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Reconciliations: Time, Space and the
American Place in the Music of Charles Ives

by

Denise Von Glahn Cooney

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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1995

Approved by Laurence Starr
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University of Washington

Abstract

Reconciliations: Time, Space and the
American Place in the Music of Charles Ives

By Denise Von Glahn Cooney

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee:
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One of the most durable of the myths surrounding Charles Ives and his music is the myth of his isolation. But, while it is true that Ives was never closely associated with any single group of professional musicians during his active life as a composer, his highly successful insurance work, his spontaneous responses to important local, regional, and national issues, and most importantly his music provide overwhelming evidence that Ives actively sought out and participated in a wider culture. Ives's music shows a person directly involved with ideas that were of interest to vast numbers of Americans--not only composers, artists, writers, philosophers, and historians, but also "everyman."

Ives sought to devise an artistic expression that would embody the range of his involvement in his culture and convey his distinctive sense of America. He created a music that responded in two very distinct ways. The

first was by quoting tunes--melodies and rhythms--that had long been associated with the culture of the Northeast in the nineteenth century. In doing so, Ives spoke to many people who were familiar with such references. Yet to touch a larger audience--one that might, as a result of time or distance, have no personal experience with those beloved musical memories--Ives had to refer to something more enduring, something more permanent, something that would transcend time and space. A second, more integral response was necessary.

Ives found this enduring reference in the American **place**. He found an unmistakable way to identify a piece of music as being about America that was not as susceptible to fleeting memory as a melody: a way to call attention to the bountiful nation about which he felt so passionately. And Ives was passionate about America. Ives's use of place in his music reveals a web of personal and historical interconnections that "place" him directly in the mainstream of American culture. Using five "place pieces," this study will examine Ives's active involvement in numerous facets of American culture.

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lead me to sources that appeared in no on-line data banks. By digging in storage rooms he located materials that would otherwise have gone unnoticed. His own interest in Connecticut and its history was a source of inspiration for a scholar whose subject so identified with that place. Lucye Boland, Director of the Danbury Scott-Fanton Museum and Historical Society in Danbury, Connecticut, answered numerous written queries and took time from a busy weekend schedule to show me around the collections housed at the museum. She is a good and kind steward of Ivesiana.

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Introduction

One of the most persistent and durable of the myths surrounding Charles Ives and his music is the myth of his isolation. Created, in part, by the composer himself, chiefly through recollections and remarks he proffered in his autobiographical Memos of 1932,¹ reinforced by well-meaning associates with various interests of their own, and finally perpetuated by scholars in four decades of writings since the composer's death, the myth of Ives as the isolated iconoclast has colored generations of students' images of the American composer. One of the strongest claims in this regard was made by Frank Rossiter in his landmark 1975 study, Charles Ives and His America. Here the author concluded, "I think that the key to an understanding of his place in American culture lies in his extreme artistic isolation. Ives . . . was about as close to complete isolation as it is possible for a creative artist to be."² For Rossiter, it would seem that isolation defined Ives.

Such a reading fits comfortably with notions inherited from the nineteenth century regarding the apparent fate of creative artists; out-of-step, cut-off, they are shunned, misunderstood, and unappreciated in their time, needful of dedicated champions who alone

comprehend their ultimate worth. Ostracization becomes a prerequisite for membership in the brotherhood of true geniuses. Indeed, such a picture seems so appealing that its relation to the facts of a person's life often goes unchallenged; or if questioned at all, in voices that seldom rise above *sotto voce*. Such is the power of the romanticized image; such is the power of myth. Its repetition over the years adds credibility; credibility eventually passes for truth. But myths are myths: stories that reflect as much the needs of the myth makers and repeaters, as the actual subjects of the myths themselves.

To be fair, in the case of Charles Ives, this viewpoint has not been the only interpretation available, nor has it been totally corroborated in other important research on the composer. It has simply remained a most intractable legend. Vivian Perlis's award winning book, Charles Ives Remembered: An Oral History³ has softened the edges of the isolationist reading. In over fifty interviews, Ives's friends and acquaintances became oral historians who painted quite a different picture of the composer: here was a man deeply caring about those around him, both family members and business associates; here was a man involved and invested in his world, not just as a youth, but throughout his life.

If recorded recollections from those who knew the composer do not dissuade contemporary thinkers from the image of a solitary Ives, his extensive correspondence throughout his life with people and institutions inside and outside of music is evidence that the composer actively sought out and participated in a wider culture, even after his physical deterioration made such interactions difficult.⁴ Again Ms. Perlis's catalogue of Ives's papers illuminates a fuller view of the man.⁵

J. Peter Burkholder, in his 1985 study, Charles Ives: The Ideas Behind the Music,⁶ challenged comfortable, confining notions of the philosophical and intellectual milieu in which Ives worked by expanding the circle of people who demonstrably influenced the composer. Both Perlis and Burkholder have broadened our understanding of Ives by identifying large numbers of individuals who knew and affected the composer. The result of their research has been a careful shading of what had been a picture in black and white.

If more evidence of this type is desired, a simple overview of Ives's life suggests the range of influences and interests acting upon the composer. As a child Ives was broadly educated by a progressive, community-spirited extended family; he benefited from social position and graduated from Yale after having studied composition with

one of the leading composer/teachers of the day, Horatio Parker.⁷ Ives, by choice, lived part of each year of his adult life (from 1898 to 1954) in New York City, the cultural center of turn-of-the-century America, and commuted for a time between the urban world of business and the rural retreat he and his wife had built in West Redding. (Commuting itself would argue against isolation.) He traveled to Europe for prolonged visits on multiple occasions and read widely; when cataracts temporarily prevented him from seeing well, Ives was read to.⁸ He regularly, and through-out his life, corresponded with dozens of people in music and in business, engaging engravers for his scores, advising visitors of the most convenient train schedules, and commenting on newspaper articles and reviews.

Along with his partner Julian Myrick, Ives ran one of the most successful life insurance agencies in New York City in the second and third decades of this century. Years later he was fondly remembered by numerous employees for his many acts of kindness and generosity to them. His writings on the philosophical underpinnings of life insurance and his instructional methods for new agents were essential to the success of Ives & Myrick and are still cited in business courses today. In keeping with his long interest in

Transcendentalism, Ives was a founding member of The Thoreau Society;⁹ he and Harmony entertained the President of that association and his wife at their Connecticut home. Although his own music was not widely known early in the century, Ives participated fully in disseminating the works of his contemporaries. He was the single largest financial backer of the journal New Music and was intimately familiar with the details of the publication.¹⁰ His own fiscal security enabled him to underwrite other composers' efforts over a period of decades.

When not preoccupied with business or composition he wrote hot-headed letters to newspaper editors urging reforms in national voting procedures. Displeased with the general lack of response to his political salvos, he wrote to President Roosevelt in 1938 urging passage of the Ludlaw Bill.¹¹ If measured by associations alone, Ives emerges as a man who demanded greater involvement in a wider culture than most twentieth-century scholars dare to seek themselves.

In an age that encourages and values specialization, an age that places a premium on myopic depth over wide-angle breadth, it is difficult to understand and fully appreciate the efforts Ives took to avoid being a specialist, to avoid being cut-off. But Ives looked

beyond his discipline for inspiration and nourishment. The search for intellectual and artistic nourishment outside of a single discipline does not necessarily have to indicate isolation; it may well indicate breadth and connectedness.

Clearly, we must not confuse artistic originality and autonomy with isolation; Ives did not. On the contrary Ives involved himself consciously and directly with social, cultural, historical, and artistic issues that were of interest to vast numbers of Americans--not only musicians, artists, writers, philosophers, and historians, but also "everyman." Ives's professional life stands as testimony to a man who valued and enjoyed a rich and varied role in his culture. His most obvious commitment to the larger society manifested itself in his life insurance work, which he saw as "doing its part in the progress of the greater life values."¹² Yet because Ives's particular genius was as a composer, he expressed his most profound thoughts about America through his music. While it is true that Ives was never closely associated with any single group of professional musicians during his active life as a composer, his music demonstrates that he was not isolated--from either country or culture. Though not considered as such

before, Ives's music provides the most powerful and persuasive evidence of his connectedness.

With music as his mode of thought, Ives sought to devise an artistic expression that would encompass his range of interests and convey his distinctive sense of America--with all of its breadth, all of its power, and all of its promise. He created a music that responded in two very distinct ways. The first was by quoting tunes--melodies and rhythms--that had long been associated with the culture of the Northeast in the nineteenth century. In doing so, Ives spoke to large numbers of people who were familiar with such references. Dennis Marshall, Clayton W. Henderson and J. Peter Burkholder have done extensive work to show the essential role quotation plays in every phase of Ives's compositional process.¹³ Yet to touch a larger audience--one that might, as a result of time or distance, have no personal experience with those beloved musical memories--Ives had to refer to something more enduring, something more permanent, something that would transcend time and space. A second, more integral response was necessary.

Ives found this enduring reference in the American place. He found an unmistakable way to identify a piece of music as being about America that was not as susceptible to fleeting memory as a melody, a way to call

attention to the larger, bountiful nation about which he felt so passionately. And Ives was passionate about America. Place could subdue the passage of time and enable Ives to traverse effortlessly the distance from powerful events of the past to potent experiences in the present. Place could also amplify and suspend single moments in time and compel listeners to reconsider time and their awareness of it. Ives's use of place in his music, as both a geographical and a temporal marker, reveals a web of interconnections that "place" him directly in the mainstream of American culture. His music, more than any other aspect of his life, demonstrates his cultural engagement.

In piece after piece Ives referred to places that held deep meanings for him, for his country, and, by extension, for the larger world. He was drawn to places that had elicited responses from others. Secluded river banks, pulsating urban parks, the abandoned encampments of soldiers, crowded train stations, and historic city commons became stages in Ives's music for the many and varied dramas that were America. By "sonifying"¹⁴ these places, Ives presented his unique perspective on what it was to be an American, that complex, often times contradictory new-world breed of citizen.

In order to create sonic landscapes, Ives employed compositional techniques that challenged traditional notions of musical linearity and artistic logic; his techniques were in the service of the idea of place. As such, the sonifications of places become musical exemplars of what Robert Morgan has identified as Ives's spatial techniques.¹⁵ Qualities of the physical space that define particular locations become spheres of musical space that situate Ives's "place pieces." The composer's commitment to sonifying the idea of the American place necessitated the unique stylistic elements that characterize his music. For with Ives, what most interested him was not solely or primarily the sound of the music, but the ideas behind it. Music gave shape to his ideas, and his ideas gave his music its unique shape.

In order to consider the range of Ives's cultural involvement, this study will focus on five place pieces: the three movements constituting *Three Places in New England* (the *First Orchestral Set*): "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common (Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and his Colored Regiment)," "Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut," and "The Housatonic at Stockbridge"; and two pieces taken from larger sets: "From Hanover Square North, at the End of a Tragic Day, the Voice of the People Again Arose" (the third movement from the *Second*

Orchestral Set); and "Central Park in the Dark" from Ives's pair of pieces known as the *Two Contemplations*. Individually and collectively the pieces will show the ways in which Charles Ives participated in his culture and reconciled America and its places in his music.

Notes to Introduction

1 Readers learn from the "Pretext" to Ives's Memos that part of the composer's motivation for recording his recollections was to offer a response to dismissive articles written by Henry Prunières and critic Philip Hale regarding Nicolas Slonimsky's concert of American composers' works that took place in Paris in 1931. In particular, Ives objects to Hale's assessment that American composers were influenced by European composers and especially that his own piece, *Three Places In New England*, was influenced by Paul Hindemith. After claiming his general ignorance of the music of European composers, Ives points out that Hindemith did not begin composing until several years after the aforementioned piece was completed. Noting other logical inconsistencies in Hale's review, Ives concludes: "Philip Nathan Hale is either musically unintelligent or deliberately unfair. To say it quickly, he is either a fool or a crook." Perhaps the isolationist myth begins here with Ives's emotionally charged remarks. Charles E. Ives, Memos, Edited and with appendices by John Kirkpatrick. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1972), 26-29.

2 Frank R. Rossiter, Charles Ives and His America (New York: Liveright, 1975), xii.

3 Vivian Perlis, Charles Ives Remembered: An Oral History (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1974).

4 The collection of Ives correspondence housed at Yale University is a monument to the breadth of Ives's engagement with people and events inside and outside the world of music. So important was his communication with various people that when physical ailments prevented Ives from writing his own correspondence, he relied upon his wife Harmony or his daughter Edith to act as his amanuensis until such time as he was able to resume the task. Ives's correspondence from the late twenties and up into the early forties reveals a widely interested world citizen and an acute business man who was able to organize large projects and anticipate financial needs of various organizations with which he was associated.

5 Vivian Perlis compiler, Charles Ives Papers (New Haven: Yale University Music Library, 1983).

6 J. Peter Burkholder, Charles Ives: The Ideas Behind the Music (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

7 This formal musical education came after years of study with his father George who taught music to the Ives boys and the children of Danbury. "He started all the children of the family--and most of the children of the town for that matter--on Bach and Stephen Foster. . . . he put a love of music into the heart of many a boy who might have gone without it but for him." Memos, 237.

8 Lists of the books housed in the Iveses' West Redding living room reveal an eclectic collection that includes the works of Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, Jonathan Edwards, Walt Whitman and Mark Twain. The works of Thoreau and Emerson are present too. There are mystery books, collections of prayers, instructional books on the techniques of painting, Civil War diaries, religious tracts, numerous texts on music, lectures on life insurance, various books on Connecticut history, and family genealogies. For the complete holdings of this particular Ives collection see lists made by Vivian Perlis's class, Box 70/Folder 3 of the Charles Ives Papers Collection housed at Yale.

9 Charlotte Adams, the wife of the founding president of The Thoreau Society, Raymond Adams, is an active, articulate nonagenarian who vividly recalls visiting with the Iveses in West Redding. Her own recollections, combined with correspondence exchanged between Ives and Raymond Adams reinforce readings of Ives as keenly perceptive, and broadly interested and involved in various aspects of culture.

10 For a sense of Ives's critical role in the very existence of New Music, readers are directed to the Ives-Cowell correspondence housed at Yale University. It is no exaggeration to state that without Ives's continual and generous financial support, this journal would have ceased functioning. The composer understood his vital role in this endeavor to promote twentieth-century composition. In a letter to Cowell dated 29 August 1929 that included a \$200.00 check and a promise for many times that amount yearly, Ives tells Cowell, "What you

and I contribute is part of that--you give time, physical and mental energy and I wampum." (Permission granted to quote from this unpublished letter.)

11 Essays Before a Sonata, The Majority, and Other Writings by Charles Ives, ed. Howard Boatwright, "Letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt" (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1961), 217-224.

12 Ibid., "The Amount to Carry," 238.

13 See Dennis Marshall, "Charles Ives's Quotations: Manner or Substance?," Perspectives of New Music 6, no.2 (1968): 45-56; Clayton W. Henderson, The Charles Ives Tunebook (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1990); J. Peter Burkholder, "'Quotation' and Emulation: Charles Ives's Uses of His Models," Musical Quarterly 71 (1985): 1-26; J. Peter Burkholder, "'Quotation' and Paraphrase in Ives's Second Symphony," 19th-Century Music xi, no.1 (Summer, 1987): 3-25.

14 I have invented the word "sonification" and its verb form "to sonify" to describe aural manifestations of otherwise non-sounding phenomena--objects and places--that occur in Ives's music. One can think of a "sonification" as meaning a sonic representation or equivalent.

15 Robert P. Morgan, "Spatial Form in Ives," in An Ives Celebration, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock and Vivian Perlis (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 145-158.

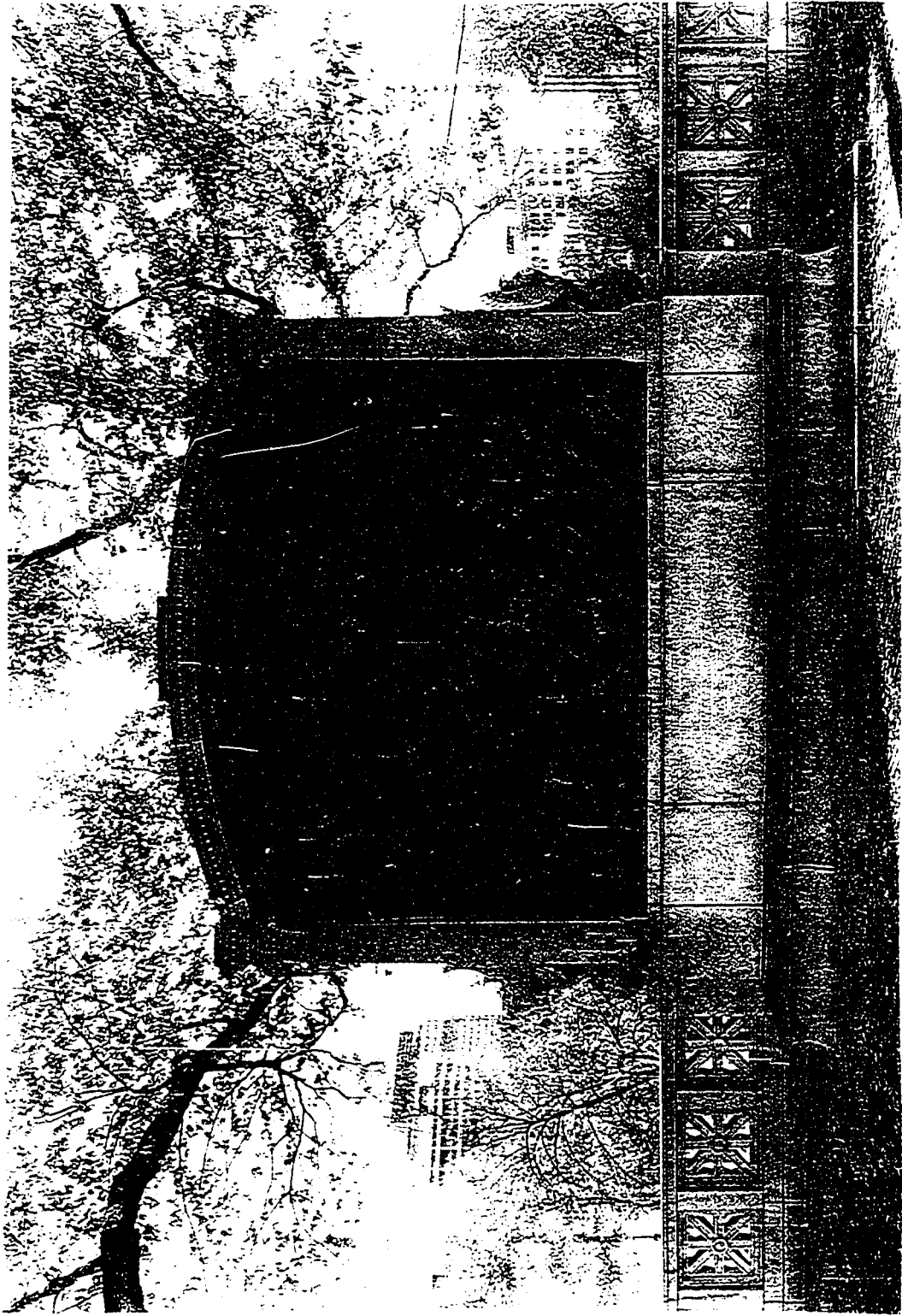


Figure 1: The Shaw Memorial. Photograph by Clive Russ

Chapter One

Three Places in New England

"The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common
(Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and his Colored Regiment)"

Among Ives's most famous pieces is his *First Orchestral Set, A New England Symphony: Three Places in New England*. As the first Ives work to be "taken abroad," performed under the aegis of Nicolas Slonimsky and the Pan-American Composers Concert Series in 1931, *Three Places in New England* has long been in the public eye as an exemplar of music by an American composer. However, to its first audiences in Paris and Havana, *Three Places in New England* was not just a piece by an American; its title informed them it was a piece about America--specific places in a specific region in America. Unknown to these overseas audiences was the fact that the locations were important to the composer for reasons beyond personal import, physical beauty, or inspirational potential; for two of the three movements, national historical significance played an important role as well. In composing these place pieces and dispatching them to the world at large, Ives called attention to American issues, ideals, experiences, and perspectives. *Three Places in New England* offered an introduction to a multiplicity of meanings and viewpoints that Ives attached to America and its places.

The three movements in their present order¹--I. "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common (Col. Robert Gould Shaw and his Colored Regiment)," II. "Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut," III. "The Housatonic At Stockbridge"-- provide an increasingly intimate interaction between the composer and place; Ives moves from observer and recorder in a public place in movement I to fully involved participant in a place of deep personal significance in movement III.²

By composing a piece about Civil War hero Robert Gould Shaw and his regiment of "colored" recruits in movement I, Ives contributed a musical comment on a subject that had, for forty-eight years, inspired the creative efforts of numerous artists, philosophers, and writers, including the much admired Bard of Concord, Ralph Waldo Emerson.³ But Ives did more than compose a piece of music on Robert Gould Shaw; he also wrote a complete, original poem on the subject. Even though his music and poetry appear as two separate artistic manifestations of an idea (as compared with setting an original text in a song), they are clearly inspired by the same spirit and reflect upon one another in a profound way.

Still there is another form of artistic expression to contemplate when studying Ives's first movement: the

Shaw monument by Augustus St. Gaudens, upon which Ives based his poem and piece. Though not fashioned by Ives's hand, the monument was integral in shaping Ives's own musical memorial. Music, poetry, and artwork--three embodiments of an idea, three sources of influence, three opportunities for involvement.

The Poem

In 1911, the year he composed the piano score-sketch of "The 'St. Gaudens'," Ives also began work on his song "Duty," No. 9a in *114 Songs*. The text of "Duty" was taken from the last four lines of section three of the poem "Voluntaries" by Ralph Waldo Emerson:

III

In an age of fops and toys,
 Wanting wisdom, void of right,
 Who shall nerve heroic boys
 To hazard all in Freedom's fight,--
 Break sharply off their jolly games,
 Forsake their comrades gay
 And quit proud homes and youthful dames
 For famine, toil and fray?
 Yet on the nimble air benign
 Speed nimbler messages,
 That waft the breath of grace divine
 To hearts in sloth and ease.
 So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
 So near is God to man;
 When duty whispers low "Thou must,"
 The youth replies "I can!"⁴

Emerson wrote his lengthy work in late summer of 1863, in part, to commemorate Robert Gould Shaw, the son of his friends Francis George Shaw and Sarah Blake Sturgis Shaw. Robert Shaw was the fair-haired child of Boston's high society who was carefully chosen by the Governor of Massachusetts to lead that state's first black regiment in the Civil War. Within two months of the May 18th, 1863 city-wide celebratory send-off, the young colonel and almost half of his regiment were dead, killed in the battle to take Fort Wagner, South Carolina. A letter from Emerson to Francis Shaw dated September 10, 1863, called attention to the third section of "Voluntaries" as referring directly to the Shaws' slain son and the brave men of the 54th Regiment. The poem first appeared in the Atlantic Monthly in October 1863 and was later included in Memorial Robert Gould Shaw, a book published in 1864 that contained selected letters of Shaw, and tributes by Henry James, W. L. Garrison, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and others.⁵ The work gained in stature over a period of decades as the legend of the martyred colonel grew.

Certainly it is more than coincidence that Ives was setting verses from Emerson's poem on Shaw at the same time he was composing his own works about the monument to the slain colonel. One wonders if Emerson's poem prompted or rekindled an interest in the events depicted

in St. Gaudens's bas-relief, or if, or how much Emerson's title "Voluntaries" affected the composer. Connotations inherent in the word "voluntary" would have been clear to a former church organist accustomed to playing pieces of the same general category for religious services. Did Ives write his musical work in response to an imagined suggestion by Emerson that these events become sound, or was Ives simply moved to work on a topic that had captured Emerson's imagination? It was not the first time that Ives was inspired by Emerson, and it would not be the last.

It is also possible that Ives was stirred to composition by Robert Underwood Johnson's 1909 poem entitled "Saint Gaudens: An Ode," that itself contained an entire stanza on the Shaw monument."⁶ As his numerous uses of Johnson's texts reveal, Ives was fond of the poetry of American man-of-letters Robert Underwood Johnson (1853-1937).⁷ A brief review of the circumstances surrounding the "premiere" of Johnson's Ode suggests that this work was also available as an influence on Ives.

"Saint Gaudens: An Ode" was presented for the first time at a National Institute of Arts and Letters ceremony honoring the late Augustus St. Gaudens. The event was attended by dignitaries from the world of arts and

letters, who heard speeches and a letter from President William H. Taft commending the life and works of the renowned sculptor. The ceremony, which took place on Saturday evening November 20, 1909, at the National Academy of Design in New York City, was given generous coverage in the next day's New York Times, a paper that Charles Ives read.⁸

Germane to a discussion of Ives's multi-faceted creation on the St. Gaudens monument is the New York Times description of the gold medal presented to Mrs. St. Gaudens on this occasion: "The designs were by the sculptor Adolph A. Weinman, one of Saint-Gaudens's pupils. On the obverse of the medal was the head of Apollo. On the reverse a lamp that burned three flames, the flames representing *arts, letters, and music*."⁹ The combination of these three arts on the gold medal is a marvelous portent of Ives's own work on the St. Gaudens monument, which includes its own literary as well as musical manifestations.

But even more promising to a discussion of potential sources for Ives's works, and especially for his poem, are the final inches of the story that appeared in the New York Times. Here the reporter included an excerpt from Johnson's extended poem "Saint Gaudens: An Ode" that had been read in part at the ceremony. Though the verses

quoted in the Times come from Stanza I, Johnson's eulogy of St. Gaudens, and do not mention the Shaw monument, it is not hard to conceive of Ives's imagination taking flight based upon the lines that were quoted and perhaps seeking out the rest of the poem either from the newspaper or from the author himself.¹⁰ In any case, Ives would not have had to wait long to consult the published poem because "Saint Gaudens: An Ode" was in print by 1910. It is in the fifth stanza of Johnson's nine stanza poem that the poet addresses St. Gaudens's Shaw monument in particular:

V

So, on the traveled verge
 Of storied Boston's green acropolis
 That sculptured music, that immortal dirge
 That better than towering shaft
 Has fitly epitaphed
 The hated ranks men did not dare to hiss!
 When duty makes her clarion call to Ease
 Let her repair and point to this:
 Why seek another clime?
 Why seek another place?
 We have no Parthenon, but a nobler frieze,--
 Since sacrifice than worship nobler is.
 It sings--the anthem of a rescued race;
 It moves--the epic of a patriot time,
 And each heroic figure makes a martial rhyme.
 How like ten thousand treads that little band,
 Fit for the van of armies! What command
 Sits in that saddle! What renouncing will!
 What portent grave of firm-confronted ill!
 And as a cloud doth hover over sea,
 Born from its waters and returning there,
 Fame, sprung from thoughts of mortals,
 swims the air
 And gives them back her memories, deathlessly.¹¹

The poem is intriguing for a number of reasons. Johnson points to the musical qualities of the monument in his lines "that sculptured music, that immortal dirge," and particularizes the funereal qualities of St. Gaudens's frozen sounds that are the essence of Ives's sonification of the monument. In addition, Johnson's poem specifically places the Shaw relief by making reference to "the traveled verge of storied Boston's green acropolis . . ." Johnson, like Ives, is aware of the power of a historic place. But perhaps Robert Underwood Johnson had motivations other than the National Institute's awards ceremony for including within his ode to St. Gaudens an entire stanza that specifically addressed the Shaw monument.

We know from Ives's annotations in *114 Songs* that Johnson's book Poems was dedicated to the poet's friend and mentor, Richard Watson Gilder (1844-1909), who was the editor of Century, a popular, highly regarded monthly magazine. Gilder becomes important to a discussion of Ives's poem because he wrote his own poem on Shaw in 1897 entitled "Robert Gould Shaw: (The Monument by Augustus St. Gaudens)." This work was the direct result of Gilder witnessing the unveiling and dedication of St. Gaudens's Shaw monument Memorial Day, 1897. This poem first appeared in the June 12, 1897 issue of The Critic, a

magazine edited by R. W. Gilder's sister Jeannette Leonard Gilder (1849-1916).

Richard Watson Gilder was a contemporary of Charles's father, George Ives, and like him had served in the Civil War. Gilder had been a volunteer private in the army before pursuing a career in literature, and so had personal experience in the national trial, "that saddest of the nation's years,"¹² that claimed the passionate attention of the country as well as the life of the young Shaw. Four years after the fighting ended, Gilder went into publishing as an editor of Hours at Home, which, a year later, merged with Scribners. In 1879 the magazine merged with Century, and Gilder began his long association with that publication. He served as its editor from 1881 until his death in 1909 when Robert Underwood Johnson took over the editorship. Johnson remained in that position until 1913. Perhaps Johnson wanted to contribute his thoughts on a subject dear to Gilder.¹³

Given the close personal and professional relationship that existed between Johnson and Gilder, Gilder's poem can be considered a logical source of inspiration for Johnson's, and perhaps even Ives's works on the same subject.

Robert Gould Shaw
 (The Monument by Augustus St. Gaudens)

I

Fixed in one desire,
 Thrilled by one fierce fire,
 Marching men and horse,
 And he the youthful rider--one soul, one aim,
 one force.

II

Onward he doth press;
 Moving, but motionless;
 Resolute, intent,--
 As on some mighty errand the willing youth
 were bent.

III

Onward, though he hears
 Father's sisters' tears;
 Onward, though before him
 --Grief more near, more dear--the breaking heart
 that bore him.

IV

Onward, though he leaves
 One who lonely grieves:
 Oh, keep him, Fate! from harm,
 For on his dewy lips the bridal kiss is warm.

V

What doth he behold
 Making the boy so bold?
 Speak with whispering breath!
 O Fate, O Fame, O radiant soul in love with
 glorious Death!

VI

Eyes that forward peer--
 Why have they no fear?
 Because, though blood and blight,
 They see the golden morning burst and bring the
 living light;

VII

See War the fetters strike
 From white and black alike;
 See, past the pain and scorn,
 A nation saved, a race redeemed, and freedom
 newly born;

VIII

See, in days to come,--
 When silent War's rude drum,
 Ere civic wrong shall cease,--
 Heroes as pure and brave arise on
 battlefields of peace.¹⁴

Gilder, like his successor Johnson, twelve years later, refers to the musical qualities of the sculpture and captures the quiet, forceful rhythms pulsating from the monument in his lines, "Onward he doth press; Moving, but motionless; Resolute, intent,--As on some mighty errand the willing youth were bent;" and in the reiteration of the word "Onward" that begins stanzas II, III, and IV. Gilder's portrayal of a unified body of individuals is conveyed by his insistent use of the word "one" in the first stanza of the poem, "one desire, . . . one fierce fire, . . . one soul, . . . one aim, . . . one force." This "one-ness" will become important in a discussion of Ives's musical work.

Taken in chronological order, the poems of Emerson, Gilder and Johnson celebrating Shaw each represent a slightly different relationship between poet and subject. Emerson's lines on Shaw were an immediate personal response to a friend's loss. The events that occurred in 1863 were headline news in Boston; no monument existed or was needed to remind citizens of Shaw or the significance of his sacrifice. Gilder's work, though charged with his own personal experience in the Civil War, was written three decades later, after Shaw and his men had become fully fashioned mythical figures. St. Gaudens had cast the ready-made heroes in bronze, and seeing the monument,

Gilder was moved to compose his poem. Johnson's 1909 tribute to Shaw was part of a broader testimonial. Of the poems considered, Gilder's lines on Shaw are the only ones, besides Ives's, that comprise a complete, freestanding poem; both Emerson's and Johnson's thoughts are contained within larger, more general works.

Though Johnson's and Ives's poems were written over a decade after Gilder's and were no doubt animated by various circumstances, the most cursory survey of newspapers and magazines from the years 1908 and 1909 reveals a national preoccupation with Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War. Observations of the centenary of the sixteenth President's birth most assuredly impressed both Johnson and Ives. The Independent, a weekly news magazine that Ives read, devoted the majority of its February 11, 1909 issue to articles on Lincoln. Along with the myriad stories about the martyred President that appeared in print were numerous essays, poems, and studies on the Civil War. Robert Gould Shaw and his 54th Regiment were favorite topics of discussion. Not coincidentally, in Johnson's poem, the stanza on the Shaw monument is followed directly by a stanza devoted to Abraham Lincoln; two men, both sacrificed to their country, martyred for their high ideals, touched a genuine chord in the citizenry and made for rousing copy.

Stories on the Civil War enjoyed a high profile over the next six years as the nation marked the fiftieth anniversaries of numerous events associated with the national conflict. Regardless of other more personal issues that may have motivated the composition of "The 'St. Gaudens,'" it is not surprising that Ives should write a Civil War piece during this period of intense national reflection.¹⁵

Ives's poem on Robert Gould Shaw emerges as the fourth text to be considered in this study. Sketches for the prefatory poem appear among Ives's papers, along with sketch materials for the "Hawthorne" movement of the *Second Piano Sonata* dated 1911.¹⁶ Though the cropped lines of text that are written sideways at the bottom of the manuscript page do not corroborate a date, Ives's poem was most likely written around 1911 while his thoughts were focused on the creation of the musical piece celebrating the monument.¹⁷

The poem owes much to the styles of Johnson and especially Gilder, but offers its own unique contribution to the specific body of Shaw literature:

The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common
(Col. Shaw and his Colored Regiment)

Moving,--Marching--Faces of Souls!
Marked with generations of pain,
Part-freers of a Destiny,
Slowly, restlessly--swaying us on with you
Towards other Freedom!

The man on horseback, carved from
A native quarry of the world Liberty
And from what your country was made.

You images of a Divine Law
Carved in the shadow of a saddened heart--
Never light abandoned--
Of an age and of a nation.

Above and beyond that compelling mass
Rises the drum-beat of the common-heart
In the silence of a strange and
Sounding afterglow
Moving--Marching--Faces of Souls!

Though each of the poets responded differently to the man or the monument, numerous similarities exist among the four poems. A mechanical similarity shared by all four authors is the use of conspicuous punctuation marks, most especially dash-compounds, that are characteristic of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ Ives's generous sprinkling of dashes and the prominent use of the "commash" in his first line bespeak a familiarity with nineteenth-century punctuation that is at odds with notions of his isolation or idiosyncrasy; he writes using established conventions in much the same way he composes using familiar tunes and more-or-less traditional genres.

Other comparisons can be drawn between different pairs of authors. Comparable turns of phrase articulate similar ideas. Emerson's observation "When duty whispers low 'Thou must,'" resonates in Johnson's line "When duty makes her clarion call to Ease." When Emerson and Gilder portray the Colonel of the 54th Regiment, they describe him as "the youth" and "the youthful rider." While none of these observations is proof of one poem being a direct source for the other, given the limitless possibilities of expression for an idea, the relationships between these poems suggests that the later poets were, at the very least, acquainted with earlier efforts.

The links between the poems of Ives and Gilder, however, are stronger, suggestive of direct modeling. The important words "marching" and "moving" from lines three and seven of Gilder's poem are reversed in order to open Ives's poem. The poems also exhibit similar rhythmic qualities in their opening lines (even though neither meter nor rhyme schemes match) because both authors start their first two lines with verbs; they immediately convey the palpable energy emanating from the monument.

Further analogies exist between Gilder's eight-stanza poem and Ives's four-stanza poem in the order in which they present their ideas. The second stanzas of

both poems turn away from their general considerations of the monument and toward specific discussions of the man Shaw. While Ives leaves Shaw after a mere three lines to focus on the men of the regiment, Gilder's longer poem spends stanzas three through six relating the emotional reactions of Shaw's family and recalling biographical information about the young colonel. Stanza seven of Gilder's poem and stanza three of Ives's poem both broaden the significance of the men's actions by referring to their impact upon "a nation." Finally, in the last stanzas of both poems, the authors use the metaphor of a "drum" and refer to "silence."

But there are significant differences between the two poems also. Where Gilder's poem clearly focuses on Shaw against the background of his family and the war, Ives's poem celebrates the community of men of the 54th and refers to Shaw only in passing as "The man on horseback." Even though the titles of Gilder's and Ives's poems share similar formats, Ives's title broadens the emphasis of his work to feature "place," a connection that Gilder does not make.

References to Boston and its Common are present obliquely and directly in Ives's poem. In lines 7-8, "A native quarry of the world Liberty/ and from what your country was made," Shaw is alluded to as a native son of

the New England city which was itself synonymous with Liberty--the city that birthed the nation. In line 14 Ives actually uses the word "common" in his line "Rises the drum-beat of the common-heart." Is this an Ivesian play on words? The ambiguity of Ives's meaning leaves open the possibility that he is referring to both the common heart of the regiment and the common heart of the public tract of land. The richness of such ambiguity unites the men and all they stood for, to the place and all it represented, in a vital and meaningful way. Ives's poem, in its title and in its text, speaks to the essential importance of place to this work and to the man who conceived it.

Although more extensive analysis of these poems is beyond the scope of this particular study, the materials uncovered thus far provide important clues to at least four ways in which Ives was involved in his culture. Composing a poem on the St. Gaudens monument enabled Charles Ives: 1. to comment on a particularly American topic; 2. to contribute to an established and growing body of works on that topic; 3. to associate himself directly with the country's most renowned philosopher to date, and a thinker of particular interest to him, Ralph Waldo Emerson; 4. and to participate vicariously in the nation's single most cataclysmic experience, the Civil

War. By writing a poem with such clear ties to other works, Ives placed himself in the center of a literary culture.

The Music

However poignant and moving the poem, Ives's particular genius was as a composer who expressed his most profound thoughts about America through music. In his composition "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common (Col. Robert Gould Shaw and his Colored Regiment)," Ives proclaims his immersion in his musical culture with a confidence and distinctiveness that links American vernacular tradition to European symphonic discourse. By doing so, he builds bridges between aspects of his own national culture and the larger world culture. Ives accomplishes this by presenting Augustus St. Gaudens's sculpture in sound; he "sonifies" the work. On first consideration, one might assume that it is the monument alone that is the exclusive concern of the composer, since Ives does give it priority in his compound title. But the monument is carefully "placed" by Ives in Boston Common. The reasons for this are no doubt many, but all of them speak to Ives's consciousness of the importance of place references for a fuller understanding of his

music.

In a geography text by George J. Demko, the author talks about the forces unleashed by naming a location. In the most general way, a place reference "can give wing to the imagination: to sights, sounds, smells, recollections, and unspoken adventures that can be powerfully moving."¹⁹ In the elusive sound world of music, a specific place reference begins to focus a listener's perceptions in the broadest way. (Titles that refer to the sea or some body of water, for instance, prepare listeners to expect some musical incarnation of rippling effects or wave-like dynamic swells.) But Ives was seeking to go beyond Demko's general associations of place in his music. It was not enough to infer from the music that Boston Common was some bucolic setting within a northeastern city's limits. Boston Common is a particular place among Ives's *Three Places in New England*, and the composer uses a listener's knowledge and understanding of the specific relevance of that place to achieve a fuller appreciation of his piece.

There are five basic ways in which a knowledge of Boston Common affects and enlarges a listener's grasp of Ives's piece:

1. By referring to the St. Gaudens artwork in Boston Common, Ives identifies a particular monument by the

prominent and productive sculptor. At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Augustus Saint-Gaudens had numerous sculpted works in place in America. Among the most famous were the thoughtful "Clover" Adams Memorial in Washington, D.C.'s Rock Creek Cemetery (1886-91), and the equestrian monument "General William Tecumseh Sherman" at the entrance to Central Park in New York (1903), with which Ives was no doubt familiar. By supplying the place name in his title, Ives provided a very practical reference point; we know exactly which St. Gaudens work Ives had in mind. The parenthetical title "(Col. Robert Gould Shaw and his Colored Regiment)" is final clarification.

2. As a city long identified with abolitionist activities, by the mid-nineteenth century Boston had become an acknowledged geographical and intellectual center of this movement in America. In the Park Street Congregational Church, adjacent to the Common, William Lloyd Garrison gave his first anti-slavery speech in 1829. Boston Common distinguished a place in a New England city whose dominant political ideology was well known and understood throughout the nation, one with which Ives and his forebears identified strongly and the one which in fact nurtured the young Colonel Shaw.

3. The grounds of Boston Common were especially significant to the events being depicted in the monument. It was past the State House and the Commons facing Beacon Street on May 18th, 1863, amidst flag-waving family members and community well wishers, that Shaw and his 54th Regiment marched en route to the decisive battle at Fort Wagner. The bronzed men of St. Gaudens's monument also march southward past the State House and the Commons toward their Armageddon and their glory.

4. A "common" serves a particular social function within a city. A tract of land designated as a "common" is the property of a community, open to all, and hence the physical symbol of equality and shared ownership among a large, diverse, and in other ways unrelated group of people. In Ives's mind, the ideals associated with Boston and its Common--equality, shared responsibility--were essential to American history. By extension, the experience of the 54th Regiment was the common property of all America. Boston Common became the symbol for that shared experience. The city famous for its seminal role in winning American independence from Britain in the Revolutionary War stood at the center of the quest for American equality for all its citizens in the Civil War. The monument, symbolic of a common experience, is placed in Boston Common creating a symbol within a symbol.

Boston was and remains important to America's sense of itself.

5. That Ives's work was a personal, aesthetic statement on a national, political issue encouraged the composer to emphasize the "public" aspects of the place, the shared property. The "common" bridges the gap between the art work and the ideology that made the monument and the ideals it promoted such a popular community project in Boston. Boston Common becomes the place where the traditionally exclusive activities of the art world and the political world intersect.²⁰ The monument in this precise location was an embodiment of the aspirations Ives harbored for his own musical creations--artwork that was available to and approachable by a common audience. Ives's musical/political statement is thus situated in a place that is rife with historical meaning from the past but also available and open to all citizens of the future. The contributions and ideals symbolized by the monument of the 54th become public property in perpetuity.²¹

As Robert Underwood Johnson's poem showed, Ives was not the first American to perceive the import of place or manipulate its powers. Boston and Massachusetts were place names that carried particular weight for large portions of the population. The significance of place

was clearly understood in 1863 when recruits were sought for the nascent 54th Regiment. While appeals to state pride were commonplace in nineteenth-century America, perhaps none was more stirring than the plea made by Frederick Douglass in a Rochester, New York newspaper. Luis Fenollosa Emilio, Captain of Company E under Robert Gould Shaw at Fort Wagner, included Douglass's exhortation in his own history of the regiment:

We can get at the throat of treason and slavery through the State of Massachusetts. She was first in the War of Independence; first to break the chains of her slaves; first to make the black man equal before the law; first to admit colored children to her common schools. She was first to answer with her blood the alarm-cry of the nation when its capital was menaced by the Rebels. You know her patriotic Governor, and you know Charles Sumner. I need add no more. Massachusetts now welcomes you as her soldiers.²²

As a contribution to an established and growing public corpus of art works that focused on Shaw and the men of the 54th Regiment, Ives's offering was different from the others by being about not only the men but a common idea and a shared property as well. Rather than concentrate exclusively on Shaw or even on the brave soldiers, Ives enlarged their contribution by literally placing them in a physical location that welcomed historical perspective and invited continuous contemplation. Ives actually broke down the boundaries of

time and space imposed by historical distance and physical separation and created the place in his music. By knowing about Boston Common, listeners gain a fuller understanding of Ives's particular work and a greater appreciation of its relationship to and position among other works on the same subject.

Looking at the larger structure of "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common" enables us to see one of the many ways Ives creates "place" in his music. (Please consult chart on the following page.) The eighty-three measure piece includes three distinct sections articulated by two structural silences at the ends of measure 23 and measure 65. The outer sections of the work, measures 1-23 and measures 66-83, become Ives's sonifications of the place, Boston Common, while interior measures 24-65 contain Ives's meditation on the events recalled by the St. Gaudens monument. The relative proportions of the outer sections of the piece to the inner section help define and distinguish place in the music. The differences that exist between these two enclosing sonic landscapes convey the change in perception that experience provokes.

“The ‘St. Gaudens’ in Boston Common (Col. Robert Gould Shaw and his Colored Regiment)”

Dynamics, tempos, and meters with respect to measure numbers

virtual silence

1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29	31	33	35	37	39	41
<i>ppp</i>				<i>mp-ppp</i>			<i>mp-pppp</i>		<i>mf-pp</i>		virtual silence		<i>ppp-p-mf-mp-pp</i>		<i>p</i>		<i>p</i>		<i>mf</i>	

<p>$\text{♩} = 60-69$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{9}{4}$</p>	<p>$\text{♩} = 60-80$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{9}{4}$</p> <p>$\text{♩} = 80-76$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{9}{4}$</p> <p>$\text{♩} = 80-76$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{9}{4}$</p>
--	--

silence

41	43	45	47	49	51	53	55	57	59	61	63	65	67	69	71	73	75	77	79	81	83	
<i>p</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i>mf</i>	<i>ff</i>	<i>ppp</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>ff</i>	$\frac{p}{pp}$	$\frac{p}{pp}$	$\frac{p}{pp}$	$\frac{p}{pp}$	$\frac{p}{pp}$	$\frac{p}{pp}$	$\frac{p}{pp}$	$\frac{p}{pp}$	$\frac{p}{pp}$	$\frac{p}{pp}$	$\frac{p}{pp}$

<p>$\text{♩} = 108-116$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{5}{4}$</p>	<p>$\text{♩} = 96-104$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{5}{4}$</p> <p>$\text{♩} = 88$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{5}{4}$</p> <p>$\text{♩} = 112-116$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{5}{4}$</p> <p>$\text{♩} = 92$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{5}{4}$</p> <p>$\text{♩} = 72-66$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{5}{4}$</p> <p>$\text{♩} = 60-54$</p> <p style="text-align: center;">$\frac{5}{4}$</p>
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Ives is a thought-filled auditor and observer creating a contemplative stillness in the dynamic, temporal and timbral restraint of his musical composition. Throughout the work, he positions himself to achieve maximum personal perspective on the object of his reflection. Ives's 1912 orchestration included strings, pairs of flutes, bassoons, and horns, and an oboe, B-flat clarinet, trombone and timpani. His early conception of this piece without trumpets is curious given the military nature of the subject matter and the presence of what can only be considered a bugle call at measure 54 in the horn line. Perhaps Ives's desire for the effect of distance and perspective led him to choose the mellower, softer sound of the horn over the more penetrating, aggressive sound of a trumpet.²³ But even with minimal forces Ives wrings out maximum timbral contrast by dotting his work with numerous short solos. (Oboe solo measure 16; clarinet solo measure 19; horn solos measures 24, 28, 56; flute solos measures 27, and 76; violin solos measures 44, and 76; divisi celli solos at measure 53.)

The regular use of solo instruments necessitates a soft dynamic level for the majority of the movement lest these individual efforts be lost to the listener. The nine-minute piece is indeed remarkable among Ives's works

for its insistence on dynamic restraint. Auditors experience a private moment with the composer, listening, as it were, to his thoughts. On only two occasions does the music attempt to increase sound--first, hesitatingly at measures 53-54, when it reaches for a climax, and second at measures 58-63, when it apparently achieves its goal.

The first attempt is scuttled by the horn's bugle call and what Clayton Henderson identifies as the "Deep River" quote at measure 56.²⁴

m. 56
Hn. 1. (Solo)

DEEP RIVER

I want to cross o-ver in-to camp-ground.

The second attempt at breaking away from the *piano* dynamic level occurs at measures 58-63, where the music ultimately explodes to a triple *forte*. But immediately after this climax, the music retreats to a *piano* level, from which it continues to fade until the end of the piece.

Timbral economy and dynamic restraint are matched by temporal moderation. The tempo remains slow and varies gradually over the course of the entire nine-minute work. The music starts "very slowly." A series of *piu mos*tos, often accompanied by *meno mos*so, eventually boosts the

tempo incrementally from ♩ = 60-69 to ♩ = 96 to ♩ = 116, but the pulse of the piece remains weighted and held back in spite of these tempo accelerations.

Sometimes musical momentum evaporates completely. On various occasions the halting, subdued sounds that characterize "The 'St. Gaudens'" decay to a nearly inaudible *ppp* (measures 1, 12, 15, 23, 29, 76, 83). At other times, Ives writes in rests for the entire ensemble (measures 23, 54, 65, 80, 83). Ives seems to be trying to coax sounds from Boston Common by listening to the quiet voices of history. Paradoxically, these reverent moments of silence are among Ives's most poignant musical depictions of place, for it is only in silent contemplation that one can hear such sounds. The composer refers to the aurally rich silence found at Boston Common in the final stanza of his own poem.

Above and beyond that compelling mass
Rises the drum-beat of the common-heart
In the silence of a strange and
Sounding afterglow
Moving,--Marching--Faces of Souls!

The frequent and complete cessation of activity in "The 'St. Gaudens'" is noteworthy among Ives's place pieces. In other works, location is sonified and remains tenaciously present; place insists upon itself, even when listeners are distracted by other events. But place in "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common" is intentionally

serene, unassertive, even still, behaving more as a stage for activity than as an active character itself. The corporealization of restraint, so apparent in St. Gaudens's sculpted work, becomes an important characteristic of Ives's composition based on the monument.

As with Ives's other place pieces, the drama associated with the location emerges from its environment.²⁵ The stillness of this particular spot seems especially important to Ives, since, according to Ives's own words, it is only "in the silence" that we can appreciate the "strange and sounding afterglow" emanating from the "compelling mass." Like the first words of the poem, "Moving,--Marching--Faces of Souls!," the almost inaudible music that begins this piece focuses on the spectral men of the regiment. We hear individual instruments softly call out "I'm coming" in the falling-rising minor third that characterizes the chorus of Stephen Foster's 1860 song "Old Black Joe." (See circled examples on following pages.) Over the course of the piece, the falling-rising minor third enters on ten different pitch levels; like Gilder's "one"--"one soul, one aim, one force"--the men maintained their individuality even while joining in a common effort, even while coming to rest in a common grave.

Ⓐ Più moto (about 69-80)

The image shows a musical score for a string quartet, consisting of four staves. The score is divided into two systems. The first system is mostly blank, with a few notes and a dynamic marking of *mp* in the second staff. The second system, starting at measure 6, contains the main musical material. It features several handwritten annotations: large circles around specific notes in the first staff, and a circled section in the second staff. Performance markings include *cresc*, *mp*, *ppizz*, and *ppizz.* The tempo marking *Ⓐ Più moto (about 69-80)* is repeated at the beginning of the second system. The score concludes with a double bar line and the number 77.

The same minor third, plus a passing tone, characterizes the chorus of George Frederick Root's call to arms, "The Battle Cry of Freedom" (1862), otherwise known as "Rally Round the Flag." The incipit to this popular soldier's tune emerges in the flute line at measure 27 followed by an altered partial echo in the oboe.

m. 27 (Solo)
Fl. 1
mf
Ob. 1
p

Underneath these two intervallically related songs, Ives layers the defining rising third from the chorus of "Marching Through Georgia." (As the piece began, the rising third, A to C in the bass, pre-echoed the steps of the soldiers that cohere later at measures 35 to 41 in the basses and cellos.) The violins' rendition of the chorus of Henry Clay Work's 1865 song enters at measure 38.

m. 38 a tempo
Vln. I
mf
Vln. II
mf

The burdensome common gait of St. Gaudens's soldiers is actualized over time in Ives's work. The collective tread of a tired but determined 54th Regiment becomes a subdued but palpable pulsation in the middle section of the piece. (See measures 33-41 and 48-51, and at the beginning of the final section measures 66-71.) There is nothing razor sharp or mechanistic about the movements of the troops or the swaying of their muskets in either the monument or the music. Where St. Gaudens carefully misaligns gun barrels, Ives use the soft dynamics and low register of the recurring pulse to blur motions and dull sharp edges of sound. The men of the monument are vulnerable; the music of "The 'St. Gaudens'" is sympathetic. (The monument will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.)

Ives perceives the monument and the men through a scrim of time and conveys them all in a similarly obscured musical equivalent. Throughout most of the piece, it is difficult to ascertain a single meter; numerous notes tied over bar lines neutralize downbeats, gently syncopated rhythms shift accents, juxtaposition of various metric patterns upset expectations, and well placed silences disturb temporal regularity. Even during the brief moments of march music, Ives weakens individual pulses by ricocheting off them in a thirty-second/eighth

pattern. (See measures 53; 58-59.) Tremolos for string instruments at measures 60, 61, and 62 muddy pulses as well. Moments of rhythmic clarity occur for only a few measures at a time and then they dissolve. While Ives did occasionally refer to this piece as his "Black March," the moments of sustained march music are limited and confined to small portions of the work, specifically measures 33-41, 48-51, and 66-71. One might conclude that Ives was not so much interested in capturing a single well-drilled unit as he was determined to sonify the idea of a company of individuals who came together with a common goal. The music avoids all suggestion of martial snap or disciplined rigor; it remains supremely personal and human.

Though lacking one sustained, unequivocal rhythmic trajectory, the music is nonetheless traditionally linear in its pursuit of resolution and closure. ("Closure" must of course be defined on Ives's terms to mean a musically logical if not conventionally harmonic resolution of materials.) Perhaps a more linear approach to musical materials is reasonable for this particular place piece given that the outcome of the events being considered was known to Ives.

Throughout the piece Ives allows us to concentrate on one melodic idea at a time. The close intervallic

relationships between quoted materials permit seamless transitions from one tune to the next. Instances of Ives's characteristically dense textures are limited to measures 58-63. But even here, there is not the sort of contrapuntal pile-up or conflict that we find in other place pieces. Rhythmic alignment and a shared harmonic purpose keep the numerous instrumental participants united in a single goal, which is nobly achieved on the downbeat of measure 63.

A Possible Program for the Music

While Ives provided generous background information for the other movements of *Three Places in New England*, such remarks are conspicuously absent for "The 'St. Gaudens'." Editor John Kirkpatrick hypothesized that they would have appeared on the missing page 31 of source "T."²⁶ Readers are left to imagine what the composer might have been thinking. But given Ives's access to detailed descriptions of the Regiment's actions, and having his completed work as a guide, it is possible to construct a plausible program for the score. Such an explanation might illuminate what happens at measure 63.

Two-thirds of the way through "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common," Ives creates a believable sonic

equivalent of the ill-fated siege at Fort Wagner. Indeed, the progression of musical events follows very closely numerous published accounts in circulation at the turn of the century which described in detail the physical actions of Shaw and his men as they attempted to take the ideally situated Confederate stronghold at the entryway to Charleston Harbor, South Carolina.

An excerpt from an article that appeared in the first volume of New England Magazine in 1890 gives the flavor of these reckonings:

The quick step of the beginning broke later into a brisk run. . . . Resolutely and rapidly rallying his broken lines, he pressed impetuously forward at their head to the great rebel battery, and up its mighty slope to the deadly parapet, all the while the sand of the scarp and the sand of life were slipping from under their feet. . . . and encouraging them by word and gesture to quicken their steps, so that with them he might dash down into the works. . .²⁷

Relevant to a discussion of Ives's sonification of events and places are the consistent references in these accounts to Shaw and his men as they struggled to the top of the hilly beach front "gaining successfully the parapet."²⁸ Starting at measure 53, Ives makes three attempts to drive his music further and further upward in both pitch and volume. This is carried out most audibly in the oboe, clarinet, horn, and upper string parts at

measures 53-54; 58-59; and 60-63. At the same time that the music lifts itself upward, surface rhythms increase as thirty-second notes incline the music forward. The first push includes the bugle call at measure 54--a logical musical gesture to announce a military action. (See example on the following pages.)

Fl. 1
2
Ob. 1
2
Cl.
Bass. 1
2
Hn. 1
2
3
Tromb. 1
2
3
Tuba
Timp.
S. Dr.
49
Piano
V.I.
V.II.
Viola
Cello
Bass

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This page of a musical score, numbered 54, contains the following instruments and parts:

- Fl. 1 & 2:** Flute parts with dynamics *f*, *ppp*, and *pp*.
- Ob. 1 & 2:** Oboe parts with dynamics *f*, *ppp*, and *p*.
- Cl. 1 & 2:** Clarinet parts with dynamics *f* and *ppp*.
- Bas'n 1 & 2:** Bassoon parts with dynamics *f* and *ppp*.
- Hr. 1 & 2:** Horn parts. The first horn part includes a circled section and a *(Solo)* marking with *poco* dynamics.
- Tromb. 1 & 2:** Trombone parts with dynamics *f* and *mf (non cresc.)*.
- Tuba 3:** Tuba part with dynamics *f*.
- Timp. B. Dr.:** Timpani and Bass Drum parts with *poco* dynamics.
- Piano:** Piano part with a measure number of 54.
- VI. I & II:** Violin I and II parts with dynamics *f*, *pp*, *ppp*, and *poco*. Includes markings for *arco*, *uniz.*, and *uniz. arco div.*.
- Viola:** Viola part with dynamics *f*, *pp*, and *ppp*. Includes *arco* markings.
- Cello I & II:** Cello I and II parts with dynamics *f*, *pp*, *ppp*, and *pizz.*. Includes *arco* and *(norm. div.) arco* markings.
- Bass:** Bass part with dynamics *f*, *p*, and *pp*.

cresc. e poco rall.

Fl. 2
Ob. 1
Cl. 1
Bas. 1
Hr. 2
Tromb. 1
Tuba
Timp. B. Dr.
59
Piano
VI. I
VI. II
Viola
Cello
Bass

ff *p* *f* *cresc.*
ff *pp* *ppp* *f* *cresc. e poco rall.* *cresc.*
ff *p* *f* *cresc.*
f *4+3* *f* *cresc.*
f *p* *f* *(a.)* *f* *cresc.*
pp *cresc.* *f* *cresc. e poco rall.*
cresc. e poco rall. *f*
pp *f* *cresc.* *f* *cresc. e poco rall.* *arco*
p *f* *f*

Meno mosso (about 88: ♩)

Fl. 1 2

Ou. 1

Cl.

Bas. 1 2

Hr. 1 2 3

Tromb. 1 2 3

Tuba

Timp. B. Dr.

63

Piano

Meno mosso (about 88: ♩)

VI. I

VI. II

Viola

Cello

Bass

pp *ppp* *ppp* *ppp*

pizz. *foco rit* *slight pause*

* each part { $\frac{1}{2}$ arco / $\frac{1}{2}$ pizz.

One can imagine Shaw's troops tentatively advancing, and assessing their situation. Having committed themselves, they move forward again. There is a second attempt in measures 58-59. This time the musical ascent starts a semitone higher than it left off at measure 54 and gains ground, rising from the pitch G in flutes and violins to a C a fourth above. What then becomes the final surge begins at measure 60 and is extended over four measures. The music lifts itself up an octave from measure 59 while gradually intensifying from *piano* at measure 59 beat 2, to triple *forte* at measure 63. Taken as one gesture, these ten measures appear as a single elongated attempt to "gain the parapet"; in the background we can hear the bass drum deliver its thudding cannon blasts. Here too, Ives appears to stay close to written accounts of the conflict, which describe the men coming under unforgiving attack by cannon fire. The drum, present since measure 35, has up until now supplied a subdued but reliable marching cadence. Its sudden but seamless role change from cadence to cannon in this final surge is a powerful symbol of war's ability to bring men together spiritually while it tears them apart physically.

In addition to the consistent descriptions of the troops' advance and ascent, turn-of-the-century accounts

were unfailing in their presentation of the swift and deadly events that followed immediately upon Shaw's reaching the high point. A single line in an 1897 story from Century captured the scene most tersely: "He waved his sword, cried out, 'Forward, Fifty-fourth!' and fell dead."²⁹

In reporting on the dedication of the monument, the New York Times offered a similar account of events. "Colonel Shaw was at the head of the regiment, and as he gained the first rampart he stood for a moment with uplifted sword shouting, 'Forward, Fifty-fourth!' Then he fell with a shot through his heart."³⁰

Ives's music may very well portray Shaw's last actions--the virtual simultaneity of his tactical achievement and his sudden death. In Ives's piece, at the very moment of the most powerful gesture to be realized thus far, the collective motion towards a C major chord at measures 60-63, a single dissonant b¹ in the horn questions the success of the enterprise. Though Fort Wagner would eventually be taken in September 1863 by forces that included some of the survivors of the July attempt, Shaw would not live to experience the victory. That single b¹ captures, in resonating simplicity, the pain and power of individual actions.³¹ Shaw's dramatic death seems particularly poignant in light of a letter he

had written to his parents while he was in Europe in 1853. A line from that letter reads, "I don't see how one man could do much against slavery."³² Ives sonifies the power of one--one man, one note.

Measures 60 to 63 contain two other musical events that describe the scene at Fort Wagner quite closely. Into the densest complex of rising melodic lines that mark the third and final attempt at a musical climax, Ives introduces numerous descending passages. Records inform us that 272 of the 600 troops who charged Fort Wagner were killed, wounded, or captured.³³ Can Ives have been trying to sonify the casualties suffered by the 54th in the numerous descending chromatic scales that fall away before the climactic C major cadence? (See example on previous pages.)

The trombone line may also contain clues to Ives's programmatic intentions: starting at measure 60, it presents a fractured but tenacious rendition of "Rally Round the Flag." The music stubbornly presses upward through a chromatic sequence. Accounts of the soldiers' charge frequently refer to the valiant efforts of Sgt. William H. Carney to keep the flag aloft. Like the flag, the trombone ascends.³⁴

Carney's genuinely heroic action touched a chord in Booker T. Washington, who spoke at the dedicatory

ceremonies of the St. Gaudens monument on Memorial Day, 1897. A passage in his autobiographical writings refers to a poignant moment in that day's events:

Most of my readers will perhaps know that Sergeant William H. Carney, of New Bedford, Mass., was the brave colored officer who at the battle of Fort Wagner, was the color bearer and held on to the American Flag. Notwithstanding the fact that a large proportion of his regiment was slain, he escaped in some miraculous manner and exclaimed, after the battle was over, "The old flag never touched the ground."

Before I made this address I had never met Sergeant Carney. Sergeant Carney, however, together with a remnant of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, was present on a front seat, and held in his hand the same flag which he had held on to safely during the battle of Fort Wagner. When I turned to address the colored regiment and referred to Sergeant Carney, he rose as if by instinct with the flag in his hands. It has been my privilege to witness a good many satisfactory and rather sensational demonstrations in connection with several of my public addresses, but in dramatic effect I have never seen nor experienced anything that equaled the impression made on the audience when Sergeant Carney arose. For a good many minutes the audience seemed to entirely lose control of itself and patriotic feeling was at a high pitch.³⁵

Though according to Clayton Henderson's research, Ives quotes "Rally Round the Flag" in approximately twenty different pieces, the tune's introduction in "The 'St. Gaudens'" at the climactic final surge and its subsequent use immediately thereafter suggests especially well-timed appearances of the quotation.

Readers familiar with climactic moments in other place pieces will appreciate Ives's tendency to locate

the musical climax well within the body of the these works rather than treat it as an ultimate goal to be achieved closer to the ending of the work. For Ives, important events occurred within particular places and were closely associated with places.³⁶ It would seem that containing an event was an essential aspect of Ives's thinking about place. While the specific sites are more or less constant, the events that happen at those locations change perspectives on everything, including the places themselves. A sense of the relative constancy of place is achieved by having similar subdued music present at both the beginnings and endings of these works. "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common" fits into this basic pattern.

But "The 'St. Gaudens'" is unique among Ives's place pieces for its precise handling of the climactic moment. Whereas other climaxes are characterized by maximum timbral density and "confusion" (some might even say "noise"), this particular high point is characterized by a most convincing musical unity and agreement. It is only in such a concordant environment that the single dissenting b^1 at measure 63 could exert the tremendous power or create the memorable effect that it does. If the lone b^1 within the C major chord is symbolic of the power of individual efforts, be they human or musical,

the sudden dissolution of all musical activity from measure 63, beat 3, to the momentary silence at the end of measure 65 provides the time for one to reflect upon events both historical and musical.³⁷

We know that the twilight attack on Fort Wagner on July 18, 1863, was thoroughly repulsed by the Confederates. We also know that the survivors of the 54th withdrew any way they could manage over the course of the next few hours. Captain Emilio's third person account of the events that followed the siege may illuminate Ives's music further:

Captain Emilio, the junior of that rank, succeeded to the command of the Fifty-fourth on the field by casualties. After retiring from Wagner to a point where men were encountered singly or in small squads, he determined to rally as many as possible. With the assistance of Lieutenants Grace and Dexter, a large portion of the Fifty-fourth survivors were collected and formed in line, together with a considerable number of white soldiers of various regiments. While thus engaged, the national flag of the Fifty-fourth was brought to Captain Emilio; but as it was useless as a rallying point in the darkness, it was sent to the rear for safety. Sergeant Carney had bravely brought this flag from Wagner's parapet, at the cost of two grievous wounds.³⁸

At measure 66 Ives begins a heavy-treaded march to the choruses of "Rally Round the Flag" in the flute and "Marching Through Georgia" in the violins. Soft dynamics, a slow tempo, and an ostinato in the cellos and string bass cast a funereal pall over the music. The march continues for five measures before completely

dissolving at measure 72. There can be no doubt that the deaths of Colonel Shaw and so many comrades weighed heavily on the surviving soldiers. Though the young officer had been an extremely demanding leader--holding his troops to higher standards than those required by military regulations--the soldiers were keenly aware of his sacrifice on their behalf. Ives's subtle interpolation of "Massa's in de Cold Ground" in the violin part at measures 72 and 73--at the very point where the march music ceases--may be a reference to what he imagined the men were thinking about their "Massa," the heroic Colonel Shaw. In addition to the textual appropriateness of this song, an important characteristic of Stephen Foster's 1852 tune is the recurring, descending minor third that closes off alternating phrases.

MASSA'S IN DE COLD GROUND

Chorus

Down in de corn-field Hear dat mourn-ful sound;
All de dark-eyes am a-weep-ing, Mas-sa's in de cold, cold ground.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major (one sharp). The first staff is labeled 'Chorus' and contains the melody for the first line of lyrics: 'Down in de corn-field Hear dat mourn-ful sound;'. The second staff contains the melody for the second line of lyrics: 'All de dark-eyes am a-weep-ing, Mas-sa's in de cold, cold ground.' Both staves end with a descending minor third interval.

Ives's penchant for using specifically appropriate quotations at crucial moments of a work is well documented in the research of Burkholder and Henderson. Various compositions are developed from quoted tunes that are not only intervallically consistent with each other but topically related to the subject being explored. Ives's use of this song, with its text "darkeys am a-weeping, Massa's in de cold, cold ground" is another example of Ives's most careful creation of a network of references within which he places his pieces.

Having evoked the historical drama in the core of his piece, Ives is free to return to the present, to the place, Boston Common, and the sounds and silences with which the piece began. The regiment leads the way, advancing from the past into the present to the sounds of "The Union forever, Hurrah boys, hurrah!" At measure 71 the final strains of the march evaporate. Starting at measure 74 Ives recalls music originally found at measure 12. Two measures later the bass also returns to its original rising minor third, A to C. But in this second experience the music and place are changed. Recalling events has deepened our understanding of the moment in history, and the monument and the ideals it epitomizes; the particular place also has gained new meaning. As the auditor returns to the present, the music unfolds back to

its first thoughts; listeners are left in the stillness of Boston Common contemplating the seminal "I'm coming" motive that floats in the air. As auditors have been uplifted by their new awareness, Ives lifts the last "I'm coming" motive in the final measure. What started in the first measure as the descending third, F to D, and rose in the second measure to the descending third, G to E, ultimately hovers in the enharmonics of the viola and harp as an otherworldly third A to F#.39

The Monument and Beyond

Essential to Ives's sonification of the St. Gaudens monument was his sense of the regiment's harmony of purpose, an idea that could not be conveyed convincingly in music were there various contrapuntal lines simultaneously vying for a listener's attention. Hence numerous snippets of closely related war songs waft in and out of the air, graciously allowing each other to be heard. Voices are not drowned out by distracting outside noises or competing material; auditors are given the opportunity to hear each "man" in the company of his comrades.

When march music materializes, it appears from the subdued sonic landscape in much the same way the relief

figures emerge from the deep bronze background of the sculpture. As the memorialized troops are literally restrained by the bas-relief, which is itself contained in an architectural frame and an apse-like setting on the edge of Boston Common, so too is Ives's piece constrained. Moreover, the music and the men are tied to their history; the sculpture is set in its place. Ives frames his music as location frames the monument. Of all Ives's place pieces, "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common" is unique for its consistent evocation of distance, for the sense of perspective that permeates the music.

One can only hypothesize about Ives's actual encounter with the St. Gaudens sculpture, if in fact there had been one at all. Nowhere in the extant pages of Memos or in the collected correspondence does the composer speak of a personal observation of the Shaw monument that might have motivated his work. Given the composer's habit of sharing meaningful experiences that inspired compositions, the absence of any mention of a visit to Boston Common inclines one to assume that indeed, either no record of such comments survives, or that no personal encounter took place. But the ease of transportation between New York and Boston makes the second possibility appear very unlikely.

Even so, considering the specific attention directed

at Robert Gould Shaw and the St. Gaudens monument in the thirty-four years between the hero's death in 1863 and the dedication of the equestrian relief in 1897, and the broader attention paid to all things related to the Civil War in the first decades of the twentieth century, it would not have been essential for Ives to see the work first hand. There were numerous other ways to establish a clear image of the imposing sculpture in the mind's eye, or to develop a strong attachment to the young man whose cause was so nobly captured by St. Gaudens.

Ives's own poem "Moving,--Marching--Faces of Souls!," with its references to the visages of the men and their relative position to Shaw, strongly suggests a personal, visual experience and knowledge of the work as it stands in Boston Common. The hypothesis that Ives did in fact see the bas-relief may be reinforced by the 1912 score whose title reads "*Impression of the 'St Gaudens' in Boston Common.*" (italics mine)⁴⁰ While Ives's use of the words "Impression. . .in Boston Common" is not incontrovertible evidence of an observation of the work, it does seem to strengthen the theory that the composer viewed the work in its full glory early on. Additionally, Ives's verbal placement of the sculpture "in Boston Common" demonstrates an awareness of the larger environment that would be reinforced by a personal

experience of the monument in its place, as compared to viewing the sculpture in a magazine photograph.

A personal visit could certainly have been augmented by journalistic accounts. Robert Gould Shaw, and the monument commemorating his 54th Massachusetts Regiment, were written about in a variety of newspapers and magazines. The New York Times carried articles detailing the dedicatory ceremonies that took place Memorial Day, 1897, complete with excerpts from Booker T. Washington's address.⁴¹ Stories were carried in Harper's Weekly and The Century.⁴² Photographs of the celebrated sculpture taken for The Boston Journal appeared in The New York Times on June 20, 1897, and in The Century in 1909, as part of a serialized presentation of Homer St. Gaudens's The Reminiscences of Augustus St. Gaudens. Here the sculpture was identified as "The Robert Shaw Memorial in the Public Garden, Boston." The photograph was accompanied by an extensive discussion of Shaw.⁴³

An article entitled "The Shaw Memorial" that appeared in The New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art in 1897 offered a lyrical account of the sculpture. Knowing Ives's piece, one cannot help but be moved by the appropriateness of certain aspects of this description were they to be applied to the music rather than the monument. This is especially true of those

references to the understated, restrained qualities of the bronze sculpture and its overall compositional integrity:

On the bas-relief Shaw is presented on horse back. The horse is well and vigorously posed. Its action is true, not theatrical. The rider holds in his mount with a tight rein. There is no tugging of bit or bridoon. Col. Shaw rides steadily on, with a lowered sword. He is not on parade. He is making his way to the front, surrounded by his men. The head is strongly modeled, but with no exaggeration. His pose is steady. Shaw had handsome, manly features, a martial bearing, and the artist has caught the quiet, composed, determined face of a thorough soldier.

In front of their leader, behind him, back of him, come the colored soldiers. They do not break ranks, so there is no confusion to the eye. That parallelism of musket barrels Mr. St. Gaudens has been careful to evade. At the head of the column is the drummer who plies his sticks. There is the most faithful study of uniforms, but without any attempts at picturesqueness of display. A marching regiment surging to the front never did work as on guard mounting. Above the officer and his men floats an allegorical figure, and the figure is beautiful in conception. She seems to presage the death of the brave officer and the end of many a soldier.

What is the effect? The grandest one. It tells a story in the most impressive way. It is a departure, and one to be remembered because there are no mock heroics in it--and the greatest power is the one carried out by the simplest factors.⁴⁴

Shaw and the men of the 54th Regiment became ready symbols for those championing American ideals. Three years after the dedication ceremonies, William Vaughn Moody visited Boston Common and wrote his famous poem "An Ode in Time of Hesitation," which was published in the May 1900 issue of The Atlantic. Moody used the Shaw

monument to argue against America's imperialism, as he viewed the ceding of the Philippines to the United States in 1898. In his biography on William Vaughn Moody, Martin Halpern discusses the ongoing relevance of St. Gaudens's monument for turn-of-the-century America:

The 'Ode' is simultaneously a poem of protest and of celebration. What it protests against is the corruption of America's national ideals; what it celebrates is those ideals themselves, as symbolized chiefly by the Civil War hero Robert Gould Shaw, the young and high-born New England colonel who had died while leading the first Negro regiment of the Union army in an attack on Fort Wagner in July, 1863, and had been buried in a common grave with the former slaves whom he commanded.⁴⁵

That Shaw and his regiment have continued to remain subjects of interest well into this century can be seen in numerous efforts to eulogize the 54th. Poet Robert Lowell's work, "For the Union Dead," written in 1959, and more spectacularly the 1989 Hollywood film *Glory* are among the best known studies. Steven Axelrod's article "Colonel Shaw in American Poetry: 'For the Union Dead' and its precursors," which appeared in American Quarterly in 1972,⁴⁶ and the recent publication of Shaw's Civil War letters in Russell Duncan's 1992 book Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune attest to the continuing engagement of scholars with this subject. Based upon the more than three dozen poems written about Shaw since his death, Duncan

Duncan concludes that the colonel "had become more monument than man."⁴⁷ But the Shaw monument has engaged more than individual scholars or Hollywood producers. In 1983, one hundred and twenty years after Shaw's death, the "Robert Gould Shaw and 54th Regiment Memorial" became part of the Black Heritage Trail in Boston, demonstrating once again its continuing relevance to the American people. Though Ives could not have anticipated the precise manifestations of future works on Shaw and the monument, he foresaw the power of the myth and image for America.

Still Other Associations

Ives found much to admire in Robert Gould Shaw and his determined "colored" regiment, men dying for a cause in which they and Ives believed, a cause for which Ives's own father went to war. But beyond admiration for Shaw's patriotic accomplishments and ideological beliefs, Ives would have found much with which he could identify in the biography of Robert Gould Shaw, a biography widely disseminated and well known among Ives's generation. One might consider the musical restraint manifested in this piece as masking a deeper, more personal involvement with the materials than is immediately apparent. Perhaps the

public forum imposed emotional restraints on the often blustery Ives, for in this work he touches upon issues so personal and associations so real that it was necessary for him to step back and act as an observer. Few Ives pieces sound more revealing, exposed or compassionate in their restraint than "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common."

Shaw and Ives were each born to a well-established, intellectually progressive New England family, with a history of actively supporting abolitionist causes. Earlier generations of both families had personal ties to individual Transcendentalists. Stories of Ives's Aunt Sarah organizing a group of women who successfully rescued a captured slave from almost certain return to the South, and tales of George Ives's befriending Henry Anderson Brooks, a young black boy whose mother had done laundry for George's Union Army troop, attest to the strength of the abolitionist tradition in the Ives family.⁴⁸ Similarly, Robert Gould Shaw's parents were remembered by William Lloyd Garrison's sons as "the original abolitionists."⁴⁹ The senior Garrison, the editor of The Liberator, the radical weekly abolitionist publication, visited the 54th in its months at camp in Readville, Massachusetts, before it departed for Fort Wagner, and thereafter followed its movements. Robert

Shaw grew up knowing Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, a book much read in both the Shaw and Ives households.⁵⁰ Shaw's sister Sarah befriended Lydia Maria Child, the famous Boston abolitionist, who eventually co-edited the Anti-Slavery Standard from 1840-1844 with her husband David.

While the documentable Ives family connection to individual Transcendentalists is not great in quantity, it is nonetheless there. Charles Ives's grandparents, George White Ives and Sarah Hotchkiss Wilcox Ives, hosted Ralph Waldo Emerson during his lecture tours to Danbury in the 1850s; Lyman D. Brewster, who would later become Ives's uncle, mentor, and a collaborator on an unfinished opera project, corresponded with Emerson as part of his duties as Secretary of the Danbury Lyceum.⁵¹ A book inscribed to George and Sarah Ives from Bible-challenging theologian, writer, and abolitionist Theodore Parker⁵² also attests to some degree of friendship between Ives's grandparents and this radical Transcendentalist. Theodore Parker was a close friend of the senior Shaws as well. Robert Gould Shaw's parents moved the nine miles from Boston to West Roxbury, Massachusetts, in order to live nearer by Brook Farm, George and Sarah Ripley's Transcendentalist experiment in communal living. Though never living within the confines of the community, the

Shaws participated regularly in meetings and social events with Brook Farmers, and associated with famous Transcendentalists, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Fuller.⁵³

In addition to embracing similar philosophical traditions, both households valued strong family educational traditions. Each family sent its son to the nearby Ivy League school: Shaw, the Bostonian, attended Harvard for three years and Ives, the Connecticut Yankee, graduated from Yale in 1898. Shaw and Ives were similarly weak students but both showed a keen interest in music and literature. Shaw had studied violin and piano throughout his adolescence and played in a string ensemble at Harvard. Ives's musical studies are well known and his interest in literature began early and continued throughout his life, even after poor eyesight necessitated that he be read to by his wife or daughter.⁵⁴ Shaw's interest in music continued to be in evidence even as a young colonel. His specific efforts to relieve some of the strain of regimental camp life in the early months of 1863 led to the establishment of "a special fund of five hundred dollars. . . to purchase musical instruments and to instruct and equip a band." Ralph Waldo Emerson was involved in fund-raising activities.⁵⁵

After their student years, the two men pursued careers in business in New York City, securing their positions through family connections. Robert Gould Shaw started as a clerk in a mercantile office belonging to his uncle, a career that was thankfully brief given Robert's disinclination for the work. Ives also started as a clerk in the actuarial department of The Mutual Life Insurance Company, "a position he secured through his father's second cousin, Granville White," and which ultimately led to his solid success in business.⁵⁶

While the historical circumstances and the numerous parallels between the two men make Ives's attraction to the monument increasingly understandable, Ives's actual chronological distance from the man Shaw and the events that were the impetus for the commemorative bas-relief make his palpable separation from his subject respectfully accurate. It might be worth considering the comparable ages of Shaw and Ives at particular moments. When Shaw died storming Fort Wagner July 18, 1863, he was three months shy of his twenty-sixth birthday. At the time of the monument's unveiling May 31, 1897, Ives was two months shy of his twenty-third birthday. Given the likelihood of an Ives visit to the monument shortly after its dedication, the composer would have been close in age to the martyred colonel. This comparison in age makes

Ives's identification with the soldier that much more realistic and meaningful.

Recent research has proposed that Ives identified Shaw and the monument with his father George, and that "The 'St. Gaudens'" is some type of tribute to George Ives.⁵⁷ But while Ives no doubt recognized his father's participation in the same national calamity that claimed Shaw, he also recognized significances that went far beyond personal import. As has been shown, the entire nation was involved in rethinking the meaning of the Civil War and Shaw's sacrifice; the east coast literary establishment was particularly involved. To restrict Ives's motivations for writing "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common" to a memorialization of George, or to imply that such was the primary or dominating motivation behind the composition of the work, diminishes larger, and perhaps more important issues that Ives sought to address in this piece and others. His personal connections are a springboard to much larger concerns.

The monument was a rich and complex source of emotional and artistic inspiration for the composer, and creative hypothesizing might provide numerous explanations for Ives's connection to the Shaw memorial. But Ives's own poem preceding the score is, by far, the best evidence that he has left us to indicate what about

the monument most captured his imagination. The likely contemporaneity of poem and piece strengthens the poem's power as an interpretive tool for the music.

Ives speaks about the men of the regiment; recognizing their separation from him, their distance in time and in life experience, he also acknowledges their sustained power over him and the nation. "Slowly, restlessly--swaying us on with you towards other Freedom." Though captives of a society, of a war, and of a bronze monument, these "Moving,--Marching--Faces of Souls" bear a message that is dynamic and immediate. The music Ives composes reflects that same emphasis on the men, men not as a faceless assembly, but rather as a gathering of individuals invested with power: Americans. Far from being emotionally burdened by a fixation on his father, Ives is shown in "The 'St. Gaudens'" charged with energy to move with the men of the 54th Regiment to "the drum-beat of a common-heart." The music is a cultural document celebrating the possibilities of America.

While enjoyment of this piece does not depend upon a knowledge of texts and quoted tunes, or the larger body of works created to celebrate Shaw and his regiment, or an understanding of Boston Common's unique historical relevance, meaning is enhanced and understanding deepened the more we know about Ives's world. In the case of "The

'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common (Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and His Colored Regiment)," an awareness of place allows Ives's message to be enlarged from the sphere of musical materials and personal concerns to the realm of national issues and human ideals. Place provides a venue for viewing the contributions of Shaw and the 54th Regiment; place provides a perspective on America.

Notes to Chapter One

1 See Charles Ives, *Three Places in New England*, ed. by James B. Sinclair (Pennsylvania: Mercury Music Corporation, 1976), iv(n), for remarks regarding alternative orderings. All musical references and examples come from this edition unless otherwise noted.

2 This particular focusing effect has to be seen as outside of Ives's intentions for the work since there is ample evidence to suggest that the composer was willing to regroup and recombine the pieces of this set in a number of ways. It could be argued that a similar focusing effect is achieved in the three movements of *Orchestral Set No. 2*. See Charles Ives, *Three Places in New England*, iii.

3 Ever since Henry and Sidney Cowell first spoke of Ives's philosophical leanings in their 1955 book Charles Ives and His Music, the composer's interest in and association with the ideas of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Transcendentalism have been topics of discussion. See Henry Cowell and Sidney Cowell, Charles Ives and His Music, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955). Recently the timing and degree of Ives's absorption in Transcendentalist ideas have come under scrutiny, but no one has yet suggested that Ives was not interested in Transcendentalism for a good deal of his life. The fact that Ives wrote and submitted a paper on Emerson to the Yale literary magazine in 1898--which was not accepted and is no longer extant--indicates a serious effort by Ives to treat the famous New England poet-philosopher quite early in his life. Ives would come back to Emerson directly in the course of the next twenty years using his poetry for song #9a "Duty" (1911) and, of course, using the man as inspiration for the first movement of his *Concord Sonata* (1919).

4 Ralph Waldo Emerson, Selected Prose and Poetry Edited with an introduction by Reginald L. Cook. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 440-444. The four lines that Ives set in his song appear with the title "Duty" in a 1909 collection of poems entitled Golden Numbers: A Book of Verse for Youth, ed. and with an introduction by Kate Douglas Wiggin (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1909), 605. This book is not specifically named in the lists made of books found at the Iveses' Redding home by Vivian Perlis's class in

1978, though it may have been among those collectively titled the "Golden Treasure Series" of which the Iveses owned eight of the fifteen volumes. It is of interest to note that four other texts that Ives used appear in this volume: "Maple Leaves" by Thomas Bailey Aldrich, "The Solitary Reaper" by William Wordsworth from which Ives quoted the last two lines and included them above his song "Remembrance," "Indians" by Charles Sprague; Ives uses all but three lines of this poem in his song by the same name, and "Lincoln, the Great Commoner" by Edwin Markham, where Ives selected verses from the last two stanzas.

5 Memorial Robert Gould Shaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1864), 160-164.

6 Chadwick Hansen has suggested such an influence in his essay "One Place in New England: The Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry as a Subject for American Artists," Student Musicologists at Minnesota 6 (1975-1976): 250-271.

7 Four of the 114 *Songs* were composed to Johnson texts: "At Sea" (#4), "Luck and Work" (#21), "Premonitions" (#24), and significantly "The Housatonic at Stockbridge" (#15), which in an earlier instrumental version formed the third movement of *Three Places in New England*. See Charles Ives, *114 Songs* (Redding, Connecticut: By the author, 1922).

8 Vivian Perlis's Catalogue Charles Ives Papers lists clippings from various newspapers that appeared in Ives's papers; clippings from the New York Times are among them.

9 "Men of Letters Honor St. Gaudens," New York Times, 21 November 1909, 18, italics mine.

10 In the case of the songs "Premonitions," and "At Sea," the composer cites Johnson's book Poems complete with publication information at the upper right corner of the music. He refers to the two other Johnson texts he uses as coming from the same source. For the song "The Housatonic at Stockbridge," Ives provides the parenthetical statement "by permission," thereby suggesting the possibility that correspondence was exchanged between the two men, or at least between Ives and the Century Company in New York which had published Johnson's books, as he sought the rights to use Johnson's

poetry. Important to the notion of their potential as sources for Ives is the fact that Johnson's poetry was readily available, and in the cases of the four texts Ives set, in print by 1902.

11 Robert Underwood Johnson, Saint-Gaudens: An Ode, and Other Verses (New York: Century, 1910), 331-2.

12 Robert Underwood Johnson, "Saint Gaudens: An Ode," stanza VI line 2.

13 In one of history's curious convergences, Richard Watson Gilder, a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, died November 18, 1909, just two days before the Institute's presentation to Mrs. St. Gaudens. Robert Underwood Johnson was a pallbearer at the funeral services held the afternoon of the awards ceremony. His participation in Gilder's funeral meant he was unable to attend the evening's events and so his poem was read by another member of the Institute, Hamilton W. Mable. According to the New York Times story, the ceremony was almost postponed because of the high regard in which Gilder was held, but ultimately it took place as planned. A result of Gilder's untimely death was that anyone reading the Times was assured that St. Gaudens's, Johnson's and Gilder's names would appear connected. It is not possible or essential to determine whether or not Ives noticed or needed such a nudge to associate these three men or their works. The fact remains that the connection was made for Ives in a newspaper that he read.

14 Richard Watson Gilder, "Robert Gould Shaw (The Monument by Augustus St. Gaudens)," The Critic 30:27 (June 1897): 408.

15 In Stuart Feder's study Charles Ives: "My Father's Song" A Psychoanalytic Biography (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 231, the author proposes that Ives's wife Harmony "was a psychic replacement for George" Their June 1908 marriage "was healing and liberating for Ives, at least for a time." He concludes his introductory remarks concerning Ives's war works with the following: "And in writing Civil War pieces Ives accomplished a further act of mourning." While this may be true, the entire nation was accomplishing "a further act of mourning," and this was occurring in the most public of early twentieth-century forums, printed media.

16 See Appendix 1 for a copy of this sketch.

17 Microfilm frame #3954 of The Music Manuscripts of Charles Ives collected at the Library of the Yale School of Music. I am grateful to H. Wiley Hitchcock and Gayle Sherwood for their help in procuring copies of this page of manuscript, and for sharing ideas regarding questions of interpretation and chronology.

18 Nicholson Baker names these markings the *commash* ,-- ; the *semi-colash* ;-- ; and the *colash* :-- . He claims that "all three of them . . . are of profound importance to Victorian prose, and all three are now . . . extinct" in 1993. "Survival of the Fittest," The New York Review of Books (4 November 1993), 20. I am grateful to Peter Burkholder for calling my attention to this article and thus helping give names to these unfamiliar punctles.

19 George J. Demko, Why in the World: Adventures in Geography (New York: Anchor Books, 1992), 226.

20 As a side issue, it might be argued that Ives uses the idea of public art to get at one of his favorite causes--eliminating the elitism that is often associated with serious art and music. As Ives saw no reason for associating different repertoires of music with different listening venues, or determining musical worth by the application of a European standard, so he championed the cause of meaningful visual arts experiences being available in the most public of places. Locating an artwork in a common equalizes access on numerous levels.

21 Ives's opposition to the practice of copyright for his own music is evidence of his serious commitment to the ideal that the arts should be available to the widest audience possible.

22 Luis F. Emilio, A Brave Black Regiment: History of the Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry 1863-1865 (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, Inc. Third Edition, copyright 1990), 14. Originally published (Boston: Boston Book Co., 1894).

23 The mellow tone of the horn is especially appropriate for depictions of scenes from memory. In the first and third movements of *Three Places in New England*, where Ives works to reconstruct a visual image from memory, the sharpness of that image, now dulled by time and distance, is given accurate representation in the round, resonating, diffused quality of the horn sound. To quote

from a popular orchestration text, "The horn has an uncanny ability to sound as if it were being played a great distance away." Kent Wheeler Kennan, The Technique of Orchestration, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1970), 129.

24 Henderson, Tunebook, 194. The relationship between the horn solo and "Deep River" seems tenuous as it appears to be confined to the closing phrase. The fact that the first known appearance of this song was not until 1875 also calls into question Henderson's claim, since all other tunes that Ives quoted in this piece were written before or during the Civil War and so were legitimate tunes to be associated with the men of the 54th whether or not they might actually have been sung by a black regiment.

25 Compare the beginnings of "The Housatonic at Stockbridge;" "From Hanover Square North at the End of a Tragic Day, the Voice of the People Again Arose;" and "Central Park in the Dark." "Putnam's Camp" represents a special case, as will be discussed in a later chapter.

26 "T" is the source symbol provided by John Kirkpatrick in the Preface to Memos for Miss Florence Martin's first set of typed pages which she transcribed from her shorthand notes taken from Ives's dictation. See Ives, Memos, 16-17; 83-85.

27 Archibald H. Grimke, "Colonel Shaw and His Black Regiment," New England Magazine, vol. 1, 1890, 680-681.

28 William James, "Robert Gould Shaw," from Essays in Religion and Morality (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 64-74. The specific line is found on page 71.

29 "The Hero," Century, 54 (1897): 314.

30 "Boston Honors Col. Shaw," New York Times, 1 June 1897, 4.

31 The existence of numerous versions of this piece (1911, 1912, 1914, 1929, 1935, and 1976), and the conspicuous absence of the b¹ at measure 63 from the 1912 full orchestral score might initially undermine this programmatic reading. The dissonant b¹ seems to appear first in the 1929 chamber ensemble version that Ives created for the twenty-four piece Boston Chamber

Ensemble. To some, Ives becomes vulnerable to questions regarding the exact degree of dissonance that was present in his earlier works. But the later presence of this note can be assessed differently. Rather than being an example of Ives "jacking up the level of dissonance," as Elliott Carter commented in his revised comments for Vivian Perlis's oral history study, this alteration could be read as proof of his commitment to the idea behind his music. For Carter's comments see Perlis, Charles Ives Remembered, 7. Dissonance was not the goal of Ives's supposed revision but the result of his fidelity to an idea. The presence of the seventh degree to the C major chord is completely in keeping with Ives's emphasis on the power of the individual that is at the very center of his sonification. To further complicate the suspect b¹, the 1911 piano score sketch for "The 'St. Gaudens'" does show a b¹ at measure 63 in an alternating chord passage that sounds while the octave Cs are held. These chords are scribbled out with many circular markings. Whether or not this passage was originally part of Ives's 1911 sketch, or written in soon after, is not easily determined, as Ives often used early sketches to incorporate later revisions. But it seems unlikely that Ives went back to this version of the piece as late as 1929 to add a brand new idea, since the disputed note appears in a different setting in the 1911 sketch than it does in the 1929 score. For a description of the piano score sketch see Kirkpatrick Catalogue 1A5i. The sketches are housed at Yale University's Music Library in the Ives Collection. I am grateful to discussions with Jim Sinclair regarding this particular note and measure.

32 Russell Duncan, ed. Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Robert Gould Shaw (Athens & London: The University of Georgia Press, 1992), 7.

33 Ibid., 52.

34 Joseph T. Glatthaar, Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 140.

35 Booker T. Washington, The Booker T. Washington Papers volume 1. The Autobiographical Writings, edited by Louis R. Harlan (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 111-112.

36 See "Central Park in the Dark" and "From Hanover Square North at the End of a Tragic Day" for two examples of place pieces with very specific associations.

37 There is a similar moment for reflection in the final measures of "The Housatonic at Stockbridge." This will be discussed in a later chapter.

38 Emilio, A Brave Black Regiment, 84.

39 The first measure of "The 'St. Gaudens'," as it appears in Sinclair's 1976 edition, was not part of Ives's 1912 full orchestral version. The added measure debuted in the 1929 chamber ensemble score along with music for a piano part. The addition of a piano enabled Ives to incorporate some of the music from instrumental parts that was lost in the reduction from a full orchestral score. Though the opening descending third, F to D, is not present in the 1912 score, its absence does not alter the overall rising motion that is present in the larger work in all its versions. See chapter on "The Housatonic at Stockbridge" for additional thoughts on the presence of this descending third.

40 Charles Ives, *Three Places in New England*, vi.

41 See New York Times 1 June 1897, 4.

42 See Harper's Weekly, 29 May 1897, 41:546; and The Century, 54:312-314.

43 New York Times, 14/col. 2, and The Century, 78:215.

44 "The Shaw Memorial," New York Times Saturday Review of Books, 29 May 1897, 4/col. 1.

45 Martin Halpern, William Vaughn Moody (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1964), 72.

46 Steven Axelrod, "Colonel Shaw in American Poetry: 'For the Union Dead' and its Precursors," American Quarterly, 24 (October, 1972): 523-537.

47 Duncan, Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune, 55.

48 Burkholder, Charles Ives: The Ideas Behind the Music, 35.

49 Duncan, Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune, 2.

50 A copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin, an 1889 edition, appears on the first shelf of books over Ives's desk in Redding,

Connecticut.

51 See Kenneth Walter Cameron, "Emerson's Lecture Schedules in Danbury, Connecticut" which shows Brewster's name listed as Corresponding Secretary of the small lyceum in their news release in the Danbury Times, November 13, 1856. The announcement included Emerson's name in the roster of distinguished lecturers who would be sponsored by the association. The Danbury Lyceum ceased operation when the Civil War erupted in 1860. Cameron's text, as it appears in a photocopied version in the Local History Room of the Danbury Public Library, was extracted from the Emerson Society Quarterly, 1960, No. 19, 82-85.

52 Burkholder, Charles Ives: The Ideas Behind the Music, 34.

53 Duncan, Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune, 4.

54 For a discussion of the importance of literature to Ives during his Years at Yale and beyond, see Burkholder, Charles Ives: The Ideas Behind the Music, 74.

55 Emilio, 15.

56 Burkholder, Charles Ives: The Ideas Behind the Music, 76 citing Frank R. Rossiter, Charles Ives and His America, 110. See Burkholder's footnote #61.

57 Feder, Charles Ives: "My Father's Song," 231.

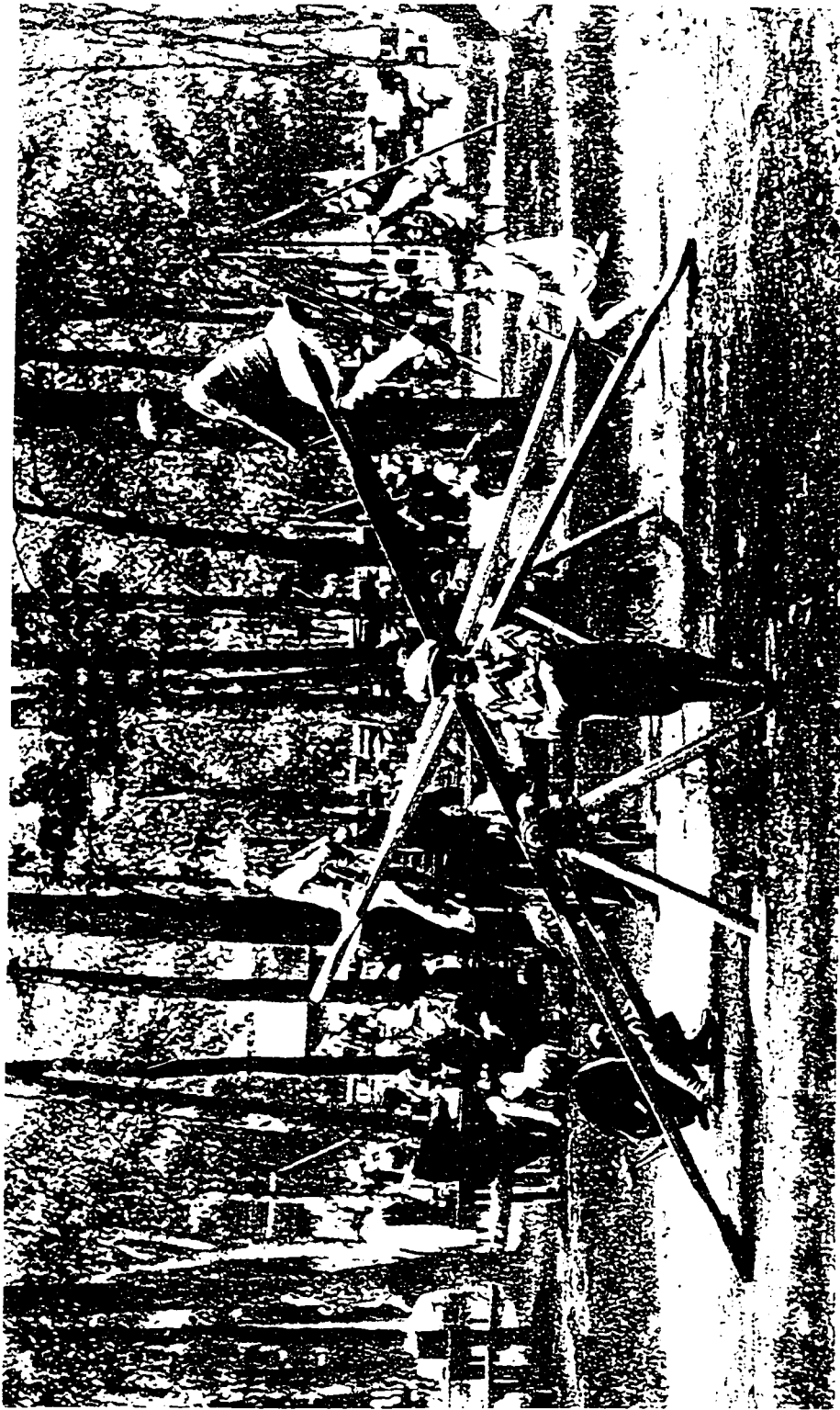


Figure 2: The Playground
Putnam Memorial Camp

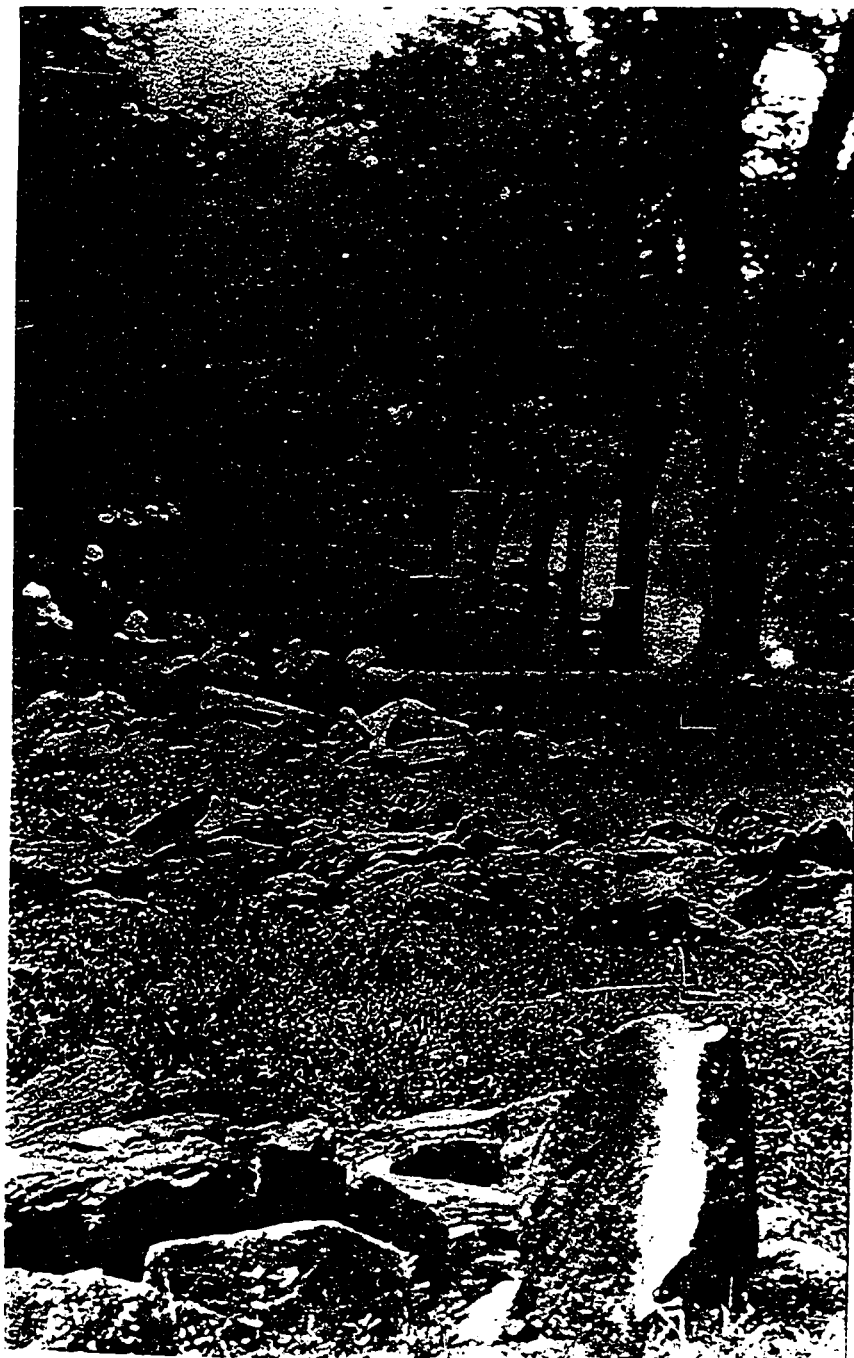


Figure 3: Fireplaces on Company Street
Putnam Memorial Camp

Chapter Two

"Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut"

In the first movement of *Three Places in New England*, Ives's quiet contemplation at historic Boston Common gradually stimulates the mental and musical reconstruction of associated events. The second movement, "Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut,"¹ begins with an episode that, initially, appears to be unrelated to a celebration of the memorial park location; ultimately this same episode proves to be the impetus for a reverie on the history of the physical place.² Hidden meaning is going to be revealed. In "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common" the soft, restrained sounds of the Common surround and embrace the monument and the heroic men it honors; in the music of "Putnam's Camp," the memorialized soldiers' encampment quietly emerges from within the uproarious sounds of a Fourth of July picnic. Listeners discover relationships between present and past that exist at Putnam's Camp: festivities that open the piece are momentarily forgotten as listeners close in on a historical event; before the piece is over, music and listeners ultimately return to the present.

In both pieces place is intimately interwoven with significant events. Places become monuments to the nation's history. To varying degrees, in both pieces

Ives commingles aspects of the past and present and creates an atmosphere in which the two tenses are more synonymous than continuous. Ives collapses temporal and spatial distinctions; then and there is here and now. With "Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut" Ives once again demonstrates his involvement in, and connection with his culture--past and present.

Though a similar rootedness in history binds the pieces, important differences distinguish the first two movements of *Three Places in New England*. Essential to Ives's works are the very real differences inherent within the places themselves. The memorial park in Redding, Connecticut, had a far different scope and focus than the sculpted monument in Boston Common. For Ives, St. Gaudens's monument to Robert Gould Shaw in Boston's Common spoke eloquently and powerfully about the essence of America's democracy; it embodied the nation's noblest ideals and presented them to the world. This was a national story. For the Danbury native, Putnam's Camp spoke more meaningfully to a regional audience, an audience that remembered the role of the southern New England states in the Revolutionary War, and the celebrated exploits of a favorite, if flawed, local hero, Israel Putnam. While the events that took place at the camp had national resonance, this was a local story.

Where the transcendent music of "The 'St. Gaudens'" was intended to transport and elevate all who listened, the music of "Putnam's Camp," even with all of its raucous good humor, was designed to solemnize the familiar. Ives invites auditors to go beyond the sounds of his music to the sources of his ideas. As the relative ambit of this second place was contracted, so too was the scale and duration of Ives's second movement.³

Israel Putnam and the Memorial Camp Ground

The park memorialized in Ives's second movement was established by the Connecticut Legislature in 1887 and named for the American Revolutionary War General Israel Putnam (1718-1790) who oversaw the training camp located at Redding in 1778-1779. The site was regularly referred to as Connecticut's "Valley Forge," purportedly because of the similar physical hardships suffered by soldiers at both winter encampments. But a fuller assessment of such a comparison would have to acknowledge the allure of any site, structure, or person who could claim an association, however tangential, with General George Washington.⁴ Since Putnam's military record was not without blemish, he especially stood to gain from an association with the lionized Commander-in-Chief.

"Old Put's" defeat at the Battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776) and his abandonment of American forts in the Hudson River Highlands in May 1777 resulted in a court of inquiry regarding his actions, and his eventual reassignment to recruiting duties. However, his agrarian roots, and his youthful exploits as a private citizen and as a frontier fighter in the French and Indian War, coupled with his truly distinguished service at the Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775), were enough to make him a genuine folk hero among New Englanders. Locals forgave his weaknesses as a military tactician and concentrated on his legendary reputation for fearlessness, strength, and bravery, which proved him to be a colorful exemplar of Yankee self-reliance and resourcefulness.

Don C. Seitz, in his book Uncommon Americans: Pencil Portraits of Men and Women Who Have Broken the Rules, recounts a number of legends that grew up around the successful private citizen-farmer Israel Putnam:

He tamed a vicious bull by donning spurs and riding the beast around a field until the animal bellowed 'enough.' Called to aid in whipping a refractory negro (this was in the days of colonial slaveholding) he lassoed master and man together, swung them to a beam in the barn and left them there until the owner's wrath was transferred from the slave to the joker. . . .⁵

But perhaps the most vivid of the early tales surrounding Israel Putnam is that which tells of his determination to rid his farm of a particularly fierce and deadly she-wolf that had killed seventy of the family's sheep in one night. Putnam succeeded, but only after the most heroic of efforts. Twice he crawled dozens of feet into the animal's den; ultimately he shot the wolf at point-blank range and was dragged back out to safety by his grateful neighbors with his prize in tow.⁶

His military career was accompanied by equally daring deeds: a narrow escape from being burned at the stake in 1758 during the French and Indian War; survival of a shipwreck in 1762; and a truly Hollywood-worthy flight from a British soldier in 1779 that included leaping through a window, springing onto his horse, and evading a spray of gunfire by leading his mount down a long flight of stone steps to safety.⁷ The incident that Ives refers to in his program accompanying "Putnam's Camp," where Putnam succeeded in turning back some near-deserters from the training camp at Redding, seems to pale by comparison with other of the General's reputed escapades. (Ives's program and his familiarity with this relatively little-known episode will be discussed later in the chapter.) One can easily imagine Ives's attraction to such a rugged, exuberant character--an

individual who exhibited physical prowess and a flexible and resourceful mind, an individual who possessed a strong sense of patriotism and personal duty, an individual who demonstrated a willingness to do what was necessary to accomplish the desired results.

Israel Putnam and American History

The Israel Putnam of myth bears important similarities to Cincinnatus, the legendary farmer-patriot of ancient Rome, who, upon hearing his republic's call, left his plow in the field to lead military campaigns. According to the story, after each of two successful engagements Cincinnatus willingly resigned his position as leader of the army and returned to the cultivation of his four-acre farm. The Cincinnatus myth of the ancient world was transformed in the early nineteenth century by historians of the newly formed United States, who used it to prove the similarly strong character of its finest citizens and to establish the nation in the larger world-historical context.⁸

Perhaps the most famous "American Cincinnatus" is George Washington. Garry Wills, in his book Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment, points to Mason Locke Weems, an early biographer of Washington, who,

along with others, adapted the ancient myth for American audiences.⁹ According to Wills, Weems marketed the first President as a dutiful man of the soil who left his land to serve his country and humbly asked that he be allowed to return to the plow when he deemed his patriotic work was done. (It is of course doubtful that Washington himself ever did any tilling of the soil.) Wills documents his argument with literature, painting and sculpture of the early nineteenth century that demonstrate the thoroughness of the Washington-as-Cincinnatus portrayal in period arts.

Because local heroes could benefit just as well as national heroes from a comparison with ancient world figures, it comes as no surprise to find that biographical sketches of Israel Putnam also contain references to the man leaving his productive farm to assist in the urgent national struggle. One might even infer that Putnam, and by extension America, were superior to Cincinnatus and ancient Rome, since the New Englander had to leave a large and prosperous family farm operation (more than 500 acres), while Cincinnatus only turned his back on a modest four acres. Perhaps references to the size and quality of the Putnam family property are subtle reminders of the geographical plenty of the brave new world.¹⁰ If America's national

character could be compared to that of ancient Rome through the corresponding actions of Washington and Cincinnatus, the character of the local people of Redding, Connecticut, could also claim an historical and ideological association with the larger world through the efforts of Israel Putnam. The moral of the story would seem to be that humble, heroic public servants could be found as easily in Redding as in Rome; the Connecticut Yankee was a world citizen.

There is no need for conjecture regarding either the widespread dissemination of the legend of Israel Putnam among New Englanders in the early twentieth century or Ives's knowledge of the same. Its vitality and currency is plainly assumed in a short article that appeared in The Danbury News in 1904, a year that, as will be shown, is of particular importance to the conception of "Putnam's Camp."¹¹ Of especial interest to a discussion of Putnam-as-Cincinnatus is the headline reference to the plow, that unquestioned symbol of honest toil and humility. The casual mention of the "Putnam wolf den" at the end of the second paragraph attests to widespread familiarity with that heroic tale as well:

PLOW "OLD PUT" LEFT.
Lieutenant Brooks Will Swap It for 25
Flint Lock Muskets.

The Putnam Phalanx¹² at its annual meeting Monday received a communication from Lieutenant A. E. Brooks, of the command in which he agreed to transfer to the Phalanx in exchange for 25 old flint lock muskets the plow which General Israel Putnam left in the field when he went to war; General Putnam's saddle and a copy of the sermon delivered at his funeral.

To this committee also was referred a proposition which was received for the sale of an oil painting of the Putnam wolf den.

The story continues with a short paragraph acknowledging the receipt of wooden nutmegs purportedly "made from the historic Washington elm," the tree in Cambridge Common under which, according to legend, Washington stood when he assumed command of the army in 1775.¹³ The presence of Washington's name in this article attests to the thriving interest in all things related to the General and the Revolution that characterized the east coast states, from Massachusetts to New York to Virginia, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁴ A final paragraph offers a summary of preparations that are being made for Bunker Hill Day celebrations, a day closely associated with Israel Putnam in the minds and hearts of Connecticut Yankees.¹⁵ Additional evidence of the familiarity of the Putnam myth can be found in Charles Burr Todd's 1927 publication An Illustrated Guide to Putnam Memorial Camp, Redding, Connecticut: "With the

history and exploits of General Putnam every schoolboy is familiar. The quaint old colonial house at Danvers, Mass. where he was born, is still standing. The incidents of the wolf den, of the powder magazine at Fort Edward, his gallantry at Bunker Hill and on many revolutionary fields are twice-told tales and need not be recounted here."¹⁶

There can be little doubt that sentiments stirred by events of the Revolutionary War continued to run deep in early twentieth-century New England culture. More than a hundred years after the conclusion of that conflict, the people of Connecticut still fought the battle. Ives's composition celebrating Putnam proclaimed regional and national as well as individual values. The composer was an insider speaking of and for his milieu by contributing a personal view of the history of that culture through his music. While Ives's medium may have separated his commemorative efforts from other more traditional tributes and testimonies, his attention to things historical was typical of many old-family New Englanders and their concerns at the time. In a book aptly titled Presence of the Past, author Charles B. Hosmer offers a profile of New England's efforts to preserve its history at the turn of the century:

The heavy emphasis on local history in New England towns, combined with the more or less urban character of much of the region's population, gave preservationism a bedrock of support that it did not get elsewhere. People in New England wanted their ancient monuments to be an educative force--in the hands of private organizations whose objectives coincided with the older New Englander's desire to glorify his forebears. It was a case of keeping alive an understanding of the sufferings of the hardy pioneers who had first settled the rocky coasts or the determined men who refused to bow to the British.¹⁷

Like philosopher and educator John Dewey, Ives championed local history as national and universal history.¹⁸ The composer's ideas on the fusion of the two can be gleaned from a statement made in his Essays Before A Sonata: ". . . if local color, national color, any color, is a true pigment of the universal color, it is a divine quality, it is part of substance in art--not of manner."¹⁹ Ives understood his place pieces as sonifications of universally resonant ideas. Identifying a piece with a specific place did not isolate or limit the value or appeal of the work; quite the opposite. In naming his pieces so explicitly, Ives provided a particular venue from which to view the larger scene. Places put a face on a concept. Places substantiated ideas. It is hard to imagine a more persuasive argument for Ives's participation in, rather than isolation from, his culture.

Lyman Brewster and the Memorial Camp Ground

As has been seen in an earlier chapter, engagement with larger cultural issues was a family tradition for the Iveses.²⁰ Charles Ives would have had to turn his back on generations of involved relatives to redefine himself as isolated. Given his closeness to family this would seem highly unlikely. Among the most famous of the extended clan to participate in the national culture was Ives's Uncle Lyman Brewster, an attorney who married Charles's father's sister, Amelia. Given information available from reports housed at the Connecticut State Library, it would seem that Lyman Brewster played an important role in Ives's involvement with a place called Putnam's Camp. Sources for Ives's place piece of the same name are tied directly to Uncle Lyman.

Like the hero for whom "Putnam's Camp" is named, Ives's piece has an intriguing history. The work combines two earlier pieces, "'Country Band' March" and "Overture and March '1776'," whose sources date back to 1903-04. The genesis of "Putnam's Camp" illuminates both a particular aspect of Ives's connection to the memorial park and a general sense of his family's attitudes towards patriotic duty and responsible citizenship. Ives provides a sketch of the pre-history of the piece:

The *First Orchestral Set*, called *Three Places in New England* (though before it had the nice name of *New England Symphony*), was completely scored for a large orchestra in 1914--but it has a varied history, or a life with a past. Some of the things in the second movement, *The Children's Holiday at Putnam's Camp*, were from, and suggested by, an overture and march for theatre orchestra or small brass band in 1902-03 (see old scores and sketches, some pages of which are [in] photostat copies, as the lead-pencil notes and paper were getting faint and worn and hard to make out). Some of these chords and rhythms came about, to a certain extent, from the habit of the piano-drum-playing referred to above. These pieces were called *March and Overture, 1776*. . . . I first remember working on this when we had just built the little cabin on Pine Mountain, Danbury, and the *1776 Overture* was started at the suggestion of Uncle Lyman, who had written a revolutionary play called *Benedict Arnold*, and we were talking about making it into an opera. This must have been in the summer of 1903, for Uncle Lyman died in the spring of 1904.²¹

Lyman Denison Brewster (1832-1904), "the most prominent citizen of Danbury, and a lawyer of National reputation"²² played a significant role in Charles Ives's life, and possibly provided a model to the young composer of a person who deftly combined an extremely successful career outside the arts with a lifelong interest in and commitment to the arts.²³ When not preoccupied with judicial or senatorial duties Uncle Lyman exercised his talents for writing.²⁴ His skills in this area had been formally recognized at Yale where he was named 1855 class poet. Though the majority of Lyman Brewster's literary efforts were devoted to the composition of verse, he did write a play that was inspired by events of the American

Revolution.²⁵ While Charles Ives refers to the title of this play as *Benedict Arnold*, it appears as *Major John Andre* in Appendix 20 of Memos. John Kirkpatrick offered a concise assessment of the play's numerous virtues:

Quite apart from its relative [literary] merits, it commands interest by Ives's thinking of making it into an opera, and by its having thus been the pretext for his overture, "1776"--possibly also the *Country Band March*--and having thereby sparked one of his major works, *Putnam's Camp*, into which the two earlier pieces were dovetailed But more important is its voicing of what the events in the play meant to the Ives family and their circle of in-laws and friends. Danbury having been burned by the British in 1777, was still, well over a century later, acutely aware of the Revolution and everything it had meant, including patriotism and treason.²⁶

The second half of this quotation holds particular promise for understanding Ives's involvement in his culture through his music. Brewster's play was more than a romantic story about the cost and character of patriotism.²⁷ In focusing on a single incident from the nation's history, the author elevated the importance of individual efforts and personal choices in affecting all of American history. In citing a specific event, he offered a glimpse of a larger truth, in much the same way that Ives's sonifications of local places provided views on the universal condition. In his sympathetic acknowledgment of the complexity of men and their motives and emotions, Brewster gave a glimpse of himself and his

values.²⁸ By extolling the wisdom of America's first leaders, Brewster honored those who intelligently challenged tradition. Given Ives's impatience with America's turn-of-the-century musical culture that had "listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe," one can easily imagine the composer fully embracing Uncle Lyman's play with its championing of American individualism.

But Brewster went beyond an artistic effort memorializing a Revolutionary War incident. As was characteristic of many men of his class and position, he also participated in a very practical ongoing community project to keep that history alive. If father George Ives was a reminder for Charles of the Civil War, Uncle Lyman Brewster made certain that an even earlier conflict wasn't forgotten. Brewster's active role as a Commissioner of Putnam Memorial Park strengthened the family tradition of involvement in worthy causes and provided Ives a tangible, personal association with a place of national historic significance. Brewster's activities reflected national trends.

Given the combined impact of improved transportation on living and working patterns, significant increases in the numbers of immigrants entering the country, and a general perception of large-scale change in important

aspects of life at the turn of the century, many established New England families felt great urgency about the preservation of historical sites that would link their own personal histories to the local and state history and to the larger history of the Colonies. (Such efforts were, no doubt, stimulated by a mixture of patriotic and personal impulses, but included among them was a desire, on the parts of those who felt most threatened by the nature of the rapid changes, to claim America as belonging especially to White Anglo-Saxon Protestants.) The widespread preservation movement saw its mission as the identification, conservation, and guardianship of historic sites. The Putnam Camp Commission's interest in preserving its local Revolutionary War campsite reflected the greater national preservation movement that was afoot. And citizens of Connecticut had reason to champion the site. This particular camp ground at Redding was described in the Commission report of 1905 as "the best preserved camp of the Revolutionary war, partly because the ground was of little use for any purpose, and partly because the road which runs by the camp was discontinued shortly after the camp broke up, and was not reopened until the old camp came into possession of the State sixteen years ago."²⁹

At the time of his death, on 14 February 1904, Lyman D. Brewster was Vice President of a group of seven Commissioners of Putnam Memorial Camp; they had been appointed by the Governor for a two-year term beginning on 1 July 1901. (Brewster was reappointed to a second two-year term beginning July 1, 1903, but died seven months later.) Among various projects undertaken during Brewster's tenure, Camp Commissioners were involved in a project with surveyors to examine the park and create a topographical map of the area that accurately reflected the expanding site.³⁰ A portion of that survey was finished at the time of Brewster's death, and the remainder was completed soon afterwards. In addition to participating in the topographical map project of 1903-04, Ives's uncle was also an integral part of a significant historical effort related to Putnam's Camp. A subcommittee of the Commission, headed by Lyman Brewster, created a ninety-three-page retrospective report that was presented to the Governor on 15 January 1903;³¹ it chronicled all aspects of the Memorial Camp and listed the activities of the various Commissions over their fourteen-year history.³² The work was ambitious and comprehensive, as an introductory paragraph will demonstrate:

We have collected into an appendix such matters relating to the Camp Ground not before published, which includes the legislative action; the different committees and commissioners [sic] with their reports; the amounts appropriated from the beginning of the work to the present time and the purposes for which they were expended; also we have included the only report printed by the Commission (1893) not only because the report itself is very scarce but the matters stated therein are needed in the discussion regarding the future of the Camp Grounds, besides it brings together into one report the records from the inception of the work to date. There have also been added eighteen illustrations from photographs.³³

Brewster's activities with the Commission and especially the cumulative report of 1903 might have inspired him to return to his play *Major John Andre*, which he had written years earlier. Commission work would most certainly have been fresh in his mind at the time that he and Ives were contemplating an opera based upon Revolutionary War events, around Christmas 1903.

When Ives planned an opera with his Uncle Lyman on a Revolutionary War theme, and subsequently wrote a piece commemorating the campsite, the composer connected with a growing national concern in a most personal and idiosyncratic way. Ives joined forces with his extended family, whose forebears were among the very earliest European settlers in the nation, as he participated in a historically stimulated movement at work in his state and his country. By composing "Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut" in 1912, Ives offered musical evidence of a

deeply felt continuing kinship with family interests, hometown celebrations, and national activities that is at odds with notions of isolation. "Putnam's Camp" ultimately became Ives's particular musical version of a preservationist's efforts--a unique perspective on a collective vision.

1912

While Brewster's association with the Israel Putnam Memorial Camp might illuminate Ives's work on a Revolutionary War-theme opera in 1903, and while Brewster's death would explain his dropping the project in the summer of 1904, the question remains: what prompted the composer to return to the sources and write "Putnam's Camp" eight years later? There are a number of plausible explanations; the first involves simultaneous work on a second composition. At the same time that Ives wrote "Putnam's Camp," he also composed "The Fourth of July," the third movement of the *Holidays Symphony*. Both pieces sonify a child's remembrance of July Fourth, a child's perspective on that patriotic celebration, albeit with different stories to explain the different sounds.³⁴ Ives's work in 1912 on one piece explicitly about Independence Day may have prompted him to reconsider the

earlier project that made a more oblique reference to the same holiday. For loyal Connecticut Yankees, Israel Putnam was an integral part of Independence Day celebrations; local citizens perceived the General's role as pivotal in turning the tide of the Revolution, and so considered him essential to the notion of Independence.

A second and related explanation involves the common source piece "Overture and March '1776'" that appears in both pieces; the sketch for this work is dated, significantly, "Pine Mountain cabin, July 4, 1904."³⁵ Although quotations from "'1776'" are easily outnumbered by those from "'Country Band' March" in "Putnam's Camp," "Overture and March '1776'" is the essential resource for the Trio section (measures 99-115) of "The Fourth of July."³⁶ Interpolating the "Overture and March '1776'" in "The Fourth of July" might have inspired Ives to seek additional uses for these particular musical ideas; "Putnam's Camp" would have provided another forum.

Thirdly, handling materials that had had such specific associations with Brewster and his play on the Revolution in "The Fourth of July" could have rekindled Ives's interest in his uncle's work on behalf of the Putnam Memorial Park, and thus made 1912 a logical date for the creation of "Putnam's Camp," a piece that blended

a dream state narrative of Revolutionary War events with Independence Day celebrations. As the dating of the source piece "Overture and March '1776'" suggests, Ives's associations of Independence Day with his uncle survived Brewster's death.

A fourth reason why 1912 might be a logical date for a return to earlier ideas involves plans for a major change in the Iveses' living arrangements. The year is significant in that Charles and Harmony purchased 14 3/4 acres in West Redding in August 1912 and began to build a house just a few miles from the memorial park and Ives's ancestral home in Danbury. The new property owners would soon be able to leave New York when they wanted, not as dependent children returning to the family nest, but as successful adults who had established their own household and their own claim on the history-rich soil. While "Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut" uses a child as narrator, it is an adult's view of a child's actions at a particular place, an accurate reflection of the adult view Charles and Harmony brought to their new home. The Iveses' proximity to the memorial park could have renewed the composer's interest in earlier music associated with the place, and helped metamorphose those works into a project that would now benefit from a new adult perspective.

Yet another motivation for Ives's return to the long-shelved Revolutionary War project source pieces can be found in activities that took place in the Danbury-Redding area itself in August of 1912. The Danbury Evening News printed more than a dozen articles and pictures detailing a "mimic war" that occurred during a ten-day period in August of 1912. Thousands of soldiers came from neighboring states and participated in training maneuvers and mock battles; the towns of Danbury, Redding, and Bethel became festive encampments. According to reports in the local paper every aspect of the region's life was affected by the influx of troops, and patriotic spirit ran high; the railroad station, post office, telegraph office, and every retail establishment enjoyed record breaking business. At one point it was reported that "there was a bread famine in Bethel last night, and not a loaf could be procured for love or money."³⁷ Though the exercises were intended to provide military training, a celebratory atmosphere prevailed. As a result of the presence of so many soldiers in the area, Putnam's Camp appeared numerous times in news stories. Ives would have had to exert enormous effort *not* to think of the activities that took place 134 years earlier at the Memorial Park and of his uncle's involvement in preservation efforts on behalf of

the campground.

A last explanation is hinted at in Charles Burr Todd's Illustrated Guide to Putnam Memorial Camp. Starting on page 29 of the 1927 publication, there is a section entitled "A Tour of The Grounds." As with other sections of this book, the text in "A Tour of The Grounds" reflects multiple earlier sources. (As indicated on the title page, the book was a compilation of various historic materials.) On page 32, readers learn that at least a part of this section came from a source that was originally written in the fall of 1912.

Just beyond the barracks we enter the old Revolutionary orchard--one of the most interesting features of the camp. The apple trees here were set out in the deserted fireplaces the summer the Army left, and are, therefore (November, 1912), one hundred and thirty-three years old.³⁸

Whether or not Ives was familiar with this 1912 source is difficult to ascertain, but what is obvious is that while Ives was composing "Putnam's Camp," and purchasing land in the area, a pamphlet of some type was written for circulation that publicized the campground and informed visitors of how best to tour the site. Clearly local interest in the campsite was running high that year. When viewed within this broad context of activities and opportunities, Ives's return to his earlier materials appears to be a natural outgrowth of personal, regional

and musical preoccupations at the time.

"Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut"
The Program

The narrative accompanying "Putnam's Camp" provides an entree into a discussion of the music.³⁹ Ives's first paragraph explains the significance of the memorial park to regional history, for while every local citizen could be expected to know the story, a larger national audience would most likely need background information. The initial text is tacit acknowledgment of the more limited frame of reference of the second movement:

Near Redding Center, Conn., is a small park preserved as a Revolutionary Memorial; for here General Israel Putnam's soldiers had their winter quarters in 1778-1779. Long rows of stone camp fire-places still remain to stir a child's imagination. The hardships which the soldiers endured and the agitation of a few hot-heads to break camp and march to the Hartford Assembly for relief, is part of Redding history.⁴⁰

Having established a rationale for a piece celebrating this particular place, Ives proceeds to connect the place with the American holiday, July 4th, and to connect both place and date with the man Israel Putnam. Ives's opening lines evoke the commencement of numerous bedtime stories:

Once upon a '4th of July,' some time ago, so the story goes, a child went there on a picnic, held under the auspices of the First Church and the Village Cornet Band. Wandering away from the rest of the children past the camp ground into the woods, he hopes to catch a glimpse of some of the old soldiers. As he rests on the hillside of laurel and hickories, the tunes of the band and the songs of the children grow fainter and fainter;--when--'mirabile dictu'--over the trees on the crest of the hill he sees a tall woman standing. She reminds him of a picture he has of the Goddess of Liberty,--but the face is sorrowful--she is pleading with the soldiers not to forget their 'cause' and the great sacrifices they have made for it. But they march out of camp with fife and drum to a popular tune of the day. Suddenly a new national note is heard. Putnam is coming over the hills from the center,--the soldiers turn back and cheer.⁴¹ The little boy awakes, he hears the children's songs and runs down past the monument to 'listen to the band' and join in the games and dances.

It should be noted that Ives's fictional story about a child going to Putnam Memorial Park to enjoy an annual church picnic on or around Independence Day had real life counterparts that were well publicized in the local paper in 1912.⁴² Ives did not have to imagine such a scene or draw from his own memory or dreams to create the scaffolding of his program. The Danbury Evening News of 5 July 1912 carried the story of just such an event being held at Putnam's Camp:⁴³ "Adventist Picnic: Large Attendance at Outing at Putnam Park." Competitive athletic events were a mainstay of such outings, so included within the story were the names of the winners of the children's games. Additional stories in the local paper show that Putnam's Camp was a regular site for

church picnics and other gatherings.⁴⁴ Ives's addition of the "Village Cornet Band" as a co-sponsor for his programmatic picnic was most likely necessitated by the obvious patriotic flavor of the tunes quoted in his source pieces which had been written originally with a different purpose in mind. But Ives's patriotic characterization was not inappropriate. Other articles do connect the park site with more military events: "Camp in Historic Park: Eighth Co., C. A. C. Sets Forth on Annual Frolic."⁴⁵ The story captures the tone of the event: "Forty members of the Eighth Co. . . .set forth at two o'clock this afternoon for Putnam Park to hold their annual frolic and sham battle. The mimic battle is scheduled for the evening when Keeper Delany, of the park, will probably think that he is hearing the crack of doom."⁴⁶

The broad narrative scaffolding of Ives's program obviously had numerous antecedents in contemporary Danbury life. Picnics and public gatherings occurred regularly and frequently at the numerous scenic parks that dotted the region, including Putnam Memorial Park. Inspiration for the setting was plentiful. But so too was there a memorable model for a more specific moment captured in Ives's programmatic tale. And the particular reference for this dates back to the time of Ives's work

on the source pieces in 1903 and his thinking of creating an opera with Uncle Lyman. Ives's reference to the Goddess of Liberty and her role at a crucial moment in history at Putnam's Camp also had a significant model that would have been known to the composer and most of his neighbors.

Her character was named in an address delivered at Putnam's Camp on Bunker Hill Day, June 17, 1903 at an event described as "the largest gathering of people the Old Camp has known since it was occupied by General Putnam and his men."⁴⁷ Governor Chamberlain and his staff, the Putnam Phalanx, the state librarian, members of the Putnam Memorial Camp Commission, mayors, senators, ministers, and local dignitaries all came to Redding to celebrate. They gathered to commemorate, not only the events that transpired at Bunker Hill on that day in 1775, and the role of Israel Putnam in that first battle of the Revolution, but also "the 100 and more acres that now comprise this Camp every inch [of which] has been given by local and patriotic citizens of Connecticut to preserve this Camp to coming generations for all time, as a reminder of the heroic labors and sufferings of those that laid the corner-stone of this temple of liberty."⁴⁸

Among speeches of welcome and obligatory remarks by state officials, a historical report was presented by

Commissioner Parker who commented, "I know you will also share with me the feeling of loss that Judge Brewster, a member of this Commission, most gifted and most fitted to speak to you, is prevented by illness from doing so."⁴⁹ Was the speech that Parker was about to give, in fact, a text that Brewster had prepared? In the lengthy address that followed, Parker mentioned the relative obscurity of the near-desertion episode that he was about to tell, and that Ives would later memorialize in his music. He chided those who had for years suppressed the story because of their fear it exposed Connecticut troops to the dishonor associated with such behavior. He stated, "It is not he who never falls who has the greatest honor, but he who rises every time he falls; and the northern army came back better and stronger."⁵⁰

To conclude his lengthy historical remarks, Parker turned to an allegorical figure for perspective on the events that had transpired at the camp in 1778. Using an oratorical strategy sure to stir the emotions of those gathered, he summoned the character of the Goddess of Liberty, the very same Goddess of Liberty who, nine years later, appeared in Ives's program. In the closing minutes of the speech, Commissioner Parker "observed" the Goddess at Putnam's Camp as she "heard an unusual stir on the plateau above, and would have seen marching around

the cliff across the soldiers' bridge and past the knoll, the entire encampment, for the men had deserted in a body and were marching out and away to care for their homes and to demand redress of the legislature then sitting at Hartford." Parker understood "The Goddess of Liberty must have known that this act ended the war in defeat. . . The Goddess of Liberty would have known all this and her head would have fallen in shame and defeat. . ." But the speaker could also hear along with the Goddess the "sound that greets her ear. . .the sound of a galloping horse. . . Well may the Goddess raise her head and clap her hands for joy, for Israel Putnam, grand, glorious 'Old Put,' is on their trail and making the ride of his life."⁵¹

Readers should note that while this text appeared in the 1905 Commissioner's Report, the entire proceedings of the day's events appeared in The Hartford Times, June 17, 1903. (The 1905 Report included Brewster's portrait as frontispiece, a two-page tribute to the deceased commissioner, and a dedication to Lyman Brewster's wife, Amelia.) There is little doubt that Lyman Brewster would have had access to this text--perhaps even had a hand in its creation--and given the collaboration between Brewster and Ives at that point, that Ives was also familiar with its contents. Ives's programmatic Goddess

of Liberty was Parker's (perhaps even Brewster's) allegorical figure and a part of his local history. Ives's dream state heroine made her debut at a hugely popular and moving townwide celebration that was later recorded in a document that became a tribute to Lyman Brewster. If the June 1903 celebration itself faded from memory, the events of the day were recorded for all time.

"Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut"
The Music

In Ives's program, an adult recalls the tale--"so the story goes"--of a boy child whose experiences of a picnic are largely aural ones: the "tunes of the band," the "songs of the children." The opening of "Putnam's Camp" leaves few questions why this might be so. Driving and exuberant, the music swoops down in a fortissimo cascade of chromatic and whole-tone hybrid scales that defy containment within any single meter. The music and the amateur musicians being portrayed will not be denied or ignored. Measures of 4/4 and 9/8 jostle for position for the first five bars in a touchingly accurate reproduction of community music-making efforts. At measure 6, a gutsy march congeals, at least momentarily; at the same time the music settles into the key of B flat major. But the harmonic and metric tensions that Ives

exposed in the opening measures are never far from bursting through and disturbing the tenuous order of things. It takes only three measures for the bass to hobble off the beat (see measure 8) and have to find its way back again. "Putnam's Camp" co-opts "'Country Band' March," that "remarkable parody of the foibles of an amateur band"⁵² with its cavalcade of patriotic songs, popular tunes, and military music to set the sonic stage for the program. (See example measures 1-9.)

Allegro (Quick Step Time. About 126-1)

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes:

- Flute 1 and Piccolo 2
- Oboe 1 and 2
- Clarinet 1 in B \flat and 2
- Bassoon 1 and 2
- Contra Bassoon
- Horn 1, 2, 3, and 4 in F
- Trumpet 1 and 2 in B \flat
- Trombone 1, 2, and 3
- Tuba
- Timpani
- Snare Drum (marked *mf*)
- Bass Drum with Cymb. when indicated. + Gong (marked *mf*)
- Piano

The second system includes:

- Violin I
- Violin II
- Viola
- Violoncello
- Bass

The tempo and time signature are indicated as "Allegro (Quick Step Time. About 126-1)". The score contains various musical notations such as dynamics (*ff*, *mf*, *p*), articulation marks, and repeat signs.

①

Fl. 1
2

Ob. 1
2

Cl. 1
2

Ba-s'n 1
2

Hr. 1
2
3
4

Trpt. 1
2

Tromb. 1
2
3

Tuba

Timp.

Sn. Dr.
Bass Dr.

5

Piano

VI. I

VI. II

Viola

Cello

Bass

f

mf

mp

sf

cresc.

3.

(A)

[c - B^b]

div.

non div.

arcu

pizz.

arc

Any religious aspects of Ives's picnic, "*held under the auspices of the First Church and the Village Cornet Band,*"⁵³ have been completely overpowered by the unbridled energy of the brass band playing its patriotic fare.⁵⁴ After all, this is primarily a celebration of the Fourth of July in Redding, Connecticut. In "Putnam's Camp," "'Country Band' March" is synonymous with present-day, conscious activity both at the beginning of the piece, measures 1-49, and again at measures 120-154, when its harmonically altered reprise signals the end of the dream sequence and the boy's return to the festivities.⁵⁵

The ternary form of the program is reflected in the large-scale ternary form of the music. Though the reprise of the tune occurs in a new key, the return functions quite traditionally; important details are preserved. The string basses still fall out of step three measures into the march and have to find their way back again.⁵⁶ The lively march tune sounds twice in each appearance of A: at measures 6 and 27, and at measures 126 and 144. Ives's loose A-B-A' structure stabilizes a piece whose measure-by-measure activity often borders on the dizzyingly complicated and confused. We observe Ives manipulating established formal structures even as he loads these structures with untraditional musical materials. Ives participates in compositional

conventions at the same time that he challenges them to transform. The transformation of musical materials is a fitting manifestation of the transformation experienced by the youth of the story.

Indeed, the "B" section of "Putnam's Camp," beginning at measure 64 and continuing through measure 113, contains one of Ives's most challenging and complicated rhythmic events, the realization of two bands performing "out-of-sync." At measure 68, the orchestra divides into two ensembles playing marches in different tempi in a ratio of 4:3. The 1935 Mercury edition of *Three Places* shows premier conductor Nicolas Slonimsky's preference for the bi-tempo notation that he persuaded Ives to accept. Sinclair's 1976 edition presents Ives's original choice of notation for measures 68 to 83 "showing how the passage can be performed in relation to a single beat pattern."⁵⁷ (See examples from 1935 and 1976 editions.)

Andante animato (about 94: ♩) H Poco meno mosso (about 92-93: ♩)

Fl. *pp*

Ob. *pp* Solo *mf*

Cl. *pp* *mf*

Bas'n *ppp*

Hr. *ppp*

Trpt *ppp*

Tronb. Tuba *ppp*

Sn. Dr. *pp*

3 Bass Dr. *pp*

65 Piano *ppp* (*as a distant drum beat*)

Andante animato (about 94: ♩) H *Ossia Piano* Poco meno mosso (about 92-93: ♩) (*very slightly slower*)

VI. I *mp* *p* *pp*

VI. II *p* *pp*

Viola *p* *pp* (*2nd Viola ppp just coll 2nd orchestra.*)

Cello *p* *pp* (*uniz.*)

Bass *p* *pizz.* *pp*

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Più mosso (about 94-100: d)

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Bas'n

Hrn

Trpt

Tromb.
Tuba

Sn.Dr.
Bass Dr.

74

Più mosso (about 94-100: d) *cresc poco a poco* (slightly more active)

Piano

Organo
Passe

Vi. I

Vi. II

Viola I

Cello

Bass

arco

pizz.

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① Più moto (abms 100-104, *f*)

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Basn

Hn

Trpt

Tromb. Tuba

Sn. Dr. Bass Dr.

Ossia Piano (Right Hand)

79

Piano

Ossia Piano (Left Hand)

① Più moto (abms 100-104, *f*)

Vi. I

Vi. II

Viola

Cello

Bass

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Fl. 1

Ob. 1

Cl. 1

Bassoon

Horn 1

Trpt 1

Tromb. 1

Tuba

Timp.

Sn. Dr.

Bass Dr.

70

Piano

VI. I

VI. II

Viola

Cello

Bass

pp cresc. poco a poco

pp

pp cresc. poco a poco

II pp cresc. poco a poco

Più mosso (about 94-100: \downarrow)

Fl. 1
2

Ob. 1
2

Cl. 1
2

Bassoon 1
2

Hr. 1
2
3
4

Trpt. 1
2

Tromb. 1
2
3
4

Tuba

Timp.

Sn. Dr.
Bass Dr.

74

Più mosso (about 94-100: \downarrow)

(slightly more active)

Piano

VI. I
(norm. div.)

VI. II

Viola I - arco

Cello

Bass

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Musical score for page 130. The score includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bass.), Horn (Hn.), Trumpet (Trpt.), Trombone (Tromb.), Tuba, Tympani (Timp.), Snare Drum (Sn. Dr.) and Bass Drum (Bass Dr.), Piano (Piano), Violin I (VI. I), Violin II (VI. II), Viola, Cello, and Bass. The score is marked with dynamics such as *mf*, *mp*, and *f*. A first ending bracket is present at the top, labeled "1 Più MOTO (about 100-104 J.)". A section number "79" is written below the Snare and Bass Drum staves. The Piano part includes markings like *mp* and *mf*. The Viola part includes markings like "II - con sord.", "arco", and "mf". The Cello and Bass parts include markings like *f* and *fz*.

Inspiration for the rhythmic *mélange* in the middle section of "Putnam's Camp" is traceable to the second source piece, "Overture and March '1776,'" where measures 63-71 contain a bi-tempo march showcasing triplets against half notes in a ratio of 3:2. Music from this source is used sparingly in "Putnam's Camp," confining itself to the B section at measures 80-113 (overlapping the very tail-end of the newly composed bi-tempo material), and a brief return in the last four measures of the piece at measures 159-163.⁵⁸ Because of the more limited use of "Overture and March '1776,'" a smaller number of the quoted tunes present in "Putnam's Camp" come from that piece exclusively.⁵⁹

Rather than compromise the original pieces by demanding that they assume extra-musical meanings for the sake of the new piece, Ives uses "'Country Band' March" and "Overture and March '1776'" as music that the fictional child hears.⁶⁰ As such, this music ignites the auditor's imagination, but remains, on the whole, outside the newly created narrative of the historical reverie which goes on in the child's mind. According to Sinclair's annotated edition of Ives's program, the overwhelming majority of action in the story line takes place in the forty measures of new music that connects the source pieces. The following chart shows the general

placement of each of the source pieces in relation to "Putnam's Camp." Included is Sinclair's correlation of story line to score and the way in which those relationships match up with original and source music in "Putnam's Camp." (Consult chart.)

But how does Ives join this patchwork of pieces into a coherent, convincing composition? How does Ives accomplish the shift from activities of the present to an encounter with the past? In the story accompanying "Putnam's Camp," the composer refers to place, both literally and allegorically, to represent movement through time; a different place signifies a different time. "Putnam's Camp" asks that listeners consider place, not simply as a geographical location, but as a chronological location as well. The history of the site gives the place its value. It is as the child moves from one place at the park, the playground, to another, the woods, from consciousness to a dreamlike state, that the program comes to life. "Wandering away from the rest of the children past the camp ground into the woods, . . . he rests on the hillside of laurel and hickories . . . -- when--over the trees on the crest of the hill he sees a tall woman standing. . . . she is pleading with the soldiers . . .but they march out of camp. . . Suddenly. . . Putnam is coming over the hills from the center."⁶¹ Ives's program is rich with stage directions and topographical details; placing the drama is essential to its believability, placing the story gives Redding its reason to be proud. But in order to achieve convincing closure in the story, the child must return to the

present; the child must return to the starting place. Ives accomplishes this easily: "The little boy awakes, he hears the children's songs and runs down past the monument to 'listen to the band' and join in the games and dances." The child rejoins the present.

Like the story, Ives's piece contains a similar change in venue. In the music, measures 50-63, the "tunes of the bands and the songs of the children grow fainter and fainter"; the child exits the present. The driving rhythms that characterized the march fade from our hearing; an eighth-note/eighth-rest pattern broadens into quarter notes, and then into triplets tied over bar lines, and finally into whole notes. (See bass line, measures 48-64.) Any sensation of key disappears in a complex of repeated harmonies and whole-tone fragments. Instrumental melody lines become circular patterns of pitches. (See cello line, measure 53ff.)

Fl. 1 2

Ob. 1

Cl. 1 2

Bas'n 1 2

Hn 1 2 3 4

Trpt 1 2

Tromb 1 2

Tuba

Timp.

Sn. Dr.

Bass Dr.

45

Piano

VI. I

VI. II

Viola

Cello

Bass

p *f* *mf* *mp* *sf* *pizz.* *div.* *mf arco*

ⓕ (1.)

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Fl. 1 2

Ob. 1 2

Cl. 1 2

Basn. 1 2

Hn. 1 2 3 4

Trpt. 1 2

Tromb. 1 2 3

Tuba

Sn. Dr. Bass Dr.

Timp. 49

Piano

VI. I

VI. II

Viola

Cello

Bass

decresc. e rit

gradually slower (about 82-88: ♩)

mf

p

mp

sf

pp

arco

(pizz.)

decresc.

C♯ Durin M ST

(with Cym.)

(about 88-84 = J) *rallent.*

Fl. 1
2

Ob. 1
2

Cl. 1
2

Bas'n 1
2

Hr. 1
4

Trpt 1
2

Tromb
Tuba

Sn. Dr.
Bass Dr.

Timp.
53

Piano

VI. I
VI. II

Viola

Cello

Bass

(no Cym.) *pp* *ppp*

(about 88-84 = J) *pp* *pp* *rallent.*

(Cresc.) *mf* *pp* *rallent.*

(pizz.) *mf* *pp*

(about 88-84 = J) *pp*

Fl. 1 2
Ob. 1 2
Cl. 1 2
Bas'n 1 2
Hn 1 2 3 4
Trpt 1 2
Tromb. 1 2
Tuba
Timp.
Sn. Dr.
Bass Dr.

Quasi largo

rallen.

58

Piano

VI. I

VI. II

Viola

Cello

Bass

ppp

pp

ppp

pppp

arco

morendo

Quasi largo

can sord.

ten.

L.H. ten.

[one or two only]

The number of forces dwindles to an increasingly indistinguishable low-voiced murmur. Starting at measure 52, all sense of forward momentum and linearity evaporates. Sound fades into soundlessness. As stillness takes over, time is unmeasurable, place is unknown. Without the inviting tune of "'Country Band' March" to carry listeners along, we are left to drift in musical space. The only certainty is that we are no longer where we were. (See example measures 50-64.)

On the other side of silence, a high-register, *ppp* arpeggio begun in the strings and completed by the piano gently lifts the curtain on a new scene.⁶² The auditor enters into a new place, the past. Here-and-now has become there-and-then. Using a variety of compositional techniques, Ives reveals a particular distant place;⁶³ starting at measure 65, and for a brief period of time thereafter, sounds of Putnam's Camp, winter 1778-79 waft in the air. A faint solo flute recalls the memory of a bugle call and announces the scene change; dynamics are soft; the tempo is slow and deliberate; the harmonic rhythm is sluggish and reluctant, suggesting only minimal energy. Ives has conjured up the past. (See example measures 65-66.)

Andante animato (about 94: J) (H) Poco meno mosso (about 92-95: J)

Fl. 1 *pp*

Ob. 2 *pp* Solo

Cl. 1 *pp*

Bassoon 2 *pp*

Hr. 4

Trpt. 2 *pp*

Tromb. 3 *pp*

Tuba

Timp.

Sa. Dr. *F*

Bass Dr. *ppp*

65 *L.H.*

Piano *ppp (as a distant drum beat)*

(Four) *(=)* (H) (very slightly slower) (=)

VI. I *mp* Poco meno mosso (about 92-98: J)

(others) *p*

VI. II *p*

Viola *pp* and Viola *ppp* piz... (less than half section)

Cello *p* coll. *ppp* orchestra.

Bass *p* (uniz.)

pizz.

* $\frac{1}{2}$ arco }
 $\frac{1}{2}$ pizz }

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This page of a musical score, numbered 142, contains the following parts and markings:

- Flute (Fl.):** Part 1 and 2. Includes a first ending bracket labeled '1.' and a *mf* dynamic marking.
- Oboe (Ob.):** Part 1 and 2. Includes a first ending bracket labeled '(1)' and a *mf* dynamic marking.
- Clarinet (Cl.):** Part 1 and 2. Includes a first ending bracket labeled '(1)' and a *mf* dynamic marking.
- Bassoon (Bas'n):** Part 1 and 2. Includes a first ending bracket labeled '(1)' and a *pp* dynamic marking with the instruction *cresc. poco a poco*.
- Horn (Hn):** Part 1, 2, 3, and 4. Includes a *pp* dynamic marking with the instruction *cresc. poco a poco*.
- Trumpet (Trpt):** Part 1 and 2. Includes a first ending bracket labeled '(1)' and a *pp* dynamic marking.
- Trombone (Tromb.):** Part 1, 2, and 3. Includes a *pp* dynamic marking with the instruction *cresc. poco a poco*.
- Drum (Dr.):** Snare Drum (Sn. Dr.) and Bass Drum (Bass Dr.). Includes a *pp* dynamic marking with the instruction *cresc. poco a poco*.
- Piano (Piaano):** Includes a section marked '70' and a *pp* dynamic marking with the instruction *cresc. poco a poco*.
- Violin (Vi.):** Part I and Part II. Includes a *pp* dynamic marking with the instruction *cresc. poco a poco*.
- Viola:** Includes a *pp* dynamic marking with the instruction *cresc. poco a poco*.
- Cello (Cello):** Includes a *pp* dynamic marking with the instruction *cresc. poco a poco*.
- Bass (Bass):** Includes a *pp* dynamic marking with the instruction *cresc. poco a poco*.

But in 1778 this place is significant, not for the hallowedness of the site, which is deprived of topographical definition by a thick blanket of snow, but for the drama that unfolds on the grounds. One hundred and thirty years later, Putnam's Camp was a reminder of local and regional events. In his piece, while naming the place, Ives emphasizes actions over environment.

Upon transporting the listener from the public part of the camp ground to the woods, Ives quickly sets about telling the tale of Putnam's heroic intervention. It is this event that distinguishes the place. His emphasis on action in this piece accounts for the virtual absence of any exclusively contemplative sonification of place as compared to other movements in the orchestral set, where meditative sounds of the environment are equal to, or at times, of greater importance than events.⁶⁴ Where in "Putnam's Camp" there is an immediacy to the action, an urgency associated with the fact that this is the very soil that saw the action, in "The 'St. Gaudens'" this is only partially true. The most dramatic events being commemorated in that piece took place hundreds of miles away from the site. The fate of the 54th Regiment becomes one of a number of events that a visitor might consider when walking through the Commons. The Commons are worthy of thoughtful reflection for many reasons.

Paradoxically, in "Putnam's Camp," a piece whose title ostensibly celebrates a familiar local site, place is only audible in the few moments between activities, when the stage is cleared of actors, when auditors are informed of scene changes. Because the sole reason to commemorate this site is the associated, and, ultimately, inspirational events that transpired here, Ives spends little time on the establishment of place. At measure 67 he launches into a recreation of the historical drama.

The confrontation between weary soldiers prepared to desert the Colonial cause and Israel Putnam, who convinces them to reverse their course, is at the core of Ives's program and the famous rhythmic conflict referred to earlier in the chapter. Opposing groups of instruments symbolize the very real discord in the ranks. The trudging march cadence that is firmly entrenched in the strings starting at measure 65 appears unaware of the softly agitated warning voiced by the syncopated oboe solo starting at measure 67 (the Goddess of Liberty) "pleading with the disaffected soldiers not to forget their 'cause'." Halfway through measure 68, the mutineers--bassoon, horn, trumpet, trombone, snare drum, piano, and a renegade viola--begin their march on Hartford to the sounds of "The British Grenadiers," quoted in the trumpet line starting in measure 69.

Ives's selection of this particular metamorphosing tune is significant given the drama being enacted. One could argue that the popular tune originally associated with the British enemy at measure 69 ("But they march out of camp with fife and drum to a popular tune of the day") is appropriated by the Colonials and reappears as "Hail America." At measure 89, midway through the "B" section, Putnam heroically arrives to reverse the course of the mutineers--and, local citizens would argue, to reverse the course of history. Polyrythms associated with the dramatic conflict are eliminated as Putnam sets all aright. Ives uses a brass fanfare to announce that "Suddenly a new national note is heard." Two measures later the flute pipes in with "The British Grenadiers." (See example measures 89-95.) Music from the source piece "Overture and March '1776'" will dominate the remainder of the section. The fact that the incipit to "Yankee Doodle" is embedded in "The British Grenadiers" strengthens the argument for its use as an accompaniment to Putnam's successful intervention on behalf of the national cause.⁶⁵ (See circled notes in example.)

Allegro moderato (about 100-112:♩)

①

Fl. 1 2

Ob. 1 2

Cl. 1 2

Bass'n 1 2

Hr. 1 2 3

Trpt 1 2

Tromb. 1 2 3

Tuba

Timp.

Sn. Dr.

Bass Dr.

88

Piano

Allegro moderato (about 100-112:♩)
(In a moderate march time)

①

Vi. I
senza sord.

Vi. II
senza sord.

Viola
ppp senza sord. arto

Cello
senza sord. arto

Bass
mf pizz.

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Having defused the revolt and resolved the conflict, there is no programmatic or musical reason to remain in this historical place. (The general himself did not remain in the Camp beyond the Spring of 1779.) The crashing climax of "'1776'" that ends the "B" section at measure 113 overflows into a transitional passage beginning at measure 114 which itself leads into the reintroduction of "'Country Band' March" at measure 120 and the familiar 4/4 tune at measure 126. Where programmatically and musically entry into the past required disengagement with activity followed by a transitional silence, the movement out of the past segues effortlessly into the present. Past-to-present appears to be the more natural progression of time, even if Ives chooses to disregard that ordering on numerous occasions. The silence that introduced the step back in time is unnecessary; rejoining what is already in progress requires no discontinuity.

Out of the still growing crescendo that ends measure 113, a simple, gentle tune emerges to connect past with present. Our relocation in place and time is secured by the music; the rhythm pulses squarely in four, the harmony is transparently tonal and appropriate to a children's song. As the boy returns to the picnic activities, he brings with him his new vision of the

place, a vision that is altered by his having witnessed historical events that "took place" at the place. The boy's new perspective is essential to Ives's conception of this piece. Auditors realize that experience changes people in the most fundamental of ways; it changes the way we hear familiar sounds. In the case of "Putnam's Camp," the recapitulation of "'Country Band' March" in a new key is sonification of that essential idea. Places can teach us much about ourselves.

As with Ives's movement celebrating the St. Gaudens monument in Boston Common, written at a time when national attentions were focused on Civil War golden anniversaries, the musics of Ives's second movement appeared at times when local attentions were being focused on an even earlier, more regionally specific conflict. That Ives wrote these pieces when he did is not the result of whimsy, coincidence, or purely personal motives. With the first two movements of *Three Places in New England* Ives offered timely reflections on issues receiving widespread, public discussion. These works are Ives's individual responses to national concerns, local customs and family causes; they are evidence of his participation in American culture on multiple levels.

Notes for Chapter Two

1 The alternate title Ives suggested was "The Children's Holiday at Putnam's Camp." See Memos, 83.

2 The program I have suggested for "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common" progresses from place to event and back to place. The program of "Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut" that Ives provided moves from present day activities to an awareness of the historical place and back again to activities. Though obviously, these activities occur at historic Putnam Memorial Park, it is the events that are sonified in the outer thirds of this piece and not the place itself. The sonification of place must wait for the quiet of the child's dream world. Only at this point can place permeate the consciousness and be heard. When the sounds of picnic activities return and intrude on the dream, attention is diverted away from the historic place and there is a return to the activities of the here and now.

3 The music of "Putnam's Camp" will be discussed later in the chapter. At this point it is useful to know that the first movement of *Three Places in New England* is approximately nine minutes in duration and "Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut" is approximately six minutes.

4 To be sure there were genuine comparisons to be made between the two sites. The winter of 1778-79 was one of the most severe in New England and so a good match for the uncompromising Pennsylvania winter that made Washington's encampment famous. In addition to similarly extreme environments, living quarters at both camps were alike. "These barracks, like those at Valley Forge were built of logs, notched at the corners, and chinked with mortar, with a capacious stone chimney on one gable end. They were 12 feet wide by 16 long and accommodated twelve privates, or eight officers." Charles Burr Todd, Illustrated Guide to Putnam Memorial Camp, Redding, Connecticut (Connecticut: The State of Connecticut, 1927), 11. But Putnam's troops did not suffer the same degree of corporeal deprivations known to be the case with the Valley Forge contingent. The Connecticut troops were most distressed, not with their own physical condition, but with "the starvation and suffering of their wives and children, and of those who depended on them at home." See the "Report of the Commissioners of the Israel Putnam Memorial Camp Ground" (Hartford,

Connecticut: Hartford Printing Press, 1 February 1905), 31.

5 Don C. Seitz, Uncommon Americans: Pencil Portraits of Men and Women Who Have Broken the Rules (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1925), 108.

6 A fuller account of this tale is offered by Seitz: "With five of his neighbors he set out to hunt her down and followed a long trail in a light snow that ended in a den amid some rocks, only three miles from Putnam's house. She was at home but could not be dislodged. The countryside was aroused and the den surrounded by excited farmers. Dogs were sent in only to come out lacerated and whimpering. Straw and sulphur were burned without result. The siege lasted all day and until late in the night, when fires and torches lit up the strange scene. At that hour Putnam determined to enter the den himself and end the affair. Fastening a rope to his legs so he could be pulled out on signal, he lit a torch of birch bark and crept into the hole between the ledges. He had to crawl something like forty feet before he saw the red eyes glowing. He had a prearranged signal--tugging at the rope--that should let the crowd know he had found the enemy. In their excitement they misread the signal and pulled him out, skinning him on the rough rock and stripping his shirt over his head. He had gone in uncoated. Returning with a musket loaded with buckshot he crawled in again and ended the incident. Taking the dead wolf by the ears he signaled a recall and was dragged out with the varmint in his stout hands. The countryside rang with the exploit and for several days the wolf was exhibited to curious crowds. Putnam became the recognized leader of the neighborhood." See pages 108-110.

7 Ibid., 122.

8 Charles Ives took a Latin course in his Freshman year at Yale that included the "History of the Roman Republic" and so no doubt learned of the myth of Cincinnatus. For a record of Ives's course work at Yale, see John Kirkpatrick, ed., Memos, 180.

9 Garry Wills, Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment. Images of Power in Early America (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984), 35-37.

10 See Frederick A. Ober, "Old Put" The Patriot (New

York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904), 12-13 for an assessment of the fertility of Putnam's land and for a summary of various real estate transactions undertaken by Farmer Putnam.

11 Ives's library at Redding contained a number of volumes on Connecticut history including Charles Burr Todd's In Olde Connecticut, given by Aunt Amelia to Charles and Harmony, S. B. Hill's History of Danbury, Connecticut, given by Uncle Lyman Brewster to Charles E. Ives and Odell Shepard's, Connecticut, Past and Present. As will be seen later in this chapter, Ives most likely had access to much more information about Israel Putnam than even the average well-informed New Englander.

12 The Putnam Phalanx was organized in Hartford, August 9, 1858 as an honor guard to welcome back former Governor Thomas H. Seymour from his service as United States Minister to Russia. Originally constituted with a membership of 153, the Phalanx adopted Revolutionary War-style uniforms and marched with muskets. Through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Phalanx appeared at various celebrations, commemorative events, parades, and banquets, and functioned as a ceremonial guard unit for government officials and visiting dignitaries. The Putnam Phalanx maintained an armory and meeting hall in Hartford until 1940. I am grateful to Howard L. Miller, Curator at the Connecticut State Library, for making information and a lithograph of the Phalanx available to me. The information presented in the preceding paragraph is a summary of an exhibit label accompanying the lithograph "Staff and Officers of the Putnam Phalanx as Originally Constituted." For additional information see Excursion of the Putnam Phalanx (Hartford, Connecticut: Published by the Phalanx [1859]).

13 See Christopher Ward, The War of The Revolution (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1952), 102-103. As one of four Major-Generals chosen by Congress, Israel Putnam was with Washington at the time he took command.

14 In Charles B. Hosmer, Jr.'s monograph Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), the author presents a compelling study of the numerous efforts that were launched by individuals and societies to preserve aspects of the nation's early history. Particular attention is lavished on the fifty-year period 1875 to 1925. Though the

preservation movement in its earliest manifestation was identified most strongly with attempts to save structures that had associative and inspirational potential, the efforts of local and regional groups to save the past resonated in numerous ways that broadened the public's interest in all things historical. Among northeast coast preservationists' early success stories are the saving of the Old South Meeting House in Boston (1876)--an effort that involved the direct support and participation of Ralph Waldo Emerson; the partial restoration of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, celebrated July 4, 1898; the chartering of associations in numerous states whose sole purpose was safeguarding historic buildings and sites; the restoration of the west barracks of Fort Ticonderoga, which was celebrated by a visit from President Taft July 4, 1909; the organization of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (S.P.N.E.A.) by William Sumner Appleton in 1910; and the saving of the Old State House in Hartford, Connecticut, an effort that began in 1911 and took over a decade to complete. See Hosmer, 175.

15 "Hartford is promised a big military display on Bunker Hill day, June 17, the Phalanx voted Monday to extend an invitation to the Worcester Continentals, the Amoskeag veterans and the Washington Minute Men to be its guests in this city on that day. The First company, Governor's Foot Guard, will have the Providence Light Infantry as its guests that day and it is the intention of the Phalanx and the Foot Guard to join in a street parade and celebration." The Danbury News, 24 February 1904, p. 7.

16 Todd, Illustrated Guide, 13.

17 Hosmer, Presence of the Past, 122.

18 Thomas J. Schlereth, "Local History as Universal History," in Evoking a Sense of Place, ed. Joann P. Krieg (New York: Heart of the Lake Publishing, 1988), 19-27. Schlereth traces the concept of the local as universal to John Dewey.

19 Charles Ives, Essays Before A Sonata, 81.

20 Much has been written about George Ives's participation in the Civil War, and various family members' associations with the Abolitionist and Transcendentalist movements. But little has ever been said about Charles's younger brother Moss and his historical interests. Two articles that appeared in The

Connecticut Magazine in 1902-1903 by J. Moss Ives provide a sense of the range of his concerns. "Connecticut in the Manufacturing World" is a historical study tracing the development of the hatting industry in Danbury. "A Connecticut Battlefield in the American Revolution" tells the story of Danbury in 1777 as it was sacked and burned by the British. See The Connecticut Magazine, Vol. VII, No.5. Given Charles Ives's work on an opera with a Revolutionary War theme during the years 1903-04, it would seem that the Ives brothers shared a similar historical preoccupation at the time.

21 Charles Ives, Memos, 83. Lyman Denison Brewster actually died February 14, 1904. For additional thoughts on dating these early works, see James Sinclair's prefatory remarks to *Three Places in New England*, iii.

22 These lines are taken from the opening paragraph of an obituary that appeared in the New York Times. "Judge Brewster is Dead," New York Times, 15 February 1904, 7/col. 6.

23 In 1893 when Ives was nineteen years old, he accompanied his uncle to the American Bar Association National Conference and acted as his secretary. The two men visited Brewster relatives in Illinois and took in events and concerts at the Chicago World's Fair. Ives's library holdings as they remain with nephew Bigelow Ives contain a number of volumes that originally belonged to L. D. Brewster. See Burkholder, Charles Ives: The Ideas Behind the Music, 126 n.5, 144 n.33.

24 Lyman Denison Brewster served as a member of Connecticut's state legislature in 1870, 1878, and 1879, and in the state senate in 1880 and 1881. National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1896 ed., s.v. "Brewster, Lyman Denison."

25 See Kirkpatrick's comments on dating and sources for Brewster's play in Memos, 281-282. If Charles Ives's historically-conscious home environment was not enough to expose him to the early history of the United States, a course taken in his senior year at Yale, "The American Colonies" would have provided him with the necessary background to appreciate his uncle's work. See Memos, 182.

26 John Kirkpatrick, ed., Memos, 281.

27 Based loosely upon historical events, the play traces the actions that lead up to Benedict Arnold's and John

Andre's treasonist plot to surrender West Point to the British, and the resulting execution of Major John Andre. Coincidental to a discussion of Brewster's play as a source of inspiration for Ives's piece on Putnam's Camp is the fact that General Israel Putnam was present to witness Andre's execution. See Seitz, Uncommon Americans, 122. For a hybridized version of the play drawn from three sources, see Memos, 282-317.

28 One can glean a sense of the largeness of spirit that characterized Lyman D. Brewster from the numerous stories that appeared in local papers in the week following his death. Quite aside from various testaments to his intellectual acumen--"one of [the state's] ablest legal minds, a man who had the best welfare of Connecticut and of the country at heart," Danbury Evening News, 16 February 1904--the accounts consistently referred to his humanity. "We experienced his deep human sympathy, and we know that many an individual was touched by that sympathy . . . For the sympathy he extended was not flaunted before the eyes of men, but was given quietly lest his left hand should know what his right hand had done." The Danbury News, 19 February 1904.

29 "Report of the Commissioners," 1905, 30.

30 See The Danbury Evening News, 10 March 1904, p. 5. Gifts and bequests of land gradually enlarged the original 12-acre site of 1888 to the present day 183-acre memorial Camp. As with the St. Gaudens monument, whose relevance continued to increase and change over its nine decades of history, Putnam's Camp also experienced a growing reputation for a number of years. In 1921, when a museum was opened on the site, the park came under state management. In 1954 its supervision was transferred to the Park and Forest Commission. In 1970 the park was designated a Historical Landmark. Unfortunately, as a result of the recent lengthy recession in the New England states, the memorial park has succumbed to neglect.

31 Brewster's role in the preparation of the report is recounted in the 1905 Commission Report which carried a two-page tribute to the former Commissioner: "His last active work for the Park was in the preparation of the report of the Commission in 1903, he being Chairman of the Committee having it in charge. He came to Hartford only a few days before being stricken with illness, and carefully edited the manuscript." See "Report of the Commissioners of the Israel Putnam Memorial Camp Ground

to his Excellency The Governor, February 1, 1905, for the Two Years Ending September 30, 1904" (Hartford, Connecticut: Press of the Hartford Printing Company, 1905), 6. See also James Sinclair's remarks in the preface to "Overture and March '1776,'" which help to establish the chronology of events regarding the composition of one of Ives's source pieces for "Putnam's Camp:" "During Christmastime 1903 at Danbury, Brewster suggested to Ives that this play ['Major John Andre'] might have operatic potential. Ives was enthused enough to immediately start sketching an overture based on the revolutionary theme." See Charles E. Ives, "Overture & March '1776,'" ed. by James B. Sinclair (Pennsylvania: Merion Music, Inc., 1976), 3.

32 The Commissioners of Putnam Camp filed reports with the state between the years 1889 and 1915. These reports are housed at the Connecticut State Library in Hartford. I am extremely grateful to State Archivist, Dr. Mark Jones, for assisting me in locating these materials, for making them available to me and for providing suggestions for other resources.

33 "Report of the Commissioners of the Israel Putnam Memorial Camp Ground to his Excellency the Governor, January 15, 1903, for the Fifteen Months Ending September 30, 1902" (Hartford, Connecticut: Press of the Hartford Printing Company, 1903), 5. Given Ives's almost certain awareness of this document, the presence of eighteen photographs is most interesting. Such images allowed Ives to recollect and contemplate images of the Camp Ground for years to come without the necessity of being there. They captured various sites at the Camp that he would later refer to in his program.

34 Late twentieth-century audiences might not fully appreciate the amount of attention paid to the Fourth of July by large numbers of early twentieth-century New Englanders. A cursory look at advertisements in local newspapers of the time can provide a sense of the importance of the holiday to the region. Merchants selling everything from ready-to-eat provisions, to fresh clams, to blue serge suits, to straw hats, to beer, to lotions to remedy celebration accidents linked their products to upcoming Fourth of July picnics, lawn parties and outings. See The Danbury Evening News 28 June 1912, p.9, 10, 11; 29 June 1912, p.10; 1 July 1912, p.9; 3 July 1912, p.12. When July 4, 1912 turned out to be unusually quiet because of scorchingly hot temperatures, newspaper accounts the following day still proudly

boasted of the various displays of patriotism that were visible all over town. See The Danbury Evening News 5 July 1912, p.8.

35 In the summer of 1903, Ives and his Poverty Flat roommates built a cabin on Pine Mountain in Ridgefield, Connecticut, a town southwest of Danbury and Putnam's Camp. Ives makes reference to the necessity of the project taking place without Aunt Amelia's knowledge: "We finally succeeded in placing that shanty on the mountain [Pine Mt.] in Ridgefield but did it unbeknowned to Aunt Amelia fearing adverse suggestions. It makes a good young camp." Ives, Memos, 265. Aunt Amelia was Lyman Brewster's wife. As such a comment shows, Ives associated certain aspects of the cabin with the Brewster family. Though the precise location of the 1903 cabin is unknown at this time, there is conjecture that the land Ives built on was owned by Uncle Lyman and Aunt Amelia. Photographs do exist showing the cabin by itself and with a large group of people seated in front of it. Interestingly, Aunt Amelia is present in the second of these photographs, so either Ives worried unnecessarily, or in time accustomed his aunt to the idea. I am grateful to Lucye Boland, Director of the Danbury Scott-Fanton Museum for, among other things, sharing the museum's Ives photograph collection with me, and for helping me identify persons in the picture. By dating the "Overture and March '1776'" "Pine Mountain Cabin, July 4, 1904" Ives connects his piece to Lyman Brewster and his family, and to Independence Day and Israel Putnam.

36 See Charles Ives, "The Fourth of July" ed. Wayne D. Shirley (Milwaukee: Associated Music Publishers, Inc., 1988), iv and Charles E. Ives, "Overture and March '1776'" ed. James B. Sinclair, 3 for comments on the uses of this source piece.

37 The celebratory atmosphere is captured in the following paragraph that appeared as part of a full column article: "Hundreds of automobile parties passed through Danbury and Bethel this morning, bound for Redding and Newtown. They were all seeking the scene of actual conflict between the contending armies." Danbury Evening News 16 August 1912, 8. For comments on the boon to local business see the Danbury Evening News 17 August 1912, 9.

38 Todd, Illustrated Guide, 32.

39 The extended program note to "Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut" appears in *Memos*, 84, and in both the 1935 Mercury Edition and the 1976 Sinclair editions of *Three Places in New England*, p. 20. In the 1976 edition Sinclair provides footnotes that refer to specific measures of music illuminating Ives's text.

40 Readers will notice the liberal sprinkling of dashes and dash-compounds (semi-colash, commash) present in Ives's text. These punctals were discussed in relation to Ives's poem "Moving,--Marching--Faces of Souls!" in the chapter on "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common" as evidence of his familiarity with literary conventions of his day.

41 This tale of Putnam's success in reversing the near-desertion of his troops bears a striking resemblance to one of the most moving stories about George Washington, once again strengthening comparisons between the two patriots. The following summary is based upon James Thomas Flexner's *Washington: The Indispensable Man* (New York: Signet, 1984), 171-178.

In 1782, Washington, as Commander-in Chief, wrote to the Continental Congress on behalf of his exhausted, demoralized officers "goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past and of anticipation on the future . . . soured by penury and what they call the ingratitude of the public, involved in debts, without one farthing of money to carry them home, after having spent the flowers of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, and suffered everything human nature is capable of enduring on this side of death." (171) Officers saw the army as the only force powerful enough to pressure individual states to make good on their debts and began to plan for a military action to that end. But they learned early in 1783 that Washington would not countenance using the army "as a political force." (172-175) After months of plotting and positioning, events came to a head. At a meeting Saturday, March 15, 1783 Washington faced a hostile audience and pleaded his case for the officers to practice patience and moderation in resolving their grievances, and by doing so "afford occasion for posterity to say, . . . 'had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.'" (177)

Flexner argues that as wise and reasoned as Washington's plea was, he had not persuaded the legitimately dispirited officers to abandon their plans

for military action against the government. It was not until one final gesture that Washington won his point. "Washington had come to the end of his prepared speech but his audience did not seem truly moved. He clearly had not achieved his end. He remembered he had brought with him a reassuring letter from a congressman. He would read it. He pulled the paper from his pocket, and then something seemed to go wrong. The General seemed confused; he stared at the paper helplessly. The officers leaned forward, their hearts contracting with anxiety. Washington pulled from his pocket something only his intimates had seen him wear: a pair of eyeglasses. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'you will permit me to put on my spectacles, for I have not only grown gray but almost blind in the service of my country.' This homely act and simple statement did what all Washington's arguments had failed to do. The hardened soldiers wept. Washington had saved the United States from tyranny and civil discord. As Jefferson was later to comment, "The moderation and virtue of a single character probably prevented this Revolution from being closed, as most others have been, by a subversion of that liberty it was intended to establish." (177-178) Putnam offered similarly inspirational words to the near-deserters: "My brave lads, whither are you going? Do you intend to desert your officers, and to invite the enemy to follow you into the country? Whose cause have you been fighting and suffering so long in--is it not your own? Have you no property, no parents, wives, or children? You have behaved like men so far--all the world is full of your praises, and posterity will stand astonished at your deeds! but not if you spoil all at last. Consider how much the country is distressed by the war, and that your officers have been no better paid than yourselves. But we all expect better times, and that the country will do us ample justice. Let us all stand by one another then, and fight it out like brave soldiers. Think what a shame it would be for Connecticut men to run away from their officers." See Todd, Illustrated Guide, 19. The power of the individual is a theme dear to Ives and one that runs through both the Washington and Putnam legends.

42 See Appendix 2 for copies of stories carried in The Danbury Evening News regarding church picnics.

43 The Danbury Evening News, 5 July 1912, p. 8.

44 See The Danbury Evening News 29 June 1912, p. 8, "St. James' Picnic: Athletic Sports a Feature of Outing at Putnam Park."

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- 45 The Danbury Evening News, 24 August 1912, p 3.
- 46 Keeper Thomas Delany had "been an employee on the grounds from the beginning, and for twelve years [January 15, 1903] keeper of the park . . ." See "Report of the Commissioners" 15 January 1903, p. 19. At the time of this story Delany would have been keeper for twenty-one years.
- 47 "Report of the Commissioners," February 1, 1905, p. 6.
- 48 Ibid., 23.
- 49 Ibid., 25.
- 50 Ibid., 28. That Ives should know this story, which does not appear in any of the numerous collections of Putnam tales that I consulted, suggests his familiarity with that day's address.
- 51 Ibid., 31-34. The final pages of Parker's address are included in Appendix 3.
- 52 James B. Sinclair, ed., *Three Places in New England*, iii.
- 53 Italics mine.
- 54 The reference to "the First Church" in a program that has no further use for a religious connection would seem to point to Ives's familiarity with such church sponsored picnics as they were reported in local papers and perhaps even to his modeling his program on the same. Of the twelve tunes Clayton Henderson identifies as quotes in "Putnam's Camp," only "Happy Day" is explicitly religious in origin. Such an observation calls into question the validity of this piece as a source tune at all. My skepticism is corroborated by a comment made by James Sinclair to Paul C. Echols that appears in Echols's forthcoming Descriptive Catalogue. Regarding borrowings in "Putnam's Camp" Sinclair states, "I doubt this is "Happy Day", rather some other tune . . . or a mere coincidence; drop it?" Descriptive Catalogue of the Music of Charles Ives, unnumbered page. For a listing of quoted tunes, see Henderson, Tunebook, 194. For a broader understanding of the term "religious" as it might be applied to Ives, see Mark Sumner Harvey, "Charles

Ives: Prophet of American Civil Religion" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1983).

55 For a detailed comparison of "'Country Band' March" and "Putnam's Camp" see "Table of Correlative Measures," Charles Ives, "'Country Band' March," Edited by James B. Sinclair (Pennsylvania: Merion Music, Inc., 1976), iv.

56 For an illuminating discussion of formal unifying elements at work in "Putnam's Camp"--intervallic, harmonic, rhythmic, programmatic--see Alan Stein, "The Musical Language of Charles Ives' *Three Places in New England*" (D.M.A. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1975).

57 For a discussion of how beats align, see "Conductor's Note," Charles Ives, *Three Places in New England*, vii, no.10.

58 In Paul C. Echols's forthcoming text, Descriptive Catalogue of the Music of Charles Ives, the author suggests slightly expanded uses of "Overture and March '1776'" in "Putnam's Camp" to include measures 63-64 of the earlier work = measures 144-145 of the later, and measures 72-76 of the source = measures 157-163 of the later. I am grateful to Mr. Echols for sharing pertinent pages of his work with me.

59 Of the numerous tunes present in Ives's source pieces, "'Country Band' March," and "Overture and March '1776'," only two tunes appear in both works: "The British Grenadiers," known in the Colonies as "Hail America" (1770), and "Yankee Doodle," a work Irving Lowens surmises was known in America "at least as early as 1767." See Irving Lowens, Music and Musicians in Early America (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964), 91. These pieces are among twelve quoted in "Putnam's Camp." The specific appropriateness of these two pieces to a work that chronicles a confrontation between the British and the Yankees cannot be overlooked. Even more ripe with meaning is the fact that the popular loyalist song "The British Grenadiers" became known as "Hail America" in the young nation. In using this tune was Ives attempting to suggest a musical metamorphosis equivalent to the British Colonies becoming the United States of America?

That Ives was aware of the ironic double-identity of the song is apparent in the final paragraph of his program to "Putnam's Camp" which is unique among Ives's

explanatory notes for its discussion of the **specific historical background** of one of the tunes he quotes: "The repertoire of national airs at that time was meagre. Most of them were of English origin. It is a curious fact that a tune very popular with the American soldiers was 'The British Grenadiers.' A captain in one of Putnam's regiments put it to words, which were sung for the first time in 1779 at a patriotic meeting in the Congregational Church in Redding Center; the text is both ardent and interesting." Memos, 84. Mention of the specific time and place this song was first sung with its "American" text leads one to consider where Ives got his information.

In a footnote in Memos, John Kirkpatrick thanks Miss Ebba Anderson, "the vigilant town clerk of Redding," for finding words to 'Hail America' in Charles Burr Todd's Illustrated Guide to Putnam Memorial Camp written in 1927. But Todd's guidebook was a compilation of numerous sources, among which were earlier published works on the subject written by Todd himself (as early as 1880), the collection of Commissioner's Reports, and additional books that were cited in those reports including: W. E. Grumman, The Revolutionary Soldiers of Redding, Connecticut (Hartford: Hartford Press, 1904) and Frederick Ober, "Old Put" the Patriot (New York: D. Appleton, 1904). We know from an acknowledgment on page five of Lyman Brewster's 1903 cumulative report that Ives's uncle was aware of at least one of Todd's books on the subject, Ye Israel Putnam Winter Quarters. We also know that Todd's book In Olde Connecticut, inscribed by Amelia Brewster for Charles and Harmony, was a part of the Iveses' library in Redding. (See Box 70/Folder: 3 Charles Ives Papers, Yale University Music Library Archival Collection.) Given the thoroughness of Brewster's research, one can safely assume that he had access to a broad range of materials on the camp and its history. When one considers the collaboration between Brewster and Ives, it is reasonable to assume that Ives also had access to those sources. Perhaps the story of the tune and its American debut first appeared in one of those books or earlier sources. Certainly the fact that Ives confined his use of the tune "The British Grenadiers" to the two source pieces and "Putnam's Camp" suggests his acquaintance, in 1903-04, with materials that spelled out the history to which he referred in his program note of 1912.

Of the remaining ten quotations, five of them: "Arkansas Traveler," "Semper Fideles," "Massa's in de Cold Ground," "Marching Through Georgia," and "The Battle Cry of Freedom" come from "'Country Band' March." Three

of them: Bugle Call Derivative, "Hail! Columbia," and "The Star Spangled Banner" come from "Overture and March '1776'." Two tunes are not found in either of the source pieces: "Happy Day," and "'Liberty Bell' March." See Henderson, Tunebook, 191. Refer to footnote 54 for comments on "Happy Day."

60 See Peter J. Rabinowitz, "Fictional Music: Toward a Theory of Listening," in Theories of Reading, Looking, and Listening, ed. Harry R. Garvin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1981), 193-208, for a discussion of what the author calls *primary* and *imitative* music. While speaking in general terms, the author does single out Ives's use of quoted materials in his music as requiring particular knowledge and sensitivity on the part of listeners if a full appreciation of the scope of references is to be achieved. See especially pages 196-201.

61 In having his child retreat to the woods, Ives used a favorite stage (place) for the enactment of fantasies. Authors of children's stories traditionally made use of the cloistered environment for dreamlike activities. Consider "Little Red Riding Hood," "Hansel and Gretel", "Peter and the Wolf," "Rip Van Winkle," "The Lion, The Witch, and The Wardrobe." More recently, Broadway composer/lyricist Stephen Sondheim wrote a musical entitled Into The Woods, a work that draws upon numerous children's stories that are related to each other by their sylvan themes.

62 I am grateful to conversations with Larry Starr that helped me clarify the visual imagery of this musical event. As with other pieces by Ives, understanding is often enhanced by considering visual, photographic, or cinematic equivalents and the vocabulary used in those fields.

63 Ives combines soft dynamics, a slow tempo and a rhythmic ostinato in the string ensemble with chromatically saturated piano clusters to create a rich but ambiguous sound mass--a representation of sounds heard from a distance. Listeners hear music but have difficulty distinguishing the details of the sounds. As comments in the score suggest, Ives was eager to create the effect of distance. Above the left hand piano part at measures 68 and 69 are instructions that the piano-drum chords should sound "as a distant drum beat." In a

note appearing in the Emil Hanke score at measure 67 the composer explains: "Through here, all should be subordinate to the Solo Oboe: likewise the second rhythm parts (Dr Beats) to the first rhythm parts (Drumbeats), though the second gradually becomes louder." The second drumbeats to which Ives refers are in fact the piano-drum chords which *crescendo* and become "slightly more active" over the course of the next ten measures. Photostats of the Full Score by Emil Hanke are housed at Yale University in the Ives Collection at the John Herrick Jackson Music Library.

64 St. Gaudens's monument to Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Regiment was placed at Boston Common because of the significance of the site. The Common was already well established in the nation's historical consciousness and shared its cache of meaning with the bas-relief. By comparison, the tract of land that made up Putnam's Camp and later became the Memorial Camp Grounds had no prior significance beyond that which the events of 1778 gave it. Where the Common could be appreciated as a site itself, separate from the monument, in order to contemplate the Putnam campsite one had to contemplate the actions of General Putnam. Its significance was derived exclusively from the events of 1778.

65 Though Ives would have needed no encouragement to incorporate such a well known tune as "Yankee Doodle" into his music, it may be significant that "Yankee Doodle" was played by the drum corps immediately following Commissioner Parker's historical address at the Bunker Hill day celebrations in June 1903. This performance was noted in both the Commissioner's Report and the Hartford Times. In addition, according to Clayton Henderson's Tunebook, the two source pieces for "Putnam's Camp," "Overture and March '1776'" and "'Country Band' March," contain the earliest quotations of "Yankee Doodle" by Ives. See Henderson, Tunebook, 89. The fact that "The British Grenadiers" appears in only three Ives works, "Overture and March '1776'," "'Country Band' March," and "Putnam's Camp," and that all three of the pieces referred to Revolutionary themes, suggests that the composer had very specific associations for this source tune and that those associations were tied to the early Brewster-Ives opera project. See Henderson, Tunebook, 70.

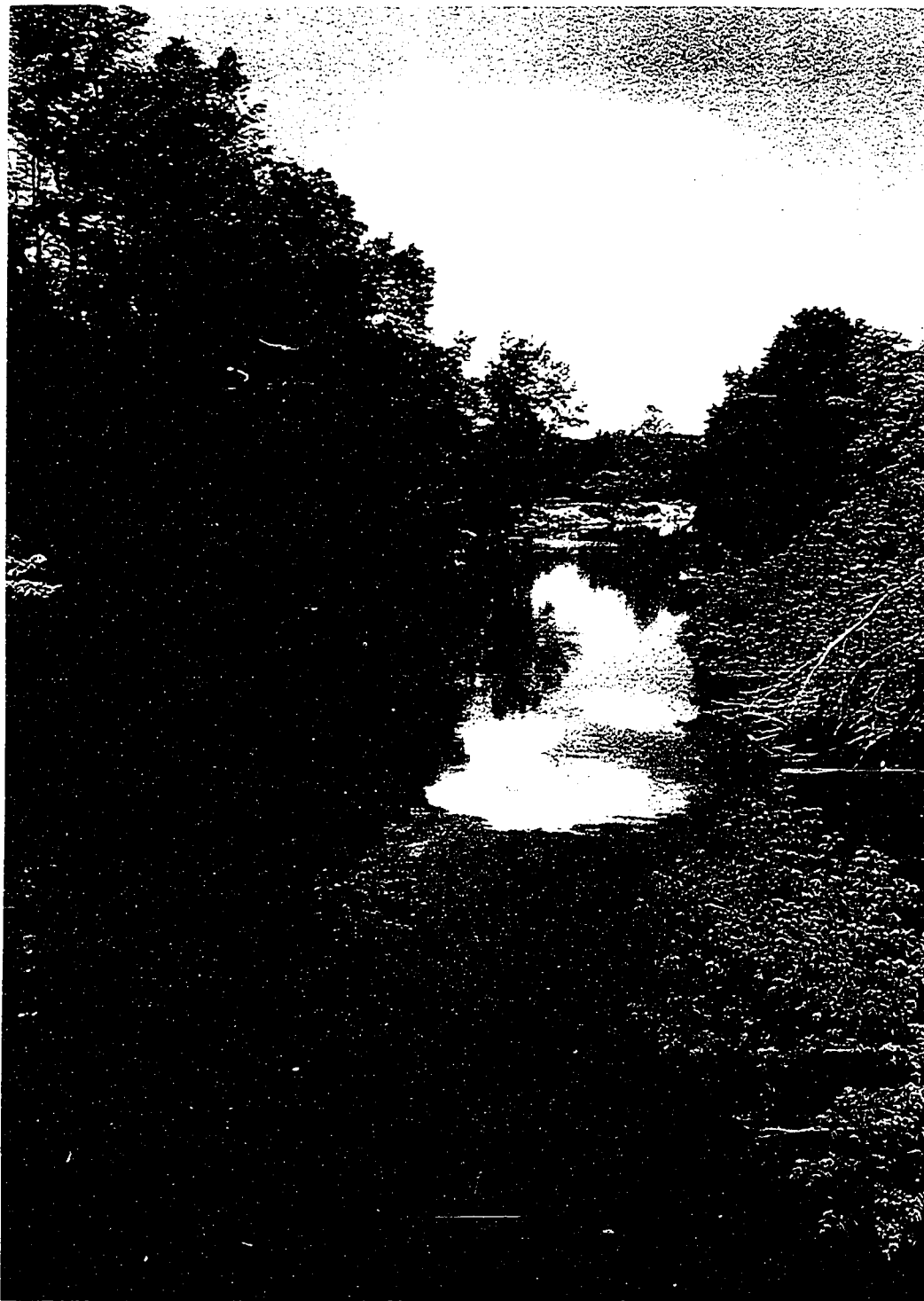


Figure 4: The Housatonic at Stockbridge

Chapter Three

"The Housatonic at Stockbridge"

In the third movement of *Three Places in New England* Ives recognized an American place that was rich with a newly discovered personal significance and secure in a firmly established national consciousness; he also created a dramatic closing to his regional tribute. "The Housatonic at Stockbridge" is the shortest of the three movements both in the number of measures--forty-four--and in its duration--approximately four minutes. While it is smaller in its absolute dimensions than either of the preceding movements, it is more a condensation and intensification of musical action than an abbreviation of expression.

With a range of volume that extends from *pppp* to *ffff*, the dynamic compass of the third movement is equal to that of the much larger second movement; its scope of tempos, reaching from *Adagio molto* at measure 1 to *Allegro con brio* beginning at measure 39 recalls the range achieved in both of the earlier movements. Its sustained linear motion recalls "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common" at the same time that its contrapuntal density evokes moments in "Putnam's Camp." While this last movement may be the shortest, it contains, what many argue to be, some of Ives's most powerful music. Its

power grows out of a palpable tension between the penetrating melodic trajectory, that is apparent to all listeners whether or not they possess knowledge of specific quoted tunes, and an imperturbably grounded rhythmic and harmonic component. The climax achieved at measure 42 is a memorable instance of musical rapprochement that satisfies the artistic needs of the individual movement and the larger orchestral work.¹

Of the three places that Ives commemorated in his *First Orchestral Set*, "The Housatonic at Stockbridge" is unique for its later arrangement as a song,² and for its essential focus on a purely natural site. (The song text will be considered later in this chapter.) The Housatonic River was a valuable natural resource that was important in the development of the northeast. Its role in early New England settlement history was well documented, and its later function in regional manufacturing history continued to remain a source of pride among the villages and towns that grew along its banks.³

But for the modern American trouvère, "the simpler [who] comes, with basket and book, for herbs of power on thy banks to look,"⁴ the river's primary value lay not in its practical uses, valuable as they were, but in the abundant wealth of sensory stimulation that spiritually

enriched and transported its visitors. In "The Housatonic at Stockbridge" there was no need to communicate a complex extra-musical program or to educate listeners regarding the historical significance of the place. Ives concentrated his energies on sonifying the rich aural and visual environment that he, and others before him, had experienced. The place was its own story.

Ives's recollection regarding the third movement emphasizes the sensual feast enjoyed by the composer and his bride as they walked through the Elysian hillside of Berkshire County:

The last movement, *The Housatonic at Stockbridge*, . . . was suggested by a Sunday morning walk that Mrs. Ives and I took near Stockbridge, the summer after we were married. We walked in the meadows along the river, and heard the distant singing from the church across the river. The mist had not entirely left the river bed, and the colors, the running water, the banks and elm trees were something that one would always remember.⁵

The Housatonic Valley clearly left its impression on the susceptible, newly wed couple, for within days of arriving home from the trip, the composer "sketched the first part of this movement for strings, flute, and organ . . ."⁶ Such a spontaneous action is but one indicator of the strength of Ives's response.

But personal and private as the recollected

experience was, the river had evoked similarly impassioned responses in others before him. Once again, Ives's commemorated place was a public property. Writers have long regarded waterways as compelling symbols of static and dynamic forces, stable and changing elements, embodiments of eternal truth. Biblical stories are replete with references to waters that flooded as well as nourished, ravaged as well as sanctified. In the past two hundred years, American authors have repeatedly turned to rivers as sources of inspiration and comfort: Washington Irving and his legends that grew up around the Hudson River Valley, Mark Twain and the essential role of the Mississippi in Huckleberry Finn, and more recently Annie Dillard in her contemplative Pilgrim at Tinker Creek all bear witness to the fascination that waterways have held for writers.

Passages by Chard Powers Smith from a series entitled "Rivers in America"⁷ convey the power one author attributed to rivers in general and the Housatonic in particular:

In times of war or other turbulence men frequently look out at the cosmos or into their own hearts, searching for some fixed reality they can call God, some rock to anchor to beneath the shifting surfaces of life. For this purpose, no symbol is better than that of a great river, whose surface of easy or tumultuous flow is forever changing and unstable, never for two successive

instants comprising the same atoms and electrons,
yet to the eye and the ear it is always the same.

The environment embracing the waterway was a second aspect of the river image that impressed Ives and his artistic forebears. Qualities present in the attendant hillsides and valleys that inspired and uplifted visitors became equally important to observers if they were to derive maximum benefit from a meditation on the surroundings. Smith offered his thoughts on the power of the larger place:

The value of a river as a symbol of eternal truth is increased if the valley through which it flows likewise suggests permanence behind change, if the hills are wide and gracious under the sky . . . so that the forest retains its seeming timelessness, while within it the trees turn their cycle of seed and growth and decay.

The author found these and other unique qualities in abundance in the Housatonic River Valley in the Berkshires. Especially interesting, in light of the shape and spirit of Ives's musical commemoration, is Smith's recognition of the possibility of the infinite that resides in a physically delimited space:

Signally among the rivers of America today, the Housatonic and its valley combine these qualifications as symbols of truth that men seek and sometimes find. . . . In volume it is of the second order, smaller than the Connecticut . . . or the Hudson Yet it is large enough to suggest the

power and majesty of the cosmos Here nature with the weathering tools of a hundred million years had modeled a graceful ocean of mountains undulating back in any direction under forests haze-purple in summer and red and gold in autumn, autumn which is more colorful here than elsewhere, because the steep tilt of the slopes shows off all the trees to advantage Here from any point, high or low, there is a spacious and satisfying view, a view over hills and valleys wide enough to stir the imagination, yet small enough and with horizon curves graceful enough to contain it within the limits of a place and a meaning. Here the spirit not only flies out toward infinity but it goes full circle and returns to finite repose.

This paean to the Housatonic was a late contribution (1946) to a body of literature on the topic that had its origins in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Smith's romantic rhetoric and inflated prose harken back to an earlier style of writing that had reached its height in the second half of the nineteenth century. Though various rivers inspired literary and artistic meditations, the Housatonic River Valley had been singled out for celebration in numerous efforts. At least one of these efforts was known to Ives. A study of this source suggests that he was aware of others as well.

Essential as the Iveses' honeymoon walk had been in stimulating the composition of "The Housatonic," that particular experience was not the only, or perhaps even the original source of inspiration for Ives's work. After reflecting rhapsodically upon his walk in the river valley the composer respectfully acknowledged the work of

"Robert Underwood Johnson, [who,] in his poem, *The Housatonic at Stockbridge*, paints this scene beautifully."⁸ In the earliest published edition of the *First Orchestral Set* (Mercury, 1935), Ives selected lines from Johnson's poem and presented them facing the first page of the third movement. As noted in a previous chapter, the poetry of Robert Underwood Johnson was a frequent source of ideas for the composer.⁹ A brief word on Johnson's poem will point readers to an even earlier tribute paid to the Housatonic.

Johnson's poem was published in 1897 as part of a collection of patriotic works entitled "Songs of Liberty, and Other Poems." It appeared numerous times in later editions of his works. Among other things, the poet used his rhymed couplets to caution those who would believe that the Housatonic was merely *equivalent* to pastoral sites in England; Johnson denied any comparison: "Beware their praise who rashly would deny to our New World its true tranquility. . . . Surely, serener river never ran." For Johnson the river clearly outshone its European counterparts; it epitomized America's quiet strength and magnificent promise.

While the influence of Johnson's poem on Ives's music will be discussed more fully later in the chapter, it is important to note at this point, that in his text,

Johnson made a subtle reference to an earlier poem; in line 52 he named the revered author of that prior work--Bryant. The third stanza of Johnson's poem devoted ten of its fourteen lines to singing the praises of "thy Homeric bard" who years earlier had written his own tribute to the Housatonic waterway:

Art thou disquieted--still uncontent
 With praise from thy Homeric bard, who lent
 The world the placidness thou gavest him?
 Thee Bryant loved when life was at its brim;
 And when the wine was falling, in thy wood
 Of sturdy willows like a Druid stood.
 Oh, for his touch on this o'er-throbbing time,
 His hand upon the hectic brow of Rhyme,
 Cooling its fevered passion to a pace
 To lead, to stir, to reinspire the race!

William Cullen Bryant, "the archetypal American national poet"¹⁰ (1794-1878), wrote a popular and highly romantic poem entitled "Green River" in the second decade of the nineteenth century. This work paid tribute to a stream that fed the larger Housatonic. Johnson made a passing reference to the subject of Bryant's poem in his own second stanza, in the line "Convoyed by two attendant streams of green . . ." A comparison of Johnson's poem, "To The Housatonic River," and Bryant's work, "Green River," leaves little doubt that the earlier sixty-four-line poem of rhymed couplets provided a model for Johnson's later sixty-six-line work. For Johnson, the

shared pastoral surroundings and the ultimate union of these two bodies of water meant that they were one and the same. While the poems addressed slightly different audiences, and assumed distinctive tones, they also shared a range of references and expressed their sentiments remarkably similarly.

Beyond their correlating form and length, both poets singled out comparable features for comment. Both referred to the swifter currents that played below the surface of the water; both spoke in superlatives of the beauties of the surroundings; both noted the shyness of the waters that sought to hide from the villages and towns; and both men called the gentle breezes zephyr-like. For Bryant the river wandered and wound its way away from the present course; for Johnson "a restive ripple" announced the river's intentions to move on. Johnson's willingness to name Bryant in his own poem invited comparison between the two poets' efforts. And Ives's inclusion of Johnson's tribute to Bryant in his own careful reduction of the poem suggests an appreciation of Johnson's sentiments and perhaps even a personal familiarity with the works of that earlier New World reporter.¹¹

One wonders if Ives had come in contact with other products of Bryant's hand. Bryant's association with the

Housatonic did not stop with his poem. In addition to writing "Green River" and other pastoral poems, Bryant also edited a large two-volume work entitled Picturesque America;¹² its pages celebrated America's unspoiled beauty in pictures and prose. Among numerous chapters exploring "the mountains, rivers, lakes, forests, waterfalls, shores, canyons, valleys, cities, and other picturesque features of our country," there was a twenty-nine page section devoted to the "Valley of the Housatonic." This section included twenty-three drawings by J. D. Woodward and an engraving from a painting done by A. F. Bellows.

Especially interesting to Ives's reminiscence on the scene, which included the sounds of a hymn tune wafting through the air from "the church across the river,"¹³ is the Bellows painting: a bucolic setting of the Housatonic, complete with a church steeple across the river in the background. A few excerpts from W. C. Richard's text convey the tone of the prose that accompanied the art work: "The gray, misty gleams of the young morning harmonized well with the broad, pale shimmering of the river that was merging--consciously, it may be--its individuality into the wide waste of waters beyond it. . . .The change from quietness to romance in the aspects of the Housatonic Valley, from its broad

mouth upward toward the hills, if less rapid than that of the cool, gray dawn into the warm and shadowless beauty of the day, was still not less real."¹⁴

But the Housatonic wends its way over dozens of miles and through many picturesque towns. Might not the author have been describing any of a number of places along its course? Perhaps, but Richards reserved especially laudatory prose for his description of the town of Stockbridge:

On leaving Stockbridge, the tourist can scarcely venture to promise himself a beauty beyond that he has already enjoyed; and this may be suggested without disparagement to the varied scenery of Northern Berkshire. It may hardly be doubted that the rare and numerous attractions of this whole region--so aptly called "the Palestine of New England"--are crystallized, in excess of loveliness, around Stockbridge as a nucleus. If this verdict had gathered something of weight to the judgment from the acknowledged union in Stockbridge of all the forces--natural, historical, social, intellectual, and religious, alike--which have given to Berkshire its enviable renown, the influence would be, nevertheless, legitimate and just.¹⁵

Though Ives's supremely personal encounter with the Housatonic valley in June of 1908 may indeed have provided the necessary impetus to compose his piece, by memorializing the river at Stockbridge in his music, Ives joined forces with a group of creative people who had

identified that particular place as worthy of special consideration. Ives once again contributed his own effort to an established body of works on the subject.

Poetry and Music

Though Ives waited years to arrange the song version of "The Housatonic at Stockbridge," it is clear from the intimate fit of the melody with selected lines from the text that appear in the earlier instrumental version that Ives's first conception of this work in 1908 was animated not only by a personal experience with the place, or even by picturesque affidavits, but by Johnson's poem that publicly celebrated the place. Ives ultimately set fourteen of the twenty-two lines that he reproduced in the 1935 edition.¹⁶ The brackets in the excerpt below surround those lines that do not appear in the song:¹⁷

"To The Housatonic at Stockbridge"

Contented river! in thy dreamy realm--
The cloudy willow and the plummy elm . . .

[Thou hast grown human laboring with men
At wheel and spindle; sorrow thou dost ken; . . .]

Thou beautiful! From every dreamy hill
What eye but wanders with thee at thy will,
[Imagining thy silver course unseen
Convoyed by two attendant streams of green. . . .]

Contented river! and yet over-shy
 To mask thy beauty from the eager eye;
 Hast thou a thought to hide from field and town?
 In some deep current of the sunlit brown
 [Art thou disquieted--still discontent
 With praise from thy Homeric bard, who lent
 The world the placidness thou gavest him?
 Thee Bryant loved when life was at its brim; . . .]

Ah! there's a restive ripple, and the swift
 Red leaves--September's firstlings--faster drift;
 Wouldst thou away, dear stream? Come, whisper near!
 I also of much resting have a fear;
 Let me tomorrow thy companion be,
 By fall and shallow to the adventurous sea!

Johnson's original poem was in four stanzas of twenty-eight, sixteen, fourteen, and eight lines respectively. Ives's excerpted version of the poem is interesting both for what it includes of the original and for what it leaves out. Ives chose four lines from each of the first two stanzas, eight lines from the third stanza, and six lines from the final eight-line stanza, taking proportionately larger sections from each of the increasingly shorter stanzas. In Ives's composition, excerpts of poetry are set to gradually enlarging musical phrases. By selecting so few lines from the first and longest stanza, Ives eliminated Johnson's verses that were devoted primarily to historical comparisons and patriotic boasting. While the composer would have wholeheartedly endorsed the poet's sentiments in this regard--especially as they provided a comment on one of Ives's favorite topics, the limits of the old world and

the limitlessness of "Our 'New World'"--the lines clearly lay outside what Ives wished to focus upon in this movement: the reconciliation of forces and the achievement of unity--mankind with nature, power with peacefulness, local with universal. The Housatonic River Valley embodied this ideal for the composer, and his piece captured it in a unique artistic form.

In the third movement of *Three Places in New England* Ives created a most intimate marriage of text and music in the service of place, even though in the original instrumental version the text remained unsung.¹⁸ By working with a published poem by a favorite poet the composer participated in an artistic "collaboration" of sorts with an active and highly regarded man of letters who practiced his own craft contemporaneously with Ives. As the following discussion will show, Ives was careful to retain and balance specific poetic images that transferred well to the musical idiom in order to achieve his goals. The excerpted lines from Johnson's poem provided Ives with a starting place for his musical tribute.

But beyond furnishing clues for the basic tone and construction of the music, Johnson's poem might actually have suggested an appropriate melodic source. Though the text of the poem does not scan perfectly with the hymn

tune, "Dorrnance" is noteworthy for its compatibility with Johnson's poem in the ways it conveys both individual words and larger issues.

The calm of the "contented river" in its "dreamy realm" is epitomized in the opening repeated pitches, the gentle lilting tempo of the hymn, and the conjunct contour of its circling melodic line, while the essential flow of the waters is inherent in the triple meter and in the half cadence at the end of measure 4 that leads directly into the beginning of measure 5. Both meter and half cadence push the music through and over the bar lines, moving directly from one strong beat to the next. The quasi-open final phrase of the hymn promises the same continuous action as Johnson's closing text: "Woulds't thou away, dear stream? Come, whisper near! I also of much resting have a fear; Let me tomorrow thy companion be by fall and shallow to the adventurous sea!" Though Clayton Henderson in his Charles Ives Tunebook offers a version of the tune that resolves the melody line on e¹ in E Major,¹⁹ other sources of this tune show the melody ending, not on the tonic pitch, but on g#¹ over a tonic chord.²⁰

DORRNANCE. 3. 7. 8. 7.

Stanzas 1-3, WALTER SHIRLEY, 1725-1786,
based on JAMES ALLEN, 1714-1804.
Stanza 4 from COOKE and DENTON'S CHURCH HYMNAL, 1853

ISAAC B. WOODBURY, 1819-1858

1. Sweet the mo-ments, rich in bless-ing, Which be-fore the cross I spend;
2. Here I find my hope of heav-en, While up-on my Lord I gaze;
3. Lord, in lov-ing con-tem-pla-tion Fix my heart and eyes on Thee,
4. For Thy sor-rows I a-dore Thee, For the griefs that wrought our peace:

Life and health and peace pos-sess-ing From the sin-ner's dy-ing friend.
Lov-ing much, and much for-giv-en, Let my heart o'er-flow with praise.
Till I taste Thy full sal-va-tion, And Thine un-veiled glo-ries see.
Gra-cious Sav-iour! I im-plore Thee, In our hearts Thy love in-crease. A-MEN.

As can be seen by Ives's initial quotation of the final phrase of "Dorrnance" in the cello and bassoon lines in measures 3 through 5 of "The Housatonic at Stockbridge," the composer quoted this version of the hymn with its imperfect authentic cadence. Additionally, true to his own years of experience as a church organist, Ives introduced his piece by lining out the last phrase of the hymn before starting at the beginning of the melody, a practice common in Protestant churches to this day. Ives's first reference to the tune is borrowed from the end of the hymn. When considered this way, Ives appears to give us a preview of the river's ultimate course. He binds the contained and calm aspects of the "contented river!" in the beginning music, to the open

and unbounded elements of the river as they are exemplified in the imperfect cadence at the end of the hymn tune. As will be shown, similar pairing of contained and unrestrained elements is present in the final measures of the piece. The beginning and ending of the work become complementary conciliatory gestures. Similar musical material conveys both peacefulness and power. This hymn tune, with its implications of unfolding action latent in the final melody note, is an apt sonification of Johnson's image of the river opening out and continuing to the sea.²¹

The musical score consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Cello' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Bass & Org. Ped.'. The Cello part begins with a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) marked with a '3' above them. This is followed by a series of eighth notes: B4, C5, D5, E5, F5, G5, A5, B5, C6, D6, E6, F6, G6, A6, B6, C7. The final note, C7, has a fermata above it. The Bass & Org. Ped. part consists of a steady accompaniment of quarter notes: G2, A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, F3, G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4, F4, G4, A4, B4, C5.

Characteristics of the hymn inform the whole of Ives's piece. The essential rise of the melodic line in the final phrase of the tune is echoed and magnified in the dramatic closing of Ives's piece. (See trumpets, measures 39 to 43, where the melody climbs as the volume increases. This takes place against a background of similarly ascending lines in woodwinds and upper strings.)

From here on gradually slower and faster (C) accel. e cresc. poco a poco

Fl. 1, 2, 3
Ob. 1, 2
Cl. 1, 2
Bn. 1, 2
Contra
Hrn. 1, 2, 3, 4
Trpt. 1, 2
Trpb. 1, 2
Tuba
Timp. 33
Celesta (p piano)
Harp
Violins I-III
Violas
Cellos
Bass & Org. Ped.

Allegro moderato

This page of a musical score, numbered 184, is titled "Allegro moderato". It contains two systems of staves. The first system includes parts for Flutes (Fl. 1, 2, 3), Oboes (Ob. 1, 2), Clarinets (Cl. 1, 2), Bassoons (Bn. 1, 2), Contrabassoon (Contra), Horns (Hrn. 1, 2, 3, 4), Trumpets (Trpt. 1, 2), Trombones (Trb. 1, 2, 3), Tuba, and Timpani (Timp.). The second system includes parts for Violins (I-II, III-IV), Violas, Cellos, and Bass & Organ Pedal. The score is filled with musical notation, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *mp*, *mf*, *ff*, *marcato*, *rit.*, and *cresc.*. A rehearsal mark "35" is placed above the Piano part in the first system. The string parts in the second system are marked with "trem. sempre (ad lib.)".

Fl. 1
Fl. 2
Fl. 3
Ob. 1
Ob. 2
Cl. 1
Cl. 2
Bn. 1
Bn. 2
Contra
Hrn. 1
Hrn. 2
Hrn. 3
Hrn. 4
Trpt. 1
Trpt. 2
Trb. 1
Trb. 2
Trb. 3
Tuba
Timp.
35
Piano

Allegro moderato
(unis.) *trem. sempre (ad lib.)*
Violins I-II
trem. sempre (ad lib.)
Violins III-IV
trem. sempre (ad lib.)
Violas
trem. sempre (ad lib.)
Cellos
trem. sempre (ad lib.)
Bass & Org Ped.
trem. sempre (ad lib.)

Running from about 60 to 72 r.o., perhaps faster before J
accel. cresc.

Fl. 1
Fl. 2
Fl. 3
Ob. 1
Ob. 2
Cl. 1
Cl. 2
Bn. 1
Bn. 2
Contra.
Hr. 1
Hr. 2
Hr. 3
Hr. 4
Trpt. 1
Trpt. 2
Trb. 1
Trb. 2
Tuba
Timp.
37
Piano

Running from about 40 to 72 r.o., perhaps faster before J
[dir. ad lib.] accel. - cresc.

I-II
Violins
III-IV
Violas
Cellos
Bass & Org. Ped.

Allegro con brio

FL. 1
2
Pic.
Ob. 1
2
Cl. 1
2
Br. 1
2
Contra
Hr. 1
2
3
4
Trpt. 1
2
Tuba
Timp.
39
Piano
Allegro con brio
Violins I-II
III-IV
Violas
Cellos
Bass & Org. Ped.
* [Organ: use lower part, 3rd higher]

Detailed description: This page of a musical score is for page 39. It features a variety of instruments. The woodwind section includes two flutes, piccolo, two oboes, two clarinets, two trumpets, and a tuba. The brass section includes two trombones and a tuba. The percussion section includes timpani. The piano part is shown with a grand staff. The string section includes violins (I-II and III-IV), violas, cellos, and basses. The organ and pedals part is at the bottom. The tempo is marked 'Allegro con brio'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamics like 'ff' and 'gliss.'. A specific instruction for the organ is provided at the bottom: '* [Organ: use lower part, 3rd higher]'.

Fl. 1
Fl. 2
Pic.
Ob. 1
Ob. 2
Cl. 1
Cl. 2
Bn. 1
Bn. 2
Contra.
Hrn. 1
Hrn. 2
Hrn. 3
Hrn. 4
Trpt. 1
Trpt. 2
Trb. 1
Trb. 2
Tuba
Timp.
40
Piano
Violins I
Violins II
Violins III
Violins IV
Violas
Cello
Bass & Org. Ped.

41

Fl. 1
2

Pic.

Ob. 1
2

Cl. 1
2

Bn. 2

Contr.

Hn. 1
2
3
4

Trpt. 1
2

Trb. 1
2

Tuba

Timp.

Piano

Violins I
II
III
IV

Violas

Cello

Bass & Org. Ped.

cresc.

non dir.

[Org: lower pitches, non 8^{va}]

While auditors still quake in the aftermath of the explosive gesture, a gentle recall of the descending major third that characterized the beginning of the hymn emerges and shimmers in the background; it reminds them of the river's humble origins in the quiet recesses of the Berkshires. For Ives the spiritual and the natural were harmonized at Stockbridge.

Whether or not "Dorrnance" was the actual hymn that Charles and Harmony heard "from the church across the river" as they took their walk in the Housatonic Valley will never be known; it is certainly a possibility. Elaborate theories could be constructed suggesting that hearing "Dorrnance" recalled the already familiar Johnson poem to Ives. But this question, as with so many questions regarding primacy, is not what is really important to a discussion of the hymn. What is clear is the tune's appropriateness to Ives's artistic intentions. Ives informs us in his commentary that sounds from a church were an essential ingredient in the sonic mix that he and his new bride savored. That Ives associated their morning walk in the Housatonic Valley with the sounds of a church is an undeniable aspect of the piece, not only in the choice of a religious song as the primary source material, but in the process by which Ives presents that musical reference.

The opening of the piece reveals Ives's awareness of the manifold dimensions of the physical scene. No fewer than six separate references to sounds being thrown "into the background" or appearing as "a distant sound" attest to his desire to sonify the depth of the environment and his experience of it.²² In order to establish the setting convincingly, Ives constructed, initially, a musical atmosphere in which the lineal implications of harmonic and rhythmic behavior were minimized. Listeners were not to be concerned with what would occur, but with what was occurring all around them. Ives once again used a compositional approach that can be thought of as spatial to direct the listener's attentions to the here and now.²³

Creating the Background²⁴

Pitch and Rhythm Patterns

In order to convey the serenity of the place that was described in the opening lines of Johnson's poem, and undoubtedly experienced by Ives, the complex environment of the Housatonic Valley had to emerge sounding filled with life, but not excessively crowded with activity. Any suggestion of sonic "cramming" would undermine the blissful calm that Ives strove to establish. To achieve

the desired effect, Ives crafted a piece in which he carefully and methodically introduced new elements. His gentle approach invited listeners to observe the landscape and join in his remembered walk. He worked as a painter might, applying a wash to the canvas, filling in the background, and only gradually moving out to the foreground of the work. Painting with sounds, Ives established the place by working background to foreground; he composed the river first.

But the river was no simple object; it had numerous qualities, not all of which were immediately or consistently apparent. What appeared to be a calm and contented stream at one vantage point became a powerful, churning river a few miles away. The river demanded a flexible voice that could embody and project its various features. Ives provided sonic unity to the diverse waterway by confining it to a single instrument family, but he created room for its multi-faceted personality by writing rhythmically variegated music for separate instruments.

The power reserves of the river reside in the firmly entrenched lowest string parts, which move most slowly. As the piece opens, an open fifth in the string basses and cellos persists for nine measures before it is momentarily interrupted. An organ pedal doubles the

string bass line, providing an unwavering hold on the low C#. (The organ was a part of Ives's earliest conception of the piece, and seems an especially appropriate instrument for a memory that includes sounds from a church.) This is Ives's sonic anchor against which outside forces will tug. The more spontaneous motions of the river gurgle on the surface of the water in the highest strings, which move most quickly. Between these two extremes of activity, upper cellos and violas move at gradually increasing rates of speed in relation to the basses. This rhythmic stratification can be seen in the opening measures of the score. (Consult example on following page.)

In spite of the relentless rhythmic activity of the higher strings, their muted, legato undulations impress an auditor, not with their exertion, but with their overall calm; here is the river at Stockbridge--drifting, hushed, untroubled. Any sense of agitation or disquiet is missing. Musical "progress" is lost in a fluid web of circular gestures. Motion is captured. Large and small pitch patterns that are regularly subjected to rhythmic adjustments quietly whirl in the upper strings. By combining slowly revolving gestures with deep drone-like sounds Ives focuses our attentions on the moment's observation; he creates a sonic snapshot.

Adagio molto (Very slowly) (about 50-5)

Flute 1
 Flute 2
 Piccolo
 Oboe
 (English Horn)
 Clarinet in B \flat
 Bassoon
 Contra
 Horn in F
 Trumpet in B \flat
 Trombone
 Tuba
 Timpani
 Piano-Celesta
 Harp (one or two)

Harp (one only)
ppp

Adagio molto (Very slowly) (about 50-5)
sordini

I
pppp 10 10 10 10 9
sordini
dir.

Violins II-III
pppp
sordini
imp. sfz. arco

IV
ppp
sordini

Violas
pp 3 7 3 3 3 3 2 3

Cello
dir.
p-mpp *sordini* (but strong enough to throw upper strings into the background)

Bass and Organ Pedal (16' 32' ad lib.)
p-mpp [Organ: use upper div. thru meas. 38, lower part in 39-43.]

1 *sordini*

Violas

pp

3

5

sordini

p - mp

7

Multiple circular patterns are an important component of Ives's spatial techniques and his sonifications of places because they have the effect of inhibiting the sense of linear movement. They can be observed in the first half of the piece in the viola line. (See example page 195.)

Viola music slowly, softly spins in small sonic whirlpools, the result of carefully organized rhythm and pitch patterns whose repetitions are perceived almost subconsciously by the listener. While the slow tempo (*Adagio molto*), the soft dynamic level of the entire ensemble (*mp-pppp*) and the density of the string ensemble's texture combine to make identification of any discrete patterns difficult, it is repeating sequences, like those found in the viola music, that unify the individual lines and help provide the logic of the piece. Measures 1 to 7 of the viola line form a large cycle of pitch and rhythm patterns that begin again starting at measure 8. One of the shortest patterns at work is a series of six pitches that occurs thirteen times before it is interrupted.

The circumscribed pitch pattern, E-D-D#-E-D-C#, that begins on beat one of measure 1, rotates within a pattern of triplets that enters the 4/4 meter alternately one-third or two-thirds beats earlier each time it reappears.

(The second appearance of the pitch pattern begins on the final third of beat four in measure 1. The third appearance of the pitch pattern begins directly on beat four of measure 2. The fourth through thirteenth recurrences alternate entering one-third and two-thirds beats earlier through the second half of measure 12.) The pattern is interrupted only to resume at measure 15, beat three where it continues as before to beat one of measure 21. When the viola pitch pattern finally quits at measure 21, it is replaced with an oscillating figure in the oboe, and a tenacious six-note pitch pattern in the flute that takes its cue from the opening music of the second and third violins.²⁵ Over the course of the work, it becomes apparent that the early river music provides a model for later musical developments, and that all aspects of the environment are filtered through, and understood in relation to the sounds of the omnipresent river.

Working simultaneously with the viola's recurring six-note pitch series is a repeating note-value pattern. In each pair of two pitch patterns, quarter and eighth notes combine to form alternating rhythm patterns. In the first occurrence of the pitch pattern, the note value pattern begins with a quarter note that is followed by two tied eighths, a single eighth, two tied eighths, and

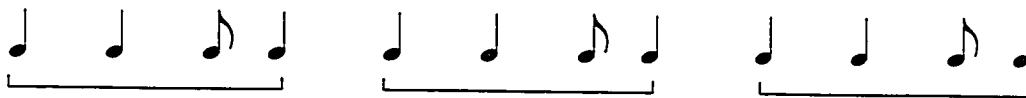
two quarter notes. In the second occurrence, the note value pattern begins with an eighth note that is followed by a quarter, two tied eighths, a quarter, an eighth, and a quarter. These two patterns are shown below.



By modifying the notation of the tied notes in the two patterns, Ives arrives at an arrangement that reflects the actual aural experience of the rhythms.



A new grouping also emerges. This new pattern occurs three times within each pair of pitch patterns. These shorter patterns evenly divide the twenty-one pulses of eighth notes into three groups of seven pulses each.



This inner rhythmic pattern is reinforced by a pattern of accents that stresses beat one of each seven-pulse group. Recurring accents also create their own smaller, more circumscribed pitch patterns that rotate among three accented notes: E-D-D#, E-D-D#, E-D-D#.

[^]
E D D# E ^ D C# E D ^ D# E D C# ^ E D D#

Measure
1 2 3

Though the muted viola part is lodged in the center of the string ensemble, its accented notes do penetrate the surface of sound. The audible recurrence of the pitch E in the opening measures of the music, and its strategic accenting on beat one--implied in measure 1, but actually notated at measure 8, where the largest

pitch and rhythm cycle begins a second time--foreshadows the importance of the pitch in the second half of the work, and illuminates the final descending third, G# to E, that ends the piece. Though this piece does not confine itself to a key, certain pitches play important roles in guaranteeing the harmonic logic of the work; E is an important melodic pitch. This will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

The viola line and the oscillating figures of the surrounding string instruments embody the simultaneous and synchronous, "spatial" qualities of the place that Ives sought to sonify in his music. While important characteristics of these musical patterns will inform later musical behavior, the early string activity doesn't demand specific immediate responses; there is no sense of inevitability associated with these cyclic patterns. For all the attention paid to a few select pitches there is no urgent pull toward a key, and their ultimate function is unclear. Even though this sounding art form unfolds through time, the implied and diachronic qualities of the music that are essential to a perception of a strong linear motion have been neutralized for an extended moment in time.²⁶

Even in the first two lines of the cello music, where Ives indicated that the instruments were to be "strong enough to throw [the] upper strings into the background," the rocking half notes of the upper division part move so slowly that it is difficult to interpret their motion as anything more than minimal musical respiration. Ives secures the stillness of the valley in these first two measures. It is only when bassoons enter to double the cello line at measure 3, that listeners turn their heads. Although the bassoon music flows naturally and effortlessly from the string music that preceded it, its distinctive timbre and promise of a genuine melodic idea sound significantly different from other musics that are occurring simultaneously. By identifying the river with the music of the string family, and by having the hymn tune emerge from both the low strings and the low woodwinds, Ives creates a logical transition for listeners; he creates an aural path that draws listeners into the work. With the introduction of the hymn tune "Dorrnance," the calm river momentarily wends its way into the background of the landscape and the auditor considers other aspects of the Housatonic Valley.

For Ives to treat issues of conciliation in this brief piece, it is imperative that he create audibly

autonomous musical components early on in the work. Multiple, discrete spheres of polyphonic activity are an important characteristic of Ives's spatially conceived works, and an essential aspect of the richness and depth of experience that Ives depicts in this particular place piece. The variety of sounds that Ives heard while on his morning walk come to life in music that grows gradually larger and more complex. He applies a complementary but distinctive middleground to the sonic canvas by introducing new timbres; the addition is diverting and dynamic. A consideration of timbre will illuminate one way in which Ives balanced the static and dynamic components of this piece.

Creating the Middleground

Timbre

In order to create an appropriately rich atmosphere for his idyl, Ives paid particular attention to instrumental colors. Listeners depend upon cleanly delineated spheres of sound to understand Ives's idea of the place. But these distinctive areas of activity have to sound as if they are parts of a whole, and flow effortlessly from one to another. Ives needed to create an irrefutably connected sound mass that, nonetheless,

contained the potential for separation.

An example of how he accomplished this can be heard early in the piece, in the dexterous transfer of musical materials from one instrument family to another. At measure 3, when bassoons gently join with cellos in introducing the hymn tune "Dorrnance," they intensify the melodic material of the strings without dramatically altering the color of the sound. They subtly emphasize an aspect of the music that auditors might otherwise overlook. The chameleon-like quality of the bassoon timbre makes it the perfect instrumental intermediary between the low string sound at measure 3, and the impending french horn entrance at measure 6. While the bassoon provides a palpable connection between the river music and the rest of the aural environment, it also makes possible the eventual separation of sounds that is essential to an accurate sonification of the multi-dimensional river valley.²⁷ As the bassoon prepares listeners for a change in focus, the entrance of the french horn appears as both a natural outgrowth of the aural environment and a distinctive aspect of that world.

The french horn was, of course, an instrument long associated with musical depictions of outdoor scenes.²⁸ In choosing this instrument for his pastoral soundscape, Ives stayed well within canonic norms. But Ives was not

swayed by historical precedent alone. His chief interest lay in the color of the horn sound, which was capable of flowing effortlessly from the bassoon timbre that preceded it. Having created a smooth connection from string to woodwind to brass, Ives was now able to separate the background and middleground strata from each other.

Using the french and english horns, Ives fashioned a pastoral duet whose gentle tone and expansive temporal quality is reminiscent of Berlioz's english horn and oboe dialogue in the "Scène aux Champs" of *Symphonie Fantastique*. While Ives's duet-like format and his choice of timbre is in keeping with established European models, his choice of the hymn tune "Dorrnance," by nineteenth-century New England composer Issac Baker Woodbury, (1819-1858), made his pastoral scene distinctly American.²⁹ It comes as no surprise that Ives chooses an American tune to pay tribute to an American river.

In measures 6 through 20 Ives establishes a middleground of activity for the sonic canvas by focusing on a brass-woodwind "call and response." He guarantees a degree of autonomy for this stratum by instructing the english horn at measure 8 to play sufficiently loudly to keep the strings in the background. The distinctive double-reed timbre of the english horn and the increased

volume level of the french horn assure that the hymn tune will penetrate the more static mass of sound.³⁰ The english horn part is also reinforced by rhythmically similar *pianissimo* trombones; their synchronized efforts assure the overall consistency and uniformity of this brass-woodwind sphere of activity. The breadth of the physical environment is audible and visible in the wide open spacing that lies between string music and hymn tune music in measures 7 to 10 of the 1976 full orchestral score.

While the melodic line is clearly related to the harmonic foundation of the lowest strings--the C# drone creates a triadic root for the melody pitches--the significant distance between the strings and the woodwinds suggests that the melody is truly floating freely through the air "from the church across the river." In addition to hearing the actual sounds of this environment, listeners can hear the space between the sounds.³¹

Like the multifaceted river, the surrounding environment contained a multitude of subtle colors and shades. Ives symbolizes its variety in pairs of instruments that are gradually introduced and spotlighted. The first of these pairs, french and english horns, illuminates the sensitivity to timbre and

range that Ives demonstrated throughout this piece. Although listeners do not often mistake the two instruments for each other, in certain tessituras the horns do produce remarkably similar sounds. A good case in point is the transition from french horn to english horn that occurs midway through the musical phrase at measures 7 and 8. (See example on following page.) Since one of the most characteristic qualities of the french horn timbre is the unmistakably brassy sound of its attack, Ives wisely allows the french horn sound to decay before having the english horn enter. The lower range of the english horn, while sounding distinctly like a double reed instrument, also sounds very much like the middle range of the french horn. With the overlap in timbres occurring when it does, the transition from french horn to english horn is easy and inconspicuous. The difference in their sounds is enough to provide variety to the tonal palette, while their similarity assures that both instruments will be perceived as belonging to the same stratum of activity, an important consideration if Ives is to avoid confusing listeners.

Ⓐ *Meno mosso*

The score is arranged in a standard orchestral layout. The woodwind section includes three Flutes (Fl. 1, 2, 3), two Oboes (Ob. 1, 2), two Clarinets (Cl. 1, 2), and two Bassoons (Bn. 1, 2). The brass section includes four Horns (Hn. 1, 2, 3, 4), three Trumpets (Trpt. 1, 2, 3), two Trombones (Trb. 1, 2), one Tuba, and one Timpani (Timp.). The strings section includes a Harp, Violins I, Violins II-III, Violas, Cello, and Bass & Organ Pedal. The score features various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A specific instruction for the Horns is noted as **mp-mf*. The string section includes a performance instruction: *Ⓐ Slightly slower when horn begins cadence solo.*

• Depending upon volume of strings, but sufficiently loud to keep these in the back-ground.

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A similar case could be made for Ives's handling of the timbres of flutes, and oboes and clarinets when they enter at measure 21, and for the use of trumpets and trombones when they join the ensemble with melodic material at measure 34. By separating instruments into groups with complementary timbres, Ives clarifies spheres of activity in his place pieces. The practice becomes an essential aspect of the composer's spatial techniques as they are applied in the work. But because this particular piece demands a conciliatory denouement, the separate strata that were so carefully created will eventually need to move toward interaction and integration.

Creating the Foreground

Ives's "environment by accretion" allows auditors to experience the valley as he and his wife did on their honeymoon walk--slowly--gradually taking in more and more of the surroundings. Listeners are drawn into the piece. The deliberate pace gives Ives the opportunity to establish firmly different realms of activity for consideration before moving on. In fact, pacing is so important to the correct sonification of this pastoral scene that Ives waits until the mid-point of the movement

before unveiling the foreground--when he does, the sounds come from a most unexpected source. Much to the surprise of listeners, when flutes, oboe, and clarinets appear in measure 21, they do not become part of the foreground. The new timbre and higher register combined are not powerful enough to offset the nature of their musical material, which rotates in patterns reminiscent of the opening viola music. Having relegated circular music to the background once before in this piece, these similar patterns become part of that same sphere of activity, and emerge as secondary in focus to the linear hymn tune. By re-casting instrumental roles, Ives thwarts any expectations that the foreground will emerge from the new ensemble.

Starting on the fourth beat of measure 22, first and second violins, which had been part of the background music through measure 21, move directly into the foreground with a new rendering of "Dorrnance." Ives informs us that the river is capable of more than dreamy meandering. It can also harness its energies and chart an unequivocal course: the river interprets the hymn on its own terms. While such a timbral role-change might threaten the carefully constructed discrete spheres of sound with complete dissolution, that does not happen at this point. Listeners depend upon Ives's painstakingly

deliberate portrayal of multiple, simultaneous areas of activity to sustain them through the shift. Rather than signaling an end to timbral sovereignty, the introduction of high woodwinds heralds a new focus in the work.

With the upbeat to measure 23, the piece enters its second half. New sounds invite a fresh look at the valley. For the first time, the descending major third incipit of the hymn is heard at a different pitch level from the previous three appearances--G# descending to E over a C# pedal instead of F descending to D-flat. The palpable rise from F to G# not only introduces a new intensity into the piece; it moves the melody to the pitch level found in numerous sources of the hymn. The minor-key harmonization of the tune (the E is heard as a minor third over the C# pedal), also sonifies a restlessness in the river that Johnson refers to in line 45 of his poem: "Contented river! and yet over-shy to mask thy beauty from the eager eye; Hast thou a thought to hide from field and town? In some deep current of the sunlit brown." This is Johnson's first hint that the river is more than a placid stream; it is Ives's first suggestion as well. (See especially measures 21-26.)

This page of a musical score, numbered 212, contains the following instruments and parts:

- Flutes (Fl.) 1, 2, 3
- Oboes (Ob.) 1, 2
- Clarinets (Cl.) 1, 2
- Bassoons (Bn.) 1, 2
- Contrabassoon (Contra)
- Horns (Hn.) 1, 2, 3, 4
- Trumpets (Trpt.) 1, 2
- Trombones (Trb.) 1, 2
- Tuba
- Timpani (Timp.)
- Celesta (labeled with the number 22)
- Harps
- Violins I
- Violins II-III
- Violins IV
- Violas
- Cellos
- Bass & Org. Ped.

The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings. Specific markings include *ppp* (pianissimo) for the Tuba and Timpani, and *mf* (mezzo-forte) for the Violins and Violas. The number 22 is written above the Celesta staff.

This page of a musical score, numbered 213, contains the following instruments and parts:

- Flutes (Fl.):** Three staves (1, 2, 3). The first staff has a circled 'E' above it.
- Oboes (Ob.):** Two staves (1, 2).
- Clarinets (Cl.):** Two staves (1, 2).
- Bassoons (Bn.):** Two staves (1, 2).
- Contrabassoon (Contra):** One staff.
- Horns (Hn.):** Four staves (1, 2, 3, 4).
- Trumpets (Trpt.):** Two staves (1, 2).
- Trombones (Trb.):** Two staves (1, 2).
- Tuba:** One staff.
- Timpani (Timp.):** One staff.
- Celesta:** One staff, with the number '23' written above it.
- Harps:** One staff.
- Violins:** Three staves (I, II-III, IV). The first staff has a circled 'E' above it and includes the instruction *[senza sord.]* written.
- Violas:** Two staves.
- Cellos:** Two staves. The first staff includes the instruction *non ferm.*
- Bass & Org Ped:** One staff.

The score features various musical notations including slurs, accents, and dynamic markings such as *fz.* and *ff.*

Fl. 1
2
3

Ob. 1
2

Cl. 1
2

Bn. 1
2

Contra

Hr. 1
2
3
4

Trpt. 1
2

Trb. 1
2

Tuba

Timp.

25
Celesta

Harp

I-II
Violins

III-IV
Violins

Violas

Cellos

Bass &
Org. Ped.

At measure 23 there is a noticeable increase in the sheer volume of the piece. For the first time upper string instruments remove their mutes and increase their dynamic level; though they begin at *mf*, they quickly increase to *forte*. Greater volume levels are reinforced by corresponding changes in articulation markings. In place of the long, beat-obscuring, legato phrases that had characterized the violin part heretofore, three consecutive accents on the opening notes of the tune in measures 22 to 23 and measure 25 plainly assert the conviction behind this utterance. Directions for playing the line *non tremolo* guarantee a strong, unwavering voice for the violin's melody. In the earlier string rendition of the hymn, at measures 3 and 4 of the piece, the tune had been submerged in the cello line; now it makes a second appearance, riding confidently on the surface of the music. As the melody has moved to "the front" of the string ensemble, the momentum of the hymn tune carries the river from the background into the foreground of the sonic canvas.

Reconciliation in the Valley

With the once static violins energetically embracing the dynamic hymn, Ives begins the process of musical

reconciliation that is essential to the idea behind the piece. If, in the first half of the movement, the hymn represented a discrete force, one that had separated from nature, starting at measure 23 that force has been transformed and reabsorbed by nature. In fact, by measure 23, the violins' hymn is thoroughly surrounded by and connected to the constant hum of nature: violas and harps swirl rotating patterns underneath the melody, while flutes, oboes, clarinets, and celesta circle above. As if to drive home the commanding hold the violins have on the linear material, they alone sing the hymn tune for over eight measures. (See upbeat to measure 23 and then continuing to measure 31.) Previously, the longest any single instrument controlled the melody without being replaced or interrupted by a different instrument or new material was three measures. (See english horn part, measures 18 to 20.) When violins finish with the dynamic tune at measure 31, Ives recalls the river's other temperament by re-introducing the earlier spatial music to the four-part divisi. The violin's flexible motions from spatial-to-linear-back-to-spatial music free french horns to play a part other than the hymn incipit, with which they have been closely identified, and permit flutes to venture, momentarily, into the realm of lineal music. (See measures 33 to 34.) Horns and flutes combine

forces to announce the climactic closing of the piece.

At measure 33 the music alters its course and enters into an increasingly turbulent passage. Ives's piece transports listeners from Johnson's once "dreamy realm, . . . by fall and shallow to the adventurous sea." Like the poet who confidentially admits to the river a fear of "much resting," Ives's music also seems to fear too much complacency. Distancing itself from its placid beginnings, the last quarter of the piece is as agitated as the first was tranquil.

Starting at measure 34, new timbres, increased tempos, augmented volume levels and denser textures set out on an unstoppable course. As the music surges to the foreground of the sonic canvas, all of nature seems to shudder with its newly discovered power. Trumpets and trombones take over for the violins, and negotiate the wave of sound using "Dornance" to chart the course. (They are among the few instruments whose sound can penetrate the thunderous cascade.) River water shivers and spills in the sounds of tremolos and glissandi. Powerful, synchronized pulses pump through the orchestra and push the music forward at regular intervals; boundaries between discrete spheres of activity are washed away as the once separate musics merge and move toward a common goal--"the adventurous sea." As the

physical environment is overwhelmed by the river, the aural environment is saturated with sound. Music fills every opening in chromatic, registral and temporal space. Measures 35 through 42 provide visual evidence of the newly intensified activity of the piece. (See earlier examples.)

Were the piece to stop at measure 42, a listener could surmise that the river's thunderous surge to the sea had washed away all memories of the more pastoral aspects of the Housatonic Valley. Indeed the final lines of Robert Underwood Johnson's inspirational poem leave readers with just that impression. But Ives's piece is not, ultimately, about restless, eclipsing power, nor is it concerned exclusively with adventures to the great unknown. (It is not about the victory of linear compositional techniques over spatial techniques either.) What drives this place piece are the conciliatory possibilities in the Housatonic Valley that reveal themselves to the composer and to willing auditors of that environment. The final two measures of Ives's piece provide essential context for the idea behind the work and clarify the preceding forty-two measures of music.

At measure 43, as the chromatically exhaustive crash of music gradually dissipates, sounds of the contented river softly re-emerge from the violins. Their entry on

G# provides an important reference point for listeners who, consciously or not, recall this pitch as signifying a return. The first significant use of G# as melodic material occurred at measure 3, where cellos, and then bassoons, entered with the final phrase of "Dorrnance." Prior to this, G# acted as an essential harmonic component in the upper voice of the two-part pedal point that grounded the piece. The violins' hymn tune solo at measure 23 entered on the second significant melodic use of G#. In addition to the return of G#, the reappearance of C# in the basses at measure 43, although soft and muted, offers a harmonic recollection and hint of stability. The return of C# reminds listeners of the lower voice of the pedal point that prevailed through significant portions of this piece. The reemergence of these two pitches at this time is structurally significant and musically symbolic.

Such constancy is an important anchor for a piece that, on first glance, seems to change so much from its quiet opening to its bombastic closing. At the climactic final moments, in the midst of its most wrenching musical expression, the river recalls its gentler nature; the hymn tune incipit emerges apparition-like in the sonic sea spray, sung at the familiar pitch level, supported by the expected harmonic foundation. This New England

waterway is capable of both power and peacefulness, change and constancy. Contradictory as these qualities may appear, they are harmonized by their presence in one entity, the Housatonic River.

Issues of rapprochement stimulate other aspects of Ives's piece. While, for a majority of the third movement, the transient hymn tune appears to have wrested the spiritual spotlight away from the river, the final two measures confirm the source of spirituality for Ives. Persuasive as the sounds from the church are, the real source of spirituality can be traced, not to something exclusively man-made, like a church itself or even its music, but to man literally reflected in nature. Nature and man relate and respond to each other with their music; they are engaged in an ongoing dialogue. Though tensions exist between them, man remains inextricably bound to nature just as the hymn tune remains bound to the river music.

And finally, the Housatonic Valley symbolized yet another quality, one that was of utmost importance to this American composer. The river embodied a local connection to the universal. Fed by streams in the quiet hillsides of the Berkshires, wending its way through small hamlets and towns, the New England river nonetheless flowed inexorably to the anonymous sea. What

originated as a personally meaningful, local waterway in time joined energies with a universally shared property. The liquid medium allowed no lines of demarcation separating what was local from what was universal; the river contained both qualities simultaneously. While characteristics of Ives's larger musical structure might be traceable to European models, the song that ran through this work was purely American. With "The Housatonic at Stockbridge" Ives acknowledges the essential artificiality of boundaries; he recognizes the natural kinship of America with the larger world.

Notes to Chapter Three

1 In movement I, "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common" there is a single *internal* climax at measure 63. In movement II, "Putnam's Camp" there are two climaxes: one at measure 113-114, and one in the final measure 163. The length of the *forte* section preceding the final climax (starting at measure 126), and the fact that we have heard all this music before, combine to diminish the power of the ending as an "ultimate" climax. This is not to say the last measure doesn't sound like a convincing ending, for it undeniably does, only that its ability to create closure is somewhat lessened by the bombastic display of power that has preceded its final accomplishment. On the other hand, the final climax of "The Housatonic at Stockbridge" is relatively more powerful because it has been approached with such singleness of purpose and because it is the only gesture of its type in the movement. It is also placed in relief immediately by the shadow-like echo of music associated with the words "Contented river!" The falling third that ends this movement recalls the numerous incantations of that interval in "The Housatonic" and the initial descending/ascending third that began "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common," the first movement of the set. Whether Ives intended this connection is difficult to ascertain, but the relationship is there and easily heard.

2 Ives assigned the year 1921 to the song in his collection *114 Songs*.

3 See Robert J. Taylor, Colonial Connecticut: A History (New York: KTO Press, 1979), 90-91.

4 William Cullen Bryant, "Green River," from The Complete Poems of William Cullen Bryant (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, Company, 1894), 27-29.

5 Ives, Memos, 87. Ives's portrayal of this scene resembles the scene from Henry David Thoreau's Walden that the composer summarizes in his song "Thoreau," #48 of *114 Songs*. "His meditations are interrupted only by the faint sound of the Concord bell, 'A melody, as it were, imported into the wilderness. At a distance over the woods the sound acquires a certain vibratory hum as if the pine needles in the horizon were the strings of a harp which it swept. . . a vibration of the universal

lyre, just as the intervening atmosphere makes a distant ridge of earth, interesting to the eyes by the azure tint it imparts.'" See Charles E. Ives, *114 Songs*, 103.

6 Ives, Memos, 87.

7 Chard Powers Smith, The Housatonic: Puritan River (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1946), 5-7.

8 Ives, Memos, 87. Johnson's poem is actually entitled "To the Housatonic at Stockbridge."

9 For the complete text of Robert Underwood Johnson's poem as it appears in Poems (New York: The Century Co., 1902), 105-107, see Appendix 4.

10 Albert F. McLean, William Cullen Bryant (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989). See Appendix 5 for the full text of Bryant's poem.

11 Though Ives included these lines in his reduction of the poem, they are not part of the text that he set years later in song. There is no melodic correlation for these poetic lines in the instrumental or vocal versions of "The Housatonic at Stockbridge."

12 William Cullen Bryant, editor, Picturesque America; or The Land We Live In (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874). See especially pages 288-317 for a chapter entitled "Valley of the Housatonic."

13 Ives, Memos, 87.

14 Bryant, Picturesque America, 289-291.

15 Ibid., 304.

16 Photostats of Emil Hanke's full score housed in the Ives Collection at Yale show the excerpted lines from Robert Underwood Johnson's poem attached to the last page of the score. In this position they function more as a postface than as a preface. Without commentary from the composer it is difficult to ascertain whether or not anterior or posterior positioning of the poetic source was a matter of concern for Ives. The texts to accompany each of the earlier movements are typed on separate sheets of paper and so their intended positions in relation to the music are not established.

17 There are subtle differences between Ives's uses of Johnson's text in the Hanke score, which became the 1935 Mercury Edition, and the 1976 Sinclair score which is, no doubt, informed by the text as it appears in Ives's song version. Line 19 of the 1935 version of text stops with an exclamation point after the word "away" reading: "Wouldst thou away!" In the same edition the word "tomorrow" does not appear in line 21.

18 This situation is not unlike the instances in which Ives tells of his father encouraging his audiences to recall or consider texts while music was being played. See Ives, Memos, 127.

19 Henderson, Tunebook, #15, p. 23-24.

20 See The Methodist Hymnal, New York: The Methodist Publishing House, 1939, #143, and the Baptist Hymnal, Tennessee: Convention Press, 1956, #538.

21 Verses 2 and 4 of the text, as found in the 1939 Methodist Hymnal, suggest the burgeoning continuity implied in the music: 2. "Here I find my hope of heaven, While upon my Lord I gaze; Loving much, and much forgiven, Let my heart o'erflow with praise." 4. "For thy sorrows I adore Thee, For thy griefs that wrought our peace: Gracious Savior! I implore Thee, In our hearts Thy love increase."

22 See measures 1, 6, 8, and 21 for directions to various instruments regarding relative dynamics and rhythm.

23 For the seminal article on this compositional approach regarding the music of Charles Ives, see Robert Morgan's essay entitled "Spatial Form in Ives" in An Ives Celebration, 145-158.

24 I use the terms background, foreground, and middleground as visual artists would: Background: That part in a painting or picture against which the principal elements, motifs, or subjects are represented; that part of a work furthest from the perceiver. Foreground: The part of a landscape or painting that is nearest or represented as nearest to the spectator; the position of most prominence or activity. Middleground, or middle distance: that area of a painting or picture between the foreground and the background. None of these areas is a

self-contained compartment. Boundaries between areas are necessarily fluid and flexible. In visual art the terms are most valuable as they describe the viewer's relation to the subject being depicted. In appropriating the terms for a discussion of music, I use them to describe the auditor's relation to Ives's sonic snapshot. As the foreground of a painting creates a visual path for viewers to enter into the work, so does Ives's sonic foreground create an aural path that draws listeners into the musical space. Ives's use of the term "background" in his marginal notes to conductors suggests that he may have been thinking as a visual artist when creating this piece. If the Iveses' library is any indication of interests, someone in the household was curious about studying art, at least in a general way. A book by Charles H. Caffin entitled How to Study Pictures (New York: The Century Company, 1905) was among those listed as being in Ives's West Redding library. This volume instructed readers how to understand various painters' motives and methods and supplied historical and biographical summaries of the artists and works covered. Other titles related to the visual arts found in Ives's West Redding library include The Techniques of Painting, and Art Treasures of the Metropolitan. I am grateful to Professors Ronald Fields and Melissa Weinman of the Art Department at the University of Puget Sound for discussions that helped me clarify my own thinking regarding perspective and multiple dimensions as the phenomena compare in visual and musical arts.

25 Variations of the cyclic patterns found in the violas are present starting at measure 21 in the music of the flute and oboe.

26 For an in depth study of this phenomenon in the music of Ives and other composers, see Jonathan D. Kramer's book The Time of Music. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988).

27 Pairing cellos and bassoon is a common practice among composers, as the following excerpt from a widely used college orchestration textbook attests: "Although the bassoon is, like the oboe, a double-reed instrument, its tone is much less nasal and less highly colored than that of the oboe. In fact, its characteristic quality is a relatively neutral one, so that it is apt to be largely absorbed by any other orchestral color it is doubled

with. For example, if bassoon is doubled with cellos (as it very frequently is), the cello tone will predominate but will have more body and focus than it would alone." Kent Wheeler Kennan, The Technique of Orchestration, 88. The muted doubling of french and english horns by second violas beginning at measure 6 fortifies important melodic material and reinforces timbral continuity.

28 Included among the more famous uses of french horn are Handel's *Water Music*. Beethoven relied heavily upon the instrument in his *Symphony No. 6 (Pastoral)*, especially in movements three and five. Later, Strauss used french horns to imitate the sounds of bleating sheep in his tone poem *Don Quixote*. The use of the instrument in musical depictions of rustic scenes was a natural outgrowth of the historical use of horns in the hunt. But besides the traditional associations of the instrument, Ives sought particular qualities of the sound. The unique timbre of the french horn has been discussed earlier; see Chapter 1, footnote 23.

29 For a brief biographical sketch on this Massachusetts-born organist/composer, editor, teacher and writer, who for a time, like Ives, commuted from his Connecticut home to work in New York City, see H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie, eds. The New Grove Dictionary of American Music (London: Macmillan Press Limited, 1986), s.v. "Issac Baker Woodbury," by Robert M. Copeland, vol.4, 559-560.

30 Just how necessary the increased volume really is to guarantee focus on the tune is an interesting question. It seems that traditional Western listeners will invariably seek out the linear component in dense musical textures almost regardless of relative volume levels.

31 Readers familiar with the children's toy called a Viewmaster have experienced seeing the space between the various scrims used to create its 3-D images. Ives achieves a similar effect with ambits of sound.

Chapter Four
Two Places in New York
"Central Park in the Dark"

Charles Ives has been so thoroughly identified as a nineteenth-century New England product, a Yankee tinkerer, an iconoclast from Connecticut, that an exploration of his ties to other meaningful places has not occurred. Historians have grown comfortable associating Ives with a single time and a single place. But in cradling the myth of Ives as the isolated, nostalgic New England composer, historians have neglected to consider a second equally powerful environmental influence that Ives voluntarily embraced. From the summer of 1898, after Ives graduated from Yale, until the day he died, May 19, 1954, Ives was as much a denizen of contemporary urban America as he was of the romantic rural countryside.

Though Charles Ives disparaged New York City in comments both public and private,¹ his practice of maintaining a residence in the city throughout his adult life,² and his decision to spend major portions of each year at that residence after he retired from business in January of 1930, attest to his involvement in the nation's foremost cultural scene. While he regularly

sought the quiet refuge of his country home and acreage in West Redding, his return to "Babylon" at predictable intervals every year suggests, at the very least, an attachment to city life that he was unwilling to break.³ For had Ives wanted to sever his relationship with that place, he most certainly would have. But he did not. Ives's fluid movement between urban and rural places became an essential feature of his adult life; the composer-businessman was "bi-cultural."⁴ Because he composed from his experience, Ives's music, like his life, boasted a wealth of influences. In addition to celebrating historic New England sites, and bucolic New England scenes, Ives's music also commemorated crowds of busy New Yorkers and the clangorous noises of city life. For the successful businessman-composer, rural and urban places were equally vital and legitimate settings for sonifications of ideas. While Ives's New England pieces celebrated places rich with specific national historical significance, his New York pieces provided a forum for the consideration of more abstract issues.

Two pieces in particular illustrate Ives's involvement in the urban place: "Central Park in the Dark," dated 1906, and a piece that Ives considered "one of the best that I've done,"⁵ "From Hanover Square North, at the End of a Tragic Day, the Voice of the People Again

Arose," written in 1915. Ives's generously detailed comments provide essential information regarding his motivations and goals for both works. A discussion of these two urban-place pieces will illuminate further: 1. Ives's commitment to the idea that public places are forums for exploring the human condition; 2. Ives's regard for uniquely American venues as sites for universally resonant dramas; 3. Ives's use of specific compositional techniques to sonify multiple, simultaneous dimensions of the physical environment. In addition, the urban-place pieces expose Ives as an active and engaged city dweller, a twentieth-century cultural chronicler recording his observations in sound. When considered together, the New York City pieces and the New England pieces show Ives to be a participant in two distinct spheres of American culture.

If Ives's contemporaneous output is any indication, "Central Park in the Dark" was written at a time when the composer was particularly receptive to the possibilities of a city environment. Two additional pieces support such a conclusion. "Over the Pavements," written in May of 1906, captured the sounds that Ives heard from a front bedroom of 65 Central Park West, the domicile of a group of Yale graduates with whom Ives lived.⁶ The youthful composer was excited by the dense rhythmic patten that

resulted from the steps of hundreds of city folk and horse-drawn carriages--an amalgam of rhythms that blatantly disregarded traditional notions of metrical regularity. Ives devoted two paragraphs of his "Scrapbook" to a discussion of this piece.⁷

A second piece, "In The Cage," written in July of 1906, was also inspired by an urban experience. On Saturday, July 28th of that year Ives and two of his roommates walked to the Central Park Zoo where they observed a leopard skulking in the narrow confines of his public cell. While Ives claimed that "In the Cage" was a technical study of the power of non-triadic chords to move melodies away from tonal centers, his text for the song version of "The Cage" suggested the possibility of a serious extra-musical issue being considered in the piece: "A leopard went around his cage from one side back to the other side; he stopped only when the keeper came around with meat; A boy who had been there three hours began to wonder, 'Is life anything like that?'"⁸ Clearly city life allowed Ives to consider questions and ideas that were different from those raised by his rural experience.

"Central Park in the Dark," a more substantial piece than either of the contemporaneous works, was the direct result of an experience in New York in the summer of 1906

as well.⁹ In the second sketch for the piece Ives notated, "Runaway [horse] smashes into fence . . . heard at 65 C[entral] P[ark] W[est], July--finit Dec . . . 1906, with J.S. M[yrick] . . ." A horse jumping his traces became the climactic moment of this piece.¹⁰ The composer interpolated this memorable event into a larger creative narrative replete with music befitting the turn of the century.¹¹ The place remains true to Ives's experience of 1906 complete with horses bolting from their harnesses. Ives's note clarifies the era and fleshes out the scene with details of the location, time of day, temperature, and myriad sounds wafting through the park air:

This piece purports to be a picture-in-sounds of the sounds of nature and of happenings that men would hear some thirty or so years ago (before the combustion engine and radio monopolized the earth and air), when sitting on a bench in Central Park on a hot summer night. The strings represent the night sounds and silent darkness--interrupted by sounds [the rest of the orchestra] from the Casino over the pond--of street singers coming up from the Circle singing, in spots, the tunes of those days--of some "night owls" from Healy's whistling the latest or the Freshman March--the "occasional elevated" a street parade, or a "break-down" in the distance--of newsboys crying "uxtries"--of pianolas having a ragtime war in the apartment house "over the garden wall", a street car and a street band join in the chorus--a fire engine, a cab horse runs away, lands "over the fence and out", the wayfarers shout--again the darkness is heard--an echo over the pond--and we walk home.¹²

For Ives, the public park becomes the meeting place for an individual modern man and a larger collective memory. While cities throughout Europe and the rest of the world may boast equally famous urban retreats, the musical sounds that Ives associates with this particular park--rags, marches, the tunes of the day--reveal the location, unambiguously, as turn-of-the-century America. Ives's "picture-in-sounds" is one that is peculiarly American.

Written remarks found in sketches for this piece point to Ives's fascination with the sonification of place. Pages from two of four extant sources contain explicit references to Central Park and its manifestations in sounds.

On page one of the first sketch "s," July 1906, Ives identified the string ostinato as "night sounds of nature, bugs, leaves on trees, sounds of silent darkness, sounds natural and unnatural." Five months later, on page one of the December sketch "S," Ives specified the musical presence of that nature scene by writing "'C.P. in Dark'--over the 'ten' [the ten string measures]."13 Ives literally built his musical work upon the physical place as it was sonified in the ten-measure ostinato. The presence of the place imposed a logic upon the piece at all levels of activity. Ives's careful craftsmanship

invites a discussion of the music.

Ten repetitions of the ostinato lock the piece in a large-scale tonal, rhythmic, and harmonic sphere much as the action of the program is locked in a well-defined location. The dynamics of the ostinato remain fixed in the *piano* range. Dynamic and timbral stability in the ostinato come to represent the steadfastness of this natural oasis buried deep within an environment known for its motion and change. This urban retreat offers city dwellers a place for timeless reflection. (See example measures 1-10 on following pages.)

Molto Adagio 5

Piccolo

Flute

Oboe

B♭ Clarinet
(E♭ Clarinet)

Bassoon

C Trumpet

Trombone

Percussion

Piano I
(1 player)

Piano II
(2 players—
possible
for 1)

Molto Adagio 5

Violin I
div.
PPP

Violin II
div.
PPP

Viola
div.
PPP

Cello
div.
PPP

Bass
PPP

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B♭ Clarinet

10

B♭ Cl.

VI. I

VI. II

Va.

C.

B.

15

B♭ Cl.

VI. I

VI. II

Va.

C.

B.

The ostinato is neatly organized into alternating duple and triple divisions of the common time meter in all measures but measure 8; here Ives introduces a quarter-note quintuplet that obscures notions of duple or triple division. Ives works up to and away from the quintuplet measure by surrounding it with a pair of quarter-note measures that divide duply. Those measures are themselves encased in a pair of half-note measures that divide triply.

m.1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	2	3	2	3	4	3	4	5	4	3

The quintuplet at measure 8 is unique in the ostinato and thus serves a few purposes: first, it creates a necessary tension in an otherwise predictable duple-triple pattern; second, it introduces the rhythmic framework that will be associated with the B-flat clarinet tune, a large-scale unifying device on its own; but third, and most important, it focuses the listener's attention on that half of the ostinato where there is maximum surface-rhythm activity.¹⁴ The rhythmic intensification present at measure 8 is reflected in an

analogous spot at the next larger rhythmic level--the one formed by grouping measures in pairs.

Considering the ostinato in units of paired measures is justified in a number of ways: 1. The two-measure, arch-like melodic contour found in the top three string voices of measures 1 and 2 sounds like a single, complete gesture. 2. The repetition of the duple-triple rhythm pattern beginning at measure 3 signals the end of what appears to be one rhythmic unit and the start of another. 3. The rise of a step from A flat to B flat in the bass line at measure 3 is distinctly audible and suggests a two-measure harmonic rhythm pattern, even though one never materializes. 4. The change in the bass line and the beginning of the cello's moving part at measure 3 reinforce the downbeat of that measure and the start of something new.

Pairing measures also seems indicated by the predictable return of duple divisions at measures 3, 5, 7 and 9. The regular duple appearances continue even though other rhythmic characteristics become more complex and ambiguous. Maximum rhythmic intensification and activity occurs at the same spot in the paired measures as was found in individual measures of the ostinato. The combined number of articulated divisions in paired measures results in the following pattern:

measures:				
1,2	3,4	5,6	7,8	9,10
<u>5</u> divisions	<u>5</u> divisions	<u>7</u> divisions	<u>9</u> divisions	<u>7</u> divisions
duple	duple	quadruple	quadruple	quadruple
+	+	+	+	+
triple	triple	triple	quintuple	triple

The ostinato manifests other rhythmic features as well. Tensions between duple and triple thinking exist on all levels of the music. The bass line of the ostinato articulates this conflict in a harmonic rhythm that moves in a 2 3 3 2 pattern: 2 measures, 3 measures, 3 measures, 2 measures. Palindromic properties present in the bass line are also reflected at the level of articulated divisions of the paired groupings in measures 6 through 10:

measure:				
6	7	8	9	10
<u>3</u> divisions	<u>4</u> divisions	<u>5</u> divisions	<u>4</u> divisions	<u>3</u> divisions

Additionally, when the series of ten ostinati are placed adjacent to one another, larger-scale palindromes connect one pattern to the next and so appear to propel the music forward. Disregarding, momentarily, the first five-division pair of the ostinato (arrived at by combining measures one and two), and starting with the

second five-division pair, found in measures 3 and 4, a palindrome emerges that transcends the ending of a single ostinato. This pattern calls attention to the pivotal nature of the nine-division grouping found in measures 7 and 8.

(5) $\frac{5 \ 7 \ 9 \ 7}{5} \ / \ \frac{5 \ 7 \ 9 \ 7}{5} \ / \ \frac{5 \ 7 \ 9 \ 7}{5}$
 ostinato 1 / ostinato 2 / ostinato 3 /

The idea that Ives was indeed thinking beyond the confines of a single ostinato gains credibility as the piece unfolds. In fact, the very last measure of the piece begins an eleventh statement of the ostinato that never moves beyond the first chord of that pattern. While the ostinato seems to be denied its natural closure, the piece actually returns to the opening sonority, bringing the work full circle. The first five-division grouping, previously set aside in this discussion, can now be accounted for. Listeners are forced to reconsider the boundaries of the ostinato, of the piece, and of the idea of artistic unity.¹⁵

Musical behavior at the measure to measure level (whether the measures are considered individually or in pairs), clearly foretells activity at other levels of the piece as well. But to make a case that the ostinato determines the larger structure of the piece, beyond the

unity that is achieved by simple repetition, it is necessary to demonstrate that musical developments detected in the basic materials dictate large-scale dimensions of the piece. Expanding the analysis to address structural aspects of the piece will show a close relationship between small and large scale activity. A look at the overall design of the work reveals that Ives's sonification of place by means of the ostinato must surely have affected his compositional goals.

Ostinato 1: measures 1-10

Molto Adagio

4/4

unaccompanied string ostinato

Ostinato 2: measures 11-20

Molto Adagio

4/4

ostinato + B-flat clarinet at measure 12/beat 4
register of clarinet blends with string ostinato

Ostinato 3: measures 21-30

Molto Adagio

4/4

ostinato + B-flat clarinet at measure 24/beat 4
+ flute at measure 28/beat 3
up to this point additional instruments use
note values already present in the ostinato
until one measure before Ostinato 4

Ostinato 4: measures 31-40

Molto Adagio

4/4

ostinato + B-flat clarinet pedal on F measure 31
+ flute at measure 31, 32, 33, 34
+ oboe at measure 31, 32, 33, 34
ostinato alone measures 35-40

Ostinato 5: measures 41-50

Molto Adagio

4/4

ostinato + B-flat clarinet pedal on F measure 41
 + flute measure 43
 + oboe measure 42
 + solo violin measure 44 higher register
 than ostinato
 + Piano I measure 47 **TIMBRE INTERRUPTS**
RHYTHM INTERRUPTS

Ostinato 6: measures 51-60

Molto Adagio

4/4

ostinato + 3 beats Piano I from previous ostinato
 measure 51
 + B-flat clarinet tune measure 59/beat 3
 + Piano I at measure 60 forecasting
 "Hello! Ma Baby"

Ostinato 7: starting measure 61. . .

Molto Adagio until measure 64

4/4

Piu mosso

2/4 at measure 64 (4th measure of the ostinato)

ostinato + B-flat clarinet measures 61-65
 CHANGES TO E-FLAT CLARINET
 + Piano I measures 61-62
 + flute measures 65-118 (into ostinato 8)
 + oboe measures 65-118 (into ostinato 8)
 TIMBRAL SEPARATIONS
 TEMPORAL SEPARATIONS
 METRICAL SEPARATIONS
 DYNAMIC SEPARATIONS

syncopation separates man-made/natural
 sounds

+ Piano I measure 67 "Hello! Ma Baby"
forte

Ostinato 8: continuation of multiple measuring systems

- Allegro Moderato* measure 79 upper voices
canonic "Hello! Ma Baby" Piano then
E-flat clarinet
- Allegro con spirito* measure 91 in upper body
(measure 8/4 in ostinato)
introduction of 6/8 in Piano II with
thumping
cluster chords
+ Bassoon
+ Trombone-syncopated rhythms
Upper WWDs a busy blur of sounds
+ Piano I "Hello! Ma Baby" measure 91
- Allegro vivace* measure 103
- Allegro molto* measure 109
- Con fuoco fff-ffff* measure 114

Ostinato 9: measures 119-128

- Adagio molto*
4/4
ostinato + B-flat clarinet measure 126/beat 4

Ostinato 10: measures 129-138

- Adagio molto*
4/4
ostinato + B-flat Clarinet measure 131 pedal
+ flute measure 131
+ solo violin returns with melody heard
at m. 44 (+ harmonics this time.)

Where, in the original ten-measure ostinato, maximum rhythmic activity and ambiguity occurred at measure 8, and in the paired measures of the ostinato, maximum rhythmic activity and ambiguity was achieved in measures 7-8, in the larger pattern of ten repetitions of the ostinato, maximum activity and ambiguity takes place at statements seven and eight. In fact, in the larger

structure, rhythmic activity becomes so frantic at that point that the non-stringed instruments break away from the string choir's 4/4 ostinato and commence a gradual accelerando that defies a single metrical scheme. (Hence the introduction of 6/8 for Piano II at measure 91 and then later on for other instruments. 6/8, of course, allows for both duple and triple interpretations of the meter.) The gathering momentum of the accelerando results in seven tempo changes in these two repetitions of the ostinato alone. Ives clarifies his vision of the rhythmically and timbrally rich section from measure 64 to measure 118, by explaining the relationship of quarter notes and tempi:

The quarter note for winds, brass, pianos, and drums grows gradually faster, but the quarter note for the string orchestra keeps the same tempo throughout. . . . the relation of the string orchestra's measures to those of the other instruments need not and cannot be written down exactly, as the gradual accelerando of all but the strings cannot be played in precisely the same tempi each time.¹⁶

In ostinatos seven and eight distinct rhythmic and timbral qualities are combined; they achieve maximum separation and then consolidation. Ives's musical accretion process can be observed starting approximately a fifth of the way through the piece.

When the B-flat clarinet and flute first enter the string ostinato, at measures 12 and 28 respectively, timbral distinctiveness is not emphasized. Even though these woodwinds are discernible against the string background, the enlarged orchestral timbre remains relatively homogeneous because both instruments adopt the dynamic level and note values of the ostinato pattern. More noteworthy than timbral distinctiveness is the clarinet's promise of a hummable tune. But the lazy tune exhausts itself before fulfilling its potential. The B-flat clarinet reappears three more times with its inconsequential air before the piece ends.

Only when the flute anticipates an oboe entrance, and then punctuates its circling eighth notes with a more active sixteenth and eighth-note pattern at measure 31, is there any hint of the rhythmic and timbral stratification that will eventually materialize in the second half of the piece. It is not until the piano softly enters at measure 47, with its percussive timbre and distinctive rag rhythms, that a definitive layering of sounds appears imminent. But at this point, the piano retreats after just four measures, and the ostinato reclaims its primary role with an eight measure solo. (See measures 51 to 58.)

The image displays two systems of a musical score. The first system includes staves for Pia. I, Solo VI., VI. I, VI. II, Va., C., and B. The Pia. I staff features a melodic line starting with a *mp* dynamic. The Solo VI. staff has a melodic line that concludes with the instruction "(Mute off)". The string staves (VI. I, VI. II, Va., C., B.) provide harmonic support with sustained notes and some slurs. The second system, starting at measure 50, features the Pia. I staff with a more active melodic line. The string staves continue with sustained accompaniment. The score is written in a standard musical notation style with various dynamics and articulation marks.

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55

B♭ Cl.

VI. I

VI. II

Va.

C.

B.

B♭ Cl.

VI. I

VI. II

Va.

C.

B.

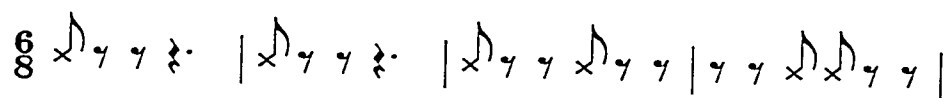
The non-stringed instruments seem reluctant to impose on the serene ostinato. When, however, at measure 67 the piano finally musters its courage and explodes with a *forte* rendition of the rag "Hello! Ma Baby," rhythmic, timbral, and spatial distinctiveness is accomplished.

Freed from the exclusive control of the string ostinato, the flute and oboe engage in a high-speed chromatic chase that further intensifies surface rhythm. When the piano launches a *fortissimo* repetition of its well-known tune, the balance of power shifts away from the previously dominant slow ostinato rhythms and unified timbre. The more penetrating E-flat clarinet makes a cocky debut, echoing the piano tune at the distance of a measure. The final layers of instrumental color appear at the *Allegro con spirito*--measure 91--first with the arrival of the bassoon and trombone, who play the exact rhythm heard at the piano's first entrance at measure 47, thereby showing their indebtedness to the trail-blazing piano, and second, with the entrance of the thumping chord clusters of Piano II. A vertiginous swirl of activity results from colliding rhythms, timbres, and tunes. The duple-triple tension first detected in consecutive measures of the ostinato is now reflected in the vertical mass of sound. While the flute unequivocally articulates a duple reading of the 2/4

meter starting at measure 91, the oboe and E-flat clarinet challenge that rhythmic pattern with one that emphasizes groups of threes that pushes through bar lines.



Adding to the metrical mix, the bassoon and trombone alternate between measures that articulate the downbeat and those that are silent on the downbeat. While Piano I continues with its highly syncopated, but recognizably duple version of "Hello! Ma Baby," Piano II stomps out left hand clusters in a 6/8 meter that recalls military drum cadences, rag and march commingle.



At measure 101 the flute and oboe convert their duple and triple patterns into a series of quintuplet sixteenth-

note phrases that stretches over barlines to the end of measure 105. The trumpet joins the piano and, one measure later, the E-flat clarinet in "Hello! Ma Baby" at the *Allegro Vivace*, measure 103.

By measure 109, *Allegro molto*, rhythms and timbres that had previously shown distinctiveness and autonomy blend together in a sonic mixture that defies individuation. While woodwinds, brass, and piano attempt to advance the music in a linear/melodic trajectory, those efforts fail and the piece ceases forward motion in any discernible way. Though there is no lack of rhythmic activity, the sheer density of sound precludes tracking any single, unifying temporal sequence. Listeners are forced to abandon time-honored listening strategies that draw upon the power of linear motions to lead the way, and to consider the musical mass as a spatially conceived sound event. Instruments that strove for individuality just measures earlier, now forfeit separateness in an indistinguishable collective "bleat."

Like "the runaway [that] smashes into a fence" that Ives associates with measure 118, the combined momentum of pianos, percussion, brass, and woodwinds gradually fills all rhythmic and tonal space, ostensibly destroying the neat edifice of the ostinato. Only when the final echoes of man-made sounds dissipate does the string choir

make its continuing presence known; it finishes its eighth repetition of the ostinato. While the string ostinato was not audible as a distinct block of sound for the past fifty measures or so, it had never left the sonic canvas. Its immutability soothes.

The piece "concludes" with the ninth and tenth repetitions of the ostinato, finishing much as it began with Ives's sonification of the night sounds of Central Park. But man leaves his imprint on the place/piece in the presence of the lingering B-flat clarinet and flute. Rather than closing the piece with the final chord of the last ostinato, Ives suggests the continuity of place by having the music fade out with the first sounds of yet another ostinato repetition. The piece returns to the opening sonority and disperses into the atmosphere; nature and place continue.¹⁷

The artistic success of Ives's piece depends, to a large degree, upon the construction of multiple, autonomous spheres of activity "designed to minimize the sequential, temporal nature of music."¹⁸ Ives carefully sabotages the sequential aspects of the piece by composing an ostinato that ultimately emphasizes circularity and return.¹⁹ Reconsidering the musical and dramatic ramifications of the structure-defining ostinato will shed additional light on Ives's piece.

While the returning duple articulations at the measure level encourage listeners to anticipate future musical behavior, and anticipation is an essential component of linear logic, the regularity of the returning articulations eliminates the possibility of hearing any of the appearances as the rhythmic goal. At the structural level, the overlapping ostinati negate the sense of having achieved any traditional musical objective. Rather than truly moving "forward," listeners find themselves back where they started. This is also the case with overlaps between individual ostinati and the final overlap that connects the "ending" of the piece with the "beginning" of the piece.

Lacking a definite sense of progress and arrival, the musical motion, that appeared to be goal directed at first, ceases to operate within a conventional linear mode. Linearity is replaced by circularity. A revolving ostinato pattern replaces a traditional linear trajectory; temporal objectives are replaced with spatial objectives. More important than where the music is going, is where the music is, and in this case, Ives tells us it is in Central Park.

The ostinato bears out Robert Morgan's assessment "that Ives wrote pictorial music--music based largely on relationships that are simultaneous, reciprocal, and

reflective in nature rather than successive, sequential, and unidirectional."²⁰ For all the flurry of activity in the second half of the ostinato, the ten-measure pattern is ultimately a musical manifestation of immobility--a sonification of the stable place.

But rhythmic stasis and isolated instances of harmonic ambiguity are not the only musical components scuttling linearity. Individual pitch movements offer listeners little guidance. Though, initially, the arch-like contour of the first two measures portends ever-broadening arches in the measures to come, such a pattern does not materialize. The absence of a tonal center prevents interpreting any harmonic motion as locally functional or structurally hierarchical. And the abundance of symmetrical chords in parallel motion that occur throughout the ostinato--the majority of which are quartal and quintal harmonies--eliminates the motion and drama that result when different types of chords are combined either successively or simultaneously. Voice leading, as it is traditionally understood, disappears.

The ostinato boasts a melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic profile that is conspicuous for its tonal and temporal ambiguity. Because of the close relationships between ostinato behavior and structural behavior, the spatial qualities attributed to the germinal idea also

characterize the larger work in many ways. The results of this compositional strategy are spelled out by Morgan:

The absence of clearly defined, forward, goal-directed motion does much to subvert our awareness of time in listening to music; . . . and thus appear[s] to suspend the musical motion in time and consequently to locate it in space.²¹

But Ives's preference for reflective musical gestures to sonify Central Park does not preclude his employing more dynamic techniques to illustrate the particular drama he outlines in his program. In fact, though a spatial mode prevails throughout the piece, there are occasions when linear motions penetrate and even dominate the sound mass.

The music that accompanies the middle six repetitions of the ostinato (numbers three through eight inclusive) shows Ives combining multiple spheres of activity, some of which are decidedly more sequential and linear than others. At the same time that the composer suppresses a unidirectional linear trajectory in the ostinato, he gradually builds a sonic complex of individuated rhythms, timbres, and tunes. An example of localized linearity occurs at the *Allegretto con spirito* at measure 67 and continues until measure 112. This section corresponds with ostinatos seven and eight, the patterns that accompanied the most frenzied activity of

the piece.

Starting at measure 64 various instruments break away from the ostinato and assert their independence. Most conspicuous of the rebels is the piano, which emerges playing the familiar tune "Hello! Ma Baby." While the melody evokes other "tunes of those days,"²² it also supplies a road map for listeners who will need assistance through the sonic maze that follows. Without the persistent presence of this ditty, the texturally dense, rhythmically complex sonic mixture would meld into an undifferentiated aggregate. While total fusion does occur eventually, it is delayed by numerous repetitions of the tune, each successive occurrence working against an ever-thickening, ever-encroaching texture.

Exhausted by the Herculean efforts needed to sustain the melodic trajectory, the agent of linear motion is absorbed into a rhythmically and tonally saturated sound mass. The piano, trumpet, and E-flat clarinet abandon "Hello! Ma Baby" at measure 112. The music ceases to function linearly as individual instruments adopt the circular motion of the ostinato and telescope it into measure-long patterns of repeated gestures. Flute and oboe parts illustrate the trend.

Musical score for Piccolo (Picc.), Flute (Fl.), and Oboe (Ob.). The score is divided into three measures. Measure 112 is marked with a box containing the number '112'. The Piccolo part has 'quasi gliss.' and 'quasi gliss.' written above it. The Flute part has '(b)' written above it. The Oboe part has '3' written below it. The score shows complex, rapid passages for all instruments.

For all the cacophonous activity, there is little sense of traditional, inevitable forward movement.²³ A single musical exertion is required, ultimately, to shock the ensemble out of its sonic tail-chasing. At measure 114, the upper woodwinds simulate a policeman's whistle, a sound long associated with the idea of "arrest" and perfectly in keeping with the script that Ives has provided. Without any sense of finishing or achieving a goal, the huge vibrating ensemble screeches to a stop!

All efforts at linearity are shown to be futile, for what emerges from the vibrating residue of the sonic crash is the imperturbable, circulating ostinato that introduced the work. Given the reflective qualities of the beginning and ending of this piece, it becomes obvious that all internal motions that challenged the larger spatial mode were predestined to fail. As a matter of fact, the more determined the linear forces became, the more certain was their demise. Additional

instruments, increased tempi, and enlarged dynamics only obscured the ultimate "objective." If, starting at measure 64, the circulating ostinato was momentarily overwhelmed by the usurping temporal forces, in the larger scheme of things, linear motion was decisively absorbed into the omnipresent spatial dimension that defines the piece.

In "Central Park in the Dark," Charles Ives suggests the permanence and continuity of place, especially when contrasted with the transitory nature of man. For all the boisterous, distracting commotion created by the people in his scene, it is the place that prevails and has the final, soft-spoken word. In both this work and "The Housatonic at Stockbridge," Ives explores the idea of the interaction of nature and humanity. But the two place pieces yield different results. Where the Edenesque Housatonic valley allows for and invites human integration with the natural world, the urban world of Central Park underscores the separation of man and nature. Having been limited and contained to select acreage, urban nature is now quietly unyielding. Though Ives referred to this work as the less serious of his two contemplations, "Central Park" clearly invites thoughtful consideration.

A Brief Note on the Companion Piece
"The Unanswered Question"

This oft-analyzed and recorded companion piece needs little more said on its behalf. Besides being an appealing, accessible piece, and a wonderful resource for readings of Ives as a musical transcendentalist, its popularity probably has something to do with the fact Ives subtitled it "A Contemplation of a *Serious Matter*" (italics mine). "Central Park in the Dark," on the other hand, was subtitled "A Contemplation of Nothing Serious"; it has received a fraction of the scholarly attention. But putting aside the issue of neglect for a moment, perhaps additional light can be shed on both pieces by considering Ives's characterization of the particular place "Central Park" with a string choir ostinato, and his similar characterization of eternity in "The Unanswered Question" with a string choir ostinato--albeit the ostinato breaks down in the third repetition. (Eternity is not beholden to time after all.) Similarities between the two works do not stop there. The following list is offered as a preliminary set of observations.

1. In each piece, layers of sound are created by separating instruments into families and introducing them one at a time. Spatial distinctiveness is exaggerated in

"The Unanswered Question" by Ives's separations of the instrument families from each other on the stage and behind a curtain as well. While no such physical separation occurs in "Central Park in the Dark," Ives's timbral differentiation assures that listeners perceive discrete spheres of musical activity.

2. In each piece the scene-setting tempo is extremely slow, and established with a series of similar value notes. The combination of slowness and similarity makes it difficult to find or beat a pulse. Such a timeless quality is desirable when attempting to depict an actual or imaginary place. The stationary nature of a location resists depiction with a motion-filled rhythmic continuum.²⁴

3. Both pieces begin within a similarly soft dynamic compass. In each work the *ppp* opening suggests the listener is coming upon music already in progress. Perhaps the listener has only just entered upon a place of musical activity and begun to hear the ambient sounds. Man is a visitor.

4. Likewise, in each work the string choir remains imperturbably constant while woodwind and brass (and in "Central Park in the Dark," piano and percussion) grow consistently louder and more frenzied. Place is portrayed as relatively fixed and enduring, steadfast in

the face of a more impulsive and temperamental humanity.

5. In each work select instruments attempt to modify the spatial environment by linearizing the temporal mode. This role is assumed by the woodwind and brass in "The Unanswered Question," and by the clarinet, brass and piano in "Central Park in the Dark." These instruments represent a human intrusion into the sonic landscape. In both pieces humanity is seen to be transitory while place is permanent.

6. In each work the musical climax is reached well before the end of the piece, allowing the string sounds to re-emerge from underneath the distracting "other" noises. The music continues as it was when listeners came upon it.

Could it be that by characterizing both an urban park and eternity with similar sounds and then calling the pieces *Two Contemplations*, that Ives was suggesting an affinity between the two places? Or is that reading too much into works that Ives also referred to as "Pieces for Orchestra, Cartoons or Take-Offs" in five of his lists of works?²⁵

Given the obfuscatory nature of many of Ives's remarks it might be easy to dismiss the "Cartoons or Take-Offs" appellation as just another instance of Ives being Ives. But perhaps there is also something

important for us to learn from the seemingly casual categorization. Maybe Ives was trying to demystify eternity and bring it down to earth, perhaps bring it right down to Central Park in the dark, in the good old summer time. Or perhaps Ives was calling attention to the fact that eternity is present, in the present, all around us, in Central Park and places like it. For a man who saw no inherent contradiction between idealism and practicality such a reading seems eminently reasonable.

Notes to Chapter Four

1 I am very grateful to Ives's grandniece Sally Ives Wilkes for sharing the following story with me: In the 1940s, seventeen year old Sally left Danbury, Connecticut for her first visit to New York City. While there, she visited with her Aunt Harmony and Uncle Charlie at their New York home. Over dinner one evening, Uncle Charlie asked his niece what she thought of the city. According to Sally's recollection she went on at great length about the wonders of New York, and how much more exciting it was to her than her hometown. After a meaningful silence her uncle leaned toward her and said, "It's an H.O.A.H." Aunt Harmony looked disapprovingly at her husband while the young niece waited for enlightenment. "It's a 'hell of a hole'" Charles Ives explained.

2 In 1926, Charles and Harmony Ives purchased the brownstone at 164 East 74th Street in New York City. They lived part of each year at this address until May 19, 1954 when Ives died there.

3 For Ives's reference to New York as "Babylon" see Ives, Memos, 199n. For a chronological index of residences and dates see Kirkpatrick's "Chronological Index of Dates," Ives, Memos, 325-337.

4 Historian Herbert Janick suggests that Ives's two-world existence was in keeping with a nineteenth-century regional trend that saw increasing numbers of people working in New York City and commuting to their Connecticut homes. Rather than being unusual behavior, Ives's retreat to the country was typical of an entire class of people: "The suburbanization of America began in the middle of the nineteenth century when the railroad enabled an affluent elite to escape the dangers and ugliness of the growing city. Rural towns located on the railroad corridors leading into and out of every metropolis were transformed into bedroom communities for wealthy urban commuters. Charles Ives was one of those who led this dual life." Herbert Janick, "Connecticut: The Suburban State," Connecticut Humanities Council News, (Fall 1993): 7. To read Ives's escape from the city as a sign of unique isolationist tendencies is to ignore the thousands of other professionals who traveled the same railroads with the composer seeking the best of two worlds.

5 See Ives, Memos, 92.

6 The series of residences of this varying collection of young men was known as "Poverty Flat. For a listing of addresses and residents, see Kirkpatrick's Appendix 17 in Ives, Memos, 262-267.

7 See Ives, Memos, 62-63.

8 For insight into Ives's thinking regarding the text of "The Cage" see Ives, Memos, 55-56.

9 While "Central Park in the Dark" by itself might not be of the conceptual scope of any of the movements of *Three Places in New England*, Ives's consideration of it, along with "The Unanswered Question" as one of *Two Contemplations* suggests a significant attempt by the young composer to work with different aspects of an idea. Although Ives first entitled "Central Park," "A Contemplation of Nothing Serious," the care he took to document the genesis of the piece and the extensive program note explaining the idea behind the work point to a value that he attached to the piece that is not necessarily evident in the subtitle. Certainly no musical scholar dismisses the quiet thoughtfulness of the openly profound "The Unanswered Question."

10 See Appendix 3, "Ives's later Lists of Works (1937-50)," Ives, Memos, 157 for this reference, and for an explanation of the *Two Contemplations*.

11 Ragtime tunes and rhythms penetrate "Central Park in the Dark." This popular music style flourished in the last years of the nineteenth century and into the first two decades of the twentieth century. "Hello! Ma Baby," the tune that dominates "Central Park" in measures 60-95, was first published in 1899.

12 See Charles E. Ives, "Central Park in the Dark " (New York: Mobart Music Publications, Inc., 1973), 31 for the composer's "Note".

13 Ibid., 30 "Comparison of Sources."

14 The ostinato manifests other qualities that thwart expectations as well. Even though the pattern is organized in a steady 4/4 meter, and allows for no adjustments of pace via accelerandos, ritardandos, or rubatos, the constant, very slow tempo-*Molto Adagio*-suppresses forward motion. Events move by too slowly to

gather inevitable momentum. While the placement of the quintuplet measure acts as the peak of a rhythmic curve, the articulation of five beats within the duple/triple pattern complicates and finally negates the perception of a rhythmic climax.

Harmonic behavior at the eighth measure of the ostinato does little to offset the rhythmic fuzziness at that point. A sequence of five tritones in the second violin undermines a sense of harmonic arrival. If there is a climax at all in the ostinato, it is a climax of ambiguity.

15 The structural relationship between successive ostinatos, especially as manifest in the ending and beginning of "Central Park," can influence how conductors interpret the final measure of the work. For a comparison of ideas regarding the relationship of the final and first measures as they occur in two performances, consider the Leonard Slatkin and Leonard Bernstein recordings of "Central Park in the Dark." Slatkin's performance includes an audible pause before the final chord causing a separation between the ending of one ostinato pattern and the beginning of, what sounds like, another repetition. Bernstein's interpretation moves seamlessly from the penultimate chord to the final chord. By pausing before continuing, Slatkin emphasizes the distinctive ostinato pattern and its formative role in the continuity of the piece. He calls attention to the circular nature of the work. See Leonard Slatkin conducting the Saint Louis Symphony Orchestra, 1992, RCA Victor Red Seal 09026-61222-2. The bonded connection in Bernstein's rendering creates a more linear trajectory for the listener. See Leonard Bernstein conducting the New York Philharmonic, 1990, Deutsche Grammophon 429 220-2

16 Ives, "Central Park in the Dark," 31.

17 Ives's preference for open endings, and endings that lead directly back to earlier music are evident in many pieces. Of the instrumental works considered in this study, "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common," "The Housatonic at Stockbridge," and "From Hanover Square North, at the end of a Tragic Day, the Voice of the People Again Arose" all exhibit this quality.

18 Morgan, "Spatial Form," 146.

19 It could be argued that ostinati by nature are

circular, and to a certain degree this is true. But particular pitch, rhythm or harmony movements within the repetitive patterns can strengthen or minimize the listener's sense of returning. The ostinato that Ives composed for "Central Park in the Dark" emphasizes the circular aspects of the music.

20 Morgan, "Spatial Form," 146.

21 Ibid., 148.

22 Ives, "Central Park in the Dark," 31.

23 Some may argue that the increasingly louder volume and faster tempo are indications of movement toward a goal, but absent any compelling or distinctive harmonic, rhythmic, or melodic motion it is hard to equate simple increasing quantities of sound with progress towards a musical objective.

24 Sonifying particular features of a landscape places additional demands on individual works. A case in point would be the river depicted in the opening measures of "The Housatonic at Stockbridge." The gentle motions of the "Contented River" are present in the soft oscillations of the strings. But even here, the dominant mood is one of lack of forward motion. Rhythmic patterns create both the sense of minimal motion and overwhelming stasis.

25 Ives, Memos, 160.

Chapter Five

Second Orchestral Set Movement III

"From Hanover Square North, at the End of a Tragic Day, the Voice of the People Again Arose"

By the time Charles Ives wrote "From Hanover Square North, at the End of a Tragic Day, the Voice of the People Again Arose" in 1915, he was a successful forty year old businessman and a seasoned New Yorker. The seventeen years since college graduation had seen his marriage to Harmony Twichell and the formal establishment of the Ives & Myrick insurance agency. Ives's decade of bachelorhood, 1898-1908, and early years of marriage were a period of personal mobility, artistic productivity, and professional achievement.¹ A half-dozen changes in residence, the continuous composition of music, and the steadily increasing prosperity of Ives's business attest to a man thoroughly engaged in a busy and rewarding life. Any characterization of Ives as an isolated individual during this extraordinarily fecund period resists coordination with the record of his activities and the recollections of his associates.²

Where "Central Park in the Dark" and the accompanying 1906 pieces conveyed Ives's fresh awareness of urban sights and sounds, "Hanover Square" demonstrated

a mature sensitivity to less obvious aspects of the urban place. Though Ives might have resisted characterization as a New Yorker, his 1915 work revealed a deep understanding of the possibilities for human interaction with place that existed exclusively in the city. If "Central Park in the Dark" reconstructed a likely scene, "Hanover Square" captured an actual moment shared by Ives and his contemporaries.

The Nature of the City

Ives's sonification of Hanover Square in the third movement of the *Second Orchestral Set* reflects the crowded, mobile, protean landscape of the city in individual musical moments and in the overall form of the movement. He portrays the multi-dimensionality of an urban environment and its complex, fomenting energy with irresistible effectiveness.³ But perhaps more important to Ives than picturing the kaleidoscopic diversity of the urban place was sonifying the essential relatedness of strangers who underwent a powerful collective experience. For Ives, the compelling idea behind the music took priority over the sounds themselves.

Unlike other places that Ives memorialized in sound, each of which referred to the natural setting for some

aspect of the program, Hanover Square was only important because of the human drama that occurred there. Nature, as it appeared in Ives's three New England places, or as it was portrayed in an urban park, is completely missing in this place piece; people defined the place. (Human activity is the "nature" of the city.) Ives instructs us that absent a more bucolic natural setting, people turned toward each other and their shared heritage for reflection, consolation and understanding. By calling upon his memories of the day in May 1915 when the passenger liner Lusitania was sunk, the composer focused upon a moment of profound human cohesion that was only possible in the "unnatural" urban setting.⁴

The Program

According to Ives's recollection, "Everybody who came into the office, whether they spoke about the disaster or not, showed a realization of seriously experiencing something. (That it meant war is what the faces said, if the tongues didn't.)"⁵ As Ives headed home at 6 o'clock that evening, he experienced the power of music to bind the thoughtful crowd who waited for the train at the Hanover Square station. According to Ives's account, one by one, following the lead of the hurdy-

gurdy player, people lent their voices until ". . . the chorus sounded out as though every man in New York must be joining in it."⁶ They had found a common bond in the hymn "In the Sweet Bye and Bye."⁷ Ives charged a song about a different **place** that promised a "fairer land," and "a [more] beautiful shore," with the power and responsibility to unite the divergent city people. A brief look at the hymn will introduce important basic musical elements of "Hanover Square."

IN THE SWEET BYE AND BYE
 ("There's a land that is fairer than day")
 SOURCE: *Gospel Hymn and Tune Book*, no. 437.

Sanford Fillmore Bennett

JAMES PHILBRICK WEBSTER, pub. 1868

The musical score is written on four staves of music in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are as follows:

There's a land that is fair- er than day. And by faith we can see it a-
 far: For the Fa- ther waits o- ver the way To pre- pare us a dwell- ing place
 Refrain
 there. In the sweet bye and bye we shall meet on that beau- ti- ful
 shore: In the sweet bye and bye. We shall meet on that beau- ti- ful shore.

The sixteen-measure hymn contains a verse and refrain of equal length. The chorus has four distinct phrases each of which begins with an identical rising major third anacrusis pattern of dotted-eighth and sixteenth to the downbeat quarter. The refrain has a similar pattern of rising thirds in dotted rhythms but three of its four musical phrases begin with minor thirds. The fourth phrase of the refrain ignores the prevailing rhythmic and directional patterns completely and returns to the major third of the chorus. In addition it reverses the ascending third to a descending one and flattens out the dotted rhythm into a pattern of two equal eighth notes. Notable as these last phrase changes are, they are not significant enough to challenge the defining features of the tune: major and minor thirds and the dotted rhythms.

The internal consistency of the material, and the limited number of distinctive musical gestures make this hymn an ideal vehicle for Ives's dramatic purposes. We can believe a random group of people effortlessly joining voices in this simple tune. Significantly, the text of the hymn seems especially befitting the particular events Ives attempted to capture. References to a better life awaiting believers on another shore are tailor-made for victims of the nautical disaster. As the text of the

hymn unites seekers of a paradisiacal dwelling place, the characteristics of the tune unify Ives's musical tribute. The organizational role of the hymn is disclosed as the piece evolves.

Setting the Scene

Ives establishes the multiple aspects of the city place by initially separating the instrumental forces into a "distant choir" and a "main orchestra." Such an approach creates the sonic equivalent of visual perspective. Initially, Ives enables us to hear behind the foreground sounds by having each of the ensembles retain its essential autonomy. How he accomplishes this will be addressed in the discussion that follows.

As with the ostinato of "Central Park in the Dark" and the string choir in "The Unanswered Question," Ives first establishes the constant background sounds of Hanover Square; he does this by securing the music of the distant choir.⁸ But the real urban sonic canvas is different from that of an urban park. It is essential to Ives's conception of the man-made city environment that even the background sounds must be dominated by a human presence. Like the earlier pieces, the very slow tempo and extremely soft dynamics of the opening measures elude

traditional rhythmic and harmonic categorization; it is hard to distinguish what is being heard or how to measure it. Again, as in the *Two Contemplations*, listeners enter upon music that is already underway. But the texted intonation that begins "Hanover Square," where individual words penetrate our consciousness as discrete elements, and so call attention to the vocal line and the omnipresence of people, distinguishes this place. Though it is unlike other place pieces in this regard, for the most part the opaque opening music manifests itself more as a composite effect than as a collection of individual, identifiable components; the distant choir acts as part of a unit. For Ives, cities and people are inseparable; people define cities.

Of the seven instruments in the distant choir, only the horn calls attention to itself in any way resembling the voices. But even it acts more like a shadow to the voice line than as an independent agent. The relationship between voices and horn is itself blurred and ambiguous. The background "distant choir" becomes the constant elements of the city including humming traffic noises and the "many people living, [and] working . . . together."⁹

As with musical backgrounds in other pieces, the persistence of this one throughout the course of the work

does not always guarantee its audibility. Though place must be clearly established at the outset of the work, once defined it can withdraw into the sonic scenery and become a part of the larger canvas; place becomes the stage for the dramatic program. Unlike Ives's other places where people interact to some degree or other with the natural world, Hanover Square Station is uniquely and exclusively a people-place. As such, voices are basic elements in the sonification of this place.¹⁰

Ives's unique vision of the urban place causes him to create a unique sonic environment that nonetheless relies on compositional techniques similar to those observed in other pieces. The peculiar density and autonomous unity of the opening of "Hanover Square" results from the vertical alignment of numerous static features--pedal points, ostinati, narrowly circumscribed pitch pools--and important similarities among the eight contributing lines. Like the city it represents, the music is crowded, both harmonically and rhythmically. Unlike "The 'St. Gaudens'," "The Housatonic," or "Central Park," where Ives begins with relatively homogeneous blocks of sound and slowly and patiently adds new timbres for listeners to consider, in "Hanover Square" listeners immediately struggle to separate individual instrumental gestures by timbre or register since so many of the

musical motions that are revolving reflect similar activities in the surrounding instruments. With the exception of the voices, the musical lines focus inwardly, reflecting upon each other. Through a variety of means the horns, chimes, harp, piano, voices, violins, viola and basses of the distant choir create a "widely related" but unquestionably unified whole.¹¹ Though its importance will not become apparent until later in the piece, the essence of this unity is the hymn tune "In the Sweet Bye and Bye." Unknown to listeners when they first come upon the piece, the prominence of the chanted vocal line subtly prepares them for the approaching human drama and the emerging hymn.

Even the constant kaleidoscopic activity of the city does not have to rule out the perception and enjoyment of individual events. Keen observers will notice much. From deep within the muffled chromatic mass of the opening of the piece, a few distinct pitches and intervals come forth. The intoned F that conveys the majority of Ives's brief choral text is an important audible pitch early in the piece. The uniqueness of the texted, vocal line within the larger sonic canvas assures its audibility; from the beginning the human presence at Hanover Square is spot-lighted. (See example, especially measures 1-11.)

The image shows a page of a musical score with seven staves. From top to bottom, the staves are labeled: Horn, Chimes, Harp, Piano, Violin, Viola, and Bass. A small box containing the number '15' is located above the first staff. The score is dense with musical notation, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The piano part is particularly detailed with many notes and articulation marks.

The intoned F combines with other pitch activities to create additional musical markers. At the end of the phrase "We praise Thee O God, We acknowledge Thee to be the Lord," and on the final word of the second phrase, "All the Earth doth worship Thee" the F cadences downward to D calling attention to a second clearly audible pitch, but more important to the minor third interval separating them. This is one of two intervals that characterized the initial upward sweep of the intonation "We Praise Thee." The pitches D and F, and the minor third interval that separates them, are significant in other

instrumental parts as well, as in the chimes' and basses' music where F and D circle repeatedly as part of an ostinato. Though the very low register of these instruments makes those pitches inaudible, they reinforce others that we can hear. Not coincidentally, this is the same pattern of pitches found in the lowest notes of the circling piano music.

The horn eventually echoes the cadential minor third gesture in its enharmonic equivalent E# to D, but not before it presents a significant challenge to the dominance of F (E#) and the minor third interval. The horn makes its debut with three unequivocal F#s at measures 4 to 6, and insists upon descending major third cadences at measures 7-8 and 11-12. It only gradually works its way toward E#(F) and a final minor third cadence at measures 13-14 and 19-20. The rising third gesture that characterized important phrases of the hymn, appears for the first time in the horn line at measures 12-13 and 17-18 as F#, G, A, but its association with the hymn is unclear at this point.

Circling music of the piano line reinforces the horn by continually vacillating between F and F#, sometimes playing one, sometimes playing the other, sometimes playing both. The combination of the piano F/F# pitches and the harp's open fifth on D and A ensures that

important major third/minor third tensions remain present even if they are not always consciously perceived.¹² The piano is charged with the simultaneous duties of clarifying and obscuring pitches and intervals.

Violins and viola are part of the obfuscating forces; their pitch series are characterized by semitones, major and minor thirds, and prominently placed Fs and F#s.¹³ Though the characteristic intervals of the hymn appear abundantly (if hidden) in the early measures of "Hanover Square," the dotted rhythm identified with the upbeat to seven of eight phrases of the hymn tune is absent completely. In place of the distinctive and compelling long-short-long gesture, Ives begins his piece with a maze of motions. Ambiguity of pitches and intervals is reinforced by a multi-focused temporal sphere.

Carefully calculated avoidance of precise synchrony between articulations enables Ives to create the rhythmic equivalent of a photographic double exposure. Various metrical patterns penetrate one another but are prevented from aligning by asymmetrical groupings, ties over bar lines, and unexpectedly placed stresses. (See opening measures of the distant choir.) A mélange of accents, echoes and pre-echoes results. In the same way that any pitch center was weakened by the presence of neighboring

pitches, precise beats are obscured by revolving patterns that shift their positions within a fluid rhythmic scheme. Traditional downbeats disappear in this metrical mixture where Ives sought to picture "the ever changing multitudinous feeling of life that one senses in the city."¹⁴ Like the scene it sonifies, the music of the distant choir is characterized by fluidity and fluctuation. Though there is constant harmonic and rhythmic motion, there is no sense of ultimate direction or inevitable progress.

While the inaudibility of large numbers of distinct components might appear to challenge their significance, audibility is not necessarily the primary issue. In "Hanover Square" Ives first establishes the existence of relationships between different elements; awareness of these relationships will develop in time. Initially these common qualities are hidden from auditors, just as the kinship between individual New Yorkers is not immediately evident, even to themselves.¹⁵ The music, like the place, vibrates with an oscillating collective energy that only gradually reveals its essential nature and potential power.

Revealing the Drama

In order to sonify convincingly the communal experience that he recollects, Ives has to leave the spinning, spatial qualities that defined the place and turn to more traditional, uni-linear aspects of the music. The body of the work becomes the drama that Ives witnessed. But though the opening intoned choral line provided a somewhat vague and temporary linear focus, it disappeared with the chorus by measure 11. The voices served their purpose by focusing attention on the human aspects of the drama that are the real subject of this place piece. Though no other single linear trajectory materializes to guide listeners through the work in quite the way the vocal line did, Ives creates a compellingly logical piece by following a different tack.

By combining and overlapping fragments of the generative hymn, Ives etches a fractured, multi-faceted linear channel through the constant, containing spatial dimension of the distant choir.¹⁶ The musical consensus that allows the hymn tune to emerge from the piece symbolizes the newly discovered human consensus that has existed all along. The accompanying chart attempts to capture the essence of Ives's multi-linear scheme. (Please consult three-page chart.)

From Hanover Square North, at the End of a Tragic Day,
the Voice of the People Again Arose

Emerging Hymn Tune: "In the Sweet Bye and Bye"

(page one of three)

Starting m. 33, three distinct timbres are audible: clarinet, piano, and strings

Measures 43-48, first half of chorus complete.

Clarinet m. 23

Horn m. 12

Horn m. 27

1 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50

Voices m. 1-13

Cello m. 20 + Viola m. 32

Violins m. 40

Piano m. 33

Piano m. 39

Characteristic rhythm intoned on *f* in the piano and cello. m. 24.

D pedal m. 20

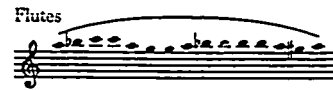
C# pedal m. 40

Bb pedal m. 45

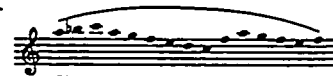
doubles clarinet pitches starting m. 40

Emerging Hymn Tune: "In the Sweet Bye and Bye"

(page two of three)



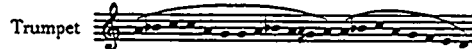
Measures 83-96: complete refrain.
Flutes echo violins in different key.



Characteristic rhythm present
in flutes starting m. 83.



Starting m. 68 trumpets and strings
sing refrain but "out-of-sync."



55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90

Measures 62-67:
Second half of chorus
completes the clarinet line.

(Violins)

Measures 68-78

Measures 82-96: complete refrain.

refrain lacks
final six notes.

At m. 55, melody lines momentarily
cease. Pedal point and piano chords
attempt to establish A major.

Characteristic rhythm present
in violins starting m. 68.

A \sharp pedal
m. 56

D pedal
m. 68

F \sharp pedal
m. 83

Emerging Hymn Tune: "In the Sweet Bye and Bye"

(page three of three)

Measures 102-104

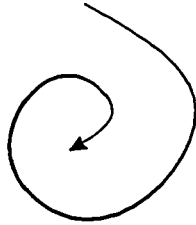
Flutes

Clarinets

Horns

Trumpets

MAXIMUM
CIRCULAR
ACTIVITY



95

100

105

110

115

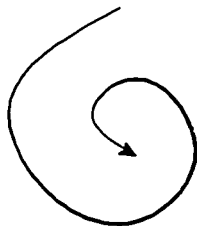
120

Violins

Violas

Accordion

MAXIMUM
FRAGMENTATION
AND
AGITATION



C4 pedal
m. 95

F pedal
m. 102

After nineteen measures of place-defining distant-choir music, the main orchestra enters for the first time at measure 20. As in other place pieces, important dramatic action occurs only after the setting is secured.¹⁷ Cellos begin with a rhythmically neutralized version of the hymn tune's rising third in whole and half notes. The clarinets follow at measure 23 with a speeded-up echo of the cello entrance. Their faster tempo actually allows listeners to consider the rising pitches as melodic, perhaps even as the incipit to a song, whereas the larger note values of the cello line did not necessarily lend themselves to such speculation. But listeners must wait until measure 24, when the solo piano and cello provide the characteristic dotted rhythm associated with the hymn, to identify firmly the rising third gesture with the tune "In the Sweet Bye and Bye."¹⁸

As the solo piano beats the dotted rhythm on a series of Fs, the first identifiable pitch of location now becomes the first identifiable pitch of action. The important minor third emerges from that pitch and the D pedal point being sustained by the basses. (See example on following page.)

② About $\text{♩} = 60-63$ (in $\frac{3}{4}$)

20

Hrn.

Chimes

Haip

Piano

Vns.

Va.

Bass

DISTANT CHOIR

② About $\text{♩} = 80-84$ (in $\frac{4}{4}$)

20

Fl.

Cl.

Hrn. 2

Trp. 1

Trp. 2

Trp. 3

Solo Piano

S.O.
B.O.
C.O.

②

Vns. 1

Vns. 2

Va.

Ce.

Bass

Meanwhile, from the muffled distant choir the piano's repeated and accented F#s are audible, simultaneously providing the major third with the pedal D. As important pitches and intervals are reinforced, Ives begins the slow process of piecing together the hymn.

Like "Central Park in the Dark" after the initial ostinato statement, instrumental timbres are now carefully and gradually introduced and layered upon one another. In "Hanover Square," Ives establishes each instrument and its hymn fragment: cello, clarinet, piano, violins, brass, flutes. He captures the multi-tonal singing of the impromptu train-station-chorus in a series of hymn tune fragments, each of which has its own idea about key. (Consult chart for pitch location of individual fragments.) Though ultimately auditors may not be able to separate individual lines within the resulting composite sound, listeners will know that they exist and as a result will be better able to understand the complexity of the situation--musical, social and historical.

Soon after the main orchestra enters, the distant choir retreats to the recesses of our consciousness; it truly becomes the background, the place for the drama. Attentions are refocused on the new foreground music which, like the material of the earlier distant choir,

initially resists traditional rhythmic coordination. As with "The Housatonic," Ives moves to consider the foreground of his soundscape only after establishing its relationship to the larger sonic canvas. But as instruments explore fragments of the hymn tune, sometimes individually, sometimes joining forces for a moment, it becomes clear that over time they are capable of a more sustained, rhythmically synchronized effort.

By measure 33, clarinet, solo piano, viola, and cello are all involved with fragments of the hymn. As parts of the melody overlap and echo, listeners hear the piece from different angles, much as people at the train station must have heard it. Once again, as in "Central Park in the Dark," a sense of musical progress results from the accretion of musical activity. But in "Hanover Square," "progress" also results from the growing realization that a familiar hymn tune is evolving simultaneously in numerous locations. The result of these cumulative efforts will far exceed individual expectations. The uni-linear trajectory that had sufficed as the principal path of large-scale musical logic for centuries is inadequate to the task.

Simultaneous linear progressions overlap and create a moving line as variegated in its tone color as the city sights and sounds that inspired it. Ives connects the

distinctive timbres of the orchestral palette in a multi-linear trajectory and projects this against the constant hum of the distant choir. He pieces together the hymn using gradually lengthening fragments of chorus and refrain material. (The emerging hymn tune is evident on the chart.)

What starts out as a three note incipit in the french horn grows to the entire opening phrase of the chorus at measure 20 in the cello and at measure 23 in the clarinet. At measure 43 the main orchestra piano offers its own reading of the phrase but on a new pitch level which is then picked up and doubled by the clarinet. Ives expands the fragment to include the second phrase of the chorus. Underneath this layer of activity, violins enter with a short fragment of the chorus in D. Their oscillating recitation, D-E-F#-E-D-E, prepares the way for the piano and lower strings to establish A as a new harmonic area at measure 55. Seven measures later, violins complete the work begun by the clarinets and present the second half of the chorus; they remain in D. Halfway through the piece, Ives is halfway through the hymn.

Having completed the chorus, Ives is now free to present the refrain. At measure 68, violins and trumpets launch into a polytonal (trumpets in F, violins in D),

out-of-phase refrain fragment. Important pitches and intervals introduced at the beginning of the piece still function as unifying devices at the halfway mark. Violins start up with a complete rendition of the refrain in D major at measure 82. One measure later, the pedal changes to F and flutes enter with their own take on the refrain in F major. The F/F# tension originally presented in the distant choir has now moved into the main orchestra. By measure 97, "Hanover Square" is a whirl of rotating hymn tune fragments, none of which penetrates or dominates. But unlike the linear organizations within spatial contexts that Ives created in "Central Park in the Dark" and "The Unanswered Question," which terminated in musical chaos and frustration respectively, the moment of maximum agitation in "Hanover Square," measures 97-102, congeals individual efforts and produces a quasi-unified rendition of the seminal hymn. The generative idea behind the piece demands a different outcome. From the densely-packed sound mass that fills the place emerges the multi-voiced refrain to "In the Sweet Bye and Bye." Violas, violins, accordion, trumpets, horns, clarinets and flutes join together and synchronize beats; the voices of the people arise. Major and minor thirds and dotted rhythms--the

important characteristics of the hymn--sing out in a perfectly out-of-tune chorus.

In capturing the human drama that took place at Hanover Square, Ives achieves a true reconciliation of temporal and spatial modes. Though each mode is eclipsed by the other at some point in the work, there is no question but that ultimately the two are co-existing, and in fact depending upon one another for meaning and substance. Without the constant hum of the city as background, the full impact of the people's achievement could not be realized. As Ives's singing commuters board trains for their trips home, the hymn tune fades, but the sounds of the place remain. An F pedal in basses and cellos supports reiterated F major triads in the piano and recalls the opening intoned pitch. Lingering C#s keep tensions (human and musical) alive.

In keeping with the fact that the events that inspired the impromptu chorus would take years to resolve themselves, uncertainties linger in Ives's music. While the opening vocal line of "Hanover Square" chanted F, competing pitches and intervals weakened its power to suggest inevitable harmonic motions or goals. Ultimately, listeners discovered that the tensions present at the beginning of the piece were a portent of behavior that would persist through all 119 measures of

the piece. The ambiguity in harmonic and rhythmic domains that greeted listeners at measure 1 also wafted in the air as the final sounds dissipated. Ives instructs us that there are no easy solutions to the historical situation or its artistic sonification. But thanks to his deconstruction of the hymn and the gentle layering of its component parts, the persistent dissonances and blurred metrical schemes that appeared needy of arbitration at the outset of the piece appear to have achieved a degree of resolution and equilibrium at the end of the piece.

Though "In the Sweet Bye and Bye" ultimately emerges in full glory, it never appears in a neatly harmonized, well-tailored rendition. At climactic measure 102, where instruments finally join together in the refrain of the hymn, flutes, second horns, and the lower first violin, instruments insist upon singing the song in their own key, no doubt creating a sonic equivalent that is closer to what Ives heard on that memorable day than any well-rehearsed, uniformly rendered, proper performance could be. What started out as confusing ambiguity ends up as profound richness. Although it is hard to conceive of any musical consensus emerging from the sonic amalgam of the opening measures, Ives manages to create a persuasive closing that is all the more powerful because of its

fidelity to the historical drama. Loyalty to the sonification of an idea is paramount to Ives.

The unique linearity of "Hanover Square," the piece, emerges directly from the particular spatial qualities of Hanover Square, the place. Auditors witness a reconciliation of musical spheres that is as moving and internally consistent as any traditionally closed ending. Ives's piece is convincing because his idea is fully realized. The composer was especially pleased with this work. In a rare self-praising reflective moment, Ives offered these understated remarks about "Hanover Square": "The last movement, in my opinion, is one of the best-- that's not the same as saying that it's any too good-- it's simply saying that, as far as I'm concerned, I think it's one of the best that I've done."¹⁹ Ives's tension-filled conclusion is, no doubt, an accurate representation of how he and his fellow commuters felt as they collectively contemplated the possible resonances of this single, momentous human/political event. The composer/businessman wrote his work as one who shared in a soul-stirring national experience. Reflecting upon the eventual costs of World War I, with its annihilation of a generation of young men, listeners cannot help but wonder at Ives's prescient statement, and stand in awe of his musical achievement.

Notes to Chapter Five

1 For a discussion of the breadth of Ives's professional accomplishments, readers are directed to the Cowells' early biography, Charles Ives and His Music, especially pages 52-53. The Cowells cite as especially noteworthy: Ives's organization of a training school for insurance agents, his development of the concept of estate planning, and his authorship of the booklet "The Amount to Carry."

2 Ives's partner, Julian Myrick, offered his own assessment of businessman Ives: "Ives was not only creative in business but very practical and sound . . . He had a keen sense of humor and enjoyed a joke, although I do not remember his having much time to tell stories. His was a busy, hustling and active life as long as his strength lasted. All of our agents, the people in the office and those associated with us had a great and undying affection for him. No one ever went away without good advice and sometimes substantial financial aid. He was completely unselfish." Cowell, Charles Ives and His Music, 47-48.

3 The music exhibits several qualities that suggest the existence of spatial thinking--most obvious of these are physical separation, fragmentation, multi-linear progressions, circular forms and textural density.

4 The British Cunard Line Passenger Ship, *Lusitania*, sailed from New York Harbor and was torpedoed by the Germans May 7, 1915. Of the 1198 passengers who died, 128 were Americans. This event was one of a series that eventually galvanized American public opinion against Germany. Two years later, America entered the war on the side of the British.

5 See Ives, Memos, 92.

6 *Ibid.*, 93.

7 Ives offers a poetic recollection of this scene:
"As I came on the platform, there was quite a crowd waiting for the trains, which had been blocked lower down, and while waiting there, a hand-organ or hurdy-

gurdy was playing in the street below. Some workmen sitting on the side of the tracks began to whistle the tune, and others began to sing or hum the refrain. A workman with a shovel over his shoulder came on the platform and joined in the chorus, and the next man, a Wall Street banker with white spats and a cane, joined in it, and finally it seemed to me that everybody was singing this tune, and they didn't seem to be singing in fun, but as a natural outlet for what their feelings had been going through all day long. There was a feeling of dignity all through this. The hand-organ man seemed to sense this and wheeled the organ nearer the platform and kept it up fortissimo (and the chorus sounded out as though every man in New York must be joining in it). Then the first train came in and everybody crowded in, and the song gradually died out, but the effect on the crowd still showed. Almost nobody talked--the people acted as though they might be coming out of a church service. In going uptown, occasionally little groups would start singing or humming the tune.

"Now what was the tune? It wasn't a Broadway hit, it wasn't a musical comedy air, it wasn't a waltz tune or a dance tune or an opera tune or a classical tune, or a tune that all of them probably knew. It was (only) the refrain of an old Gospel Hymn that had stirred many people of past generations. It was nothing but--*In the Sweet Bye and Bye*. It wasn't a tune written to be sold, or written by a professor of music--but by a man who was but giving out an experience." (Ives, Memos, 92-93.)

Ives succeeds in demonstrating the universal appeal of the tune by peopling his scene with a wide cross-section of society. A workman with a shovel and a banker in spats are drawn together at Hanover Square.

8 The off-stage orchestra of the distant choir consists of a single horn in C, chimes, a harp, piano, two violins, one viola and four or more basses in addition to the vocal ensemble.

9 Memos, 93.

10 The primary role given to people in this urban place is contrary to the roles assigned to people in most other place pieces. Certainly in movements I and III of *Three Places in New England* and in "Central Park in the Dark"

human beings appear later in the music and impose on the established natural landscape.

11 Memos, 93.

12 Major/minor third tensions are an aspect of the largest harmonic motions of the piece as well, though they are not necessarily audible either. These large-scale motions of thirds are present in pedal tones. Note especially the D pedal that begins at measure 20, the A pedal that starts up at measure 56, and the F pedal that establishes itself at measure 83. It will be interrupted at measure 96 by a C pedal. But it will be reaffirmed by the V - I motion from C to F at measure 102. The F pedal continues to the end, supporting a return to the pitch that was most prominent at the outset of the piece. See accompanying chart.

13 The opening viola and violin pitch series share similar pitches and sequencing though they have different starting points. Please consult the musical example. The series are: viola: A-B flat-C#-D-F-A; violin: F#-A-B flat-C# (over A)-D (over B flat). The violins repeat their ostinato pattern throughout the piece finally coming to rest in measure 119 on the harmonically challenging C#.

Even though D to F# is prominently positioned at the end of the violin series, and the F# seems purposely set off by a registral leap and an adjustment in phrasing, the major third interval is surrounded by a pair of minor thirds (augmented seconds): the obvious B flat to C# and the less prominent F# to A that results as the series repeats itself. This string pattern, like the piano pattern, is rich with possibilities for blurring pitch and interval distinctions. Its ambiguity rests in part on the C# which acts as the axis of this series. The tensions produced by C# and the open fifth on D and A in the opening music are echoed in the harp drone which persists for 108 continuous measures, as well as in the evolving piano part where C# becomes an important fixture starting at measure 40 and continues unabated until the final measure.

Near the end of the piece, the harp drops the C# drone for a brief recitation of F major triads, measures 108-113, before it recalls the C#. The importance of F major was recently solidified by the accordion in measure 102-108. From this point until the end, the harp

alternates C# with a series of polychords--D7/F, G7/B flat, D7/F, A7/C--the roots of which are all separated by the distance of a minor third.

14 Memos, 93.

15 One might even argue that these characteristics should not be heard at this point. Given Ives's account of the events that inspired the work, these common elements should only come to life (become audible) when coaxed by extraordinary circumstances. As "Hanover Square" evolves listeners realize that such is the case.

16 This techniques is similar to that which Ives used in "The 'St. Gaudens'." In the earlier work Ives relates evolving music to that which preceded it by recalling the "I'm coming" motive numerous times. Though that tune does not coalesce in the same way that "In the Sweet Bye and Bye" does, in both pieces, the familiar tunes create aural paths into the sonic place.

17 In the present study, "Putnam's Camp" is the single exception to this generalization.

18 It appears that Ives misses no opportunity to make his point that this piece is about elements coming together. The important melodic thirds and the identifying rhythmic components of the hymn are separated in their initial appearances much like the peoples of New York are emotionally separated from each other without the nudge of a communal crisis. Perhaps Ives is suggesting that even something as unified as this hymn is made up of a number of separable elements that must be brought together by circumstance.

19 Memos, 92.

Conclusion

The Significance of Place

Musical allusions to places reveal much about Charles Ives that has heretofore remained hidden. This is true even though Ives was quite explicit in demonstrating the value he assigned to physical sites. Numerous references to specific and non-specific locations in his autobiographical Memos show places performing a variety of functions for the composer, and by extension, for his chroniclers: 1. Places helped Ives to document his youthful career as a church musician. Dates, cities and locations where particular pieces were played enabled Ives to corroborate the existence of numerous early compositions through performance. 2. Places helped resolve knotty chronological questions raised by Ives's sometimes confusing dating practices. John Kirkpatrick's editorial remarks accompanying Ives's reminiscences regarding the evolution of the *Third Symphony* are an example of the usefulness of place references.¹ 3. Places enabled Ives to champion aesthetic concerns in subtle ways and frame questions regarding the nature of "serious" music. An example of this use of place is present in Ives's *recollection-cum-parable* regarding the ubiquity of "Nettleton," a hymn

tune that the composer included in over a dozen compositions. Citing the numerous places he associated with the hymn tune, Ives instructs us that music naturally cuts across racial, social, ethnic, regional and artistic barriers.²

No single explanation can fully illuminate the multiple motivations for Ives's employment of specific locations, or the causes or depths of his affection for various places in his pieces. The reasons are as complex as the man himself. Depending upon Ives's artistic intentions, the actual importance of place and the influence it exerts within a particular work vary enormously. No two places are the same and no two pieces behave identically, though to be sure there are similarities. At least in his music, Ives never goes back to the same place twice.

But Ives goes back to certain basic ideas again and again. The five place pieces discussed in this study reveal Ives's deep commitment to his idea of America, and the ability of carefully chosen sites to act as reference points for that idea. Place was one facet of a musical composition that could be stated "up-front" and identified by name as belonging to the American experience. Place provided a label, the artistic

equivalent of "Made in the U.S.A.." And for a self-proclaimed Yankee, this was no small matter.

Ives's commemoration of places was in keeping with the widely shared nineteenth-century artistic practice of celebrating individual geographical features of the growing country. The Hudson River School of American landscape painting, active primarily between the years 1825 and 1875, glorified the scenic beauty of that New York river valley and the Catskill Mountains that bordered it. But Ives departed from his fellow national boosters in an important way. While other new world champions dubbed the Hudson River the American Rhine, and the White Mountains of New Hampshire, "the nearest approximation of the Alps,"³ until the Rockies were discovered, and while in Moby Dick Herman Melville compared the Erie Canal to a "green-turfed flowery Nile," and Nathaniel Willis saw New York's Lake George as Scotland's Loch Katrine or Italy's Lake Como, Ives saw no need for comparison with any European model, no need to "measure up."

For Ives, American places deserved commemoration because they were worthy on their own merits. To Ives's thinking, America was ripe for its own experiences and its own monuments, and his insistence on naming particular American places in his pieces was no doubt, at

some level, a response to that personal nationalistic urge. Again, while the function of the specific location varies with individual works, the presence of America is strong and unmistakable, whether it be via its "Main Street(s)," or its universities, its holidays, its natural prospects or its diverse peoples. Place delimited events, place made concrete certain memories and ideas; place established a perspective on experience. For Charles Ives, the American place became the point of view.

In other ways, Ives's sonifications of American places may be understood as a national, aural version of a "Grand Tour," a diversion popular among the upper classes in the nineteenth century. But in the case of Ives, the composer was motivated by a more serious impulse than sheer amusement; Ives was interested in capturing the abstract idea as well as the concrete vision. Where old world travelers concentrated their Claude glasses on a sublimely romantic natural vista that entertained, refreshed and inspired the soul, the new world composer-tour guide surveyed his landscape with an eye and ear toward documenting the outwardly mundane as well as the obviously majestic. In looking beyond the obvious, Ives found fresh resources rich with meaning.

Ives focused on man-made national landmarks in such pieces as "Central Park in the Dark" and "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common," and on places of no apparent significance in "Over the Pavements," and "From Hanover Square North." He captured experiences peculiar to specific regions in America and places of national historical significance in "The 'St. Gaudens'" and in "Putnam's Camp, Redding, Connecticut." Like his European counterparts, he too appreciated an inspiring natural prospect and commemorated a particularly picturesque New England river in "The Housatonic at Stockbridge." But places didn't need physical beauty to catch Ives's attention or serve his many purposes. For the globally thinking American composer, the true significance of place went deeper than the surface features, far beyond the observable locale.

Place, for Ives, became the referent for all that was unique and all that was universal in America--its sights, its sounds, and its spirit. The vastness and the variety of the land and its people, as symbolized by particular places, worked its way into his music. Over and over, Ives composed what he knew. America with its geographical, cultural, ideological and sonic riches provided a steady supply of inspiration. While Ives's music was born of highly personal experiences and

observations, it spoke of and for an entire country at a turning point in that country's history.

But beyond this urge to sonify a national idea, Ives's music resonates with a universal message. As the country drew its people and their spirit from the world at large, America reflected a global consciousness. Ives's interest in American places, then, was larger than personal reflection or national glorification. For Ives, American places connected his country and the experiences of its people with larger issues; he saw universal truths in local occurrences. American places helped Ives understand the world, and Ives's music helped the world understand America.

Acknowledging Ives's awareness of the significance of public places, his oft-times spontaneous artistic responses to current events, and his participation in a tradition of celebrating particular American places that had captured the imaginations of other creative people before him, forces a confrontation with readings of the man that insist upon his isolation. Just how narrowly must "isolation" be defined in order for such an interpretation to maintain any relation to Ives's life? What are the effects of this romantic myth when applied to Ives?

In 1975 Frank Rossiter wrote of Ives:

I think that the key to an understanding of his place in American culture lies in his extreme artistic isolation. The creative artist in America has a tradition of being isolated, of lacking an audience. But nearly all such artists have had at least a small circle of friends who sustained them artistically and intellectually. Ives had nothing of the kind during his creative years; he was about as close to complete isolation as it is possible for a creative artist to be.⁴

The author saw the composer's artistic isolation as the manifestation of Ives's inability to accept himself as an artist in America. Such a reading makes Ives doubly pathetic; not only was he isolated, but he was isolated by his own conscious or unconscious design. Ives becomes his own victim, the tragic hero complete with fatal flaw.

But Ives's place pieces reveal a different picture of the man. Rather than appearing cutoff from artistic nourishment, Ives is observed actively seeking out and responding to earlier cultural expressions. Rather than insisting upon a purely original artistic utterance, the composer is bold about suggesting well-known references. Rather than restricting his sources to canonically correct materials, Ives embraces an abundance of influences that enrich and enlarge his own artistic creations.

In the rush to bolster and champion the composer-as-victim, the artist who only needed an appreciative audience to set everything aright, historians have ignored a reply the composer offered to Henry Bellamann, when the young man asked Ives how his business career affected his musical career. Ives's words tell us much about how he viewed himself and the choices he made:

My business experience revealed life to me in many aspects that I might otherwise have missed. In it one sees tragedy, nobility, meanness, high aims, low aims, brave hopes, faint hopes, great ideals, no ideals, and one is able to watch these work inevitable destiny. And it has seemed to me that the finer sides of these traits were not only in the majority but in the ascendancy. . . .

It is not even uncommon in business intercourse to sense a reflection of a philosophy--a depth of something fine--akin to a strong sense of beauty in art. To assume that business is a material process, and only that, is to undervalue the average mind and heart. To an insurance man there is an "average man" and he is humanity.

I have experienced a great fulness of life in business. The fabric of existence weaves itself whole. You cannot set an art off in the corner and hope for it to have vitality, reality, and substance. There can be nothing *exclusive* about a substantial art. It comes directly out of the heart of experience of life and thinking about life and living life. My work in music helped my business and work in business helped my music.⁵

Those so inclined will always be free to dismiss Ives's 1930's remarks as rationalization, philosophizing and denial. But historians will not be able to dismiss Ives's musical bequest which shows the composer involved,

engaged and fully participating in shaping and recording his culture.

Notes to Conclusion

1 Ives offers a paragraph-length discussion of the early history of the *Third Symphony* that contains numerous references to important performance dates of the piece. Though Kirkpatrick bemoans the fact that no programs from Central Presbyterian Church are available to corroborate the dates that Ives offers, he takes comfort in two references to the place, Elk Lake, to establish with some certainty an ending date for work on the symphony. In a footnote to Ives's paragraph Kirkpatrick shows how the two date-place references are consistent with each other, thereby eliminating a potential dating dilemma. See Ives, Memos, 55.

2 Ives recounts: "Some thirty years ago, in a downtown corner saloon in New York, I picked up a *Puck* or *Judge* magazine and saw a set of verses. The writer had apparently heard some negro workers singing in a stone quarry in Georgia while breaking and chipping stone. I don't remember the words, except a kind of doggerel about 'breakin' de debbil on de haid'--but the tune was *Nettleton*, with a blow on the third beat. . . *Nettleton* was one of the Gospel and Camp Meeting Hymns, and down in the Redding Camp Meetings I heard it sung with exactly those accents, almost shouted. I used it, or partly suggested it, in a string quartet (which I played with two violins, using reed stops in the organ for the viola and cello parts, while in Center Church, New Haven), and also later in a violin sonata." See Ives, Memos, 54. That a downtown saloon in New York, a stone quarry in Georgia, a Camp Meeting in Redding and a church in New Haven could all have a connection to *Nettleton*, an 1812 hymn that Ives used in over a dozen compositions, speaks for the diverse appeal that the tune had for numerous Americans, and the democratic aspirations that Ives harbored for his musical compositions. Clearly different souls from different classes and places found the same music meaningful. When Ives points out that he uses the same *Nettleton* music in a string quartet and a violin sonata, two classical genres associated with the Western world's most serious art music, he enlarges the sphere of influence for the humble hymn tune. What had started out, at the beginning of the narrative, as locally and nationally significant, now takes on more universal

meaning. The place of discovery, the situation of the workers, and the sites of the performances vivify Ives's story, and distance him and his art from an elitism associated with serious music that he consistently fought. By promoting hymn tunes to a musical format that historically demanded thoughtful consideration, and by opening the sacrosanct classical genres to music that had been kept out, Ives leveled old hierarchies and challenged old assumptions. What had been considered provincial now was portrayed as universal.

3 John Conron, The American Landscape: A Critical Anthology of Prose and Poetry (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 164.

4 Rossiter, Charles Ives and His America, xii.

5 Quoted first in Henry Bellamann, "Charles Ives; the Man and His Music," Musical Quarterly, xix (1933), 45-58.

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Appendix 1.

Sketch fragment for Prefatory Poem

"Moving,--Marching--Faces of Souls!"

A handwritten musical score sketch for a prefatory poem. The score is written on ten staves, with measure numbers 0, 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36, 42, 48, and 54 marked on the left side. The notation is highly scribbled and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A large, curved line arches over the first three staves, with the letter 'A' written above it. The word 'EYE' is written on the second staff. The bottom right portion of the score is heavily obscured by dense, vertical handwritten text and scribbles, which appear to be a list of names or a detailed annotation. The overall appearance is that of a rough, working draft of a musical composition.

Appendix 2.

Putnam Park Picnics
covered in The Danbury Evening News.

ST. JAMES' PICNIC.

Athletic Sports a Feature of Outing at Putnam Park.

The annual picnic of St. James' Sunday school was held yesterday at Putnam park and was a most enjoyable outing. Nearly 300 persons sat down to the general tables at which dinner was served in the early afternoon and many others drove to the park during the afternoon to visit the picnic party.

During the afternoon the children enjoyed a program of athletic sports which were directed by Arthur Lake, who acted as referee. The several events were won as follows:

One hundred yard dash—Robert Belden, first; Albert Hoose, second.

Three legged race—Thomas Settle and Robert Helden, first; Frank Bouton and William Bouton, second.

Standing broad jump—Thomas Settle, first; Robert Belden, second.

Running broad jump—Thomas Settle, first; Robert Helden, second.

Standing high jump—Thomas Settle, first; Robert Helden, second.

Running high jump—Thomas Settle and Arthur Lake tied for first.

Sack race—J. Frederick Farlow, first; Richmond Knapp, second.

Fifty yard dash for girls—Helen Gilbert, first; Alma Holmgren, second.

Sack race for girls—Christina Peck and Carthene Newman tied for first.

ADVENTIST PICNIC.

Large Attendance at Outing at Putnam Park.

The Advent Christian Sunday school held its annual picnic at Putnam park yesterday and there was a large attendance. The committee in charge of the affair consisted of John S. Hoddinott, Arthur H. Weag and W. B. Benedict. The members of the party were transported by special trolley cars and carryalls, and arrived at the grounds about ten o'clock, remaining there until half past five.

The first dinner table was presided over by the Rev. E. Z. Ellis and the second one by Willis W. Hodge, superintendent of the Sunday-school. A. H. Webb, assistant superintendent, had supervision of the athletic games which furnished diversion for the young people during the afternoon and were a source of much pleasure to both old and young.

The winners of the various events were presented with white silk badges appropriately inscribed, which were prepared especially for the occasion by Miss Annetta Monroe.

The winners of the several events were as follows:

Running handicap—Frederick Ellis, first; G. Holmgren, second; Howard Taylor, third.

100-yard dash—John Griffin, first.
Standing broad jump—A. H. Webb, first.

Running broad jump (juniors)—K. Freeman, first.

Three-legged race (seniors)—Fred Hamblidge, first.

Three-legged race (juniors)—George Hartzeler, first.

Sack race (boys)—Paul Hartzeler, first.

Sack race (girls)—Ethel Hampson, first.

Wheelbarrow race (seniors)—Frank and Fred Hamblidge, first.

Wheelbarrow race (juniors)—Stanley Morse and Fred Osborne, first.

Hopping race (girls)—Lizzie Freeman, first.

Potato race (girls)—Ruth Morse, first.

Jockey race—Harry Miller, with Willie Hartzeler as rider, first; Kenneth Freeman, with Henry Hoddinott as rider, second.

There was intense but good-natured rivalry between the contestants, especially among the children, who all aspired to become the possessors of the various prizes.

The grounds were shared during the middle of the day with a large interested spectators of the games.

Appendix 3.

Excerpts from Commissioner Parker's Address
as recorded in the 1905 Commissioner's Report.

ISRAEL PUTNAM MEMORIAL CAMP GROUND.

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portance except Boston, and had been successful on the lower Hudson. In the interior of the country lived the Americans, but we must remember that in those days only a few miles was inhabited back from the seacoast and the navigable rivers. The German baron had not changed the army at Valley Forge into an efficient fighting force. The Continental Congress neglected the army which was ill fed, ill clothed, poorly sheltered, and without pay, and most difficult to hold together.

In the camps at Redding the men were better cared for than at Valley Forge, for the good old Jonathan Trumbull (brother Jonathan) was governor of Connecticut, and his great heart led him to do, and others to do that which made their lot more endurable; yet their sufferings were severe and there was no money to pay them with. They endured bravely and without flinching the privations of the camp, but word kept coming to them of the starvation and suffering of their wives and children, and of those who depended on them at home. Many a brave man will endure all things for himself, but turns pale and revolts when his wife and children are affected. A man may forget himself, but if he is worthy of the name of man he will not see his wife and children suffer and his home destroyed. It was indeed a precarious time for the young nation, a misstep and all would be lost. Surely it needed the guidance of the Almighty. Discussion was rampant throughout the camp and the desire and necessity of going back to protect the loved ones became irresistible, and at last the soldiers who occupied the camp where we are now decided to go.

If the Goddess of Liberty had stood where we now stand, in that early spring morning, she would have heard an unusual stir on the plateau above, and would have seen marching around the cliff across the soldiers' bridge and past the knoll, the entire encampment, for the men had deserted in a body and were marching out and away to care for their homes and to demand redress of the legislature then sitting at Hartford.

The Goddess of Liberty must have known that this act ended the war in defeat, for if this camp succeeded in their purpose the other camps would have followed and the northern army would have been no more, and another army at that time could not be gathered together again. It is easily presumable with the northern army disbanded that the southern army

would not have kept up the fight. In fact, it was incapable of successful fighting until the gruff old German baron had disciplined it so that the few could defeat the many, and even if the southern army had fought and won, New England and New York would have been left out of the new nation. The Goddess of Liberty would have known all this and her head would have fallen in shame and defeat, but hark! she is alert, she is listening. What is that sound that greets her ear? Is it the sound of a galloping horse? Yes! Yes! It is! It is! Nearer and nearer it comes and in an instant it dashes furiously by over this road so near to us, and followed as best he can by the aid. Well may the Goddess raise her head and clap her hands for joy, for Israel Putnam, grand, glorious "Old Put," is on their trail and making the ride of his life. Yes, that man who, single handed, fought the fire in the powder magazine, who met the wolf beast in its den, is now to meet single handed a mutined army and save them from themselves and turn them back to a higher honor and a nobler duty. But will he, can he do all this alone? The Goddess knows full well he can and will, for she has over and over again been saved by one man against innumerable odds. She thought of how over a century before her battles in the wilderness were fought and won by that fierce and fearless champion, Captain Miles Standish of Plymouth. She remembered how many centuries before Horatio had withstood the millions of Persia at the bridge, yes, one man with God on his side is a majority. She does not fear the result of Israel Putnam's mission and she listens intently for the sound of their return. She is in the midst of an intense stillness, there is not a soul in the camp on the plateau, for not a soul had stayed behind, even nature is still, for the trees have not yet broken their buds into leaves, the song birds of the south have not returned, the insects have not awakened from their winter's sleep. All nature is intent upon the yearly miracle of spring, but nearby another miracle is being wrought, a greater miracle—the miracle of the centuries, for the earth is giving birth to a nation, to a government of the people, and the Goddess of Liberty is to be its queen, and every man a king, and every child a member of the royal household.

This is the meaning of Israel Putnam's ride. Did he know its meaning then? No! Did the people realize what it was to

ISRAEL PUTNAM MEMORIAL CAMP GROUND.

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bring to them? No! Israel Putnam did as he always did; that which was nearest and needed most to be done, and did it with that promptness and vigor that knew not failure. The importance of an act, be it little or be it great, did not concern him, his part was to do. To the people of that time it was simply a breach of discipline of which they felt ashamed because it was Connecticut troops. They lived too near it to know its worth. The value of a historic act can only be determined by time, and to us has come the great privilege of beginning to see that act in its magnificent proportion. But the Goddess of Liberty saw it then. You would know that she saw it could you have seen her with head erect, listening for the return of the brigades.

What sound is that she hears? Is it the beat of the drum, or is it the drumming of a partridge to its mate? Oh! It is the drum, the drum; never before was its tone so full of meaning, for they are coming back, and the Goddess of Liberty rejoices that her child, America, is to live. Back they come, Israel Putnam riding ahead with his aid. David Humphrey, by his side; they went out sullenly and determined, they come back stronger and better, for they have been saved from themselves, a greater victory than the victory of the battle has been theirs, the victory over themselves.

Thus was a great and mighty battle of the Revolutionary War fought and won. A battle fought on the grounds where we now are. A battle fought with the British far away, living with all the comforts and luxuries the city afforded, well fed, well housed, well clothed, enjoying a brilliant social life. A battle fought with hunger, want, cold and banishment from home. A battle in the wilderness where most of the world's greatest battles are fought.

The decisive moment of events and the spot where it occurred are ever sacred to the people whose forerunner it is.

What came you out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken by the wind? But what came ye out into the wilderness to see? Men clothed in fine raiment? Behold, those who wore soft clothing were then living in the cities they had taken, and were well fed. But what came you out to see? A prophet? Yes, he who fulfilled the mission of a prophet, men who were men, who gave their all that we might live as men and not as

vassals, that we might have the right to peace and domestic tranquility and inherent self-respect and independence, and

"this right which we have inherited and claim for ourselves is our brothers' also, and in our equal love for him we must insist and fight for his rights even as we would fight for our own." Therefore "it remains for us to preserve these blessings for ourselves and to transmit them to generations to come, for in the State itself there is no divinity, for upon the individual alone God has stamped his own immortal image."—*Lounsbury*.

While we as a people need no shrine in which to worship, yet it behooves us as a State to hold intact and as a memorial this spot whereon took place the event which was to determine the fate of this State and Nation. We hold it not for ourselves alone, but in trust for the whole Nation, as Massachusetts has Plymouth Rock and a Pennsylvania Gettysburg.

And Putnam, what of him?

"In life he was the inspiration of the colonies, the hate of Frenchmen, the fear of Englishmen, and the awe of Indians. To-day he is Connecticut's hero of the Revolution."—*Robinson*.

"He dared to lead

Where any dared to follow. In their need
Men looked to him.

A tower of strength was Israel Putnam's name,
A rally-word for patriot acclaim;

It meant resolve, and hope, and bravery,
And steady cheerfulness, and constancy.

And, if in years to come men should forget
That only freedom makes a nation great;

If men grow less as wealth accumulates,
Till gold becomes the life-blood of our states;

Should all these heavy ills weigh down our heart,
We'll turn to him who acted well his part

In those old days, draw lessons from his fame.

And hope and courage from Israel Putnam's name."

—*Johnson*.

(Extract from the HARTFORD TIMES, Wednesday, June 17, 1903.)

Appendix 4.

"To The Housatonic at Stockbridge"

by Robert Underwood Johnson

Contented river! in thy dreamy realm--
The cloudy willow and the plummy elm:
They call thee English, thinking thus to mate
Their musing streams that, oft with pause sedate,
Linger through misty meadows for a glance
At haunted tower or turret of romance.
Beware their praise who rashly would deny
To our New World its true tranquility.
Our "New World"? Nay, say rather to our Old
(Let truth and freedom make us double bold):
Tell them: A thousand silent years before
Their sea-born isle--at every virgin shore
Dripping like Aphrodite's tresses--rose,
Here, 'neath her purple veil, deep slept Repose,
To be awakened but by wail of war.
About thy cradle under yonder hill,
Before thou knewest bridge, or dam, or mill,
Soft winds of starlight whispered heavenly lore,
Which, like our childhood's, all the workday toil
Cannot efface, nor long its beauty soil.
Thou hast grown human laboring with men
At wheel and spindle; sorrow thou dost ken;
Yet dost thou still the unshaken stars behold,
Calm to their calm returning, as of old.
Thus, like a gentle nature that grows strong
In meditation for the strife with wrong,
Thou show'st the peace that only tumult can;
Surely, serener river never ran.

Thou beautiful! From every dreamy hill
What eye but wanders with thee at thy will,
Imagining thy silver course unseen
Convoys by two attendant streams of green
In bending line,--like half-expected swerves
Of swaying music, or those perfect curves
We call the robin; making harmony
With many a new-found treasure of the eye:
With meadows, merging smoothly rounded hills
Where Nature teemingly the myth fulfils
Of many-breasted Plenty; with clouds of white,

That haunt horizons with their blooms of light,
And when the east with rosy eve is glowing
Seem like full cheeks of zephyrs gently blowing.

Contented river! and yet over-shy
To mask thy beauty from the eager eye;
Hast thou a thought to hide from field and town?
In some deep current of the sunlit brown
Art thou disquieted--still discontent
With praise from thy Homeric bard, who lent
The world the placidness thou gavest him?
Thee Bryant loved when life was at its brim;
And when the wine was falling, in thy wood
Of sturdy willows like a Druid stood.
Oh, for his touch on this o'er throbbing time,
His hand upon the hectic brow of Rhyme,
Cooling its fevered passion to a pace
To lead, to stir, to reinspire the race!

Ah! there's a restive ripple, and the swift
Red leaves--September's firstlings--faster drift;
Betwixt twin aisles of prayer they seem to pass
(One green, one greenly mirrored in thy glass).
Wouldst thou away, dear stream? Come, whisper near!
I also of much resting have a fear:
Let me to-morrow thy companion be
By fall and shallow to the adventurous sea!

Appendix 5.

"Green River"

by William Cullen Bryant

When breezes are soft and skies are fair,
I steal an hour from study and care,
And hie me away to the woodland scene,
Where wanders the stream with waters of green,
As if the bright fringe of herbs on its brink
Had given their stain to the waves they drink;
And they, whose meadows it murmurs through,
Have named the stream from its own fair hue.

Yet pure its waters--its shallows are bright
With colored pebble and sparkles of light,
And clear the depths where its eddies play,
And dimples deepen and whirl away,
And the plane-tree's speckled arms o'ershoot
The swifter current that mines its root,
Through whose shifting leaves, as you walk the hill,
The quivering glimmer of sun and rill
With a sudden flash on the eye is thrown,
Like the ray that streams from the diamond-stone.
Oh, loveliest there the spring days come,
With blossoms, and birds, and wild-bees' hum;
The flowers of summer are fairest there,
And freshest the breath of the summer air;
And sweetest the golden autumn day
In silence and sunshine glides away.

Yet, fair as thou art, thou shunnest to glide,
Beautiful stream! by the village side;
But windest away from haunts of men,
To quiet valley and shaded glen;
And forest, and meadow, and slope of hill,
Around thee, are lonely, lovely, and still,
Lonely--save when, by the rippling tides,
From thicket to thicket the angler glides;
Or the simpler comes, with basket and book,
For herbs of power on thy banks to look;
Or haply, some idle dreamer, like me,
To wander, and muse, and gaze on thee,
Still--save the chirp of birds that feed
On the river cherry and seedy reed,
And thy own wild music gushing out
With mellow murmur of fairy shout,

From dawn to the blush of another day,
Like traveller singing along his way.

That fairy music I never hear,
Nor gaze on those waters so green and clear,
And mark them winding away from sight,
Darkened with shade or flashing with light,
While o'er them the vine to its thicket clings,
And the zephyr stoops to freshen his wings,
But I wish that fate had left me free
To wander these quiet haunts with thee,
Till the eating cares of earth should depart,
And thecae of the scene pass into my heart;
And I envy thy stream, as it slides along
Through its beautiful banks in a trance of song.

Though forced to drudge for the dregs of men,
And scrawl strange words with the barbarous pen,
And mingle among the jostling crowd,
Where the sons of strife are subtle and loud--
I often come to this quiet place,
To breathe the airs that ruffle thy face,
And gaze upon thee in silent dream,
For in thy lonely and lovely stream
An image of that calm life appears
That won my heart in my greener years.

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- 1994 University of Washington Graduate School
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- 1994 W. W. Stout Fellowship for Research.
- 1990 University of Washington Excellence in Teaching
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- 1989 University of Washington Fellow, Washington
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- 1989 Sarah Denny Fellowship, University of Washington
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- 1989 American Musicological Society, Pacific
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