a search for

models and locations for the *Post* cover that would eventually become *Breakfast Table Political Argument* (C445).⁶¹ It is possible that, over the course of meeting with residents of Brattleboro, Rockwell heard mention of the Busch family. The name of the violinist was probably on the tips of residents' tongues during that time, for it was on 6 August 1948 that Busch performed Dvořák's Violin Concerto, op. 53, with the Vermont Symphony conducted by Alan Carter at the Green Mountain Festival of the Arts in Burlington.⁶² The festival celebrated Vermont's music, fashion, crafts, and art, and featured a museum exhibition of contemporary Vermont painting. Among the artists represented was Norman Rockwell.⁶³ If Rockwell was also in attendance in Burlington (and not still in Brattleboro or back in Arlington), a meeting would have been possible.

But if a connection is to be made between Rockwell and Busch, it seems likely that it would somehow involve their common friend, the author and activist Dorothy Canfield Fisher (1879–1958). Though born in Kansas, Fisher lived in Arlington—on the land her ancestors had claimed in 1764—throughout her adult life, and became indelibly associated with both town and state through her writings, including two full-length nonfiction books, *Vermont Tradition* and *Memories of Arlington, Vermont*.⁶⁴ She knew Norman Rockwell well and greatly admired his work. In her preface to Arthur Guphill's *Norman Rockwell: Illustrator* (the same book that Rockwell would be promoting in Brattleboro), Fisher was one of the earliest commentators to compare Rockwell's style of painting to that of seventeenth-century Flemish masters.⁶⁵ Perhaps to return the favor of Fisher's preface, Rockwell later painted a widely circulated portrait of Fisher and her husband John (P35).⁶⁶ Around the time of *Shuffleton's Barbershop*, Fisher presented a manuscript copy of her children's book *Paul Revere* (published in 1950) to Rockwell's son, Tommy.⁶⁷ And though Rockwell had his private reservations about Fisher (according to Rockwell's biographer, he could find her social maneuvering threatening), his wife Mary “almost idolized” her, and the two families interacted frequently and cordially at many social functions in Arlington.⁶⁸

Though no musician herself, Fisher adored classical music and came to know a great many professionals throughout the course of her life. Note how she fervently describes the recorded music that her husband played for her when she was forced to remain immobile while recovering from an injury: “What magnificence came triumphantly up, vibrating through those wood panels. All the Bach Mass in B Minor, all the Beethoven quartets, some of the quartets of Haydn . . . the exquisite Mozart quintet . . . and Mozart's ‘Haydn quartets,’ the lovely, lovely

Schubert trio . . . the St. John Passion . . . [*her ellipses*].”⁶⁹ She was a dear friend of Carl and Charlotte Ruggles; such passion for classical music surely accounted for some of the attraction. She would lend them money in times of need, help find them an Arlington home, make appeals on Carl's behalf when he applied for a job at Bennington College, drop his name and plug his compositions with other musicians, and maintain a deeply personal correspondence with Charlotte.⁷⁰ Whether Ruggles knew Busch is pure speculation; as two of the most prominent musicians living in Vermont at the time (and both violinists at that), it is tempting to imagine them crossing paths, though I have found no evidence of this.⁷¹

Fisher was also heavily involved in activist projects concerning refugee children who had fled the European wars for America; her commitment earned her great respect from the German community, domestic and abroad.⁷² And so meeting a world-famous German violinist who had immigrated to Vermont after taking so principled a stand against Nazism was surely an irresistible prospect for the socially adept Fisher. It is difficult to say how or when the two families met. Their first contact was likely the founding of Marlboro College in 1946; both Fisher and Rudolf Serkin were trustees, though they were “celebrity” trustees who were expected to support the institution in name only.⁷³ In 1949, sometime between 14 August and 27 August, she appeared at Marlboro College as a speaker at the First Annual Marlboro Fiction Writers Conference.⁷⁴ This would have placed her enticingly close to Brattleboro just two and a half months before Rockwell probably began conceiving of *Shuffleton's Barbershop*; perhaps she visited the Busch family then. She definitely visited once the following summer⁷⁵ and would frequently attend summer concerts at Marlboro (in 1951, Rudolf Serkin asked her to be a trustee of the Festival).⁷⁶ Fisher also attended the Busch Quartet's final performance on 3 September 1951 in Manchester, Vermont. She vividly wrote about the event in a letter to Irene Serkin two years later, describing the “pulsations of [Busch's] powerful personality and masterly playing” in the performance of the Beethoven “Razumovsky” Quartets.⁷⁷

Irene Serkin thought the world of Fisher, as can be seen in their charming correspondence preserved in the Dorothy Canfield Fisher Papers at the University of Vermont. All letters postdate *Shuffleton's Barbershop*, but they provide a glimpse into the close relationship the two families shared. “Any time,” Irene Serkin wrote, “that you would care to come we would be happy to have you and Mr. Fisher up here. And I am sure, that Rudi would love to make some music too if you would like it.”⁷⁸ Amid updates on Rudolf's career and the Marlboro

School are profuse expressions of gratitude and praise for the Fishers (often followed by apologies for her English, which is nearly flawless): “To know you both and to be permitted to love and admire you is one of the great gifts we thank for today and always.”⁷⁹ Irene and Rudolf were avid readers of Fisher’s books (“they are really part of our lives”),⁸⁰ and Fisher in turn would be sent free recordings of Rudolf’s performances.⁸¹ In 1954, Fisher suggested that Irene Serkin write a biography of her father, a project which would culminate nearly forty years later in the compilation *Adolf Busch: Letters, Pictures, Memories*, from which I have frequently cited here. Fisher writes:

You know how much I always admired your father, both as a highly civilized, noblehearted human being, and as a musician, with all that means. I can’t bear not to have his fine example more widely shared—and I certainly think it would be the greatest pity if his children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren didn’t know in detail about what sort of man he was. . . . But I also think the world at large would be happy to have such a record.⁸²

Might Fisher, through her admiration for and relationship with Adolf Busch, have come in contact with “Deutsche Tänze” and mentioned the encounter to Rockwell? Or might Rockwell have come in contact with Busch in Brattleboro? Or might Fisher have even introduced the Busch family to the Rockwells? All it would have taken was a Busch/Serkin trip to Arlington to visit the Fishers and meet their friends. As John Serkin writes, “Adolf and my parents became friends with the author Dorothy Canfield Fisher, who lived in Arlington. . . . Although I don’t have definite knowledge of Adolf’s visiting Fisher in Arlington, I would be surprised if he didn’t.”⁸³

Speculation will be required to fill in the details of whatever encounter may have taken place. But Dorothy Canfield Fisher seems the most compelling link between Rockwell and Busch, and, in lieu of any unearthed document explicitly associating the two, she seems the most likely way that Rockwell would have encountered Busch’s op. 26.⁸⁴ The geographic coincidences are already surprising, and the Fisher connection makes my proposed solution to this musical–iconographical riddle all the more persuasive (if never completely verifiable). Whether one believes a Busch and Rockwell link (or, at the very least, a Rockwell and “Deutsche Tänze” connection) will depend upon one’s tolerance for such coincidences. We will probably never know for sure, but the odds are compelling.

Hearing Rockwell's "Self-Conscious Masterpiece"

Adolf Busch's "Deutsche Tänze" is a collection of six connected waltzes, each in a different major key, concluding with an extended coda which returns to the opening tonic. The highly diverse keys are traversed in a quasi-symmetrical manner, while tempi alternate between *tranquillo* and *vivace*; the structure of this ten-minute piece is summarized in Figure 6. Though the symmetrical enharmonic shifts necessitate some chromatically unusual modulations, the form of "Deutsche Tänze" is unmistakably classical. There are, of course, countless examples from the classical repertoire of collections of German waltzes, usually strung together in groups of three, six, or twelve.⁸⁵ Among the collections of such dances in groups of six with which Busch may have been familiar are those by Haydn (Hob. IX:9, for orchestra), Mozart (K 509 and 571, for orchestra), Beethoven (WoO 15, for two violins, piano, and bass; and WoO 42, for violin and piano), and Schubert (D 970, for piano); Busch's "Deutsche Tänze" is but a further extension of this Germanic tradition.⁸⁶ It is also worth noting that Busch's late-Romantic compositional style was heavily indebted to his composition teacher, Max Reger (1873–1916)—one of the few composers after Brahms whose music Busch regarded highly and regularly performed.⁸⁷ Reger's densely chromatic music greatly influenced Busch's early compositions, especially his works for large forces.⁸⁸ Though in a much less complex fashion, the influence even trickles down to the passages of harmonic unsteadiness in playful works like "Deutsche Tänze," composed just five years after Reger's death.

Busch's individual waltz melodies are charming and simple, probably based on or inspired by folk melodies (or, at least, composed to

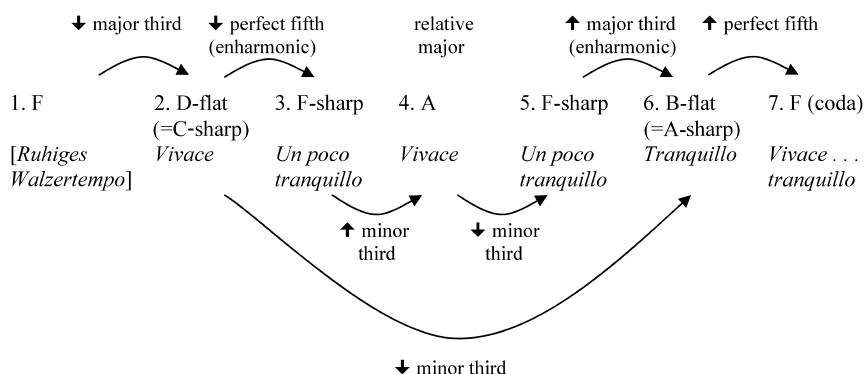


Figure 6. Key relationships for the six waltzes and final coda in Busch's "Deutsche Tänze."

sound as such). The opening of the F-major waltz is particularly diatonic, but its simplicity, as in Busch's five other waltzes, dissolves into something chromatically unhinged, with surprising changes of unstable harmonies. There are no pauses in between waltzes (only changes of tempi and key signature), and it is through these chromatic sections that the piece modulates fluidly through its disparate keys. Chromaticism undermines the opening harmony particularly in the third waltz in F-sharp major, which will serve as a fine representation of the sort of music encountered within this composition (Ex. 1). The waltz begins in

Un poco tranquillo

164
Clarinet in B \flat
p

Violin
p

Cello
pizz.
p

170
B \flat Cl.
Vln.
Vc.

177
B \flat Cl.
pp
p

Vln.
pp
p

Vc.
arco
pp
p

Example 1. Adolf Busch, "Deutsche Tänze," mm. 164–216, the third waltz (F-sharp major) and beginning of the fourth waltz (A major). Copyright by Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden-Leipzig. Reproduced by permission.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for three instruments: B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.), Violin (Vln.), and Violoncello (Vc.).

- System 1 (Measures 183-188):**
 - B♭ Cl.:** Measures 183-188. Dynamics include *cresc.* at the end.
 - Vln.:** Measures 183-188. Dynamics include *mp* at the beginning and *mp* with a hairpin at the end.
 - Vc.:** Measures 183-188.
- System 2 (Measures 189-194):**
 - B♭ Cl.:** Measures 189-194. Dynamics include *f espr.* and *dim.*
 - Vln.:** Measures 189-194. Dynamics include *mf*, *f espr.*, and *dim.*
 - Vc.:** Measures 189-194. Dynamics include *mf* and *f*.
- System 3 (Measures 195-200):**
 - B♭ Cl.:** Measures 195-200. Dynamics include *p*.
 - Vln.:** Measures 195-200. Dynamics include *p*.
 - Vc.:** Measures 195-200. Dynamics include *p*.

Example 1. Continued.

song-like simplicity; save for a chromatic passing tone in the bass, it is completely diatonic (mm. 164–71). From this simplicity, the waltz modulates to A major/minor (mm. 178–83), foreshadowing the waltz to come by using its bass pattern (m. 216). But as the rhythm of the waltz destabilizes into extended hemiolas, so too does the harmony—moving far from the opening F-sharp major by proceeding through a sequential pattern of rising pairs of falling fifths (E and A, F-sharp and B, G-sharp and C-sharp, mm. 189–96). The last key serves as the dominant of our F-sharp tonic, and we return to the harmonic simplicity of the opening

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a chamber ensemble consisting of B♭ Clarinet (B♭ Cl.), Violin (Vln.), and Violoncello (Vc.).

- System 1 (Measures 201-206):** All three instruments play a melodic line with a crescendo. Dynamics are marked *pp* at the start and *p* towards the end, with a dashed line indicating the crescendo.
- System 2 (Measures 207-211):** The dynamics shift to *mf*. The Violin part has a *string.* marking, and the Violoncello part has a *marc. e string.* marking. A hairpin indicates a dynamic change.
- System 3 (Measures 212-216):** The tempo is marked *(Vivace)*. The dynamics are marked *f* throughout the system.

Example 1. Continued.

theme, though this too gives way to modulation as it approaches the fourth waltz (in A major) via its dominant.

Despite these chromatic modulations, the “Deutsche Tänze” are not difficult pieces by any means—nor are they difficult to appreciate.⁸⁹ Rather, the waltzes seem to fit comfortably within the genre of *Hausmusik*, as the very title of Busch’s opus 26 suggests. Many of Busch’s compositions for chamber ensemble were intended for private social gatherings, written for friends, family, and students to perform.⁹⁰ The dedicatee of “Deutsche Tänze,” Dorette Zwiauer, was Irene’s god-mother’s daughter, whose family took care of Irene while her parents

were off performing; this, again, suggests the social intimacy for which the waltzes were conceived.

How appropriate, then, to hear—if only in our imaginations—Busch's *Hausmusik* in a remote New England barbershop. And how Rockwellian, then, to insert a cleverly ironic twist into the scene. Outside the door of the back room, directly across from Bernie Twitchell's head, hangs a poster whose bright blues and reds catch the eye amidst the faded browns and yellows of the barbershop; it depicts a tattered but triumphant American flag with a patriotic exhortation below it ("REMEMBER D—"). This was, in fact, a real World War II poster painted by Allen Saalburg and distributed by the Office of War Information shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor (Figure 7). But even those readers not savvy enough to fill in the missing letters ("—EC 7th!") would understand the symbolism at play here. World War II was part of America's recent collective memory in 1949, and the juxtaposition of this memory with the rehearsal of German music (as I have shown, thoroughly German music—down to its very title, genre, and harmonic language) gives the otherwise unironic painting a distinctly Rockwellian flair. A clash of cultures is a common trope throughout Rockwell's illustrations—consider, for instance, the violinist eyeing a jazz saxophone for sale (*Man Looking at Saxophone*, C310), or the African American children moving into white suburbia (*Negro in the Suburbs*, S420), or, perhaps most famously, the tough-minded teenagers peering quizzically as a grandmother and grandson say a blessing (*Saying Grace*, C458). Though our initial reaction may be to chuckle at the cleverness of such images, there are dark and uncomfortable elements underlying each of these cultural juxtapositions; they reflect a chronic anxiety over a changing world, as old, established traditions slip away into modernism as represented by jazz, racial integration, and religious skepticism. The presence of Saalburg's poster forces *Shuffleton's Barbershop* into this framework: international war, domestic invasion, the possibility of future danger, and the ghosts of soldiers ("we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain")—they all lurk in the shadows of our secluded, idyllic barbershop buried at the base of the Green Mountains. No one is safe.

If one can compress the painting's perceived depth into two dimensions, Twitchell seems to stare intently at this brightly colored flag, though, of course, in his three-dimensional world he cannot see it. The trio remains blissfully unaware of this unease, this anxiety over change—"disavowing," as Richard Halpern in his recent Freudian readings of Rockwell might have put it, the uncomfortable ramifications of their choice of music in such a distinctly American setting.⁹¹ *Shuffleton's*

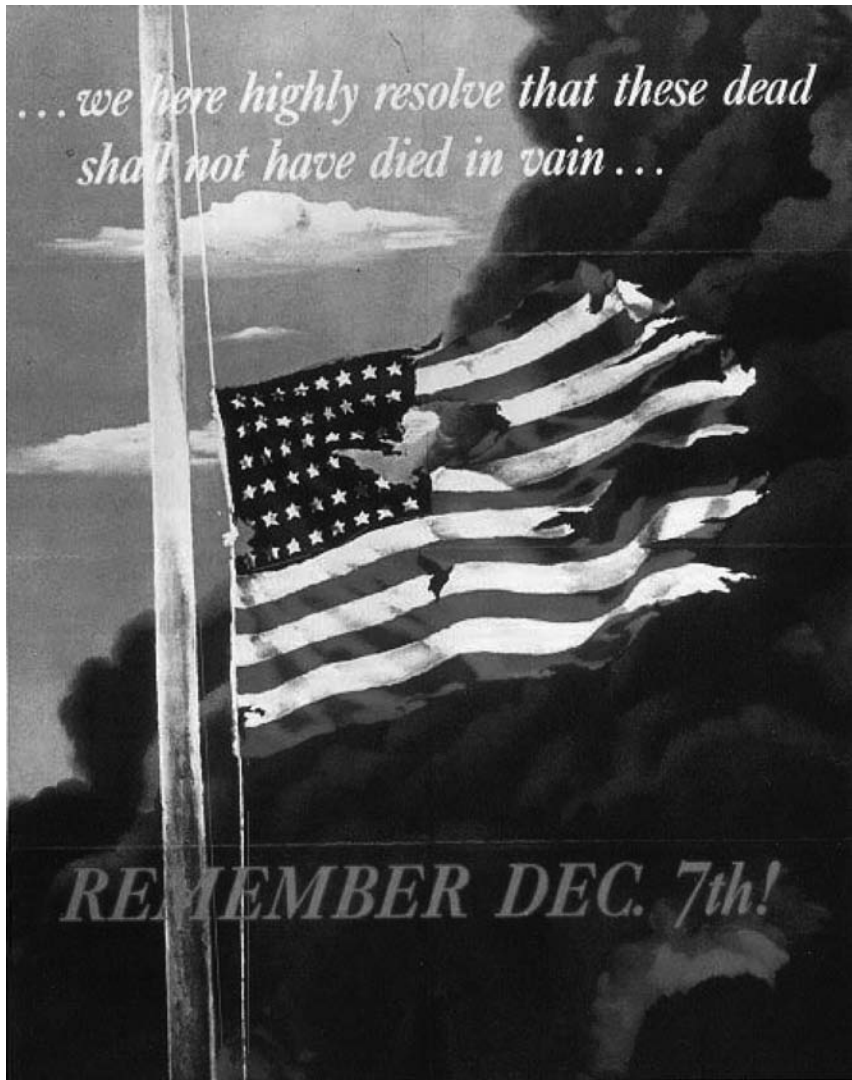


Figure 7. Allen Saalburg, "Remember Dec. 7th!" (1942). Smithsonian Institution, Military History. Reproduced by permission.

Barbershop has previously been labeled Rockwell's "self-conscious masterpiece," for its deliberate invocation of Flemish masters and for its apparent suppression of comic irony and narrative.⁹² It is intriguing that, in this move away from narrative illustration, Rockwell still may have included a coded irony that perhaps only he alone was privy to. Even in a tranquil landscape like *Shuffleton's Barbershop* one can expect to encounter such distinctly Rockwellian bits of witty visual dissonance.

Coda: Surveying the Vermont Landscape

Though coming from vastly different backgrounds, both Rockwell and Busch were prominent artistic men who retreated from the metropolis of Manhattan into the secluded country roads of southern Vermont. Their presences in these communities altered the small-town climate they originally sought out, bringing cosmopolitan attention to remote regions of New England—Rockwell, with his *Saturday Evening Post* covers which defined the town of Arlington in the eyes of America; and Busch, with his Marlboro School of Music which drew crowds of both performers and audiences to the Green Mountains. The influx of outsiders into these isolated communities was part of a decades-long trend identified and parodied by Dorothy Canfield Fisher in her play *Tourists Accommodated* (first printed in 1934 and performed annually in Arlington—occasionally with Rockwell as an actor). The play is a collection of short vignettes about tourists from the cities who swarmed into Arlington in the summer and was first published as part of the work of the dauntingly titled “Committee for the Conservation of Vermont Tradition and Ideals of the Vermont Commission of Country Life.”⁹³ The perceived “lack of culture” in Vermont was a sore subject best exemplified by the character of the Pretentious Tourist whose condescension is mocked by Fisher’s over-the-top dialogue:

PRETENTIOUS TOURIST, *who should be large, stout, overdressed, with an exaggerated artificial sounding Boston accent.* I suppose we ought to make more of an effort to talk to these rustics. I know well enough their contact with city people in the summer is the only civilizing influence in their lives. . . . How *sad* it must be for them when the summer people go away in the autumn, and they are left to their sordid penny-pinching existence with nothing to elevate their minds and broaden their horizons.⁹⁴

Fisher precedes this tourist’s short monologue with a brief commentary, meant both to justify her exaggeration and assuage the offended: “This is broad farce—we don’t deny it—but not a bit more farcical than what is sometimes said to country people in real life.”

With the help of Carl Ruggles, another urban immigrant, a modest and rather occasional musical life had developed in Arlington. There was the Arlington Community Chorus (conducted sometimes by Ruggles), which used the local high school every so often to present concert versions of works such as *Dido and Aeneas* and Alfred Gaul’s *The Holy City*. There was a Music Study Group which met to discuss topics such as “The History of Music in America” and perform recitals

for one another. The local high school had no fewer than five separate choirs. Further south, in Massachusetts, professional music thrived: there was the Tanglewood Music Festival (the Boston Symphony Orchestra began to perform there in 1936) and Williams College, which in October 1949 sponsored productions of the first complete operas ever to have been staged in the area (a double-bill of Mozart's *Der Schauspieldirektor* and Menotti's *The Old Maid and the Thief*).⁹⁵ Special artists that season in Williamstown included the Paganini Quartet, Claudio Arrau, and Richard Dyer-Bennett.

But further north in southern Vermont, Bennington College was the only regional center which offered a modest musical season: concerts by the Bennington Community Chorus, as well as several local instrumental ensembles. Bennington was also a touring destination of Vermont's most important homegrown ensemble, the Vermont Symphony Orchestra conducted by Alan Carter. When the orchestra performed there in April 1949, a fairly opinionated Arlington correspondent for the *Bennington Evening Banner* (Mrs. J. E. Squiers) offered this call to arms:

Tickets sold easily this year [about twenty-five residents of Arlington attended], for people are beginning to see that in supporting a state symphony orchestra we gain, in addition to our three or four widely known possessions, fine maple sugar, superb Morgan horses, beautiful marbles and unrivalled scenery, an excellent name for the advance we are making in musical opportunity.⁹⁶

Though this was written a year before the first summer of Busch's Marlboro School, the desire to elevate Vermont's cultural and musical significance with classical music is keenly felt. For all her parody of cultural snobbery, Fisher, too, struggled to find peace with the lack of rich, substantial classical music in Vermont. In an essay for a national magazine appropriately titled "Why I Live Where I Live," Fisher debated with herself the value of living far away from the nation's great cultural institutions:

[Good music] means so much to me that, in spite of all the other advantages of living on a mountainside, life would seem very barren if I never got away from the country. Not much good music is to be heard outside of great centers of population. Occasionally a soloist, once in a blue moon a quartet, very, very seldom any symphony orchestras, and never the music which I love most—great chorals. There are, it is true, several varieties of "canned music," and they have the advantage that you can listen to them when you are in the mood, and if the mood passes you

can turn them off. They are good so far as they go; they are an immense solace. . . . Yet it is no use to pretend that music at its finest can be heard outside the great cities.

But, for me at least, there is something stupefying in the cut-and-dried, mealtime regularity of a musical season. Every time I try it I experience the same dulling of the edge of my zest. A couple of years ago we were in Paris for the winter. By Easter I found that my pleasure was actually less than it is when, sharpest with hunger, after a period of starvation, I make a flight to a city for a fine concert or two.⁹⁷

“Good music” is a loaded term, referring not to the country bands that played at Arlington’s weekly square dances, but to polished performances of the classical Western canon.⁹⁸ Fisher, aware of the scarcity of presentations of “good music” in Vermont, described the aforementioned performance of *The Holy City* as a “miraculous, impossible act of creation,” and sent Ruggles “admiring, bewildering amazed congratulations on what you did for the souls of the village-folk around this summer.”⁹⁹ What Ruggles did for “village-folk” was to briefly provide them access to the kind of “high” culture usually reserved for cosmopolitans like Fisher. But such performances of “good music” were rare in Arlington, and Fisher, in the essay excerpted above, resigns herself to view rural solace and cultural prowess as irreconcilable opposites.¹⁰⁰

This same tension between high and low culture operates in *Shuffleton's Barbershop*. Rockwell’s trio is brightly illuminated in a dim, shadowy commercial interior filled with the mundane everyday clutter of small-town America.¹⁰¹ The trio’s music “enlightens” (literally and metaphorically) these utterly ordinary middle-class surroundings. By having the trio play a composition of a European cosmopolite, Rockwell has, in a sense, “elevated” the musical sensibilities of these amateur musicians—who were, previously, the equivalents of Fisher’s “village-folk” or the Pretentious Tourist’s “rustics,” making their music as country fiddlers (as Twitchell did) or members of East Arlington’s Citizens Cornet Band (as Shuffleton did). Rockwell grants privileged cultural access to these small-town amateur musicians—and, more generally, to the wider middle-class readership of the *Saturday Evening Post*, whose “middle-brow” sensibilities were well reflected both on and inside the magazine’s covers.¹⁰² That this artistic elevation might involve Adolf Busch further enriches this cultural narrative. After all, Busch’s Marlboro School was designed to help the amateur musician interact with pre-professionals and professionals alike, and, by focusing the school’s attention on chamber music, Busch ambitiously sought to change and correct what he perceived as a cool reception to this

repertoire from American audiences. As Rockwell writes, “I like to think that the best illustrators over the years . . . somehow caught the true character of the world in which they lived. And that world has been constantly changing.”¹⁰³ A changing world, indeed: here Rockwell fills the perceived gap in musical culture with three amateur chamber musicians contenting themselves with the act of making music, playing for pleasure, utterly without pretension in the humblest of surroundings. Busch surely would have approved.

Notes

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1. Laurie Norton Moffatt, ed., *Norman Rockwell: A Definitive Catalogue* (Stockbridge, MA: The Norman Rockwell Museum at Stockbridge, 1986), 1:185, plate 20. Because Rockwell seldom titled his art, all subsequent references to his works will use the titles found in the *Definitive Catalogue*, followed by the catalogue number in parentheses; *Shuffleton's Barbershop* is C452.

2. John Updike, “Tote that Quill,” review of *200 Years of American Illustration*, ed. Henry C. Pitz, in *Hugging the Shore: Essays and Criticism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 770. See also an equally complimentary description of the painting in Updike, “Acts of Seeing,” in *More Matter: Essays and Criticism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 721–25.

3. Arlington is a series of three contiguous villages, linked by a ten-mile east–west roadway. East Arlington was a cluster of homes and a few stores no more than two miles east of Arlington, the central town through which ran western Vermont’s major north–south roadway, Route 7 (now Historic Route 7A). West Arlington constituted homes and farms that spread along the Battenkill River seven miles westward, culminating in a small downtown just shy of the New York state border.

4. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950*, vol. 2, pt. 45, *Characteristics of the Population: Vermont*, prepared under the supervision of Howard G. Brunsmann (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952), 6–8.

5. As cartoonist and Arlington resident Don Trachte remembers, "Arlington was still a small rural town but it was getting famous. The art center in Manchester [10 miles north of Arlington] had their shows up in the gymnasium at Burr and Burton at the time and at that show, there were so many famous artists and names around this area that showed in it and yet it was just a little country art show." See "Don Trachte, creator of cartoon character 'Henry' speaks with his granddaughter, Heidi Trachte," *Oral History of Arlington*, ed. Hank Barthel (Arlington, VT: Matayaya Press, 1990), 7.
6. "Long time West Arlington resident, Doris Wright, speak [sic] with Tammie Blockburger," *Oral History of Arlington*, 30.
7. Arthur L. Guptill, *Norman Rockwell: Illustrator*, 3rd ed. (New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 1971), 33, and Laura Claridge, *Norman Rockwell: A Life* (New York: Random House, 2001; New York: Modern Library Paperbacks, 2003), 281–90. Citations of Claridge refer to the Modern Library edition. For a pictorial description of Rockwell's life in Arlington, see Stuart Murray, *Norman Rockwell at Home in Vermont: The Arlington Years, 1939–1953* (Bennington, VT: Images from the Past, 1997).
8. Guptill, *Norman Rockwell: Illustrator*, xix.
9. A dazzling example of this "free association" can be found in *Rockwell on Rockwell: How I Make a Picture* (New York: Watson-Guption, 1979), 28–29. See also the abandoned conceptual sketches M74–M120 in the *Definitive Catalogue*, 1119–33.
10. Rockwell began taking photographs in 1937. Prior to this, he would sketch from his models posed in a tableau vivant.
11. Rockwell intensely disliked the balopticon (calling it an "evil, inartistic, habit-forming, lazy and vicious machine"), but admitted its usefulness and practicality. Sometimes he would bypass the balopticon and sketch from photographs clipped next to his canvas. See *Rockwell on Rockwell*, 117. In the case of his famous *Triple Self-Portrait* (C496), Rockwell idealizes this process and paints his portrait directly from a mirrored reflection of his own image.
12. Loosely adapted and abridged from Thomas S. Buechner, *The Norman Rockwell Treasury* (New York: Galahad Books, 1979), 9 and 13; Susan E. Meyer, *Norman Rockwell's People* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1981), 24–30; and *Rockwell on Rockwell*, passim.
13. *Rockwell on Rockwell*, 30.
14. Rockwell admired his Arlington models for their "sincere, honest, homespun" qualities, describing them as "a proud breed who would die before trying to be like anyone else, and hence have an individuality unmarred by attempts at imitation." Guptill, *Norman Rockwell: Illustrator*, xxvii and 33.
15. Meyer, *Norman Rockwell's People*, 10–11. See also *Rockwell on Rockwell*, 53.
16. "The illustrator has played a very important role in the history of this country, for he has portrayed the life of the people as it was really lived." Rockwell, foreword to *200 Years of American Illustration*, ed. Henry C. Pitz (New York: Random House, 1977), 11.
17. Meyer, *Norman Rockwell's People*, 169.
18. See Rockwell's gloss on the painting in *Rockwell on Rockwell*, 104–5.
19. A notable exception is *Freedom of Speech* (S565), which was inspired by a real town meeting in Arlington. See Claridge, *Norman Rockwell: A Life*, 309. In the 1960s,

Rockwell began painting politically charged illustrations for *Look* magazine, often depicting events ripped from the headlines. Perhaps the most famous of these later illustrations is *The Problem We All Live With* (*Schoolgirl with U.S. Marshalls*) (S400).

20. [Rob Shuffleton], "East Arlington," *Bennington Evening Banner*, 6 Apr. 1949, 5; and 13 Apr. 1949, 3.

21. The mistake clearly originated with Germ Warner, who holds the instrument incorrectly in all the preparatory photographs for which he posed. In Rockwell's four other illustrations featuring the clarinet, the instrument is held properly. See *Christmas Trio* (C251), *Merry Christmas: Concert Trio* (C328), *The Love Song* (C365), and *Two Old Men and Dog: Musicians* (A132).

22. Hayden, commentary for "Norman Rockwell's Vermont People Exhibit," indefinitely on view at the Arlington Gallery in Arlington, VT.

23. Jim Hayden (son of Harry Hayden), interview with the author, 21 Feb. 2006 and 14 Nov. 2006.

24. "This Week's Cover," *Saturday Evening Post*, 29 Apr. 1950, 3. Shuffleton's broad build, evident in the painting, is a feature remembered by many, even receiving mention in his obituary: "His own sturdy physique he said came from gymnastic exercise and cold showers." "Robert A. Shuffleton: Dean of Banner Correspondents Dies at 86," *Bennington Banner*, 4 Mar. 1966, 12. The *Bennington Evening Banner* dropped "Evening" from its title in 1961.

25. "This Week's Cover," 3.

26. This unisex function is parodied in George Hughes' *Saturday Evening Post* cover from 11 December 1948—the other *Post* cover for which Rob Shuffleton modeled. In it, a pre-adolescent boy simultaneously receives a haircut (from Shuffleton) and a manicure (from an unidentified female).

27. Fred Grout (resident of Arlington, VT), interview with the author, 21 Feb. 2006. Two of Rockwell's undeveloped sketches (M112–M113) depict a crowded barbershop, probably not unlike Shuffleton's during working hours.

28. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "Henry LaBatt's Stroke," in *Memories of Arlington, Vermont* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1957), 198–200.

29. Summer Kean, "Rob Shuffleton: 56 Years a Country Correspondent," *Bennington Banner*, 18 Oct. 1963, 10.

30. The band appears in multiple pictures in Hugh Henry, *Arlington Along the Battenkill: Its Pictured Past* (Arlington, VT: Arlington Townscape Association, 1993), 130–34. In the picture at the top of p. 134, Shuffleton poses with his horn, in the front row first from the left, according to annotations found on an identical photograph in the Russell Vermontiana Collection of the Martha Canfield Library in Arlington.

31. Hayden interview, 14 Nov. 2006. When Shuffleton retired, the building was painted red and expanded to join with the building next to it to make room for its new tenant—the grocery store chain IGA, which vacated the lot in 2000.

32. For a thought-provoking discussion on this issue, see Richard Halpern, *Norman Rockwell: The Underside of Innocence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 25–52. Among Rockwell's illustrations exhibiting this theme are *Art Critic* (C474),

Little Girl Observing Lovers on a Train (C412), *Overheard Lovers* (C359), *Willie Gillis: New Year's Eve* (C407), and *Saying Grace* (C458).

33. There are sixteen preparatory photographs currently housed in the Norman Rockwell Archives in Stockbridge, MA. Reproductions of some of them can be found in Meyer, *Norman Rockwell's People*, 146, and Buechner, *The Norman Rockwell Treasury*, 46.

34. A close inspection of the painting *in situ* reveals that Rockwell painted over the actual magazine titles, either renaming them or inventing new titles altogether. The magazine on the second shelf should read "CRIME," but was revised to read "RIHE"—the "C" painted over, and the "M" repainted as an "H." The magazine on the lowest shelf furthest to the right originally read "Walt Disney"; the entire title has been painted over (though Huey, Dewey, and Louie are still visible!). Finally, the magazine to the left of "Walt Disney" should read "Famous Games"—but only "Games" is visible. Presumably, these distortions were not part of Rockwell's conception but rather done at the behest of the editors at the *Saturday Evening Post*, who frowned on displaying competition on their cover.

35. "[T]he illustration is saturated in every corner with an avid particularizing that allows us to forgive the cuteness of the cat and the stagey quaintness of the whole, the idealization of small town life." Updike, *More Matter: Essays and Criticism*, 722.

36. Hayden interview, 21 Feb. 2006.

37. "This Week's Cover," 3.

38. Hayden interview, 21 Feb. 2006.

39. Note that the *Definitive Catalogue* assigns the pencil sketch of *Shuffleton's Barbershop* (C452a) a date of 1950. Assuming that this sketch was made before preparatory photographs of the magazine rack were taken, it is more likely that the sketch was made in 1949.

40. Rockwell, *Norman Rockwell: My Adventures as an Illustrator* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), 36.

41. Rockwell, *My Adventures as an Illustrator*, 81–84. Rockwell provides several anecdotes about his encounters with Caruso. This is perhaps the most amusing: "Caruso liked Groth [Rockwell's friend] and me. He knew we were art students; maybe he felt we were kindred spirits. I remember in *Aida* we used to be the guards who lead Radamès down into the tomb. We'd walk about the stage beside Caruso, carrying spears, while he sang and moaned, resolving to die nobly, etc. Then the three of us, Caruso still singing, would march down into the little room beneath the stage which served as a tomb. Once down there we'd have to sit with Caruso while he, or Radamès rather, died of suffocation. There were a few old Morris chairs in the room and a light which blinked in time to the music so that Caruso would know when to groan. We'd talk with him and show him our work. He'd make caricatures of other singers (he was quite a good caricaturist), laughing and telling us stories about them. And every so often he'd let out a great booming groan, sort of offhand, without getting up from his chair or taking his pencil from his paper."

42. Rockwell traveled to Manhattan to attend the New York Philharmonic's performance of the premiere of Ruggles' *Men and Mountains*. Robert Playfair, "A Truly New

England Composer” [undated article from the Russell Vermontiana Collection, ca. 1943].

43. I am currently preparing a study of amateur musicians in Rockwell’s illustrations. The following covers involve musical themes: *Promising Talent* (C3), *Boy Musician* (C8), *Boy and Girl Singing* (C9), *Man Playing Violin* (C67), *A Drum for Tommy* (C69), *The Music Lesson (Old Man and Boy Playing Concertina)* (C152), *The Old Master (Violinist)* (C156), *Barefoot Boy Playing Flute* (C186), *Cellist and Little Girl Dancing* (C243), *Violin Solo* (C245), *Christmas Trio* (C251), *Boy and Girl with Concertina* (C258), *Man Playing Flute* (C265), *Boy Playing Flute Surrounded by Animals (Springtime)* (C285), *Organist Waiting For Cue* (C296), *Boy Serenading Girl with Ukulele* (C299), *Man Looking at Saxophone (Jazz it Up)* (C310), *Trumpet Player* (C327), *Merry Christmas: Concert Trio* (C328), *Barbershop Quartet* (C357), *The Hitchhiker* (C386), *Piano Tuner* (C433), *Boy Practicing Trumpet* (C455), *Choir Boy Combing Hair for Easter* (C471). Note also the portrait of Jascha Heifetz (P58), *Jeff Raleigh’s Piano Solo* (S550), and the following unpublished works: *The Old Master* (M24), *Singing Cowboy* (M40), *Phil the Fiddler* (M45), and *Janitress Plucking Piano Keys* (M50). With his wife Mary, Rockwell also co-wrote the children’s story *Willie Was Different: The Tale of an Ugly Thrushling* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967, rev. 1969), about a wood thrush who learns to improvise cadenzas; the story includes references to Gounod, Handel, Weber, and the Tanglewood Music Festival.

44. This is a point that Richard Halpern makes in his reading of the painting. “[We cannot know] exactly what the musicians in the back room are playing. Perhaps swing jazz, but the tone of the piece as a whole rather suggests something classical. The musicians’ tastes in music parallel Rockwell’s preference for classical models of painting. Their performance is rather like his.” Halpern, *Norman Rockwell: The Underside of Innocence*, 139.

45. Conrad Wilson and Alexander R. C. Scott, “Hans Gál,” and Kurt Stone and Gary L. Maas, “Ingolf Dahl,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com/> (accessed 6 November 2006). Although Dahl helped organize the Tanglewood Study Group at the Berkshire Music Center in Lenox, MA, fifty-five miles south of Arlington, he did so in the summer of 1952, some two and one-half years after Rockwell began work on *Shuffleton’s*.

46. Nicolas Slonimsky, ed., *Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Classical Musicians* (London: Schirmer Books, 1997), 137. Liner notes [no author identified] to *Wind Chamber Music of Theodor Blumer*, Sedro-Woolley, WA: Crystal Records CD753, 1994.

47. For catalogs of Busch’s one hundred compositions—seventy with opus numbers and thirty without—see Dominik Sackman, ed., *Adolf Busch (1891–1952): Werkverzeichnis* (Zurich: Schweizerisches Musik-Archiv, 1994); Tully Potter, *Adolf Busch: The Life of an Honest Man* (Billericay, Essex: T. Potter, 1984); and Potter, *Adolf Busch: The Life of an Honest Musician* (Toccata Press, forthcoming), app. 11. Most of Busch’s manuscripts are now housed in the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel. See Heidi Zimmermann and Petra Kupfer, ed., *Sammlung Adolf Busch: Musikmanuskripte* (Mainz: Schott, 2004).

48. For more on Fritz Busch, see his autobiography *Aus dem Leben eines Musikers* (Zurich: Rascher, 1949).

49. Stephen Lehmann and Marion Faber, *Rudolf Serkin: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 41. See also “Family Trees” and “Chronology” in Irene Busch Serkin, ed., *Adolf Busch: Letters, Pictures, Memories*, trans. Russell Stockman (Walpole, NH: Arts & Letters Press, 1991), 2:559–66. The publication of this two-volume English edition coincided with the publication of a single-volume German edition: Irene Busch Serkin, ed., *Adolf Busch: Briefe, Bilder, Erinnerungen* (Walpole, NH: Arts & Letters Press, 1991). Citations are to the English edition.

50. It was in Riehen that Busch would declaim one of the most defiant public statements made by a musician renouncing the rise of Nazism; when confronted by a storm-trooper who, on behalf of Hitler, offered Busch anything should he return to Germany, Busch replied: “Hang Goering, hang Goebbels, hang Himmler, hang the Führer.” This version of the story is recounted by Rudolf Serkin in Thomas B. Ragle, *Marlboro College: A Memoir* (Marlboro, VT: Marlboro College, 1999), 199–200.

51. “[Busch’s] tone is somewhat harder than that of most other prominent violinists of the day: a fact that sometimes causes disappointment among those who hear him in person for the first time. . . . But this more metallic tone seems to suit his severely classical style, and few would wish to hear a ‘sensuous’ tone from this reserved and somewhat austere artist.” Donald Brook, *Violinists of To-day* (London: Rockliff, 1948), 18–19.

52. “The quartet engagements aren’t enough to live on. . . . The concert situation here is so completely different from what it is in Switzerland or Europe in general. Aside from the hullabaloo of agents, who are in control of everything, as there are hardly any associations (concert societies), and whose chief, possibly sole interest is making money, the lack of chamber-music societies and above all the lack of smaller halls is extremely important. Here in this country everything has first of all to be big—they have the biggest houses, the biggest halls, the biggest orchestras (also the best ones), the biggest virtuosos, the biggest audiences for these virtuosos, etc. However since chamber music is always and everywhere intended for a smaller, though cultivated audience, but the programs have been set for decades by managers and virtuosos (with bad taste and lust for the American dollar), the audience has to suffer, and does suffer, quite literally, still today. For here, just as much as anywhere else, the public yearns for good music and art, and is happy about concerts with good programs. So the work that we do here—a few serious artists, Rudi [Serkin] and I, the quartet, my little orchestra, which I have once again established—is very satisfying, for the audiences are on our side. Unfortunately, you still get concerts through agents, and without concerts you can’t have any influence on musical life as a whole—so you see that the business is not always so easy.” Busch to May Fahrländer, 11 August 1942, in *Adolf Busch: Letters, Pictures, Memories*, 436–37. See also, Walter Levin, “Immigrant Musicians and American Chamber Music,” in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 332–34.

53. Lehmann and Faber, *Rudolf Serkin*, 96.

54. Irene Serkin, letter to Dorothy Canfield Fisher, “Thanksgivingday 1951” [22 November], Dorothy Canfield Fisher Papers, University of Vermont, Burlington [hereafter, Fisher Papers], box 18, folder 18.

55. Potter, *Adolf Busch: The Life of an Honest Musician*, chap. 15.

56. Keeping the memory of Busch alive, Serkin programmed about twenty of Busch's compositions in the Marlboro recital programs throughout his tenure. *Marlboro Music, 1951–1991* (Marlboro: Marlboro Music School and Festival, 1991), 915. Regarding the direction of the Marlboro School after Busch's death, Blanche Honegger-Moyse, whom Busch invited to help run the festival, remembers, "Busch would have accepted anybody who had real enthusiasm and played well enough. With Busch, [Marlboro] would have been more of a school. Not Serkin—he was a high professional." Ann McCutchan, ed., *Conversations with Blanche Honegger-Moyse* (Brattleboro, VT: Brattleboro Music Center [commissioner], 2003).
57. I have found no programs of performances of Busch's op. 26 in Vermont, but documentation of local concerts is extremely sporadic.
58. "Yesterday I finally started taking a vacation (for 8 days), I even did some oil painting with Irene yesterday for relaxation!!" Busch to May Fahrländer, 11 Aug. 1942, in *Adolf Busch: Letters, Pictures, Memories*, 436–37.
59. Elizabeth Serkin, e-mail message to Tully Potter, 16 Feb. 2006. Quoted in Potter, *Adolf Busch: The Life of an Honest Musician*, chap. 15.
60. "Rockwell at Book Cellar Signs Name Many Times," *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 12 July 1948, 1.
61. Rockwell eventually selected Ralph Clifford and Jean Pratt to pose as the arguing couple. Rockwell sketched them in the kitchen of Edward Richards' home, on Putney Road just outside of Brattleboro. "Rockwell Sets Post Cover Scene in Brattleboro Home," *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 4 Aug. 1948, 1.
62. Milton Slater, "Skill and Virtuosity of Adolph Busch Spark Second State Symphony Concert," *Burlington Free Press*, 7 Aug. 1948, 9. This was Busch's only major solo performance in the state of Vermont.
63. Joseph J. Dodge, "Museum Art Has Variety, Some Real Brilliance, Says Joseph J. Dodge," *Burlington Free Press*, 7 Aug. 1948, 3.
64. Fisher, *Vermont Tradition: The Biography of an Outlook on Life* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951). On *Memories*, see note 28.
65. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, preface to *Norman Rockwell: Illustrator*, vii. Rockwell also asked her to write a similar blurb for the catalog booklet of a Metropolitan Museum of Art 1951 exhibit which included his work. Rockwell, letter to Dorothy Canfield Fisher, [1951?], Fisher Papers, box 4, folder 11.
66. Rockwell's preparatory photographs for this portrait are dated 1948 in the Fisher Papers (box 70, folder 15), though the painting was completed years later.
67. Tommy Rockwell, letter to Dorothy Canfield Fisher, [ca. 1949–50], Fisher Papers, box 4, folder 11.
68. Claridge, *Norman Rockwell: A Life*, 294–95 and 339–41.
69. Elizabeth Yates, *The Lady from Vermont: Dorothy Canfield Fisher's Life and World* (Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Greene Press, 1958), 264.
70. Marilyn J. Ziffrin, *Carl Ruggles: Composer, Painter, and Storyteller* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 77, 83, 99, and 123; and the letters of both Carl and

Charlotte Ruggles to Dorothy Canfield Fisher, in the Fisher Papers, box 18, folder 1, esp. Carl's of 19 May 1928.

71. Ruggles also displayed his paintings at the Burlington Green Mountain Festival, where Busch performed in 1948. Gregarious and fiercely individual, Ruggles was well known in Arlington (and close friends with Rockwell, as mentioned above in note 42). But there are several troubling roadblocks to consider: Ruggles was notoriously anti-Semitic, and though Busch was not Jewish, his son-in-law was. Also, Busch had an extremely low tolerance for atonality and would hardly have performed any of Ruggles' music. Ziffrin, *Carl Ruggles*, esp. 195 and 253. See also Nicholas E. Tawa, *From Psalm to Symphony: A History of Music in New England* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2001), 301–6.

72. Through CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe), Fisher and her husband sent dozens of “care packages” every year to European families impoverished by the war. She also founded the Children's Crusade for Children, an organization that brought Austrian, Czech, and German refugee children up from New York City to Bennington County for the summer of 1939. The Children's Crusade's primary goal was to raise awareness among American children for refugees and others around the world left destitute by war; through her campaigning, children from across America raised \$130,000 for the organization. See Ida H. Washington, *Dorothy Canfield Fisher: A Biography* (Shelburne, VT: New England Press, 1982), 208–9, and Dora Edinger, “Dorothy Canfield Fisher,” in *Güte, Wissen, Verstehen: Drei Lebensbilder grosser amerikanischer Erzieher*, ed. Friderike Maria Burger Winternitz (Esslingen am Neckar: Bechtle, 1949), 89–104. Receipts, letters, and photographs of these philanthropic efforts are preserved in box 28, folder 28 of the Fisher Papers.

73. Ragle, *Marlboro College*, 3.

74. Program booklet, “First Annual Marlboro Fiction Writers Conference,” Fisher Papers, box 27, folder 40.

75. On this visit, Fisher brought books for the Serkin children, as she had done with Tommy Rockwell (see note 67). The “thank you” notes from Elizabeth, John, and Ursula Serkin are preserved in the Fisher Papers, box 18, folder 18.

76. Rudolf Serkin, letter to Dorothy Canfield Fisher, 22 Mar. 1951, Fisher Papers, box 18, folder 18.

77. Dorothy Canfield Fisher to Irene Serkin, 24 Nov. 1953, in *Adolf Busch: Letters, Pictures, Memories*, 557–58.

78. Irene Serkin, letter to Dorothy Canfield Fisher, 11 Aug. 1950, Fisher Papers, box 18, folder 18.

79. Irene Serkin to Fisher, 22 Nov. 1951.

80. Irene Serkin to Fisher, 22 Nov. 1951.

81. Irene Serkin, letter to Dorothy Canfield Fisher, 30 Jan. 1954, Fisher Papers, box 18, folder 18.

82. Dorothy Canfield Fisher to Irene Serkin, 1 Sep. 1954, in *Adolf Busch: Letters, Pictures, Memories*, xiii–xiv.

83. John Serkin, e-mail message to Tully Potter, 15 Feb. 2006. Quoted in Potter, *Adolf Busch: The Life of an Honest Musician*, chap. 15.
84. Rockwell's papers at the Norman Rockwell Museum (Stockbridge, MA) remain uncatalogued, so the future discovery of some document linking Rockwell to Busch remains a possibility.
85. Cliff Eisen, "German Dances," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com/> (accessed 18 Dec. 2006).
86. Mozart's K 536 and 567 are also sets of six waltzes, but were later combined to create a larger grouping of twelve. A similar fate befell K 600, which was combined with K 602 and 605 to make a grouping of thirteen. See Marius Flothuis, preface to *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series 4, work group 13, section 1, vol. 2, *Tänze und Märsche* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988), xiv–xvi. Schubert's D 820 was not published until 1931, ten years after Busch completed "Deutsche Tänze."
Beethoven's WoO 42 in particular seems to have left some traces in Busch's work. Most revealing is a comparison of their respective first waltzes: both are in F major, and both utilize a similar melodic device of a repeated lower-neighbor figure releasing upward into an arpeggiated "rocket" (mm. 9–16 in Beethoven, mm. 41–46 in Busch). Also of influence may have been Mozart's K 571, particularly in its unusual use of a coda, which, as in Busch, returns to the opening tonic and brings back themes from previous waltzes. We know that Fritz Busch owned and notated a copy of K 571 (now housed at Indiana University), so the possibility that Adolf Busch encountered this piece is strong.
87. Busch was considered a supreme interpreter of Reger, particularly of the Violin Concerto in A, op. 101. Accompanied by his brother Fritz at the piano, Adolf Busch played the concerto for Reger himself in January 1909, beginning a friendship that would last until the composer's death. Alexander Becker, "Meine beiden musikalischen Säuglinge': Adolf Busch und Fritz Busch," in *Auf der Suche nach dem Werk: Max Reger—sein Schaffen—seine Sammlung* (Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbibliothek, 1998), 250–57. Robert Sabin, in a review of Busch's performance of Reger's violin concerto with the New York Philharmonic conducted by brother Fritz Busch, praises the performance: "Lovers of Reger's music as well as lovers of the violin shouted themselves hoarse after Adolf Busch had played the last triumphant notes . . . in a truly great and memorable performances. . . . It would be impossible to overpraise Mr. Busch's performance. Even those unfortunates who still dislike Reger must have been consoled by his artistry." Sabin, *Musical America* (10 Feb. 1942): 251, quoted in Potter, *Adolf Busch: The Life of an Honest Musician*, chap. 14.
88. Potter, *Adolf Busch: The Life of an Honest Musician*, app. 11.
89. In his catalog of clarinet repertoire, Oskar Kroll describes them as "ansprechend und nicht zu schwierig." Oskar Kroll, *Die Klarinette: Ihre Geschichte, ihre Literatur, ihre grossen Meister* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 58.
90. For example, his songs for high voice, op. 3, were composed as a birthday present for his wife Frieda, a soprano. Potter, *Adolf Busch: The Life of an Honest Musician*, app. 11.
91. Halpern, *Norman Rockwell: The Underside of Innocence*, 26–28.
92. Halpern, *Norman Rockwell: The Underside of Innocence*, 11.

93. Washington, *Dorothy Canfield Fisher: A Biography*, 205–7.
94. Fisher, *Tourists Accommodated* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1934), 52–53.
95. “Complete Operas Sponsored by Williams,” *Bennington Evening Banner*, 6 Oct. 1949, 6.
96. Mrs. J. E. Squiers, “Arlington,” *Bennington Evening Banner*, 27 Apr. 1949, 3.
97. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, “Why I Live Where I Live,” *The Golden Book Magazine* (Dec. 1932): 540–42.
98. For more on the connotations of “good music” in early-twentieth-century America, see Mark Katz, “Making America More Musical through the Phonograph, 1900–1930,” *American Music* 16 (1998): 448–76; reprinted in Katz, *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 48–71.
99. Nina Marchetti Archabal, “Carl Ruggles: An Ultramodern Composer as Painter” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1979), 141–42.
100. Fisher’s reference to “canned music” as an insufficient but acceptable resolution to her dilemma is indicative of the growing influence of recorded music in the region. Commercial recordings and national radio programs began to trickle into rural Vermont in the 1930s and 1940s, altering musical sensibilities and likely contributing to this increased interest in culturalization. See Jennifer C. Post, *Music in Rural New England: Family and Community Life, 1870–1940* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2004), 14–15.
101. In his reading of the painting, Richard Halpern invests heavily in a similar dichotomy—that of art and commerce. *Norman Rockwell: The Underside of Innocence*, 136–49.
102. By 1950, the *Post* had nearly four million subscribers; its target audience was middle-class America, and editors were very deliberate in attempting to appeal to their readers’ values. For annual circulation statistics, see *A Short History of the Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia, PA: Curtis Publishing, 1949, rev. 1953), 63. For more on the relationship between the *Post* and its readership, see Jan Cohn, *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the Saturday Evening Post* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), and Cohn, *Covers of the Saturday Evening Post* (New York: Viking Studio Books, 1995).
103. Norman Rockwell, foreword to Pitz, *200 Years of American Illustration*, 11.