NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

The *Credo* of Margaret Bonds: An Historical Commentary, Modern Performing Edition, and Conductor's Study

A MAJOR DOCUMENT

SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF MUSIC
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

For the degree

DOCTOR OF MUSIC

In Conducting

By

Rollo Augustus Dilworth

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

August 2003
In loving memory of my grandmother

Marie Carter
(1912-1998)
INTRODUCTION

Margaret Allison Bonds (1913-1972) was an accomplished pianist and composer of both instrumental and vocal/choral works. In 1967, Bonds completed *Credo*, a seven-movement cantata scored for soprano and baritone soloists, SATB chorus, and piano. The text of *Credo* was taken from an essay with the same title written by William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1869-1963), an African-American educator, sociologist, historian, and philosopher who, in the year 1910, co-founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Du Bois’ essay *Credo*, unlike the text from the Mass Ordinary, is not simply a profession of belief and faith in God; rather, *Credo* is a profession of belief that all men, created by God, are equal. In his essay Du Bois contends that “all men, black and brown and white, are brothers, varying through time and opportunity, in form and gift and feature, but differing in no essential particular, and [are] alike in soul and [in] the possibility of infinite development.” This particular essay, written by Du Bois circa 1904, was set to music by Bonds in the mid-1960’s during the Civil Rights Movement. This was the composer’s final major work and it was completed at a time in which African-American citizens struggled for political and social justice and equality.

Although Bonds completed the piano-vocal version of *Credo* in 1967, the first performance of the work in its orchestral version did not take place until May 21, 1972, some four weeks after the composer’s untimely death. Since her death, this work remains unedited and unpublished; manuscripts of the piano-vocal and orchestral scores are

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PART I

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY
auspices of the Robert Curtis Ogden Association and the annual conventions of the National Association of Negro Musicians, affirmed her talent and potential as a young composer. By the time she was twenty-one years of age, Bonds had received her Bachelor of Music (1933) and Master of Music (1934) degrees from Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, where she studied piano with Emily Boettcher Bogue. Shortly after her graduation, she opened the Allied Arts Academy, a school of ballet, art, and music for inner-city Chicago youth. Due to the devastating economic effects of the Great Depression, the school failed to survive.

In 1939 Bonds moved from Chicago to New York City to continue her studies and career as a pianist and composer. In New York, she found a job as a music editor and transcriber at a music company. It was also during this time that Bonds began to publish her own popular songs. In 1940, she married Lawrence Richardson, a probation officer with the Supreme Court in New York, and had a daughter, Djané, named after Djané Herz, her piano teacher at Julliard School of Music. While enrolled at Julliard, Bonds also studied piano with Henry Levin and private composition with Roy Harris, Robert Starer, and Emerson Harper. It was Harper’s wife, Toy, who encouraged Bonds to continue writing music dedicated to the “black experience.”

While living in New York, Bonds met the famous French composer and pedagogue Nadia Boulanger. In an attempt to study with Boulanger, Bonds offered as an example of her work her setting of the Langston Hughes poem *The Negro Speaks of Rivers*. Bonds recalls:

...Boulanger refused to take me as a student. She said that I “had something” but

In 1967 Bonds moved to Los Angeles to continue her musical pursuits in the areas of teaching, composition, and performance. In 1969 she served as music director of the Inner City Institute and Repertory Theater (whose name was later changed to the Inner City Cultural Center) where she taught private piano and theory to children. She also began to arrange spirituals for the Los Angeles Jubilee Singers, founded by her close friend and colleague Albert McNeil (the ensemble later changed its name to the Albert McNeil Jubilee Singers). At this point in her career, Bonds had received honors from a number of prominent organizations for her outstanding contributions to the field of music. Among these organizations are the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, the National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM), the National Council of Negro Women, and the Northwestern University Alumni Association.8

Bonds remained an active musician and resident of the Los Angeles area until her sudden death. On Wednesday, April 26, 1972, the famed pianist, composer, and educator was found dead in her apartment at the age of fifty-nine.

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8Sullivan, “Margaret Bonds,” p. 96.
inspired by and dedicated to Dr. King. One of very few instrumental orchestral compositions written by Bonds, entitled *Montgomery Variations* (1965), is a five-movement work written during the Civil Rights march on Montgomery Alabama. Also dedicated to Dr. King, *Montgomery Variations*, like many of Bonds' compositions, remains unpublished and has probably received very few, if any, performances since its premiere. This timely and programmatic work, according to the research of Alice Tischler,\(^1\) consists of the following movements: (1) *Jesus Walk with Me*; (2) *Prayer Meeting*; (3) *March*; (4) *One Sunday in the South*; and (5) *Dawn in Dixie*. Such a composition reveals Bonds' sensitivity to the social and political issues that directly affected the African-American populace.

THE GENESIS OF CREDO

It was also in the mid-1960s when Bonds focused her attention on the writings of another leader dedicated to African-American causes: William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963). Du Bois, a proponent of Pan-Africanism, the philosophy that all people of African descent should work together to conquer racial discrimination, wrote many literary texts to forward the cause for racial equality and fair treatment of African-American citizens. Toward the end of his life, amidst the protests and demonstrations of the Civil Rights Movement, Du Bois became extremely disappointed with the lack of progress made in the area of race relations. An advocate of socialism, he joined the American Communist party in 1961, and then emigrated to the African country of Ghana.

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In 1967 Bonds completed the score of *Credo* and actually entitled the work *Credo and Darkwater*, making references to both the title of Du Bois’ essay and the title of the book in which she found the text. The resulting seven-movement cantata was dedicated to the memories of poet Langston Hughes and singer-actress Abbie Mitchell. In addition to Hughes, with whom she maintained a long-term partnership, it was Mitchell who helped Bonds understand how important the marriage between words and music becomes if a composer is to create a song of any consequence.\(^4\)

**THE ORCHESTRAL PREMIERE OF CREDO**

Political and racial controversy surrounded the premier performance of Bond's *Credo* in its orchestral version. What started out as a planned musical tribute to slain Civil Rights activist Malcolm X evolved into a more generic “Tribute to Black Music.” The tribute concert in honor of Malcolm X, which did not include the performance of Bond’s *Credo*, was canceled due to angry protests by members of the African-American community. Among a variety of reasons, those protesting the concert felt that the Los Angeles Philharmonic was a racist organization and that a greater number of African-American musicians, including an African-American conductor, should be involved in the tribute event (see Appendix B). Just one week before the “Tribute to Malcolm X” concert was to take place, the program, which was to feature the music of four African-American composers, was canceled. Instead of canceling the date altogether, the Philharmonic decided to reprogram the entire concert, promoting the event simply as a

performance "revealed some flaws that were clearly the result of inadequate training, and involvement in too many musical directions."  

Like many of Bonds' unpublished works, Credo is seldom performed and has remained virtually inaccessible to conductors and performing ensembles. The Los Angeles Philharmonic, for reasons unknown, did not make an archival recording of the performance that premiered the orchestral version of the work. Therefore, much of the music community has yet to experience the final opus of one of the most prominent African-American musicians of the twentieth century.

\(^{16}\)See Appendix E. Los Angeles Times (Los Angeles), 1 May 1973, section IV, p. 12.
CRITICAL COMMENTARY

SOURCES

The following available sources were consulted in preparation of this edition:

A. a manuscript copy of the original piano-vocal score;
B. a manuscript copy of the original orchestral score.

A. This source, a copy from the private collection of Albert McNeil, a close friend and colleague of the late Margaret Bonds, is considered to be the first authentic performing edition of the work. This particular score, completed in 1969 and copied in the composer’s own hand, was used by the Los Angeles Jubilee Singers in preparation for the world premiere performance in 1972. Aside from Mr. McNeil, copies of this source can be found at the American Music Research Center (University of Colorado-Boulder), the Center for Black Music Research (Columbia College-Chicago), and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture of the New York Public Library.

B. The manuscript of the orchestral score was completed shortly after the piano-vocal score, also written in the composer’s own hand. Although it can be assumed that this source reflects the final intentions of the composer, numerous discrepancies with the piano-vocal score, specifically with regard to pitches and rhythms, have been found. These errors are undoubtedly scribal, and were probably identified as such during preparations for the orchestral world premiere. Unfortunately, the original performance parts, which would have been most helpful in the preparation of this edition, were not found in the Los Angeles Philharmonic score library.

Therefore, this modern performing edition of the orchestral score is primarily based upon notational information contained in Source A. Source B has been used to preserve the original instrumentation of the orchestral score as conceived by the composer.

EDITORIAL MARKINGS

1. Notes and Note Values: All notes and note values in this orchestral edition are now the same as those found in the original piano-vocal score. In an effort to facilitate smoother score reading, some pitches have been enharmonically altered.
11. **All other markings** that are not in the original scores, including divisi and harp pedalings, are placed in brackets.

12. **Orchestration:** The following changes have been made in this edition of the orchestral score:

- **III, m. 3:** a whole note B has been added to the contrabass part so that it is consistent with that of the contrabassoon part in the same measure.
- **III, mm. 39-42:** the contrabass now plays the pitches that were originally scored as a divisi in the cello part.
- **III, mm. 80-82:** a continuation of the pedal note d pattern (quarter notes) has been added so that it is consistent with the contrabass part in the same measures.
- **V, m. 31:** the chord tones B-e-g, found on beat 2 of the piano-vocal score, have been added to the orchestral score and distributed between the trombone II, horn II, and horn I parts, respectively.
- **V, mm. 35-38:** In portions of this passage, the oboe and clarinet parts have been transposed down an octave or inverted because the original parts are scored beyond their comfortable registers.
- **VI, mm. 25-26:** clarinet parts have been transposed down an octave, and in some cases, the voices have been inverted.
- **VI, m. 27; mm. 95-116:** the clarinet parts have been transposed down an octave to a more comfortable register.
- **VI, mm. 67-73:** the contrabass now plays the pitches that were originally scored as a divisi in the cello part.
- **VI, mm. 74-75, 79:** the original viola part has been given to the cello part; the original cello part has been given to the bass part; a line (found in the piano-vocal score) which doubles the flute part at the octave, has been placed in the viola part.
- **VII, mm. 6-8:** clarinet parts have been transposed down an octave.
- **VII, mm. 27-30:** The first clarinet part has been transposed down an octave and now plays in unison with the second clarinet part.
- **VII, mm. 43-44:** a whole note pedal d', found in the piano-vocal score, has been placed in the viola part of a divisi.
- **VII, m. 52:** pitches for the final chord in the violin and viola parts have been redistributed.

Rollo Augustus Dilworth  
Northwestern University  
Evanston, Illinois  
August 2003
Credo

Text by William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963)

I believe in God, who made of one blood all nations that on earth do dwell. I believe that all men, black and brown and white are brothers, varying through time and opportunity, in form and gift and feature, but differing in no essential particular, and alike in soul and the possibility of infinite development.

Especially do I believe in the Negro Race: in the beauty of its genius, the sweetness of its soul, and its strength in that meekness which shall yet inherit this turbulent earth.

I believe in Pride of race and lineage and self: in pride of self so deep as to scorn injustice to other selves; in pride of lineage so great as to despise no man’s father; in pride of race so chivalrous as neither to offer bastardy to the weak nor beg wedlock of the strong, knowing that men may be brothers in Christ, even through they be not brothers-in-law.

I believe in Service—humble, reverent service, from the blackening of boots to the whitening of souls; for Work is Heaven, Idleness Hell, and Wage is the “Well done!” of the Master, who summoned all them that labor and are heavy laden, making no distinction between the black, sweating cotton hands of Georgia and the first families of Virginia, since all distinction not based on deed is devilish and not divine.

I believe in the Devil and his angels, who wantonly work to narrow the opportunity of struggling human beings, especially if they be black; who spit in the faces of the fallen, strike them that cannot strike again, believe the worst and work to prove it, hating the image which their Maker stamped on a brother’s soul.

I believe in the Prince of Peace. I believe that War is Murder. I believe that armies and navies are at bottom the tinsel and braggadocio of oppression and wrong, and I believe that the wicked conquest of weaker and darker nations by nations whiter and stronger but fore-shadows the death of that strength.

I believe in liberty for all men: the space to stretch their arms and their souls, the right to breathe and the right to vote, the freedom to choose their friends, enjoy the sunshine, and ride on the railroads, uncursed by color; thinking, dreaming, working as they will in a kingdom of beauty and love.

I believe in the training of children, black even as white; the leading out of little souls into the green pastures and beside the still waters, not for pelf or peace, but for life lit by some large vision of beauty and goodness and truth; lest we forget, and the sons of the fathers, like Esau, for mere meat barter their birthright in a mighty nation.

Finally, I believe in Patience—patience with the weakness of the Weak and the strength of the Strong, the prejudice of the Ignorant and the ignorance of the Blind; patience with the tardy triumph of Joy and the mad chastening of Sorrow—patience with God!
I believe in God, who made of one blood all nations that on earth do dwell.

I believe in God, who made of one blood all nations that on earth do dwell.

I believe in God, who made of one blood all nations that on earth do dwell.
II. Especially Do I Believe in the Negro Race

Largo grazioso [♩= ca. 84]
* the editor has added the lower pitch as an option for the soloist
IV. I Believe in the Devil and His Angels

Tempo giusto-Very Dry [ \( \text{\textit{j} = \text{ca. 80}} \) ]
having the image that their Maker
stamped on a brother's soul.
I believe in the Prince of Peace. I believe, I believe.
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[poco rit.] A tempo

Prince, in the Prince... I believe... I believe in the Prince... of Peace.

Prince, (in the Prince) in the Prince... I believe... I believe in the Prince... of Peace.

Prince, (in the Prince) in the Prince... I believe... I believe in the Prince... of Peace.
training of little children, black, even as white; the leading out of little souls into green
VII. I Believe in Patience

Moderato [Come prima \( \cdot \) ca. 60]
I believe in patience, patience, patience, patience.
poco a poco cresc. e accel.
PART III

CREDO: A CONDUCTOR’S STUDY
shifts in meter, and textures (solo, choral, instrumental) will also be labelled on each phrase map.
Example 1. Opening choral statement "I believe in God", mm. 5-6 (reduction)

The "I believe" text is repeated using a series of major and minor seventh harmonies arranged in such a way that features fifths between soprano and alto, and between tenor and bass. The result is a much richer harmonic texture than the opening phrase. Although the opening phrase of the movement ends on the word "God" with a chord that lacks identity as a major or minor chord, the resolution of the phrase is given harmonic identity when it moves from G minor 6/5 to A major. This cadential pattern, which can be labeled as IV6/5 to V in the key of D minor, can be considered Phrygian in its design (mm. 7-13; Example 2).
believe in God” statement. The following observations are made regarding the tonal resources that Bonds uses to illustrate the first two statements of the Credo text:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Harmony Employed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I believe in God” (mm. 5-6)</td>
<td>A-E open fifths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I believe in God who made of one blood all nations that on earth” (mm. 7-11)</td>
<td>A series of open fifths in choral parts, resulting in a series of seventh chords.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“all nations that on earth do dwell”</td>
<td>An A major chord is used on the word “dwell”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the second section of this first movement, Bonds uses material similar to the original “I believe” theme as a subject for an imitative choral passage, beginning with the bass part (mm. 14-23; Example 4).

Example 4. Contrapuntal “I believe that all men” passage, mm. 14-23
The two phrases that follow utilize the text "varying through time and opportunity, in form and gift and feature." Both phrases, supported by strings in a predominantly *colla voce* fashion, end on E major chords that appear to function as half-cadences. The cadential functions of these E major chords, along with occasional occurrence of F naturals in the phrases, suggests a tonal shift back to the key of A minor. The transitional nature of the phrases and the "wandering" eighth note patterns in the alto and tenor lines successfully illustrate the "varying through time" text.

Example 7. Bonds' setting of the "varying through time" text, mm. 31-38

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The next phrase that sets the text "but differing in no essential particular" (see Example 7 above, m. 35) begins with an E major (b9) to A minor 7th chord progression, creating another cue that a shift in tonality is eminent. The phrase concludes with a V to I
In addition to tremolo strings, timpani and horn, this "and alike in soul" passage is supported by a syncopated bassoon pattern. Accented and marked "con fuoco," these lower woodwinds play arpeggiated patterns that outline A minor and F major chords (Example 9).

Example 9. Bassoon pattern that supports "and alike in soul" text; mm. 40-42.

\[ \text{bassoons} \]
\[ \text{\textit{f con fuoco}} \]

In measure 44, as the choir sustains the word "possibility," the oboe 1 and clarinet 1 parts play octave G's in a diminuated rhythmic pattern reminiscent of the opening "I Believe" theme (see Example 10).

Example 10. Diminution of the "I believe" theme, m. 44 (concert pitch)

\[ \text{Ob. 1} \]
\[ \text{Clarinet} \]

A similar pattern is played by the trumpet and horn parts with the phrase that begins in measure 45 (Example 11).
MOVEMENT II: ESPECIALLY DO I BELIEVE IN THE NEGRO RACE

This second movement of the cantata is constructed in a variation design in which the two major sections of the movement contain basically the same melodic material even though the pentatonic melody shifts between voices with slight changes in harmonization (refer to Appendix A, Figure 2, p. 176). Using both a solo and choral texture to set the text, Bonds also carefully balanced the sections of this movement:

The introduction (mm. 1-4) is 4 measures in length;
The A section (mm. 5-24) is 20 measures in length;
The A' section (mm. 25-44) is 20 measures in length;
The coda (mm. 45-49) is 5 measures in length.

Written in the key of A major with a tempo marking that is relaxed and reflective (*Largo grazioso*), the movement, through its varied repetitions, appears to have a close connection to the first movement on structural, textual, and tonal levels. The following observations support the relationship between movements I and II:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Connection Between Movements</th>
<th>Observations Made to Support Connections Between Movements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Bonds makes no physical separations between movements I and II in the manuscript scores. The repetitions of phrases in movement II provide affirmation of the initial &quot;I believe&quot; statements found in movement I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textual</td>
<td>The text of movement II, taken from the second paragraph of the <em>Credo</em> essay, begins with the word &quot;especially,&quot; suggesting the continuation of a prior thought or idea. This second paragraph (as well as the final paragraph of the essay) does not begin with the words &quot;I believe.&quot; The text of movement II &quot;especially do I believe in the Negro race&quot; seems to both reaffirm the &quot;I believe&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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These same so-called “Negroid” characteristics, as identified by Bonds in the music of Burleigh, can be found throughout Credo’s second movement, beginning with the 4-measure woodwind introduction (mn. 1-4; Example 13).

Example 13. Introduction of the second movement, mm. 1-4 (reduction)

In the opening vocal phrase of the movement, the solo soprano part contains a G natural on the word “Negro.” The E minor, G major, and F major 7\(^{th}\) harmonies that support this phrase demonstrate the composer’s use of lowered sixth and seventh degrees of the scale (F natural and G natural) to set the text in manner consistent with African-American music traditions.
In addition to the many occurrences of G naturals (lowered sevenths) in the score, Bonds employs a call and response technique to bring the chorus into the texture. At the end of the soprano solo section, the composer deviates slightly from the original text by placing a choral response (labelled “echo”) in the score, using the text “I believe, I believe.” (mm. 21-24; Example 16).

Example 16. Call-and-response passage between soloist and chorus, mm. 21-24

Bonds labels the choral response “echo” to confirm the call-and-response treatment of the interpolated “I believe” text.

The second major section of the movement, labeled A’, is essentially a choral setting of the A section, with the addition of a descant given to the soprano soloist. The choral repetition of the original thematic material begins on the last eighth note of measure 24, which is now slightly re-harmonized (Example 17).
In this second movement Bonds uses the key of A major along with varied repetitions and call and response techniques to affirm the beliefs outlined in the first movement. This movement, employing musical traits of the African-American tradition, firmly establishes a tonality or key that was not made clear at the conclusion of the first movement that dramatically ended on an A-E open fifth chord. Such an intentional design of this second movement, especially through the composer's consistent use of cadences in the key of A major, provides a substantial link between the first two movements.
Example 20. Opening choral statement, mm. 5-9.

Beginning with the second phrase, Bonds creates continuity through a rhythmically consistent treatment of text and the use of instrumental links. The text “in pride of” is consistently scored as an upbeat pattern of three quarter notes (mm. 9, 13, 18) with the strong downbeat occurring on the words “self,” “lineage,” and “race” (see Examples 21 and 22).


The third phrase (mm. 14-18), beginning with the text “in pride of lineage,” commences in the tonic key of D minor and ends on the word “Father” with an Eb major chord in first inversion. This Neapolitan six chord serves as a pivot, allowing the phrase that follows (beginning with the words “in pride of race”) to shift towards the tonality of C minor.
In measures 26-29, Bonds employs a unison texture in the vocal parts to illustrate the text “knowing that men may be brothers in Christ.” Continuing in the tonality of C minor and accompanied by only strings and a bassoon, the phrase is supported by a pedal G and is dramatized by the use of triplet rhythms.

Example 23. Unison choral statement “knowing that men may be brothers in Christ,” mm. 26-29.
pattern is identical to that found in the beginning of the movement. Also the harmonic
texture of this phrase is reminiscent of the second “I believe” statement found in
Movement I (see Example 2).

Example 25. “I believe” statement that begins Section II of the movement,
(mmm. 39-42).

A soloistic setting of the text “from the blackening of boots to the whitening of souls” is
found in the phrase beginning at measure 43. As the bass voices sing this text, the tenor
and baritone parts respond with the “I believe in Service” text in a call and response
manner consistent with African-American spiritual and gospel styles (see Example 26).

Example 26. Call and response setting of the “From the blackening of boots” text,
mmm. 43-47.
Example 27. Bonds’ seventh chord setting of the text “Master,” mm. 55-6

The text “who summoned all them that labor and are heavy laden” is set in a series of seventh chords built on parallel thirds. This phrase is supported by strings (and harp). As the passage comes to a point of arrival (on an A-E open fifth chord) at the word “laden” in measure 61, the violoncello and contrabass reprise a modified version of the original “I believe” theme (see Example 28).

Example 28. Modified bass line presenting the original “I believe” theme; mm. 61-2.
The final text, "all distinction not based on deed is devilish and not divine," uses almost all available orchestral forces, and is set in parallel fourths and fifths (Example 30).

Example 30. Setting of the "all distinction" text in 3/4 meter, mm. 72-75.

In the final measures of the movement, Bonds employs parallel fourths and an A-E open fifth chord using the text "devilish and not divine" (Example 31).

Example 31. Setting of the "devilish and not divine" text; mm. 76-82.

The concluding choral passage is supported by a quarter note pattern of pedal D's in the bassoon, timpani, and string parts. Along with this pedal pattern is a diminished version of
MOVEMENT IV: I BELIEVE IN THE DEVIL AND HIS ANGELS

This short movement, the central axis of the cantata, is written in a through-composed form (see Appendix A, Figure 4, p. 178). A quarter-note ostinato pattern, comprised of a D-A open fifth chord, is consistently played throughout the 31-measure movement by the contrabassoon, timpani, cello, and contrabass. In approximately every other measure, the ostinato pattern is embellished by an upper note trill pattern played by the bassoon (Example 33).

Example 33. Trill embellishment of the ostinato pattern

The opening choral phrase is made up almost exclusively of a series of diminished seventh chords, often moving in a chromatic fashion (Example 34).

Example 34. Opening choral statement of the fourth movement, mm. 5-7

The above passage reveals the composer’s use of the cross relation, that is, the succession of a pitch in one voice by a chromatic alteration of that pitch in another voice. The phrase concludes on the word “angels” on a dominant seventh chord sound. This augmented
Example 36. Setting of the text “especially if they be black,” mm. 12-13

It is also interesting to point out that Bonds employs chromatically descending chord progressions as a means of illustrating the negative ideas found in the text. Among these passages and their respective progressions are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure Numbers</th>
<th>Text Used</th>
<th>Chromatic Chord Progressions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. 8</td>
<td>“wantonly work”</td>
<td>Db dominant seventh (third inversion) to C dominant seventh (third inversion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. 9</td>
<td>“narrow the opportunity”</td>
<td>C# half diminished seventh to C half diminished seventh to B half diminished seventh to Bb half diminished seventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. 14</td>
<td>“spit in the faces of”</td>
<td>E half diminished seventh to Eb half diminished seventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. 15</td>
<td>“fallen”</td>
<td>D half diminished seventh to C# half diminished seventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 16-17</td>
<td>“strike them that cannot strike again”</td>
<td>E half diminished seventh to Eb half diminished seventh to D half diminished seventh to C# half diminished seventh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phrase that sets the text “believe the worst and work to prove it” (mm. 18-19) also features major, minor and diminished seventh chords and features the entry of a quarter-note pattern by the wood block (see Example 37).
Example 39. Final choral statement of movement four, mm. 24-28

In this fourth movement of the cantata, Bonds continues to employ motivic ideas reminiscent of themes from the first movement. Such ideas include ostinato patterns and syncopated choral passages that are built on an open fifth chord.
The third phrase of the 16-bar chorus, from a choral perspective, is exactly the same as the first phrase, this time Bonds chooses flutes, trombones, and strings to support the choral texture. To complete the gospel-style chorus, the fourth phrase begins in a fashion similar to the second phrase (see Example 41 above), but this time the conclusion of the phrase is confirmed by the tonic F major chord (mm. 16-20; Example 42).

Example 42. Fourth choral phrase of the 16-bar gospel-style chorus, mm. 16-20

Upon the F major cadence in measure 20, the bassoon plays a motive that moves the tonal center to D minor (Example 43; mm. 20-22).

Example 43. Bassoon theme that links the A and B sections (mm. 20-22)

Continuing the predominance of the dotted-eighth and sixteenth note pattern, the B section of the movement begins in measure 22 on a D minor chord with the text “I believe that war is murder,” marking the first entry of the tenor voices (Example 44).
Bonds further adds to the dramatic tension of the section by ending each phrase with a chord one half-step higher than in the previous phrase (B-flat, B, C). Using the text beginning with the words "and I believe that the wicked conquest," Bonds uses a C major ninth chord on the downbeat of measure 35 to bring this contrasting B section of the movement to a close (Example 47, mm. 30-36). This phrase elision that occurs marks the most climactic moment in the movement.
Beginning at measure 41, the movement returns to the A section material with strings and bassoon. The 16-bar gospel-style chorus returns as before in the treble voices. This time, Bonds makes modifications in the orchestration that support the choral texture.

The following chart presents these changes in orchestration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase #</th>
<th>Measure #’s</th>
<th>Orchestration</th>
<th>Phrase #</th>
<th>Measure #’s</th>
<th>Orchestration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4-8</td>
<td>Strings only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44-48</td>
<td>Strings, flutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8-12</td>
<td>Lower strings brass</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48-52</td>
<td>Strings, flutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12-16</td>
<td>Strings, flutes, trombones</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52-56</td>
<td>Strings, flutes, Piccolo, harp, clarinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>16-21</td>
<td>Same as above</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>56-60</td>
<td>Same as above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bonds closes the movement with a coda section that brings the lower voices (tenor, baritone and bass) back into the choral texture in a call and response fashion. The
MOVEMENT VI: I BELIEVE IN LIBERTY

Bonds opens this movement with a 4-bar introduction featuring a syncopated ostinato pattern in the clarinet parts (see Example 50). Supported by tremolo strings on a D major chord and a sustained tonic pitch in the horn and second bassoon parts, the first bassoon part presents a decorative arpeggiation pattern that harmonically extends the otherwise static D major tonality.

Example 50. Introduction (clarinets and bassoons), mm. 1-4

Beginning at measure 5, Bonds introduces the baritone soloist into the orchestral texture. As in other movements ("I Believe in Pride of Race," for example), the composer once again employs a dotted quarter and eighth note pattern to set the "I believe" text. The chord progression that supports this opening solo phrase retains the tonic pitch as a pedal point with a brief move to an E diminished chord (borrowed from the parallel minor) on the word "liberty" (Example 51).

Example 51. Opening phrase of the baritone solo, mm. 5-8

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major and features an A major dominant chord. As the baritone solo continues with text from the essay at measure 29, the words “and ride on the railroads, uncursed by color” are creatively accompanied by upper winds (flute, oboe, clarinet), harp, and upper strings (violins and viola) in the tonic key of D major. The following example illustrates the orchestration of this phrase.

Example 54. Setting of the “and ride on the railroads” text, mm. 29-32

The next phrase (mm. 33-48) sets the text “thinking, dreaming, working as they will in a kingdom of beauty and love.” Here the baritone solo line is more conjunct than before, and the lowered fifth and seventh of the D scale are used. Using the same orchestral forces as the previous phrase (with the exception of the viola), the longer, more sustained rhythms of this solo line, coupled with the arpeggiated harp accompaniment, create a fantasy-like mood (see Example 55).
Beginning at measure 51, the chorus sings the text “thinking, dreaming, working as they will.” Utilizing only strings for accompaniment, mm. 51-54 contains a choral setting of the baritone solo presentation of the “thinking, dreaming” text found in mm. 33-36. The baritone soloist sings a descant on the text “I believe in liberty” before joining the chorus in the “working as they will” melody that was originally performed in mm. 37-39. Example 57 illustrates the choral setting of the text along with the baritone solo.

Example 57. Choral statement of the “thinking, dreaming” text, mm. 51-54

In the next phrase, measures 58-66, the baritone solo line once again moves mainly in stepwise motion; the choir supports this solo line in a homophonic fashion. The strings continue to support the vocal texture, and at m. 63, as the baritone soloist sings the word “love,” the choir sings the text “I believe in liberty for all men.” This 4-bar phrase beginning at measure 63 (Example 58) is essentially a choral setting of the baritone solo phrase that opens the movement, which is also reminiscent of the string accompaniment found in mm. 45-48.

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Example 59. Harmonic analysis of baritone solo, mm. 67-83

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure #'s</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Orchestration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>67-71</td>
<td>I believe in the training of little children, black, even as white;</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72-78</td>
<td>The leading out of little souls into green pastures and beside the still waters;</td>
<td>Strings (add harp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79-86</td>
<td>Not for self or peace, but for life lit by some large vision of beauty and goodness and truth;</td>
<td>Harp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next two phrases (mm. 87-95) feature both baritone soloist and chorus. The first of these two phrases, setting the text "lest we forget, and the sons like Esau," is grounded in the tonic key of D major. The second phrase in the passage (mm. 92-95) is a setting of the text "for mere meat barter their birthright in a mighty nation." Here Bonds employs dominant ninth harmonies as well as chords that are borrowed from the parallel minor key. Similar to other phrase groupings in this movement, the composer sets these two phrases in a dramatic style, allowing the soloist to end each successive phrase on a
Example 61. Return of the “thinking, dreaming” text, mm. 100

Beginning at measure 103, the composer interpolates three choral phrases on the syllable “ah,” further depicting the dream-like context as dictated by the text of the essay. These phrases present a choral-style setting that features a series of extended harmonies before resolving to the D tonic in measure 111 (Example 62).

Example 62. Choral “Ah,” mm. 103-112
MOVEMENT VII: I BELIEVE IN PATIENCE

Utilizing the last paragraph of text from Du Bois' essay, the final movement of the cantata is both structurally and thematically similar to the first movement (see Appendix A, Figure 7, p. 181). This movement opens with the original "I believe in God" theme in the trumpet and trombone parts, supported by tremolo strings and timpani (mm. 1-2; Example 64).

Example 64. Instrumental setting of "I believe" theme, mm. 1-2

Bonds creates a syncopated one-measure passage in the first bassoon, bass trombone, and cello parts that collectively creates a response to the opening "I believe" motive (m. 3; Example 65). This passage is very similar to the instrumental response played by the bassoons in measures 42-3 of the first movement.

Example 65. Instrumental response to opening theme, m. 2-3

Ben. 1, Bass Trb., Cello

Unlike the first movement, Bonds interpolates a four-measure choral phrase in 3/4 meter. This phrase, consisting of three statements of the word "finally," (mm. 5-8; Example 66)
Using the same compositional technique originally employed to set the first choral statement of the cantata, Bonds uses parallel motion in voice-leading to set the "I believe in Patience" text.

On the downbeat of measure 17, as the chorus sings the word "Strong," a timpani roll on the tonic pitch A supports the resulting cadence. Also, the bassoons and clarinets present an ascending accompaniment with pitches that further substantiates the A major harmony (Example 68; mm. 17-19).

Example 68. Ascending clarinet and bassoon accompaniment, mm. 17-19

Beginning at measure 19, Bonds sets the text "the prejudice of the Ignorant and the ignorance of the Blind" in an imitative fashion, creating a series of V to I harmonic progressions (see Example 69). This syncopated motive begins in the bass voice part on a C# and is imitated at the interval of a fifth (beginning on a G#) by the tenor part some two measures later. The alto entrance at measure 23 imitates the tenor part (beginning on a D#) at the interval of a fifth, followed by a somewhat abbreviated entry of the soprano voice on an A# two measures later. In terms of accompaniment, this imitative passage is supported only by the string section. Stylistically, this passage is reminiscent of the "I
The next two short phrases set the text “I believe in Patience.” The first and second violins, pianissimo, accompany the chorus. Built on harmonies in the key of G major, Bonds begins by setting the text in the tenor and bass parts, then proceeds to thicken the choral texture by adding soprano and alto parts (see Example 71; mm. 30-33). Both of the rhythmic patterns on the text “I believe” (measures 31 and 33) are consistent with the composer’s setting of the same text in previous movements.

Example 71. Setting of the “I believe in patience” text; mm. 30-33

Bonds sets the phrase “patience with the tardy triumph of Joy” in a chorale-like style. The phrase, spanning measures 34-38, begins in close position and becomes progressively dramatic. The dramatic elements include a gradual increase in tempo and dynamics, a triplet rhythm on the words “triumph of,” and a gradual expansion in the range of the outer voices (Example 72; mm. 34-38). A roll of the timpani and a crash of the cymbal also contribute to the climactic moment on the downbeat of measure 38.
borrowed VI chord from the parallel minor key of G minor) followed by a D dominant seventh chord in third inversion. This relatively unstable and unresolved chord progression resolves on an A-E open fifth chord in measure 49. Upon the downbeat of this open fifth chord, the choir sings the word “God,” the F# is removed from the key signature, and the meter returns to alla breve (Example 74; mm. 45-52).

Example 74. Closing phrase of the movement, mm. 45-52
composer, will, it is hoped, offer guidance to the conductor for performance of the work. The resulting score, set in a modern engraved format, makes the music more legible and therefore will allow easier access for conductors and performers.

The analytical study which follows this new performing edition is designed to assist the conductor in understanding the structural, motivic, harmonic, textural, and dramatic elements of the work. In addition to the phrase maps for each movement that have been provided at the end of this chapter (see Figures 1 through 7), other important conclusions that can be drawn from this conductor's study are outlined below.

1. **Text setting:** Throughout the cantata the composer uses a rather consistent vocabulary of rhythmic and harmonic ideas to paint the text of the essay. For example, rhythmic similarities exist between settings of the "I believe" text in each movement. The following chart outlines the rhythmic treatment of each initial “I believe” theme in all seven movements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Time Signature</th>
<th>Rhythmic Treatment of “I believe”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Alla breve</td>
<td>♩ ♩ ♩ ♩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6/8</td>
<td>♩ ♩ ♩ ♩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Alla breve</td>
<td>♩ ♩ ♩ ♩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Common meter</td>
<td>♩ ♩ ♩ ♩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Common meter</td>
<td>♩ ♩ ♩ ♩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Alla breve</td>
<td>♩ ♩ ♩ ♩</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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b.) as a method of painting the text;

c.) to provide dramatic emphasis where cadences occur.

4. **Harmonic Vocabulary:** Bonds employs a number of writing styles throughout the seven-movement work, drawing from compositional techniques rooted in Western tonal tradition, African-American idioms, as well as modern experimental concepts. Four specific types of harmonic treatment that are found include a church hymn/choral style, a folk-spiritual style, a gospel/jazz style, and an occasional chromatic style characterized by altered chords and dissonant harmonies.

The *Credo* of Margaret Bonds is a significant work in the life of the composer and in the history of African Americans in the United States. The text, conceived by W.E.B. Du Bois and set to music by Bonds some six decades later, chronicles the struggles of African Americans for social equality. In composing her cantata *Credo*, Bonds makes a strong effort, albeit her final one, to use her creative talents as a composer in order to reflect and comment upon the African-American experience.
Figure 1. The through-composed design of "I Believe in God"

**Text**
I believe in God, who made of one blood all nations that on earth do dwell.

**Points of Arrival**
m. 6: A-E open fifth chord
m. 12: A major cadence with Phrygian characteristics (in the key of D minor)

**Text**
I believe that all men, black and brown and white are brothers, varying through time and opportunity, in form and gift and feature, but differing in no essential particular.

**Points of Arrival**
m. 23: imitative passage concludes in the key of B major
m. 30: key change at m. 24; phrase ends in G major
m. 33: E major
m. 35: E major with a lowered ninth (functioning as V of ii)
m. 38: C major in first inversion

**Points of Arrival**
m. 42: A-E open fifth chord
m. 46: A-E open fifth chord
m. 49: A-E open fifth chord
Figure 3. The through-composed design of "I Believe in Pride of Race"

Section 1

Text
I believe in pride of race and lineage and self: in pride of self so deep as to scorn injustice to other selves; in pride of lineage so great as to despise no man's father; in pride of race so chivalrous as neither to offer basardry to the weak nor beg wedlock of the strong, knowing that men may be brothers in Christ, even though they be not brothers-in-law.

Points of Arrival
m. 8: A major
m. 12: A–E open fifth chord
m. 17: Eb major (first inversion, Neapolitan)
m. 25: F minor (seventh)
m. 28: F minor (over pedal G)
m. 32: C minor
m. 37: A major

Section 2

Text
I believe in Service—humble, reverent service, from the blackening of bolts to the whitening of souls; for Work is Heaven, Idleness Hell, and Wage is the "Well Done!" of the Master, who summoned all them that labor and are heavy laden, making no distinction between the black, sweating cotton hands of Georgia and the first families of Virginia, since all distincton not based on deed is devilish and not divine.

Points of Arrival
m. 42: D minor (seventh)
m. 47: G minor (first inversion)
m. 55: A minor (seventh)
m. 62: A minor
m. 71: D minor
m. 78 A–E open fifth chord (over pedal D)
Figure 5. The ternary design of "I Believe in the Prince of Peace"

Text
I believe, I believe, I believe in the Prince of Peace.

Points of Arrival
m. 5: F major seventh
m. 8: F major seventh
m. 12: C major (half cadence)

m. 16: F major seventh
m. 20: F major

Points of Arrival
m. 23: Bb seventh
m. 29: B seventh
m. 35: C major ninth

Points of Arrival
m. 41: F major seventh
m. 48: F major seventh
m. 52: C major (half cadence)

m. 56: F major seventh
m. 60: F major

Points of Arrival
m. 64: F major seventh
m. 68: F major
Figure 7. The through-composed design of "I Believe in Patience"

**Text**
Finally, finally, finally.

**Points of Arrival**
m. 6-9: E-B open fifth functions as V

**Text**
I believe in Patience—patience with the weakness of the Weak and the strength of the Strong.

**Points of Arrival**
m. 10: A-E open fifth functions as tonic
m. 18: A major

**Text**
The prejudice of the Ignorant and the ignorance of the Blind;

**Points of Arrival**
m. 26: F# major

**Text**
I believe in Patience, patience with the tardy triumph of Joy and the mad, chastening of Sorrow—Patience with...

**Text**
...God!

**Points of Arrival**
m. 31: G major
m. 36: C major
m. 42: D minor seventh (first inversion)
m. 47: D seventh (third inversion)

**Points of Arrival**
m. 49: A-E open fifth
APPENDIX C

Concert program that featured the orchestral world premiere of Credo

MUSIC CENTER
Sunday, May 21, 1972 at 8:30 p.m.

The Southern California Symphony-Hollywood Bowl Association, in cooperation with the Central City Community Mental Health Center, Dr. Elisabeth Arrins, Director, presents

L.A. PHILHARMONIC 1st ANNUAL

Tribute to
Black Music

ZUBIN MEHTA, Conductor

NATALIE HINDERAS, Piano

LOS ANGELES JUBILEE SINGERS

Albert McNeil, Director

OPERATION BREADBASKET CHOIR

Joe Westmoreland, Joe Peay, Directors

OLIVER NELSON, Alto Saxophone

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

Lift Every Voice and Sing

LOS ANGELES JUBILEE SINGERS

OPERATION BREADBASKET CHOIR

OLIVER NELSON

Concert Piece for Alto Sax and Orchestra (West Coast Premiere)

MR. NELSON, Alto Saxophone

VARIOUS

Gospel Songs

OPERATION BREADBASKET CHOIR

MARGARET BONDS

from Credo and Dark Water (first performance of orchestral version)

I Believe in the Devil and His Angel

I Believe in the Prince of Peace

I Believe in Liberty

MICHAEL KELLY, Baritone Solo

I Believe in Patience

LOS ANGELES JUBILEE SINGERS

(for text please see page 4)

HANDEL

Hallelujah Chorus from "Messiah"

LOS ANGELES JUBILEE SINGERS

OPERATION BREADBASKET CHOIR

INTERMISSION

WILLIAM GRANT STILL

Festive Overture

BEETHOVEN

Concerto No. 4 in C for Piano and Orchestra, Op. 58 (11) Andante con moto - leading into:

(111) Rondo: Vivace

MISS HINDERAS, Piano

SCOTT JOPLIN

Easy Winner

MISS HINDERAS, Piano

LEGIA PALMER

Juggler's Fantasy

MISS HINDERAS, Piano

GERALD WILSON

Debut 52172 (first performance)

from the Los Angeles Philharmonic archives

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APPENDIX E

MUSIC REVIEW

Program Devoted to Black Composers

Probably the best way to present black composers is to integrate their music into a regular concert. This is just what Hans Lampl did on the Compton Civic Symphony season's final program at Compton College Sunday night.

The evening's star was Margaret Bonds, whose "Credo" was framed by Mendelssohn's "Fingal's Cave" Overture and two segments from "The Seasons" by Glazunov.

Miss Bonds, who died one year ago at the age of 50, was something of a tragic figure in black music. The "Credo" verified her talent, her sensitivity, her proficiency as orchestrator and her concern for the Negro spiritual. It also revealed some flaws that were clearly the result of inadequate training, and involvement in too many musical directions.

At its best, the seven-movement cantata for soprano, baritone, chorus and orchestra (based on a text by W. E. B. DuBois) affects one in the same way as spirituals. The most appealing segments turned out to be "Especially Do I Believe in the Negro Race," with "I Believe in Liberty for All Men" running a close second. This was deeply felt music.

The Los Angeles Jubilee Singers (prepared by Albert McNell) contributed splendidly, but came on even stronger on their own, when McNell led them in a cappella arrangements of five spirituals from the "Black Bible." The group sang with captivating clarity, rhythmic precision, bounce, exemplary dynamic control and diction.

Thanks to Lampl's skill, both the Mendelssohn Overture and the Glazunov ballet had expressive depth, a rich, sound and dramatic verve.

The Compton Civic Symphony never sounded better than on this occasion. —WALTER ARLEN

from the Los Angeles Times (1 May 1973, section IV, p. 12)

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Our Black composers need no apology, no defense, no explanation, no patronizing. They need performance. They need to be programmed beside their fellow white composers from Bach to Berio. Male Smith has said, "Place our music not on all-black programs. We can do that for ourselves, for the benefit of our own people. Place our work on programs with Beethoven, Mozart, Schoenberg, Copland and the current avant-gardists. We don't even have to be called black. When we stand for our bows, that fact will become clear when it should: after the work has made its own impact."

Sunday, April 22, such programming will occur, when the Compton Symphony, now in its 26th year, presents the first unaborted performance of Margaret Bonds' "The Credo," for chorus and orchestra, and songs from the "Black Bible," and Afro-American Work and Play Songs with the Los Angeles Jubilee Singers on the same program with Mendelssohn and Glazunov. The program is at Compton College at 7:00 P.M. and is free. Compton is uniquely located: America's largest almost totally black city with an orchestra offering complete involvement by all of its citizens. It needs your encouragement and support.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Albert J. McNeil
Associate Professor

AJM:pf

from the Los Angeles Philharmonic archives
Same annotation as above.

Credo. Los Angeles Music Center, Los Angeles, CA, 21 May 1972. 
A concert program copy of the L.A. Philharmonic's first annual "Tribute to Black Music" documents the world premiere of the work. Retrieved from the archives of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, Los Angeles, CA.

Brown, Rae Linda. "Florence B. Price and Margaret Bonds: The Chicago Years." 

Northwestern University Music Library Call #: ML 128.B45C3

Northwestern University Music Library Call #: ML 105.C63


Provides sources for musical contributions of African American musicians, which include libraries, museums, special collections, encyclopedias, bibliographies, discographies, iconographies, directories, dissertations and theses, and periodicals. 
Northwestern University Music Library Call #: ML 128.B45D4 v.1

A listing of scholarly writing pertaining to various styles of African American Music, including concert music, spirituals, blues, jazz, and gospel. 
Northwestern University Music Library Call #: ML 128.B45D4 v.2

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Jackson, Barbara Garvey. “Florence Price, Composer.” *The Black Perspective in Music* (Spring 1977): 31-43. This article includes a discussion of Florence Price’s pupil, Margaret Bonds.


"Margaret Bonds." *Variety* 266 (10 May 1972): 86.
Obituary.
Northwestern University Call #: FILM 7592.

This article describes in detail the tension which existed between the Los Angeles Philharmonic and the African American community in 1972. The concert performance which premiered Bonds' *Credo* replaced the canceled tribute to slain Civil Rights leader Malcolm X. Retrieved from the archives of the Los Angeles Philharmonic.

D.M.A. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1983.
A detailed analysis of masses by four African American composers, this study provides commentary on Bonds’ compositional technique and writing style.

This article is a synopsis of the above entry.

Northwestern University Music Library Call #: ML 106.U3T57
Center for Black Music Research Call #: 780.16T612f

Northwestern University Music Library Call #: ML 106.U3T87

Northwestern University Music Library Call #: ML 1.B31

Northwestern University Music Library Call #: ML 1.A385

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