A STUDY OF SELECTED ESSAYS AND SONGS OF CHARLES IVES AS EXPRESSIONS OF PROGRESSIVE IDEALISM

by

MICHAEL RONALD GAUDET

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We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

[redacted]

Dr. William Kinderman

[redacted]

Dr. Gordana Lazarevich

[redacted]

Professor Phillip Young

[redacted]

Dr. Lionel Adey

[redacted]

Dr. Bryan Gooch
(External Examiner)

University of Victoria

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Supervisor: Professor William Kinderman

ABSTRACT

The present study is an investigation of the political and social beliefs of Charles Ives (1874-1954). Ives was sympathetic to the ideals and aims of the Progressives, a reform movement prominent in American political life between the 1890's and 1920. Progressives were typically middle-class, idealistic citizens who approached social and political reform with limitless optimism. The ultimate test of their faith in progress came with America's entry into World War I and the subsequent debate over the League of Nations question. Chapter I examines the origins of Progressivism and shows how Ives's family background, his study of the Transcendentalists, and his approach to religion and business made him receptive to Progressive causes. Chapter II is an examination of Ives's reactions to the important political questions of the period 1908-1920. A discussion of his essays of this time, with special reference to "Stand By the President and the People" (1917) and "The Majority" (1919-1920), reveals his reverence for democratic ideals and his sense of assurance in the spiritual progress of mankind.

Ives's compositional approach favours representation over adherence to traditional form. His favourite device is the quotation of pre-existing melodies as symbolic references to American values and as the thematic, motivic, and harmonic basis of his works. The

thesis concludes in Chapter III with an analysis of a selection of songs by Ives which present, in musical form, his idealistic views on religion, World War I, and the voice of the individual in government.

Examining Committee:

[redacted]
Dr. William Kinderman

[redacted]
Dr. Gordana Lazarevich

[redacted]
Professor Phillip Young

[redacted]
Dr. Lionel Ade

[redacted]
Dr. Bryan Gooch

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INTRODUCTION

A mythical persona has gradually developed around the name of Charles Ives (1874-1954). In the popular mind he is frequently thought of as a 20th-century figure fixated on the values of 19th-century New England, unconcerned with contemporary problems. In this conception of Ives, one is given the impression that he had turned his back to the world and retreated to the solitary world of Walden Pond for his inspiration. Musical scholars have pushed this stereotype in two disparate directions. Frank Rossiter, in Charles Ives and His America, interprets his subject as an insecure man in retreat from a society which has alienated him. Robert M. Crunden, in "Charles Ives's Place in American Culture," identifies Ives as a Progressive, deeply concerned about the situation of the individual in a society of shared values.[1] While this writer does not agree with Hans J. Helm's conclusion that Ives's compositions were fundamentally motivated by socio-economic and political or ideological considerations,[2] this study will show how Ives transmuted his progressive political and social ideas into provocative essays and songs. Far from remaining in splendid isolation, Ives was moved to action by the Progressives' call for reform.

The Progressives were a segment of Americans, typically of religious middle-class backgrounds, who worked with unceasing optimism for social and political reform during the period between the mid-1890's and the end of World War I. Their favorite causes were those which improved

the material lot of the ordinary citizen and allowed him to fully participate in the democratic process. Progressives rallied around the charismatic figures of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, who willingly assumed the Progressive mantle. Roosevelt in particular popularized the movement for reform. Wilson continued his predecessor's work and led Americans through World War I, but he was unable to realize Progressives' hopes for world peace and democracy as embodied in the League of Nations.

Charles Ives's family background, his absorption of the Transcendentalist credo, and his religiosity made him receptive to the Progressive ethos. He also shared with other Progressives a fondness for elevated and frequently impassioned rhetoric. The first chapter of this thesis explores these elements and the effects they had on shaping Ives's thinking and discusses the origins of Progressivism, revealing characteristics that link it to Ives. The second chapter is a study of the period 1908-1920, during which Ives was most politically active, both as an observer and as an essayist who tried to share his ideas with his fellow Americans. This period culminated in two related events--World War I and the question of American entry in the League of Nations--which aroused Ives's idealism and resulted in some of his finest music and essays. The second chapter will include discussions on his essays on political and social questions, in particular "Stand by the President and the People" (1917), which suggests that war is caused by the greed of a small group and that the imperfect governmental structure prevents the true expression of the will of the people, and "The Majority" (1919-1920), which is Ives's lengthiest political essay, a visonary's attempt to devise a form of direct government.

Ives composed approximately 150 songs between 1887 and 1926, the complete span of his compositional career. His output in all forms was prodigious, especially when one considers that, until his retirement due to ill health, he was able to compose only during his spare time. Among his many chamber and solo works are five violin sonatas, two string quartets, piano sonatas, and a set of quarter-tone pieces for two pianos. He also composed much choral music and four symphonies, in addition to many programmatic orchestral works.

Ives's interest in politics and in expressing his ideals through his music is not unique; the 19th-century had seen such politically-involved composers as Liszt, Verdi, and Wagner. Perhaps Ives's political music seems so unusual because it is often so topical, and also because American art music of the period was generally so un-American, dominated by European models and frequently relegated to the parlour. Ives stood for American democratic ideals, expressed in a distinctive form, and in his milieu he was bound to be conspicuous.

Most of Ives's songs are contained in the collection 114 Songs, which displays an astounding diversity of musical style and subject matter. In it are found examples of such genres as the Christmas carol, French art song, Lied, cowboy song, and hymn setting, as well as examples of inimicably Ivesian songs which are compared in his most advanced and experimental manner of complex rhythmic and atonal structures. Songs on specific political and social topics are relatively few, although approximately one-quarter are related in a broader sense to Progressive idealism--songs that reflect on Transcendentalism ("Duty," "Thoreau"), others that evoke a sense of

social responsibility ("West London," "The Indians"), and yet more that hearken to democratic ideals ("Lincoln, the Great Commoner," "Tolerance"). This thesis examines songs that are direct reflections of Ives's attitude toward the religious underpinnings of Progressivism and the important political events and issues of the period 1912-1920. A study of these songs within a biographical and cultural content reveals the effectiveness of Ives's compositional innovations and representational devices and dramatizes the intensity of his political convictions.

Although the songs discussed in the final chapter were composed between 1906 and 1921, the spectrum of styles encountered there do not conform, as might be expected, to a linear development from the conservative to the radical. With Ives, both styles can coexist without any recognition of incompatibility. However, a certain degree of stylistic homogeneity emerges among songs on related topics, perhaps offering clues of Ives's attitude toward the social or political question dealt with by each song. The first songs to be discussed reveal Ives's religious orientation and his faith in the role of the individual in a religious community. Nearly all of the songs, which include "The World's Highway," "Watchman!," "At the River," "His Exaltation," "The Camp-Meeting," "The Innate," and General William Booth Enters into Heaven," include extensive quotations of well-known melodies or are settings of hymn tunes. The entry of the U.S. into World War I inspired Ives to write "In Flanders Fields," "He is There!," "Tom Sails Away," and "The Things Our Fathers Loved." Again, quotation is prevalent, but now it focuses on tunes with patriotic associations.

A third group of songs based on Ives's attitude toward political structures, displays an aggressive, dissonant style which in "Majority" characterizes the strength of the masses but in "Vote for Names" and "Nov. 2, 1920" represents the failure of the American political system.

Ives's songs offer a special opportunity to study the transference of political idealism into musical form. For Ives, all music was a form of representation, of communicating the essence of an idea, frequently through the use of local colour. Nachum Schoffman elaborates:

> Apparently, Ives saw music as a representative rather than an abstract art. Most elements of music are treated as if the composer considered them to be metaphors for some extra-musical event. Every one of his innovations is explained and construed as representation.[3]

Probably the most important technique that Ives uses in making extra-musical suggestions is the quotation of 19th-century tunes: hymns, military and patriotic music, and popular songs. Ives did not advocate the use of such old melodies merely for purposes of local colour or pure nostalgia, but for the communication of an attitude toward the subject at hand. He seeks to stimulate patriotic and religious associations that will illuminate the values underlying the song. For Ives, art lies in the "substance," or spiritual idea, of the work, which can be perceived through the composer's "Manner," or style. A consummate idealist, Ives seeks to mine a social unconscious and rouse the collective to some sort of moral consensus. As Lawrence Kramer expresses it, "For Ives, the aim of art is to consume manner by substance."[4]

However preoccupied Ives may be in the associative potential of his quotations, he is also aware of their musical characteristics. They

may appear superimposed or submerged in a complex, dissonant texture, or they may appear only as a distorted but recognizable fragment. The quotation may provide the intervallic, motivic, and harmonic basis of a work, and may even determine its structure. Frequently Ives hints at the identity of a quotation by gradually exposing fragments of it in the earlier sections of a work. When the melody is quoted in full at the composition's end, it carries an accumulated symbolic weight.

Ives generally eschews traditional forms in favour of additive structures which respond to the text and may negate the symmetry and developmental character of most music. Robert Morgan suggests that Ives's approach to form minimizes the temporal nature of music and creates instead a type of musical space in which musical and psychological relationships are established in all directions.[5] The challenge faced by the listener in untangling these webs of association can be daunting, yet the music somehow speaks directly and movingly. Lou Harrison effectively expresses the contradictions between complexity and simplicity which coexist in single work (but which, in any case, Ives would not have acknowledged):

> It is, in the final stages, a many-sided, many-layered, at once serious and facetious, common and cultivated fabric in which the tonal characters stand up, walk forth and have a whole life against a setting (with commentary) of Ives's own invention, which is largely made up of oracular puns, rich and ambiguous in meaning.[6]

The ultimate aim of this thesis is to illuminate these "tonal characters" in a representative selection of Ives's songs of political and social idealism.

NOTES

[1]For other discussions of Ives as a Progressive, see Colleen Davidson, "Winston Churchill and Charles Ives: The Progressive Experience in Literature and Song," Student Musicologists at Minnesota 3(1968-69); 4(1970-71) and Rosalie Sandra Perry, Charles Ives and the American Mind (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1974).

[2]Helms, Hans J., "Charles Edward Ives--Ideal American or Social Critic?," Current Musicology 19(1975):37.

[3]Schoffman, Nachum, "The Songs of Charles Ives" (Ph. D. dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1977), p. 322.

[4]Kramer, Lawrence, Music and Poetry: The Nineteenth Century and After (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984):174.

[5]Morgan, Robert P., "Spatial Form in Ives," in An Ives Celebration, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock and Vivian Perlis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), p. 18.

[6]Harrison, Lou. "On Quotation, "Modern Music 23 (Summer 1946):167.

THE ORIGINS OF IVES'S POLITICAL IDEALISM

I. IVES'S FAMILY BACKGROUND AND YOUTH

Charles Ives was a product of small-town nineteenth-century New England, whose values and traditions provided him with the moral and spiritual foundation of his works, in music and prose, on political and social topics. His boyhood experiences in Danbury, Connecticut, where neighbourliness and mutual aid were cultivated virtues, undoubtedly helped to form his later sense of social mission. In such a community, participation in social activities and in civic politics was encouraged, if not assumed. The New England town meeting, which successfully combined open discussion with practical decision, was to serve as one model for the process by which the decision to pursue social and political reform was reached at the turn of the century.[1] However superficial the egalitarianism of a society stratified by income and property, citizens looked to a democratic ideal, and there was constant intermingling between social levels. This belief in community combined with what Henry Cowell described as the typical New England temperament ("eager, independent, vehemently idealistic"[2]) to shape Charles Ives's approach to contemporary social and political issues.

The Ives family was prominent in Danbury society and was proud of its deep American roots, which dated from their settlement in Connecticut in 1638. George White Ives, Charles's grandfather, who founded the town's first savings bank, was an active abolitionist. His wife,

Sarah Hotchkiss Wilcox Ives, was a student of the Transcendentalists. Her interest in their exalted, rather abstract ideas coexisted with a commitment to her family and community. Charles' cousin, Amelia Van Wyck, recounts instances of the Iveses' generosity:

> One night, a horse and buggy drove up with two strangers in it. The woman came up and said that her husband was very sick and she couldn't take care of him, and they didn't know where to go. So they stayed at the Iveses until the man was better and they could go back to their farm. Another time, the time of the wagon trains going through to the West, one wagon train spent the night in Danbury. And a little girl on the train was too sick to go on. They just left her with the Ives family until her other friends could come along and pick her up.[3]

Charles's father, George Ives, participated in the Civil War siege of Richmond in 1862 as leader of the Brigade Band of the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery. He returned to Danbury with a young black boy, Henry Anderson Brooks, who became a member of the Ives household. The Iveses subsequently provided the financial support for his education in Danbury and at Hampton College.

Religious tolerance was another family trait that was passed on to Charles. While he was raised in the Congregational Church and remained a firm Protestant, his nephew Brewster Ives reports that ". . . he had great respect for Catholicism and all other forms of religion."[4] His brother, Joseph Moss Ives II, argued in a well-received book of 1935, The Ark and the Dove, that the seventeenth-century Roman Catholic colony of Maryland, rather than Puritan Massachusetts, set the first example of religious tolerance in America.

These family traditions echo through Charles Ives's writings and music. For him, the past evoked strong associations of familial and

patriotic pride which were subsumed in his work. The composer and arranger Lehman Engel suggests that the personages and events of the past remained with striking immediacy in Ives's psyche:

> He always talked about Pa and Lincoln as though they were two people that one met every day in the street. He constantly was talking about what Lincoln said to Pa and what Pa said to Lincoln. And none of it, unfortunately, do I remember. It had to do with parades and marches and celebrations.....[5]

(Engel is describing Ives in old age, long after he had ceased to compose. However, it is clear that the reminiscence of vivid scenes from his past provided the impulse for many of his compositions.[6])

During his years at Yale (1894-1898) Ives devoted himself to social life, composition, and to a lesser degree, formal studies, all of which left little time in which to develop strong positions on social and political issues. Yale at this time was hardly a congenial locale for an independent thinker, being a conservative institution, dominated by clergymen whose aim was "to bring together a small body of men in isolation from the outside world, mold their characters by a common and all-embracing discipline, and send them out for altruistic service in a Christian commonwealth."[7] The purpose of education was the development of moral but not necessarily intellectual rigour. Religious observance was a formality for most students, whose primary dedication lay with the social world of the glee club, athletic teams, and fraternities. The competition in this sphere was fierce and an acknowledged preparation for the business world into which most graduates would move. There was little interest in questioning conventional values, which were presented to students clothed in idealistic and patriotic phrases. While deomocracy was extolled, students aspired for admittance to the élite of campus social life. Although Ives adapted

so well to this milieu as to be elected to an exclusive senior society, his later references to Yale are usually critical and reflect his opinion that the democratic values espoused at the university were only superficially held.

Ives was composing while at Yale but kept his attempts at serious composition, already in an experimental style, largely to himself. He registered for courses in counterpoint, composition, and instrumentation only during his junior and senior years, although as a freshman he had contact with Horatio Parker, the Battell Professor of the Theory of Music and the effective head of the music program at Yale. Parker was a noted composer who favoured a conservative, Germanic style and who was perplexed by the young Ives's compositions. Ives retained some respect for Parker, but he later expressed his frustration at Parker's conventionality, thrown into relief with his undoubtedly idealized recollections of his father's unorthodox approach to music:[8]

> When I went to New Haven, and took the courses with Professor Horatio W. Parker . . ., I felt more and more what a remarkable background and start Father had given me in music. Parker was a composer and widely known, and Father was not a composer and little known - but from every other standpoint I should say that Father was by far the greater man. Parker was a bright man, a good technician, but apparently willing to be limited by what Rheinberger et. al. and the German tradition had taught him. After the first two or three weeks in Freshman year, I didn't bother him with any of the experimental ideas that Father had been willing for me to think about, discuss, and try out.[9]

Inevitably, the death of his father in 1894 provoked a serious artistic as well as emotional crisis. He was now deprived of an open-minded musical mentor, a role thereafter only partially filled by John Cornelius Griggs, who was the choirmaster at the New Haven church

where Ives was organist. Meanwhile, he found some satisfaction in writing works in popular musical styles, sometimes using such idioms as ragtime as the basis for free-spirited experimentation. The college songs and sentimental love ballads he composed during these years enhanced his popularity on campus. However, they should not be regarded as inconsequential; Ives throughout his compositional career identified with and made extensive use of a variety of popular idioms. Ives had a reputation at Yale for independence, if not a mild streak of eccentricity, but was liked for his sociability and charm, highly valued assets for a Yale man.

Ives's only political work of the this period is the song "William Will," composed in 1896 to a text by Susan Benedict Hill. This rollicking campaign song for the Republican Presidential candidate William McKinley is musically straightforward, centred on D major and a schottische tempo in 4/4.[10] Unlike most of Ives's more characteristic works, "William Will" was published, by the New York firm of Woodward & Co. Perhaps Ives composed the song to gain a little exposure or pocket money as much as to express support for McKinley. However, he was following his family's example of allegiance to the Republican Party, a party that people of their class and region felt aspired to the moral ideal of Lincoln. One suspects that in later life Ives would have felt sympathy for the charismatic populist Democratic Presidential candidate of 1896, William Jennings Bryan. Bryan was an irresistable figure for the rural voters, who were drawn as much by his evangelistic oratorical style as by his platform. The major issue of the 1896 election was the advocacy by the Democrats of silver as the monetary standard. The acknowledged

consequent of adoption of the silver standard, inflation, meant better prices for the economically depressed agricultural and mining interests of the South and West, but would also have created disadvantages for the Northeast, with its industrial-based economy. "William Will" plays directly on this fear of inflation and its effects on the working man:

> Give us no depreciation,
> With a Silver variation;
> Juggle not the workman's pence!
> For it rouses all his choler
> When he finds his well earned dollar
> Has been whittled down to only fifty cents![11]

It is interesting that this appeal to the workers' desire for economic stability came from the party that was so closely identified with business interests and with union-breaking. Bryan's oratory, however, was full of declarations that the common man was the essential unit of a democratic economic structure, as opposed to the unproductive acquisitiveness of big-money interests. A brief excerpt from one of his campaign speeches foreshadows Ives's later attitude in the description of the "Democratic idea":

> . . . the sympathies of the Democratic party,as shown by the platform, are on the side of the struggling mass who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party. There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that, if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.[12]

Such attitudes cost Bryan more votes than they gained him, and McKinley was the victor in the battle of 1896.

The decade following Ives's graduation from Yale was devoted to the disparate activities of establishing himself in the field of life insurance

and developing his musical idiom. His awakening to larger social and political questions occurred only after his marriage in 1908. Perhaps his perceptions of his responsibilities as a family man sparked concern with economic and social matters. By this time, however, a spirit of political and social reform had begun to permeate American politics.

II. PROGRESSIVISM AND ITS ORIGINS

Historians have termed the period of American history between the beginning of McKinley's presidency (1897) and the nation's entry into the First World War (1917) the "Progressive era."[13] It is an apt term, for American society was caught up in a spirit of reform that affected such divergent fields as environmental conservation and the regulation of child labour. Americans set out to correct the inequities of their society with ". . . an abounding confidence that old evils would be eradicated and a more wholesome society achieved. The atmosphere was charged with unrest, but it was vigourous discontent rather than despair or cynicism . . ."[14] The reform-minded embodied qualities typifying the nineteenth-century American attitude--optimism, a sense of power and awareness of unlimited reserves of energy, the glorification of work, practicality, experimentation, social and political (but not economic) democracy, moral conventionality, and a recognition of the sovereignty of the individual conscience, allied with the conviction that the majority, composed of many individual consciences, could usually be trusted.[15]

Why was change needed? Post-Civil War industrialization and urbanization had widened the gap between rich and poor. Labour was exploited and unionization contemplated with horror by the privileged

class, which tended to regard the lower classes as barely human and certainly morally inferior. Economic subjugation guaranteed the retention of power. Business interests were allied with government at the local and state levels, resulting in the emergence of political machines that thwarted any meaningful democratic processes. The rapid concentration of financial and industrial holdings in trusts and other monopolistic structures went essentially unchecked. Instead, anti-trust legislation was invoked to break a striking railroad union in 1894, on the argument that the workers were restraining interstate commerce. The expressed anger of the working class in the face of a system only superficially democratic was inevitable but only gradually mounted.

The disparity between the lifestyles of rich and poor was dramatized for the middle class by several economic depressions in the early 1890's, which had had serious consequences for the farming sector and resulted in the collapse of social services in the cities. While writers such as Charles Dickens (1812-1870) had earlier given the middle class some awareness of the realities of poverty, the press now dramatized the American situation through sensational exposés, making it more difficult for Americans to ignore their own problems. Progressivism was to be spearheaded by members of this middle class audience, who acted with altruism tempered by a perception that they were helping to prevent the spread of dangerous tendencies emanating from society's lower strata. Progressive-minded people shared common goals and viewpoints derived from their observation of society. They tended to reject capitalisitc individualism and laissez-faire in favour of co=operative effort. Government

was to be revitalized and, if necessary, restructured to allow for the more direct expression of the wishes of the electorate. Through increased government power, financial and industrial activity was to be monitored and regulated. Although they agreed on the problems of society and the methods to be used in solving these inequities, the origins of Progressivism are surprisingly diverse. By the time they had gained a significant political focus, Charles Ives had become caught up their ideas and was preaching their causes in his essays. Indeed, much of the extravagant rhetoric that makes him seem eccentric today only reveals his Progressive idealism.

Progressivism may be viewed as an outgrowth of nineteenth-century American Protestantism. Clyde Griffen relates the progressive ethos to a definite religious orientation: "Secular and religious versions of the nineteenth-century evangelical Protestant hope of realizing the Kingdom of God on earth permitted prewar Americans seeking different kinds of change to think of themselves as sharing in a larger crusade."[16] Reformers were inspired by a crusading fervour perhaps more associated with missionaries. At the inaugural convention of the Progressive Party in 1912, the delegates expressed their solidarity by singing the hymn "Onward, Christian Soldiers."[17] The elevated rhetoric which helped to cast an illusion of unity among Progressives was familiar to churchgoers and reflected Protestant values. However, lofty visions of the future could be realized only through practical efforts for reform. While rejecting individual opportunism, revivalists generally felt that intuition and the dictates of conscience were adequate guides to conduct, rather than rational consideration of the consequences of behaviour. Their conviction was

that individual consciences would ultimately reach similar conclusions on moral questions, leading to a consensus in society. Consequently, the Progressives believed that the moral values they respected were universally held; social and economic questions could be reduced to moral questions, and in a Christian society the answers would be clear to all. Another legacy of revivalism was a democratic view of Christianity which stressed the equality of men before God and envisaged, by extension, a classless society. Like the evangelicals, Progressives de-emphasized ritual, preferring action to the static observance of accepted forms.

Out of this view of religion grew the Social Gospel. Conservative church leaders responded to the economic tensions of the period with fear and opposed socialism or economic reform of any sort. They confidently equated moral stature with material success, believing ". . . that in a free society those with merit would always rise, and therefore that the worthless would always form a separate layer at the bottom."[18] The poor, they felt, should accept their lot and passively hope for improvement, in the next life if not on earth. This attitude was countered by the proponents of the Social Gospel, who expoused change in society while trying to avoid social upheaval at all costs. Many of these clergymen had witnessed the struggle of workers and were guardedly sympathetic toward the union movement. They supported such innovations as profit-sharing and the reduction of working hours without wage penalties. One leading reform clergyman, R. Heber Newton, advocated education, employees' welfare work, postal savings, equitable taxation, and monopoly regulation. Like most of his brethren, he stressed the need for social responsibility and looked forward to the evolution of a society based on co-operation.

Perhaps most importantly, such religious reformers addressed their congregations as fellow Christians, not as moral and social superiors. One of the most active, William Gladden, developed his following by using a popular approach: "Gladden preached the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man in terms that were understandable and acceptable to the untheoretical, worldly, optimistic congregations of his time."[19] These appeals to lower- and middle-class sensibilities helped to forge that illusion of unity that the Progressives were later to exploit.

Innovation in politics could coexist with religious conservatism. A powerful figure in the Democratic Party between the 1890's and 1920's was William Jennings Bryan, a lawyer and fundamentalist preacher who is almost as well remembered for his attempt to discredit the evolutionary theory in the Scopes "Monkey" trial of 1925 as he is for his years of political and social idealism in federal politics. In 1925 he explained to a newspaper reporter why he saw no conflict between these positions:

> People often ask me why I can be a progressive in politics and a fundamentalist in religion. The answer is easy. Government is man made and therefore imperfect . . . If Christ is the final word, how may anyone be progressive in religion?[20]

Out of clerical attempts to solve social problems developed the role of the social worker. Churches became centres for social action, implementing a wide variety of facilities and services that ranged from gymnasiums to agencies selling food and fuel at cost to the poor. Religious missions, established in impoverished urban areas by such organizations as the Salvation Army, also worked to improve the lot of the poor by improving housing and education. They concentrated particularly on helping the young by offering training in trades and domestic occupations, equipping libraries, and sending otherwise city-bound

children for wholesome country vacations. This concern for children was also manifested in movement toward labour reform. In 1872, Charles Loring Brace, the founder of the Children's Aid Society, presented a bill to the New York legislature which sought to restrict factory labour of children over ten years of age to a maximum of sixty hours per week.

Related to the church-sponsored social centres and the missions was the more secular settlement house movement. Located in slum neighbourhoods and staffed predominantly by young people of the middle and upper classes, the settlement houses were to serve as hubs of co-operative neighbourhood activity. By providing a flexible assortment of social services in an atmosphere which encouraged the establishment of ties of understanding between disparate ethnic and economic groups, they aided in the development of healthy neighbourhoods. The staffs of the settlement houses also carried out much research on poverty, providing a training ground for students of the social sciences. These social workers represented the pragmatic aspect of the Social Gospel; experimentation was encouraged as a method of uncovering effective means of dealing with social ills. Daily interaction with neighbourhood residents led to insights concerning their needs and the needs of the community.

Charles Ives's wife Harmony was involved in the settlement house movement before her marriage. The daughter of a prominent minister in Hartford, Connecticut, she was trained as a registered nurse. In an essay written for her graduation ceremony in 1900, Harmony revealed the sense of moral compulsion held by the Social Gospellers and others active in social welfare:

> We are forced into alleviating pain, into doing things that are necessary for the comfort of those less fortunate than ourselves. It is really a great piece of good luck, all this, for it is proved that the fullest development individually comes from altruistic effort . . .[21]

By early 1901, Harmony was working in the Chicago slums with the Visiting Nurses' Association, and in 1905 and 1907 she nursed at the Henry Street Settlement in New York. While she did not return to the settlement houses after her marriage, she retained her altruistic ideals and, moreover, shared them with her husband.

As a result of their experience in the field, social workers campaigned for legislated improvements in such areas as housing, public health care, child labour and compulsory-education laws, protection for employed women, workmen's compensation, and control of the liquor industry.[22] These goals were achieved very gradually through the first three decades of the century.

More radical reformers sought to change the basic structure of society. By 1880, some were proposing alternatives to the current social theory, which supported the economic stratification of society by envisaging life as a struggle for wealth, with the most deserving at the top and the losers conveniently out of sight. In this view, the ideal government supported this Darwinian process by providing a minimum of public services while maintaining order. Any attempt by the lower classes to assert themselves would disrupt this smoothly operating mechanism and threaten to halt the steady progress of a society which utilized its resources with ever-increasing efficiency.[23]

Disputing the justice of their complacent viewpoint, Henry George's Progress and Poverty (1879) provided the model for a society which could

achieve equality without abandoning capitalism. George's targets were land and tax laws which encouraged the hoarding of land for speculation. He felt that gains from the sale of unimproved land should be taxed, thus returning to society the benefit of the value it had created. He envisioned the ideal society as a co-operative Christian commonwealth and shared the Progressive penchant for evangelism and moral rhetoric. George warned that the will for social change could come only from God. Practical details were of secondary importance to him and other reform-minded writers; they foresaw change in broad, revelatory insights that foreshadow the visionary character of Ives's writing.

A vogue of utopian novels amplified this search for social renewal. Edward Everett Hale's How They Lived at Hampton (1888) pictures a model factory town in which profit-sharing results in prosperity for all. William Dean Howell's A Traveller from Altruria describes a democratic socialist society in which the working class enjoys a proportional share of power. By far the most popular and influential of the utopian writing of the period, however, was Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward (1888). His rejuvenated society materializes in an era of societal redemption based on the realization that co-operation makes moral and practical sense. The capitalistic labour structure is replace by an efficient industrial army. Bellamy, like the Progressives, sought a more effective form of government. In his view, the executive and judicial branches should be retained, but the elected Representatives of Congress be limited to a clerical role. Since all citizens are patriotic and agree on the fundamental aims and values of society, the Representatives' involvement in the decision-making process that formerly required legislation is minimal. If legislation should be required on an issue, public opinion could be

quickly ascertained and the statute formulated on that basis. If any government official exceeded the bounds of his assigned function, he would be recalled instantly.[24] Bellamy's enthusiasm for direct government foreshadows one of Ives's political concerns.

These idealistic repudiations of laissez-faire in favour of democratic collectivism were eventually translated into the actual reform of urban and state government. Concern with corruption in city governments led to the foundation of the National Municipal League in 1894. In 1899, the civic reform groups which made up the League drafted a model municipal program whose features were to appear in the reform charters of many American cities: the abolition of ward representation, the imposition of safeguards against undue partisan influences, and the enhancement of the power of mayors. Concurrently, reform-minded mayors contested the laissez-faire assumptions of their predecessors by attacking overpriced public services, corporate tax evasion, and corrupt alliances between corporations and government officials.[25] More accountable government was achieved through greater efficiency, derived from new business methods. In an address given at the First National Conference for Good City Government in 1894, Theodore Roosevelt made it clear that inspiration and enthusiasm had to be pragmatically harnessed:

> There are two gospels I always want to preach to reformers . . . The first is the gospel of morality; the next is the gospel of efficiency. I don't think I have to tell you to be upright, but I do think that I have to tell you to be practical and efficient.[26]

Municipal research bureaux, which derived new standardized measurements of good city government from the findings of the new field of scientific management, were soon in operation.

The reform spirit soon spread to the state level, at which rural as well as urban elements could contribute to structural change. The Populists, along with calls for the silver standard, advocated a graduated income tax, government ownership of railroads, and the direct election Senators, who were elected by state legislatures. Idealistic politicians introduced the direct primary and the initiative, referendum, and recall, which gave the electorate closer involvement with the democratic process. In addition, much progressive economic and social legislation was introduced at the state level.

The Progressives, then, were social and political reformers who experimented in the search for effective methods of treating social problems and realizing democratic ideals. Combining an optimistic religous orientation with the pragmatic business mentality of the middle class, Charles Ives was typical of many Progressives. However, he was eventually to have difficulty in reconciling his uncompromising idealism, gained from religion and his study of the Transcendentalists, with the political compromises of the nation's leaders during and after the First World War in issues that, for Ives, involved unassailable principles.

III. IVES AND THE TRANSCENDENTALISTS

The idealism and utopian visions of the early progressives were congenial to the intellectual allegiances of Ives's family, from whom he had inherited a deep interest in the Transcendentalists, particularly Emerson and Thoreau. Their profound influence upon him is reflected in the titles and programmatic suggestions of some of his most majestic works, including the Concord Sonata and the Universe Symphony, as well as

in his Essays Before a Sonata. Frank Rossiter writes: "There were two great sources of inspiration for Ives's music: Transcendentalist philosophy and the religiodemocratic life of a New England town."[27] The combination of lofty idealism with the practical workings of small town life made the Progressives especially attractive to Ives.

Both Emerson (whom Ives regarded as America's greatest philosopher) and Thoreau had at first concentrated on the reform of the individual, a process described in Thoreau's Walden, but after 1845, each became politically active for the cause of abolition. In 1846, Thoreau was jailed briefly for refusing to pay a poll tax, on the argument that money thus collected supported slavery and an imperialist war with Mexico waged in order to acquire New Mexico and California. It was feared that these areas, if won, would become slave territories. Thoreau's experience and his reflections on a government that could encourage such unjust policies inspired him to write "On Civil Disobedience" (1848). During the 1850's, Thoreau concentrated his efforts on abolitionism, aiding slaves in their escape north on the Underground Railroad and stirring up opinion as a polemicist. His most stinging condemnation of slavery is contained in his lecture "Slavery in Massachusetts."

As an abolitionist and pacifist, Emerson also opposed the Mexican War. His "Boston Hymn" (1863) commemorates the Emancipation Proclamation, and he also expressed a belief in the equality of the sexes. However, while publicly an iconoclast, in his domestic life he was utterly conventional; Ives too was to combine a family-centred lifestyle with forward-looking ideas.

An examination of the basic tenets of Transcendentalism sheds light on Ives's ideas and art. The Transcendentalist saw art as a medium for spiritual development and moral regeneration. Aesthetic experience would lead to emotional and intellectual insight and fulfillment. Since art was a form of communication, even if its message were imprecise, it could conceivably act as a powerful stimulus to reform. Beauty emerged from sincere, deeply-held moral feelings, not from the sensual qualitites of the work of art alone. Ives shared this conception of art and used music as a vehicle for the expression of his idealism. For him, the technique of composition, which he termed "manner," was less important than the composer's sincere portrayal of spiritual feeling, which formed the crux of composition. He intuitively arrived at an artistic method which reflected these values, which he felt confident would be communicated on an almost mystical level.

The Transcendentalists were arch-idealists, searching for the all-encompassing but elusive truth underlying the chaos of life. The far-ranging sphere and independence of Transcendentalist thought is conveyed by Henry Cowell's description of it as ". . . a philosophy of the Ideal whose emphasis is on what could be, on the intuitively sensed possibility that is illimitable, rather than on what has been or what other people are."[28] They found their truth in what Emerson termed the "Over-Soul," an absolute goodness toward which all strive. According to their view, one should conduct one's life in harmony with one's understanding and experience of the Over-Soul. The individual soul, unsullied by conformity to the dictates of the group, can most clearly approach this transformed state. The individual finds moral and aesthetic solace in nature, through which the Over-Soul resounds:

> Man and the physical universe, Emerson says, are parallel creations of the same divine spirit; therfore natural and moral law are the same and everything in nature, rightly seen, has spiritual significance for man. The universe is thus a vast network of symbols . . . which it is the task of the poet to study, master, and articulate. The poet doesn't follow a rationalistic method, but he follows the method of nature herself: he is guided by inspiration rather than logic, and expresses his thoughts in the form of images, in the same way that nature expresses spirit.[29]

Accepting Emerson's pronouncement that nature abhors repetition, Ives largely abandoned traditional musical forms based on the logical development and recapitulation of musical ideas in favour of less conventionally structured, image-laden works which symbolize his point of view.

Like the Progressives, the Transcendentalists had faith in the continuing spiritual development of mankind. In a passage later echoed in the postlude of Ives's 114 Songs, Emerson writes:

> . . . the education of the general mind never stops. The reveries of the true and simple are prophetic. What the tender poetic youth dreams and prays and paints today . . . shall presently be the resolutions of public bodies, then shall be carried as grievance and bill of rights through conflict and war, and then shall be triumphant law and establishment for a hundred years, until it gives place, in turn, to new prayers and pictures.[30]

Similarly, Thoreau foresees a new form of government that will realize his dictum, "That government is best which governs least."[31] However, he realized that a governmental structure centred around the individual would evolve slowly, in step with man's spiritual progress.

Most commentators on Transcendentalism remark on its uniquely American character, in its avoidance of systems and its reverence for self-reliance, both individual and cultural. When Emerson exhorts "To believe your own thought, to believe that what is true for you in your private heart is true for all men - that is genius,"[32] he reflects pride

in American autonomy from European models. Ives too was a staunch upholder of American traditions, and in his musical thinking was critical of the dominance of European styles in American music.

Emerson and Thoreau also examined the moral underpinnings of American democracy. For both, the irreducible unit of government was the individual, and the best government was that which impinged least on his activities of independent enquiry and which reflected his high ideals:

> . . . the wise know . . . that the State must follow, and not lead the character and progress of the citizen; . . . and they only who build on Ideas, build for eternity; and that the form of government which prevails, is the expression of what cultivation exists in the population which permits it. The law is only a memorandum.[33]

Thoreau was concerned with the conflict between the conscientious individual and the unconsidering will of the majority. He believed that the party system did not allow for the true wishes of each individual to be registered, as it gave him very limited choices and did not make him aware of critical political issues. Thus, Thoreau saw voting as a potential abdication of individual responsibility: "All voting is a sort of gaming, like chequers or backgammon, with a slight moral tinge to it, a playing with right or wrong, with moral questions."[34]

The Transcendentalists regarded the acquisition of property with suspicion. Walden celebrates the emancipation of one individual from the spiritual inertia of a materialistic government which seemed to exist to protect the rights of greedy property holders:

> . . . the reliance on Property, including the reliance on governments which protect it, is the want of self-reliance. Men have looked away from themselves and things so long, that they come to esteem the religious, learned, and civil institutions as guards of property. They measure their

> esteem for each other by what each has, and not by what each is. But a cultivated man becomes ashamed of his property, out of new respect for his nature.[35]

This concentration on the spiritual growth of the individual is central to Charles Ives's political and social beliefs. To find a meaningful role for the individual within the existing political system was in his view a near impossibility. Rather, the system had to evolve with its citizens. Thoreau's thoughts on the relationship between the individual and government must have fired Ives with a missionary zeal:

> The progress from absolute to a limited monarchy, from a limited monarchy to a democracy, is a progress toward a true respect for the individual. Even the Chinese philosopher was wise enough to regard the individual as the basis of the empire. Is a democracy, such as we know it, the last improvement possible in government? Is it not possible to take a step further towards recognizing and organizing the rights of man? There will never be a really free and enlightened State, until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly.[36]

IV. IVES'S IDEALISTIC TRANSFORMATION OF CAREER AND RELIGION

Ives's choice of a career in life insurance seems an odd one for a young man already committed to composition. But his memories of his father's lowly social and economic status as a musician made him aware that he and his future family would never enjoy financial security if he maintained his artistic ideals in a fulltime musical career. Yale, moreover, had prepared him for the business world. In life insurance Ives could earn a healthy living while assuring himself that he was employed in a humanitarian profession, dedicated to the protection of families.

Shortly after his graduation in 1898, Ives joined the Mutual Life Insurance Co. as a clerk in the actuarial department. He was intrigued

by the actuary's work, which involved calculation of the mortality table from statistics showing the effect on mortality of many elements of human life. He felt that he was getting closer to the ideal man who lay behind these statistics, and that through such "scientific" work the Transcendentalists' conviction of underlying unity could be proved by revealing what all men had in common. Like other Progressives, Ives respected scientific methods as useful tools in attaining higher moral and spiritual levels. His writings on insurance are sprinkled with positive references to science. In "The Amount to Carry," a promotional pamphlet for insurance agents, he writes:

> . . . superstition is giving way to science, and in spite of an apparent or temporary lowering of ideals in some directions, . . . the influence of science will continue to help mankind realize more fully, the greater moral and spiritual values.[37]

In 1908, Ives went into partnership with Julian Myrick to form an independent agency, Ives and Myrick. Largely because of their innovative approach, their firm was successful from the beginning. Ives's forte lay in dealing with the agents. His view of the insurance industry as an altruistic service is reflected in his insistence on referring to the agents as counsellors. He appealed to the better instincts of potential agents, claiming that

> . . . there was not a service I could render to my fellow man that was more important than the business of life, because it instilled in the soul and mind of my fellow man the responsibility of meeting his obligations.[38]

Ives saw life insurance as a means by which the common man might gain a degree of economic security otherwise unavailable to him. Ives wrote:

> Personally, I would rather have on the books a thousand stevedores at $1000 each than ten bank presidents at $100,000 each. The apparent advantages to the Company of the latter group (if any) would in the writer's opinion be a small item, compared with the value to the Company of being in touch with and in an intimate position to render service to the future generations of these thousands.[39]

He also encouraged employee participation in the direction of the company, and in a lengthy memorandum written in 1920 urged the appointment of more employees to policy-making positions within the Mutual Life organization.

The elevation of the role of the individual is also evident in Ives's religious beliefs, which find little relevance in hierarchical structures. As a child, he witnessed the revivials, camp meetings, and church services which were a focal point of town life. His impressions of these memories were to be preserved in his musical reconstructions of such events. The quotations of hymn tunes that appear frequently in his works suggest the depth of his religious convictions. Religion was the most important component of the spirituality he saw as the basis of art. Most importantly, his conception of religion gives dignity and stature to the individual worshipper, a viewpoint suggested in his recollection of a boyhood scene:

> I remember . . . the outdoor Camp Meeting services in Redding . . . I remember how the great waves of sound used to come through the trees - when things like "Beulah Land," "Woodworth," "Nearer my God to Thee," "The Shining Shore," "Nettleton," "In the Sweet Bye and Bye," and the like were sung by thousands of 'let out' souls. The music notes and words on paper were about as much like what they 'were' (at those moments) as the monogram on a man's necktie may be like his face . . . Most of them knew the words and music (theirs) by hear, and sang it that way. If they threw the poet or composer around a bit, so much the better for the poetry and the music. There was power and exaltation in these great conclaves of sound from humanity.[40]

The accommodation of individual response in group worship suggested in the passage above characterizes Ives's religious opinions. For Ives, the essence of religion lay not with religious institutions, which he feared could conventionalize his religious response and intrude upon his communion ". . . with God, with Nature, or even the divinity of his own soul."[41] The religious experience moved beyond mysticism to action directed toward the regeneration of the individual and the society in which he lived. That Ives shared the Progressives' belief that the religious impulse lay behind social reform is evident in his claim that ". . . most of the forward movements of life in general and of pioneers in most of the great activities, have been [the work of] essentially religious-minded men."[42]

NOTES

[1]Jean B. Quandt, From the Small Town to the Great Community: The Social Thought of Progressive Intellectuals (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1970), p. 7.

[2]Henry Cowell and Sidney Cowell, Charles Ives and His Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1983), p. 7.

[3]Vivian Perlis, ed., Charles Ives Remembered (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 6.

[4]Ibid., p. 77.

[5]Ibid., p. 197.

[6]For a detailed examination of how Ives transformed nostalgia into art, see Stuart Feder, "Decoration Day: A Boyhood Memory of Charles Ives," Musical Quarterly 66 (April 1980).

[7]Frank R. Rossiter, Charles Ives and his America (New York: Liveright, 1975), p. 68.

[8]George Ives had been his son's musical guide, always agreeable to musical experiments that expanded Charles's musical boundaries. He was interested in the musical possibilities of quarter-tones and derived pleasure from accidental clashes of sound that he felt were nevertheless musical. He also encouraged his son's experiments with dissonant harmony, approving of his fugues in four keys. In his Memos, Charles Ives recalled: "Father didn't object to all of this, if it was done with some musical sense--that is, if I would make some effort to find out what was going on, with some reason." Charles E. Ives, Memos, ed. John Kirkpatrick (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972), pp. 42-43.

[9]Ibid., pp. 115-16.

[10]John Kirkpatrick, comp., "A Temporary Mimeographed Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts and Related Materials of Charles Edward Ives, 1874-1954, Given by Mrs. Ives to the Library of the Yale School of Music, September, 1955" ([New Haven]: Library of the Yale School of Music, 1960), p. 172.

[11]Philip Edward Newman, "The Songs of Charles Ives (1874-1954)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1967) 2:93-94.

[12]Robert W. Cherny, A Righteous Cause: The Life of William Jennings Bryan (Boston: Little, Brown, 1985), p. 59.

[13]For comprehensive discussions of the period, see George E. Mowry, Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1946), Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era 1900-1917, The New American Nation Series (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), and Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920, The Making of America (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

[14]Robert H. Bremner, From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States (New York: New York University Press, 1956), p. 201.

[15]See Henry Steele Commager's Chapter I, "The Nineteenth-Century American in The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

[16]Clyde Griffen, "The Progressive Ethos," in The Development of an American Culture, ed. Stanley Cohen and Lorman Ratner (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 120.

[17]Link, p. 16.

[18]Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Octagon Books, 1963), p. 164.

[19]Ibid., p. 175.

[20]Bremner, p. 58.

[21]Ives, Memos, p. 275. Quotation from Harmony Ives's "The Nurses Gain."

[22]Bremner, p. 201.

[23]Wiebe, p. 135.

[24]John L. Thomas, "Introduction" in Looking Backward 2000-1887 by Edward Bellamy, ed. John L. Thomas (Cambridge, Massachussetts: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1967), pp. 57-60.

[25]The New Encyclopedia Britannica in 30 Volumes, 15th ed., 1974, S.V. "United States, History of the" 18:983.

[26]Mowry, p. 239.

[27]Rossiter, p. 202.

[28]Cowell, p. 6.

[29]Lawrence Buell, Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 149.

[30]Ralph Waldo Emerson, Works, 4 vols. (New York, Tudor Publishing Company, 19--) 2:368.

[31]Henry David Thoreau, "Walden" and "Civil Disobedience," New American Library (New York: Signet Classics, 1960), p. 222.

[32]Emerson, 1:30.

[33]Ibid., 2:367.

[34]Thoreau, p. 226.

[35]Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Self-Reliance," in The American Tradition in Literature, 4th ed., eds. Sculley Bradley et al., ([New York]: Grosset and Dunlap, 1974), p. 1127.

[36]Thoreau, p. 240.

[37]Charles Ives, "The Amount to Carry," in "Essays Before a Sonata" and Other Writings, ed. Howard Boatwright (New York: W.W. Norton, 1961), p. 236.

[38]Perlis, p. 56.

[39]Cowell, pp. 61-62.

[40]Charles Ives, "Children's Day at the Camp-Meeting," in Essays Before a Sonata" and Other Writings, ed. Howard Boatwright (New York: W.w. Norton, 1961), p. 116.

[41]Robert M. Crunden, "Charles Ives' Innovative Nostalgia," Choral Journal 15 (December 1974):6.

[42]Ives, Memos, p. 129.

CHARLES IVES'S RESPONSE TO AMERICAN POLITICS, 1912-1920

Charles Ives's political and social consciousness evolved quietly between 1896, the year of "William Will," and 1912, when he first encountered the reform-minded Democratic President-elect Woodrow Wilson. Ives's involvement in politics was always to be indirect - he never offered himself as a candidate or campaigned for a political party - but he was nevertheless an intense and critical observer who applied his idealistic standards uncompromisingly. He was unable to accept the pragmatism of politicians, particularly as it affected the outcome of issues critical to the nation's future. While he used the ideas and rhetoric of progressive politicians as springboards for his idealistic vision of society and government, he could not relate easily to any sort of political expediency. Despite his ever-present faith in progress, he was to suffer severe disappointments.

Ives's sympathy with the progressives meshed well with his approaches to religion, Transcendentalism, and business. The preoccupations of his political essays and songs mark him as typical of progressives, to judge from Paul W. Glad's description of their aims:

> Whatever may have been their differences in status and interest, progressives wanted to provide the underprivileged with the means of achieving human dignity. Whatever their differences in political influence and power, progressives wanted to make the institutions of government more responsive to the needs of all citizens. Whatever their differences in occupation and wealth, progressives believed that the nation's economy should serve the public interest.

> Programs and methods varied, but insofar as anyone should in these broad aspirations he was to that extent a progressive.[1]

The issues upon which Ives focused and commented were the American involvement in World War I and the debate over the League of Nations. While most of his political statements were made between 1917 and 1920, Ives continued to proselytize for direct government and world government until World War II, his ideas never changing but sounding ever more strident. Unfortunately for Ives, progressivism fell out of vogue in the 1920's, but he persevered nevertheless. His nephew Brewster Ives reports that on European trips during the 1920's and 1930's he sometimes approached men in Germany to ask their opinions arising from their experience of World War I: "He would ask them what they would do to prevent another war, and wouldn't they like to have a chance to vote on it, if they had to go again."[2] Throughout the post-Wilson era, Ives was politically disaffected and disillusioned. His interest in politics was still keen and his response to it was ever-more caustic, in spite of his essentially gentle nature. Theodore Roosevelt died in 1919 and Wilson in 1924. Though he lived on until 1954, Ives remained an idealistic progressive until the end.

Why did Ives wait until he was nearly forty to begin considering the social and political issues that were to preoccupy him? Until 1908, he was a bachelor, a somewhat insecure man who, like Woodrow Wilson, felt awkward when dealing with individuals but more confident in putting his ideas forward to a larger forum. Moreover, the years when he was occupied by day in establishing a career in life insurance were some of his most productive as a composer. He was not robust; he suffered a

slight heart attack in 1906, after which he and Julian Myrick developed their plans to launch an independent agency. Perhaps Ives's marriage in June 1908 awakened some interest in political participation. As noted earlier, Harmony was dedicated to social welfare and she undoubtedly told her fiancé something about her experience in the settlement houses. Marriage may have made Ives more aware of his duties to society as well as his family. Harmony, who was always supportive in all respects, bolstered his confidence and assured him that he would feel more public-spirited when they moved from New York City to rural Connecticut, where people, she implied, shared a stronger sense of community.[3]

While the progressives were gaining national prominence during the first years of the century, Ives was not attracted by the Republican Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. Theodore Roosevelt, who held the office between 1900 and 1908, was widely regarded as a progressive. He concentrated on business reform and broke up railroad, oil, and tobacco trusts. He even took the side of labour unions in some disputes. He also obtained passage of a Meat Inspection Act and a Pure Food and Drug Act, and was a crusader for the conservation of natural resources. He was a supreme publicist for the progressives; he had already gained hero status during the Spanish-American War of 1898, and had capitalized on it by creating a powerful popular persona which combined personal charm with aggressive, combative rhetoric. This bellicosity repelled Ives, who nevertheless later peppered his writings with Rooseveltian contempt for all things feminine.[4] Despite his popularity, Roosevelt left the Presidency in 1908, virtually bequeathing the position to his follower William Howard Taft, who easily

defeated William Jennings Bryan in the 1908 election. Taft, however, proved to be almost wilfully inept. Worse, he abandoned the progressives in favour of the right-wing business faction of the Republican Party. Dissension between the party's progressive insurgents and conservative elements led to a full-scale party split in 1912.

Ironically, Ives's first political statement is a condemnation of the 1912 election. In the fiercely dissonant song "Vote for Names," he laments the futility of an election whose candidates, he feels, run on rigid and almost meaningless platforms. That Taft was a well-known conservative and Roosevelt and Wilson, the other candidates, had firmly-established reputations as progressives meant little. The political machinations preceding the election also probably alienated Ives. Roosevelt, who had been appalled by Taft's performance and hoped for another term, had offered himself as a contender for the Republican nomination. The Republicans had a very strong progressive wing[5] that had chafed under Taft and were confident of ousting him. However, the party's right wing, while aware of the threat of a party split and the possible consequence of losing the Presidential election, also welcomed an opportunity to rid itself of the progressives, and so they engineered Taft's election. Roosevelt abandoned the party and announced the foundation of the Progressive Party, whose inaugural convention was held in August in Chicago. Its delegates included many professionals, women, and social workers - a typical Progressive cross-section. Rossevelt's keystone speach, his "Confession Faith," was infused with imagery of religious battle:

> To you men who have come together to spend and be spent in the endless crusade against wrong, to you who face the future resolute and confident, to you who strive in a spirit of brotherhood for the betterment of our nation, I say now . . . we stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord.[6]

The Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson, had only two years earlier been serving as the president of Princeton University. Originally associated with conservative Democrats, he won the Governorship of New Jersey in 1910, whereupon he adopted the more popular Progressive stance. In 1911, he pushed through a program of reform legislation that included a direct primary system, corrupt practices legislation, workmen's compensation, and strict state control of railroads and public utilities.[7] Wilson's devout Presbyterianism and his espousal of moral principles (while he was himself an astute and sometimes ruthless politician) also endeared him to Progressives. He was an austere man whose creativity was channeled into his oratory, which at its best displayed inspiring dignity. Note how this excerpt from his nomination acceptance speech combines a high moral tone with an underlying call to go out and win votes:

> Citizens of every class and party and prepossession sit together, a single people, to learn whether we understand their life and how to afford them the counsel and guidance they are now keenly aware they stand in need of. We must speak, not to catch votes, but to satisfy the thought and conscience of a people deeply stirred by the conviction that they have come to a critical turning point in their moral and political development.[8]

Taft, who had admitted to reporters that he had no idea how to curb the current high rate of unemployment, was never a favourite. Roosevelt campaigned on a platform he termed "New Nationalism," which was based on strict control of business practices, while Wilson propounded

his slightly more conservative "New Freedom." While Wilson was undoubtedly gratified by his victory, the voter turnout was measured at 58 percent, a 22 percent decline since 1896.[9]

The text of Ives's "Vote for Names" closes: "After trying hard to think what's the best way to vote I say, just walk right in and grab a ballot with the eyes shut and walk right out again."[10] Ives was expressing his disenchantment with a political party system which, he felt, ignored the opinions of the individual, who was reduced to choosing between competing slogans. Ives's search for more direct forms of government was shared by other progressives. During the period, several states moved in this direction by introducing the initiative and referendum. The initiative allowed a specified number of voters to call a popular vote on a proposed law or amendment to a constitution. In the referendum, certain classes of actions by a legislature were required to be referred to a popular vote for approval or rejection.[11] Ives, however, sought something more direct, believing these innovations not ". . . broad enough in scope and purpose . . . to encourage constructive popular thinking."[12]

Wilson's first two years in office were spent pursuing a moderately progressive course of reducing tariffs and introducing antitrust legislation. However, he was slow to act in such needed areas of reform as child labor, women's suffrage, and racial discrimination. Wilson's forte was quickly revealed in his handling of foreign affairs, which attracted the favourable attention of such progressives as Ives. Ives was impressed by Wilson's 1914 overthrow of the dictatorial Huerta regime in Mexico and support for Venustiano Carranza's Constitutionalists, who established a democratic government in 1916. Ives saw this episode as an instance of

the American democratic system liberating an oppressed people. The Mexican situation, however, was overshadowed by Germany's invasion of Belgium in August 1914, which shocked all Americans. The invasion contravened a treaty of 1837 guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality. Americans were shocked by reports of the destruction of the university library at Louvain and at stories of the indiscriminate killing of civilians. In reaction, Ives wrote a highly-charged condemnation of German tyranny, which he set for chorus and orchestra in a work entitled "Sneak Thief." The indignation expressed by Ives's text, however, was tempered by hope that some new world order could be developed:

> People of the World, rise up and get the Sneak-thieving Kaiser and
> all those mollycoddle negative medieval minds who become his slaves,
> Because they are afraid to get up and act like real men.
> So after this cursed war is o'er (all made by the Kaiser and his slaves) -
> [Chorus] Let all the people build a People's World Union in a Free World for real men to live in![13]

Ives's name-calling was quite typical of those days; the popular press made frequent references to "Prussian pythons" and Huns."

The general condemnation of the Germans did not mean that Americans were prepared to enter the war. The U.S. had a tradition of maintaining its independence. Americans favored arbitration and conciliation where possible; they had taken part in the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 which had codified international law, but they preferred to avoid the use of arms to enforce it. While Wilson and most Americans feared that a German victory would lead to global militarism, progressives tended to view the conflict as the last gasp of a collection of decaying monarchies that would be best razed and replaced by democratic republics. Of course,

they hoped that the example of the United States would bring rationality and order to postwar Europe. American public sentiment was mixed, particularly after the sinking of the Lusitania with the deaths of 139 American civilians. However, Wilson maintained his public stance of neutrality until early 1917, when the German ambassador notified him that they would embark on unrestricted submarine warfare against all ships entering and leaving the British Isles, including American merchant ships delivering supplies to the Allies.

Meanwhile, Ives was developing a conception of social as well as political democracy. In 1914, he wrote the text of his song "Majority," which celebrates the aspirations of the masses, connecting them with the divine:

> The Masses are dreaming,
> Whence comes the visions of God!
>
> God's in His Heaven,
> All will be well with the World![14]

His essays are preoccupied with the conflict between these glorious "Masses" and another group which he termed the Minority, a powerful elite that frustrated the natural expression of the collective will. Ives concluded that this group had caused the war; a memo of June 1915 claims that "this war [was] started by rich . . . degenerates, but fought by the people against the people."[15] As a means of preventing the monopolization of government by wealthy interest groups, he favored a plan for limiting the amount of property an individual could hold.[16] According to Ives's first biographer, Henry Cowell, he restricted his own income from the prosperous Ives & Myrick Agency:

> . . . he limited his own income to what he calculated an individual's share of the country's wealth should be, taken in relation to the rights of other citizens. The surplus, which in Ives's case was large, was returned to the business. Ives believed a man who had a great deal more money than his neighbours was in moral danger, and he pointed out that too rich manuring of the ground is as damaging to crops as too little.[17]

In a letter published by the New York Post in December 1916, Ives exposed these ideas to a wide public. His letter suggested that unlimited income led to waste and moral degeneracy:

> The tragic results of traditional political expediency which the world is witnessing to-day - that kind of expediency which is reflected throughout the history of academic economics - suggest the following questions:
>
> Has there been a war, during, say, the last two or three hundred years, where the primal cause has not been the desire of a small number of men of large property to conserve or increase their property, and where most of the fighting has not been done by a large number of men of little or no property?
>
> Would a limited property right be a natural or unnatural, efficient or inefficient, means of increasing the unit of energy and the resulting economic goods, and the power of man to utilize and enjoy them in such a way that, as his material benefits increase, his mental, moral, and spiritual life can develop proportionately?
>
> Further, can a man of average social consciousness feel that he has a moral right to all the property he can acquire legally and honestly?[18]

In his address to Congress on April 2, 1917, Wilson expressed regret at the sacrifices he knew that Americans would be forced to make. However, his speech closed with the sort of view of America as the sanctuary of democracy, ready to redeem the world, that proved irresistable to someone like Ives, a man of high ideals who had strong misgivings about the origins of war, but who hoped that American participation would result in a better world:

> But the right is more precious than the peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried closest to our hearts - for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.[19]

A call to arms so eloquently expressed cemented Ives's admiration for Wilson. Ives and most other Americans plunged into war work.

Americans had much work to do. They began the war with an insignificant armed forces and had to mobilize a huge army within months. For a country whose federal budget averaged about $737 million between 1913 and 1916, the war's total direct cost of $35.5 billion was staggering.[20] The cost in manpower of supplying and equipping an army and a navy was equally daunting. A draft bill was signed in May, 1917. Eventually, nearly 24 million men registered, and by the war's end 4.8 million Americans had seen military service, with 50,000 fatalities.[21] Mobilization was swift, and American soldiers were soon in Europe.

Americans responded to these challenges to their courage, resourcefulness, and patriotism. Some sort of war work was virtually unavoidable, as the government controlled daily life to a high degree. The economy was closely managed. Railroads were nationalized; a war industries board tightly monitored industry; food and fuel rationing was imposed, and strikes were virtually prohibited. The government appeared directly to each citizen for a full commitment to the war effort. Twenty million housewives pledged to the Food Administration to make food conservancy a top priority in their households. They were guided by the spirit of such popular mottos as "Wheatless days in America make sleepless

nights in Germany."[22] Between 1917 and 1919, $21.4 billion was raised in five bond drives.[23] The first four issues were named Liberty Loans, while the last, post-armistice issue was given the happy name Victory Loan. It was hoped that the sale of these bonds, which paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent to $4\frac{1}{4}$ percent over thirty years, would involve a broad spectrum of Americans, both as purchasers and patriotic vendors. The government even introduced a 25 cent thrift stamp system for children, who could accumulate the stamps to purchase bonds. By creating the popular feeling that the war was being fought in economic terms on American soil, the government mobilized a previously ambivalent population. Soon the sacrifices of war became a subject for their entertainment, and such songs as "Over There," "Bring back the Kaiser to me," and "Pack up your Troubles in your Old Kitbag and Smile, Smile, Smile" were popular hits.[24]

The social reforms championed by the progressives found further implementation in military and civilian war life. Wilson had won the 1916 Presidential race on his platform of advanced social legislation and neutralist foreign policy designed to promote a postwar structure of international government. The abandonment of neutrality and the haste with which the nation prepared for war provided opportunities for change. The military enjoyed an unprecendented degree of fraternization between men of different classes; soldiers of all economic and social levels were found at all levels of the military organization. Inexpensive government life insurance, the admittance of women to the Navy and Marines, and the establishment of compulsory off-duty schools for poorly-educated seamen were examples of a new interest in social welfare and increased acceptance

of women into male territory. The significant contribution of women to the war effort, particularly in the industrial sector, speeded the adoption in August 1920 of the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted them the vote.

Ives took his patriotic role seriously and was soon working hard for the war. For Ives, the efforts asked of citizens were opportunities for the practice of participatory democracy. He felt that American citizens were co-operating in a war that challenged the primacy of the democratic system, so that this co-operative effort was morally very worthwhile. In a document from August 1917, he makes it clear that he is a war supporter: "This is a war for democracy. It must be fought by democracy. It can be won only by democracy."[25] However, the theme of this essay is the muffling of the voice of the people by the political system, which is dominated by rich politicians. He restates his proposal for the limitation of property and suggests that no man with property exceeding $100,000 should be involved in government. In a time when momentous questions of war, peace, trade, and prohibition face the nation, the opinions of the common man must be heard. After all, he asks,

> . . . who are the truer patriots: . . . sons of the rich who are appointed to the staff of General Pershing, one hundred miles from the front, with one chance out of eighty of being killed, or the poor boy who has to wait for the draft and go in the trenches, with four chances out of ten of being killed?[26]

While Ives attacks some of the leaders of government, his essay, "Stand by the President and the People," is infused with progressive optimism. He is confident that Americans as a people are prepared to deal directly and intelligently with critical issues. Significantly, Wilson, the

the leader of the struggle, is exempted from Ives's attack. Ives describes him in messianic terms as a man who ". . . has been quick to sense the great change that is going on throughout the world, the resentment and the growing social consciousness among the proletariat the world over against the medieval idea of government by property."[27]

During 1917, Ives composed four songs which reflect different facets of his reaction to the war. "The Things our Fathers Loved" presents an idealized picture of pre-war New England life which is permeated by the sense that the traditional American values of freedom and democracy must be defended. "Tom Sails Away" maintains the same theme, but reduces the scope to a more personal level in evoking the sense of losing a loved one who has left for war. His setting of John MacRae's well-known "In Flanders Fields" paints a dark but heroic picture of battle. The group is completed by "He is There!," a war-song march that is a rousing call to arms.

Approaching the war effort with his characteristic intensity, Ives purchased and promoted the Liberty bonds. In June 1917, Ives and Myrick asked their agents to devote two days to the selling of bonds. For the third bond drive a year later, Ives wrote, printed, and distributed a circular which reminded civilians about the economies they should practice to help in the defence of freedom. He exhorted his readers to restrict the use of cars to essential business and to skip one meal a day. Concerning amusements, he suggested that reading the classics would do more for the mind than attending theatrical performances or moving pictures, and that garden work might be a pleasant substitute for idle

vacations. He headed off any potential protests by concluding: "The Soldier gives up everything. What are you giving up?"[28]

Ives attempted to ensure that lower income groups would have a chance to purchase the war bonds, but the strain of his effort proved costly to his health. In October 1918, he was serving on a committee to launch and sell another issue of the Liberty bonds. He suggested that a $50 bond be introduced (half of the standard denomination) to encourage broader participation, but he had to argue the point strenuously with the committee chairman, who may have been Franklin Roosevelt. He won the debate but suffered a severe heart attack shortly after the meeting.[29]

Ives never fully recovered from his illness, but spent the rest of his life in delicate health and closely cared for by Harmony. He used the period between 1918 and 1921 as a time of summing up, of using his energies to express his ideas on aesthetics and politics in Essays Before a Sonata and "The Majority." He also gathered and revised earlier musical works while still continuing to pursue new works; 114 Songs is one result of such efforts. After the early 1920's, he seemed to be unable to channel his creativity into his art or writing, and his opinions on issues became unbending, and thus anachronistic. Unable to adjust to the political and social currents of the post-war period, he looked continually to the past, occasionally reworking old pieces like the Concord Sonata. In 1928 he wrote:

> In 1917, the War came on and I did practically nothing in music. I did not seem to feel like it. We were very busy at the office at the time with the extra Red Cross and Liberty Loan drives, and all the problems the war brought on. As I look back, I find that I did almost no composing after the beginning of 1917. In October 1918, I had a serious

> illness . . ., and I have not been in my former good (very good) state of health since . . . nor have I seemed to "get going good" in music since then.[30]

Ives was able to "get going good" over certain political issues that arose after his heart attack, but the unsatisfactory outcome of these questions seems to have crushed him. His illness and decline were curiously parallelled by Woodrow Wilson's severe stroke in October 1919, which he suffered while promoting a cause dear to all idealists, the League of Nations. In both cases physical collapse led to a distancing from political reality and a retreat into frustrated observation of a world that had failed to live up to their idealistic expectations.

On January 8, 1918, Wilson delivered his Fourteen Points Address, which stated American aims for the war. He listed open diplomacy, the avoidance of partisan alliances, general disarmament, and the removal of trade barriers as laudable goals. But his final point, which endeared him to liberals and moderate socialists searching for a new, just, world order, was the need to establish an international agency to police any peace treaty and to end all wars. These points are all supported in Charles Ives's essay "The Majority," but it was Wilson's suggestion of a League of Nations that Ives most strongly favoured as an opportunity to spread an American-inspired spirit of democracy to all nations. Wilson himself made the formation of a League a priority at the Paris Peace Conference which followed the armistice. At his insistence, the League's Covenant was drawn up by mid-February 1919 and included in the Treaty of Versailles, which was signed in May.[31] He had enjoyed the adulation of the American pubic upon his departure for Paris and was confident of the treaty's ratification in Congress. However, Americans and, most particularly, a small group of Senators, were troubled by a crucial

clause in the Covenant which they feared left open the possibility of further armed involvements: "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League."[32] They were prepared to accept severe economic penalties for military aggression, but a significant number of Americans hoped that the country would return to its traditional isolationist position. Wilson was ambiguous on this question. At first he stressed the role of arbitration and spoke of the Covenant as a moral, not a legal pledge, but by mid-1918 he claimed that what was needed was ". . . a virile, not a paper League."[33] It seemed clear that ratification would involve, at least potentially, a military commitment. Increasing political pressure and the President's unwillingness to compromise, particularly after his stroke, which isolated him politically, led to a humiliation which he could not have anticipated a year earlier. The treaty and the League were rejected by the Senate on November 19, 1919, and again on March 19, 1920. Wilson was unwilling to accept this defeat, which he blamed on a small group of politicians and which, he suggested, might be reversed if the people had their say. In January 1920, he put forward a challenge:

> Personally, I do not accept the action of the Senate of the United States as the decision of the nation . . . If there is any doubt as to what the people of the country think on this vital matter the clear and simple way is to submit it for determination at the next election to the voters of the nation, to give the next election the form of a great and solemn referendum.[34]

Wilson's call for a solemn referendum on the League question was a political blunder that betrayed his decline. He had lost touch with the

times. These years marked a movement from a period preoccupied by social reform, during which the individual saw himself as sharing the values of society, to a time when popular feeling dictated that the individual was alientated from society and that individualism was of paramount importance.[35] Americans had been exhausted by the war, and now looked forward to prosperity. The emergent interest in Freud, who symbolized freedom and sexual license, was symptomatic of the new concentration on self rather than society. Even progressives, cast into despair at the failure of their idealism and "scientific" methods to prevent the war or to use its outcome to transform it into an ultimately positive event, were abandoning their cause. Although peace groups proliferated, they were unable to focus their efforts. Capitalists, whose methods had proved successful in supplying materials for a war that idealistic Progressives had failed to prevent, emerged as popular heroes of the war and strengthened their alliances with government. Concurrently, the standard of living was rising and consumerism and materialism kept pace. Ives was to equate materialism and commercialism with the decay of values in a memo from the 1930's:

> But the camp meetings aren't the only things that have gone soft. How about some of the seed of 1776? There are probably several contributing factors. Perhaps the most obvious if not the most harmful element is commercialism, with its infuence tending towards mechanization and standardized processes of mind and life (making breakfast and death a little too easy). Emasculating America for money![36]

Throughout the 1920's, progressive elements remained in disarray. Their talents for organization were absorbed into the dominant business culture. Reforms continued to be achieved in agriculture and conservation in scattered pockets around the country, and social workers continued

to play a prominent role. But the spirit of communal idealism displayed in the first two decades of the century were passé. Arthur S. Link rather caustically characterizes the period:

> The 1920's were an era when great traditions and ideals were repudiated or forgotten, when the American people, propelled by a crass materialism in their scramble for wealth, uttered a curse on twenty-five years of reform endeavor.[37]

The progressive rhetoric was alive but now rang empty; in any case, the public was not inclined to listen too closely. On the eve of the 1920 election,

> . . . the country was increasingly disinclined to question the virtues of American capitalism and its various tenets - competition, rugged individualism, laissez-faire - none of which pertained in practice but all of which served as an ideological covering for a revived and aggressive capitalism . . .[38]

For Ives, the 1920 election was a tragic boundary that shook his faith in the evolutionary progress of mankind.

The Democrats nominated a lackluster candidate, James Cox, who was unable to capitalize on the successes of Wilson's terms. The Republican candidate, an obscure and pedestrian Ohio Senator, Warren Harding, remained smilingly noncommital on the League question. At the inauguration following his victory by 7,000,000 votes, however, he declared that Americans would no longer be entangled in European affairs, and the question of American membership in the League of Nations was finally laid to rest. For Ives, however, it remained a preoccupation, and he composed one of his most dramatic songs, "An Election," to express his disgust at the sad results of the sacred referendum.

During 1919 and 1920, as the League of Nations issue unfolded and the promise of a new world order seemed close to realization (but for the

inconvenient actions of a few politicians), Ives wrote his longest political essay, "The Majority." This, which elaborates themes present in Ives's mind in embryo for several years, presents his proposed scheme for a radically transformed governmental system and shows definite elements of socialism. At the outset, Ives distinguishes between two categories of citizens: the Minority, the familiar property class that wields a disproportionate amount of power, and the Majority, the mass of ordinary, well-intentioned people. The Minority has retained power through its monopolization of money and education. However, with typical optimism, Ives sees these conditions changing, so that ordinary men are now becoming capable of accepting weighty moral and intellectual responsibility. Ives foresees that education will progress so that ". . . possibly the average mind in the United States could, after a short period of specialized concentration, equal in quality of thought-substance . . . Plato's Republic."[39] Ives confers the Majority with spiritual integrity; for him, the collective action of indiviuals is sacred. His statement of the "great primal truths," which is permeated by mystical references to Transcendentalism, conveys his belief in an alliance between the Majority and the divine:

> . . . that there is more good than evil, that God is on the side of the Majority, that He is not particularly enthusiastic about the Minority, that He has made Men greater than Man, that he has made the Common Heart, the Universal Mind, and the Oversoul greater than the the individual heart, mind and soul and the predominant part of each.[40]

Ives believed that the people, imbued with such wisdom, should be able to govern themselves directly, rather than through political parties. In "The Majority" he indicates support for changes in the form of government which would enable the Majority Mind to better register its wishes.

He favours world disarmament and "free unrestricted intercourse in all transactions and relations between men."[41] While a fair return should be provided for service, individual income and property should be curtailed. He hopes that nationalism will become less strident and that nations will exist as expressions of the spiritual sympathy of their citizens. However, Ives evidently supported the League Covenant's provision for armed enforcement, as in "The Majority." He advocates the establishment of a World Police to guarantee that the will of the Majority is not contravened.

Ives's proposed system of government would drastically limit the power of government leaders and virtually reduce them to clerks who would tabulate the ideas expressed by citizens. One would not vote for Presidents and Governors, who would have gained their positions through civil service exams, but for ideas. About six to eight months preceding an election, a formative ballot would be held, in which suggestions for economic, moral, educational, industrial, financial, or foreign questions to be considered would be solicited. Congress would prepare questions from these suggestions to put forward to the electorate in the election. While the populace, after thorough discussion, would decide fundamental issues, Congress would have the power to enact secondary and technical legislation. Ives's goal is to achieve a form of government which ". . . will gradually eliminate all political parties and tend eventually to make the government in itself but an efficient clerical organization which shall carry out in detail the basic plans of the Majority purpose."[42] He works out his plan in considerable detail, and proposes a constitutional

amendment to allow adoption of its ideas. It is difficult to imagine that his full-blown idealism, however laudable its intent, could have received a positive response from the American public before whom he wished to submit his ideas.

Ives, of course, did not regard his vision as unattainable. Early in 1920 he clarified some of his points of "The Majority" and redrafted his proposed constitutional amendment. In the hope of provoking public debate, he submitted it to eight New York newspapers, but it was rejected by all. He then sent his proposal to a spectrum of political figures, including Woodrow Wilson. Only William Howard Taft gave him a genuine, albeit negative, response. Meanwhile, Ives condensed the article into a circular, which he entitled "Concerning a Twentieth Amendment," and which he unsuccessfully attempted to have distributed at the Republican and Democratic nominating conventions.

Even though he was well aware that his ideas were no longer popular, Ives never wavered in his political convictions. In 1938, he wrote to President Franklin Roosevelt in support of the Ludlow Resolution, a proposed constitutional amendment that would have required a national referendum before war could be declared, except in cases of invasion. A poll taken in 1937 indicated that 73 percent of the population was in favor of such an amendment, but the resolution was not passed.[43] Characteristically, Ives suggested to Roosevelt that such a referendum might be used as an agent for world peace:

> . . . it seems to this writer that if a way could be found . . . so that the government of this country could ask the governments of all countries, if they will also put the matter of war before all the people, one of the greatest moves onward and for the good of humanity would begin.[44]

Even on the eve of the next world conflict, Ives persisted in his

vigorous calls for a "People's World Union" or a "United States of the World."[45] As hopelessly idealistic as his desire for a new political order may have been, Ives's reverence of the individual as the basic unit of a great democracy reveals the depth of his American roots. Woodrow Wilson echoed this respect in a passage from his study of Lincoln, who was a towering symbol of democracy to both himself and Ives:

> . . . the utility, the vitality, the fruitage of life does not come from the top to the bottom; it comes, like the natural growth of a great tree, from the soil, up through the trunk into the branches to the foliage and the fruit. The great struggling unknown masses of the men who are at the base of everything are the dynamite force that is lifting the levels of society. A nation is great, and only great, as her rank and file are great.[46]

NOTES

[1]Paul W. Glad, "Progressives and the Business Culture of the 1920's," The Journal of American History 52 No. 1 (June 1966):76-77.

[2]Perlis, p. 88.

[3]Rossiter, p. 127.

[4]Ives frequently employed such epithets as "ladybirds" and "nice lizzies" to condemn those whom he felt were lacking in moral strength.

[5]Robert La Follette, the Wisconsin Senator, had founded the National Progressive Republican League in 1911.

[6]Page Smith, A People's History of the Progressive Era and World War I, vol. 7: America Enters the World (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985), p. 334.

[7]Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era 1900-1917, The New American Nation Series (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), pp. 8-11.

[8]Smith, p. 329.

[9]Ibid., p. 339.

[10]Charles Ives, Vote for Names, for Voice and Piano (New York: Peer International, 1968), p. 3.

[11]Related to the initiative and referendum was the recall, a provision under which certain elected officials could be removed from office by a quorum of constituents.

[12]Charles Ives, "Correspondence with William H. Taft," in "Essays Before a Sonata" and Other Writings, ed. Howard Boatwright (New York: W.W. Norton, 1961), p. 211.

[13]Rossiter, p. 129-30. During the war virulent animosity against Germans and German culture was expressed by such activities as the public burning of German books and the banning of the music of some German composers. Personal and geographical names of German origin were frequently Americanized to satisfy the demands of patriotism.

[14]Charles E. Ives, "Majority," 114 Songs (n.p.: National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1975), pp. 4-5.

[15]Rossiter, p. 131. This outlook was shared by many others. The British war correspondent Philip Gibbs wrote of German prisoners taken at the Battle of the Somme, 1916 that

> "they seemed 'in the mass . . . decent, simple men, remarkably like our own lads from the Saxon counties of England . . . .' He found 'among them all the same loathing of war, the same bewilderment as to its causes, the same sense of being driven by evil powers above them' that characterized the Allied soldiers." (Smith, p. 463).

[16]As early as 1907, Ives had calculated figures on the average man's share of the national wealth and proposed an income ceiling and a small guaranteed income. His own income allowed him to live comfortably, but he was not ambitious for wealth. He was well-known for his generosity to family members, friends, employees, and later, fellow composers. His nephew, Brewster Ives, recounts:

> "I think that he regarded money as something that should be distributed on as thorough a basis as possible, and yet he rebelled at the idea of a welfare state. He felt that it was the individual's duty to be charitable to the point where he would be, in fact, sharing with everyone who came his way." (Ives, Memos, p. 75).

[17]Cowell, p. 94.

[18]Rossiter, p. 131.

[19]Robert H. Ferrell, Woodrow Wilson and World War I, 1917-1921, The American Nation Series (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), pp. 2-3.

[20]Ibid., p. 87.

[21]Ibid., p. 18.

[22]Ibid., p. 93.

[23]Ibid., p. 86.

[24]Ibid., p. 596.

[25]Charles Ives, "Stand by the President and the People," in "Essays Before a Sonata" and Other Writings, ed. Howard Boatwright (New York: W.W. Norton, 1961), p. 136.

[26]Ibid., pp. 137-138.

[27]Ibid, p. 136.

[28]Perlis, p. 39.

[29]Ibid., p. 12.

[30]Cowell, pp. 75-76.

[31]Ferrell, p. 142.

[32]Ibid., p. 166.

[33]Ibid., p. 164.

[34]Smith, p. 789.

[35]Robert M. Crunden, From Self to Society, 1919-1941, Transitions in American Thought Series (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Spectrum Books, 1972), p. x.

[36]Ives, Memos, p. 133.

[37]Arthur S. Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?," The American Historical Review 64 (July 1959):833.

[38]Smith, p. 777. Interestingly, the American musical world as well dramatically changed course during the 1920's. American composers critically explored the relationships between American and European music and debated the possibility of creating an American style. An ironic distinction, considering Ives's faith in the native impulse underlying art, was made by the conductor Walter Damrosch, who had seen some of Ives's music:

> "Between music in America and in Europe there is a difference. In Europe music has sprung from the masses upward--here it is permeating downward from the classes. Innate love for music has not in the past existed among our so-called proletariat to any great extent. The exceptions are usually foreign-born."
> (Mary Herron Dupre, "The Failure of American Music: The Critical View from the 1920's," The Journal of Musicology 2 (Summer 1983):309.)

[39]Charles Ives, "The Majority," in "Essays Before a Sonata" and Other Writings, ed. Howard Boatwright (New York: W.W. Norton, 1961), p. 158.

[40]Ibid., p. 144.

[41]Ibid., p. 151.

[42]Ibid., p. 162.

[43]Charles Ives, "Letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt," in "Essays Before a Sonata" and Other Writings, ed. Howard Boatwright (New York: W.W. Norton, 1961), p. 215.

[44]Ibid., pp. 217-218.

[45]Charles Ives, "A People's World Nation," in "Essays Before a Sonata" and Other Writings, ed. Howard Boatwright (New York: W.W. Norton, 1961), pp. 228-231.

[46]Smith, p. 311.

SELECTED SONGS OF CHARLES IVES AS EXPRESSIONS OF THE PROGRESSIVE OUTLOOK

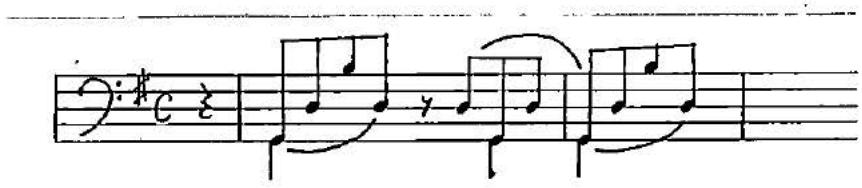
I. SONGS IN THE RELIGIOUS TRADITION

Religion played a fundamental role in Charles Ives's thinking. As with other Progressives, the idea of belonging to a community of shared values underlies his views on social and political topics. While many of his compositions have a mystical character more closely connected with Transcendentalism than with Christianity, others, including a selection of songs composed between 1902 and 1913, are straightforward statements of religious belief. The seven songs analyzed in this section are stylistically accessible to a wider audience than most of the Ives oeuvre. They include a parlour song, four hymn settings, and two songs which utilize musical quotation. They generally adhere to their popular roots; the hymn settings in particular seem to welcome the listener into a dynamic religious community.

"The World's Highway" was composed by Ives in 1906 to a text by Harmony Twichell, his future wife. Using a semi-religious, devotional vocabulary, the text depicts the route of a troubled soul through the sordidness of secular life into one of blessed seclusion. It is composed in the style of a 19th-century parlour song, a genteel musical genre which would not have alarmed Harmony or, no less importantly, her family. Ives wrote six more settings of verses by Harmony,[1] but this is reportedly the only one she ever sang. Her attachment to this song helps to lead to the interpretation of its suggestive text as a metaphorical declaration

to her fiancé of her acceptance of the conventional, self-effacing marital role. The song's suggestion of a retreating character hints at Harmony's future role as Mrs. Ives; published reminiscences refer frequently to her calming, serene nature and habitual but unobtrusive charity.

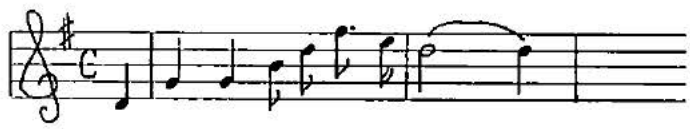
The song is set in a conventional ternary form. As a relatively unsophisticated composition intended for the home, its few striking musical features are in the nature of word painting. Ives does not display here the musical personality that produced the adventurous orchestral work The Unanswered Question during the same year. Ivesian touches are present in a tentative ostinato figure in the left hand which contradicts the song's 4/4 meter (Ex. 1), in the wide vocal



Ex. 1: "The World's Highway," mm. 1-2

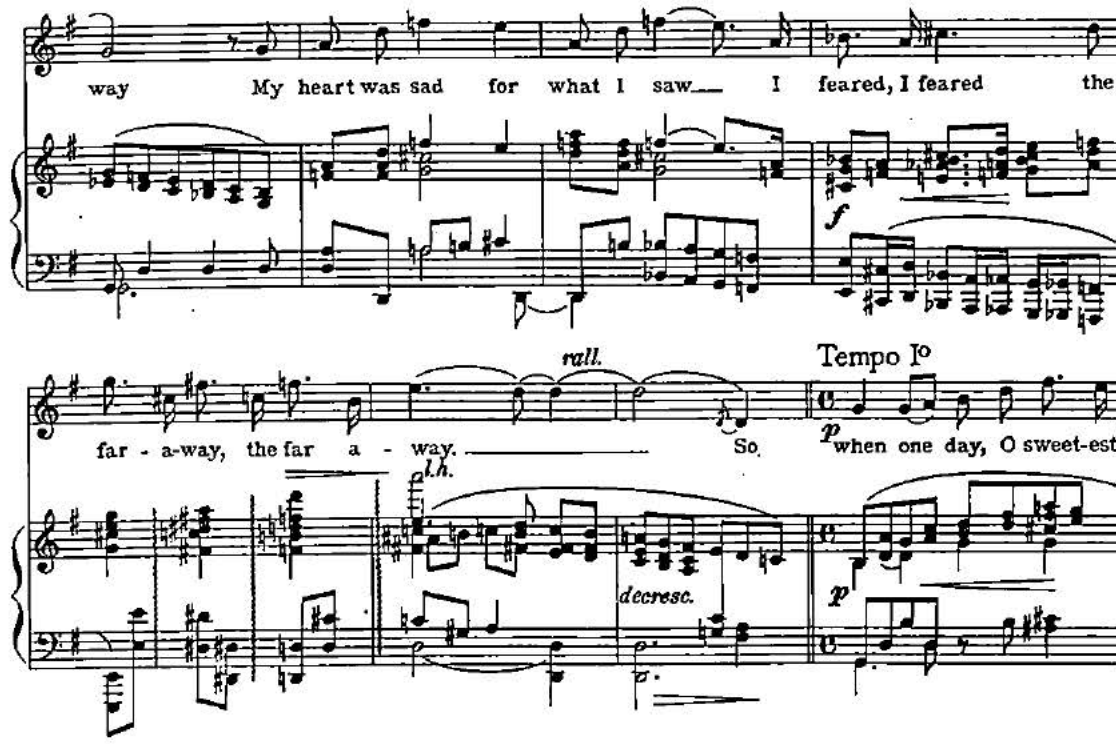
and instrumental range (e.g. mm. 4-5, mm. 27-29), in the presence of chromatic bass lines (e.g. m. 27) and in the use of dense textures, which at one point nearly develop into a tone cluster (m. 20).

Each of these musical figures illustrates the text. The opening accompanimental figure adds an element of vagueness as it undercuts the forward movement of the melody. The carefree, rising vocal phrase, which reaches its height on the leading tone $F^{\#}$, aptly reflects the narrator's wide-eyed optimism, while leaving the listener's expectation of linear resolution unsatisfied until measure 12 (Ex. 2). A suggestion of underlying disquiet is suggested by delicate but unsettled descending



Ex. 2: "The World's Highway," mm. 4-6

chromatic harmonies, all easily related to the tonic, G major. With a firm cadence in the tonic, this safe world is abandoned. The B section (mm. 13-30) depicts a perilous journey, in which the attractions of worldly experience are enjoyed at a high price. First, we hear dance music, which begins in the dominant but quickly wanders off. Harmony and tempo are unsettled as the road becomes rougher. The vocal line becomes agonizingly disjointed, finally collapsing over a dissonant five-note tremolo chord on the word "blood" (m. 20). The traveller picks herself up and continues to wander "far on the world's highway," moving restlessly through several keys until the cathartic moment when she admits her fear (mm. 27-29) and turns from the highway (Ex. 3). This moment, which functions musically as a brief transition to the musical reprise of the A section, displays an idiom typical of more characteristic Ives songs. The harmony throughout this passage is almost suspended in a series of diminished seventh chords. There is much linear interest, however; the climactic moment of measure 28 is reached through contrary motion in the accompaniment (note how the diminished seventh is sketched linearly in the left hand of measure 27, unobscured by chromatic passing tones). The vocal line, on the words "I feared the far away" consists of a sequence of pathetically descending tritones which seems very timid



Ex. 3: "The World's Highway," mm. 24-31

in comparison with the sweeping chords of the accompaniment. As the turbulence subsides, the music suggests the dissolution of a malign world and leads seamlessly to the pure G major of the reprise. The sweet introductory phrase of measures 1-4 now returns as the final vocal phrase, serving as a musical frame for the song. It was earlier heard to the words "I loved the far away" (mm. 10-12), but now the music, completely unchanged, expresses a contradictory sentiment: "But my garden blooms with sweet content that's not on the world's highway." This phrase is given the ultimate weight, being closed by a quasi-

liturgical, organ-voiced plagal cadence. The experience of the world has not only been rejected. The retreat into safety, the assurance that the narrator has answered the "blessed call," is such that the existence of the world of experience is virtually denied. This seems more like a form of escapism than the positive acceptance of the role to which she feels summoned.

Between 1912 and 1916 Ives made song arrangements of portions of four of his instrumental works which used familiar hymns as thematic material. He later gathered these songs as Nos. 44-47 of his collection 114 Songs, where he describes them simply as "a group of songs, based on hymn-tune themes."[2] This prosaic description fails to suggest the richness of musical and religious meaning contained in these hymn-tune settings.

Ives's settings of the well-known congregational hymns "Watchman!" and "At the River" feature externalized realizations of religious feeling, rather than the internalized sentiment of "The World's Highway." In both settings, the basic melodic content of the hymn tunes is preserved and their inspirational qualities are enhanced. They are entirely approachable; in fact, they draw in the listener and almost invite him to participate. Both were earlier incorporated in violin sonatas, whose musical style Ives situated somewhere between "the old way of writing and the newer way."[3] In both songs, he expresses the Progressive's optimistic vision of community, united in its search for religious transformation.

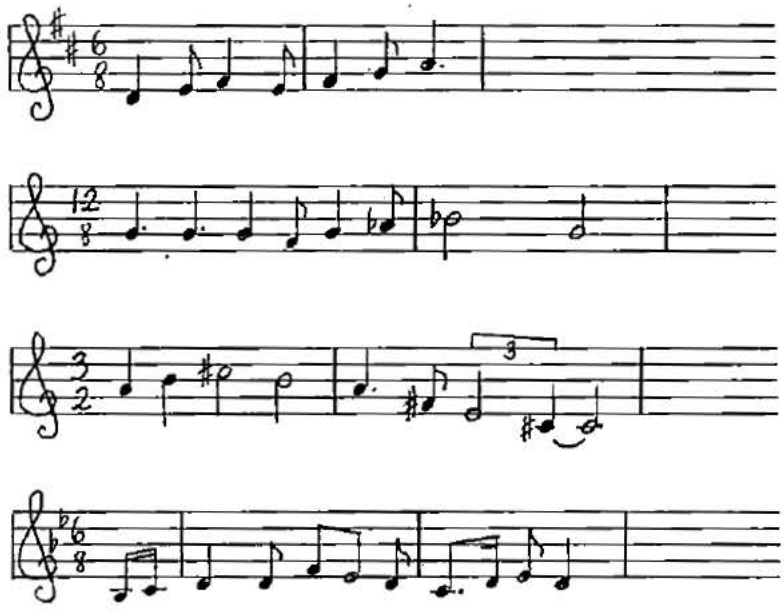
The latter pair of songs based on 19th-century hymn-tunes presents a shift of perspective from the collective to the individual religious experience, from the assurance that God will be revealed to a community of believers to the reality of the spiritual encounter between a member

of that community and his God. "His Exaltation" is a reflection, addressed directly to God, of His greatness and goodness. "The Camp-Meeting" paints a rural scene of communal worship and concludes with a stanza of Charlotte Elliott's hymn "Just as I am," sung to the tune "Woodworth":

> Just as I am without one plea
> But that Thy blood was shed for me
> And that Thou bidd'st me come to Thee
> O Lamb of God, I come.[4]

The openness of this direct plea for the acceptance of the imperfect worshipper marks a long path taken since the spiritual peregrinations that characterize the text of "Watchman!" There is a psychological progression in this group of religious songs which makes them a coherent set, the movement from communal to individual spirituality and from seeking to finding the divine. On musical grounds also the songs work well as a set. They share a similar harmonic vocabulary (a consistency atypical of Ives). Interestingly, all four are based on hymn melodies which open with a rising scale segment that outlines the interval of a third (Ex. 4). Within the group, one notices a movement toward greater contrapuntal complexity, especially in the lengthy introductions of the latter pair. These elements suggest that this group of religious songs forms a miniature cycle within the huge collection of 114 Songs.

The text of "Watchman" was written in 1825 by the English diplomat Sir John Bowring and is usually sung to a melody, which Ives uses, by the New England composer Lowell Mason. Ives first used the tune in the final movement of his First Sonata for violin and piano, composed between 1903 and 1908. His selection of the tune indicates an attempt to rekindle through association with a familiar hymn some of the values of 19th-century rural America in a secularized, industrial 20th century.



Ex. 4: "Watchman!," "At the River," "Autumn," "Woodworth"

He explained:

> This sonata is in part a general impression, a kind of reflection and remembrance, of the people's outdoor gatherings in which men got up and said what they thought, regardless of consequences . . . suggesting some of the songs, tunes and hymns, together with some of the sounds of nature joining in from the mountains.[5]

His remarks on the sonata's final movement convey a feeling of communal action and purpose: ". . . the third movement [may suggest] the hymns and actions of the farmers' camp meeting, inciting them to 'work for the night is coming.'"[6] The appearance of the hymn in the sonata is prepared motivically in the first two movements and is further anticipated by an extensive development of this thematic material at the opening of the final movement's middle section. These passages suggest musically

a sense of struggle which is rewarded by the radiant emergence of the hymn in its full form. Interestingly, the violin part is given not only the hymn melody, but is accompanied by the text, in an effort to make explicit to the performer, at least, the song's "substance," or spiritual content. A friend of Ives's recalled that "Ives predicted that someday we would communicate with music - with sound instead of spoken language."[7]

Ives believed that if the intention of the performer was to communicate a spiritual message, which might generally be considered extra-musical, it would be communicated. Ives cites the opinion of his father, which he accepted:

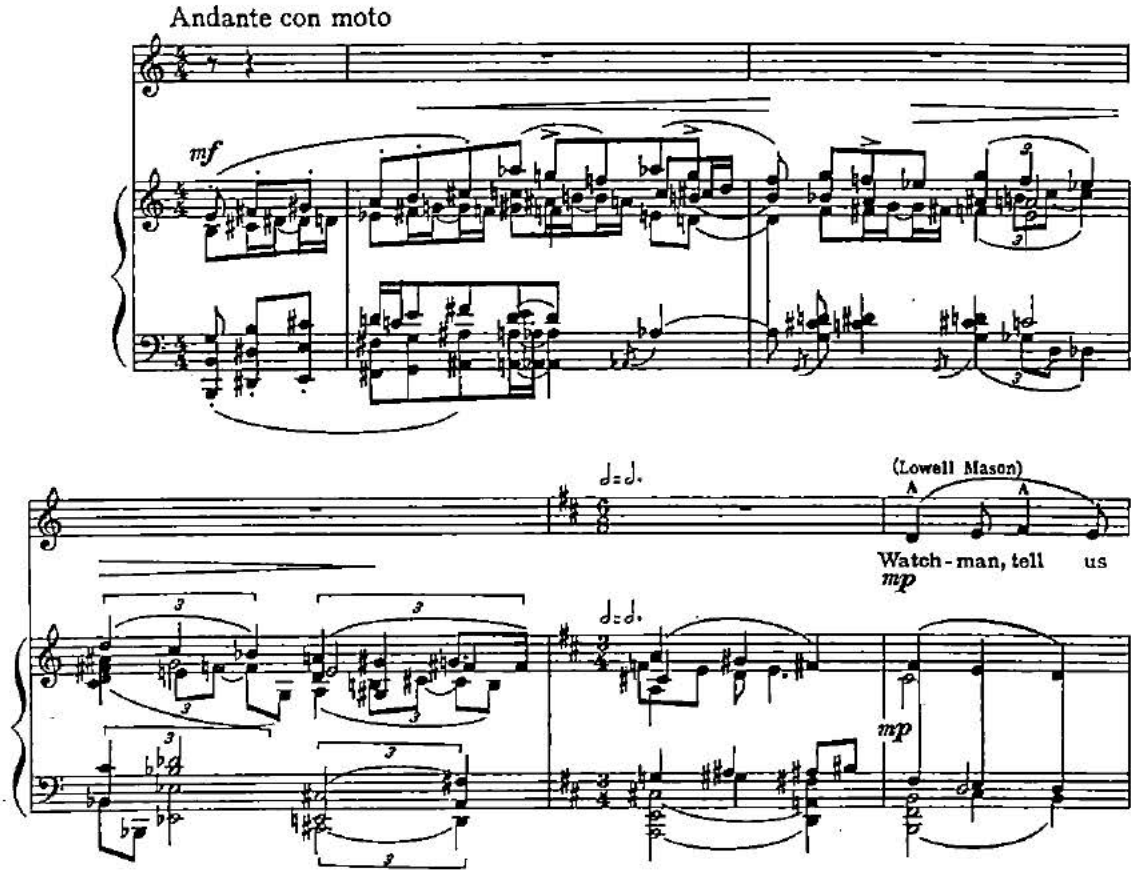
> Once when Father was asked: "how can you stand it to hear old John Bell . . . . bellow off-key the way he does at camp-meetings?," his answer was: "Old John is a supreme musician. Look into his face and hear the music of the ages. Don't pay too much attention to the sounds. If you do, you may miss the music. You won't get a heroic ride to Heaven on pretty little sounds!"[8]

The use of the hymn text in the instrumental setting is a guide to the values Ives wants communicated. The hymn melody disappears until the final measures, where, in a passage marked "recit," its opening notes are played in open fifths, which here symbolize the unity of nature and the divine. In his arrangement, Ives uses the first stanza of Bowring's text, although he rearranges and alters the final lines in order to close tentatively, with a sense of wonder and the feeling that the search for truth will never stop. The 114 Songs version of the hymn could be sung congregationally (only the free pitches of the last phrases would seem awkward), and Ives later realized this type of setting in his Fourth Symphony.

Ives achieves a moving, stately setting of the text, which is a dialogue between the wanderer and the watchman:

Watchman, tell us of the night,
What its signs of promise are!
Traveller, o'er yon mountain's height
See that glory-beaming star!
Watchman, does its beauteous ray
Aught of hope or joy foretell?
Traveller, yes; it brings the day,
Promised day of Israel.[9]

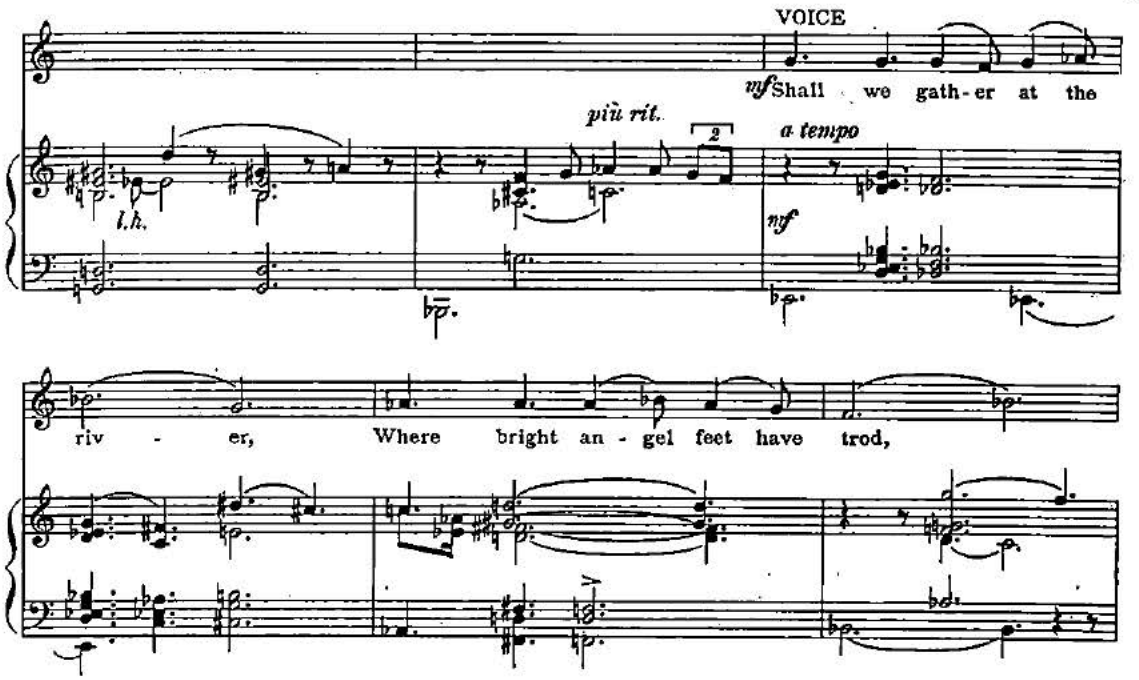
The song opens with an impulsive yet concentrated introduction in 4/4 which establishes the work's primary accompanimental motif, rising and falling scale segments outlining thirds (Ex. 5). This mildly dissonant



Ex. 5: "Watchman!," mm. 1-6

phrase settles gradually in measures 3 and 4 on the dominant of D major, the key of the hymn. However, the harmony used to accompany the tune is B minor, which remains static until a turn to D major when the message of the watchman gives hope (mm. 11-13). The conflicting accents of the accompanimental 3/4 against the melody's 6/8, in combination with the contrast between the D major of the melody and the B minor of the accompaniment and the contrast between the rising countours of the melody with the descending thirds of the accompaniment all contribute to an underlying suggestion of weary struggle. However, when the watchman points out "that glory beaming star" (mm. 11-12), this texture lightens suddenly and magically with an arpeggiated six-note sonority built primarily of whole tones, quickly followed by a leap to a high $A^{\#}$, which sounds as a kind of vibratory echo, a spatial metaphor for the star itself. Nor does the star or the sense of vision disappear; this sonority is repeated on the reassuring words "Traveller, yes!" of measures 16 and 17. With the final exchange between the two participants, Ives injects a sense of heightened anticipation. The traveller anxiously ponders the meaning of the star; the watchman reveals it as the "promised day of Israel" and invites the pilgrim to witness it. The mood of optimism and affirmation is underlined by the new forte dynamic. We are left on a threshold, on the verge of being ushered into some new world. Ives creates a questioning pause by lengthening the musical phrase of the question by a measure of a single eighth rest (m. 15). In measure 22, the same device provides a moment of reflection on the meaning of the star. A sense of quickening excitement is conveyed through a faster harmonic rhythm and an expansion of the harmonic range to include a

new chord, G major. Movement becomes dominated by eighth notes, further activated by imitation (Ex. 6). Within these final phrases we



Ex. 6: "Watchman!," mm. 19-28

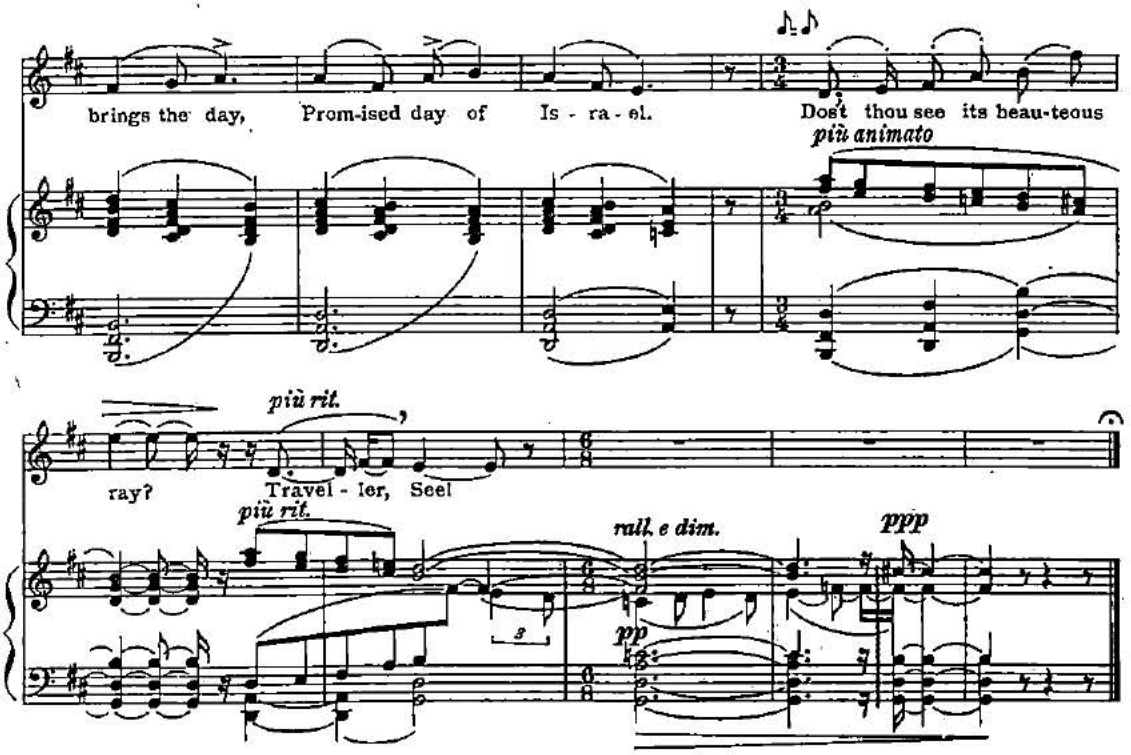
hear passing suggestions of the plagal, with an emphasis on the G major chord. In fact, Ives achieves the suggestion of a movement into a new world by settling on this chord, moving to a slower tempo, and leaving the melodic line unresolved, to be taken up by a final statement of the hymn's opening notes, now in C, in an inner voice. He also moves away from the well-defined meters of the song into indistinct, long-held chords which dissolve any sense of meter. The song closes with a version of the G major chord, rendered unstable by an added F and a superimposed $C^{\#}$, perched above it like the mysterious star.

"At the River" was originally included in the third movement of Ives's Fourth Violin Sonata, and arranged for voice and piano in 1916. Even more than "Watchman!," this song captures the revivalist strain of progressivism, with its emphasis on emotion and the necessity of individual salvation. The text of the hymn, also known as "Beautiful River," is manipulated by Ives through the reiteration of the question "Shall we gather at the river?" Like "Watchman," this hymn follows a pattern of question and answer, although the assurance of the reply that "we'll gather at the river" is somewhat undercut by the resumption of questioning in the final phrase. In this 19th-century version of the ancient trope of death as the River Jordan and heaven as the Promised Land, the devout are not brought directly to God, but instead to "the river that flows by the throne of God." They may witness Him, but they have many things to accomplish before they join Him and their departed loved ones.

In the sprightly, bustling pace of the song, Ives seeks to recreate a sense of spontaneous rendition of the hymn tune by a congregation. In a note to the Fourth Violin Sonata, which is subtitled "Children's Day at the Camp Meeting," he describes such a scene, in which the crowd responds irresistably to the energy, religious and musical, of the occasion: "As the boys get marching again some of the old men would join in and march as fast (sometimes) as the boys and sing what they felt regardless--and--thanks to Robert Lowry--'Gather at the River.'"[10]

In "At the River," by contrast, the chaos is relatively under control; there are only a few touches of congregational fervor. Again there is metrical disagreement between voice and piano, but here the

result is a heightened sense of propulsion and rhythmic energy. The melody is in quadruple meter, and while the time signature of the accompaniment agrees, its metrical outline in measures 5-6 falls clearly into shorter measures of 9/8, 9/8, and 6/8 (Ex. 7), pushing us forward



Ex. 7: "At the River," mm. 3-8

into the second phrase. The tune is unambiguously in E^{b} major and is generally accompanied in that key; downbeat chords support our expectations, although intervening harmonies are freely chromatic. Even the congregation's off-pitch singing and its tendency to lag behind the organist are realistically suggested by the tune's straying from the tonic and the delay of the ending of the vocal phrase in measures 11-12. This distortion also isolates and highlights the word "God" at the end of the phrase. Ives interpolates the next phrase (m. 13) as a moment of suspense (supported

by the uncertain harmony) before the victorious "Yes, we'll gather at the river." This phrase, while diatonic, is accompanied by transparent but exuberant quintal chords. Here, as in other instances, Ives employs chords of fifths or fourths to suggest the spirit in communion with nature. (Similarly, the "open" interval of the whole tone, used melodically and chordally, frequently has an association with nature and reflection. Also, the whole tone is useful musically, as it is a truly open interval that can form progressions lacking any sense of allegiance to a tonal centre.)

The song closes with a restatement of the initial question, now removed from the joyousness of the previous measures and set with irregular, hesitating accents and an inconclusive cadence that ends on a minor form of the dominant. Perhaps Ives is shifting the question from the imaginary congregation of the song to that of his actual contemporaries. Seen in this light, this final query can be interpreted as a call to solidarity, spiritual and patriotic, among his fellow citizens. At the time the song was arranged, in 1916, Americans had reasons to search for a national moral commitment. This song and "Watchman!" reflect Ives's deep convictions about the value of the common person's spiritual (and subsequently material) aspirations and the expressions of these beliefs and hopes, which formed in his view the richest material of art. He expands on this view in the postlude of 114 Songs:

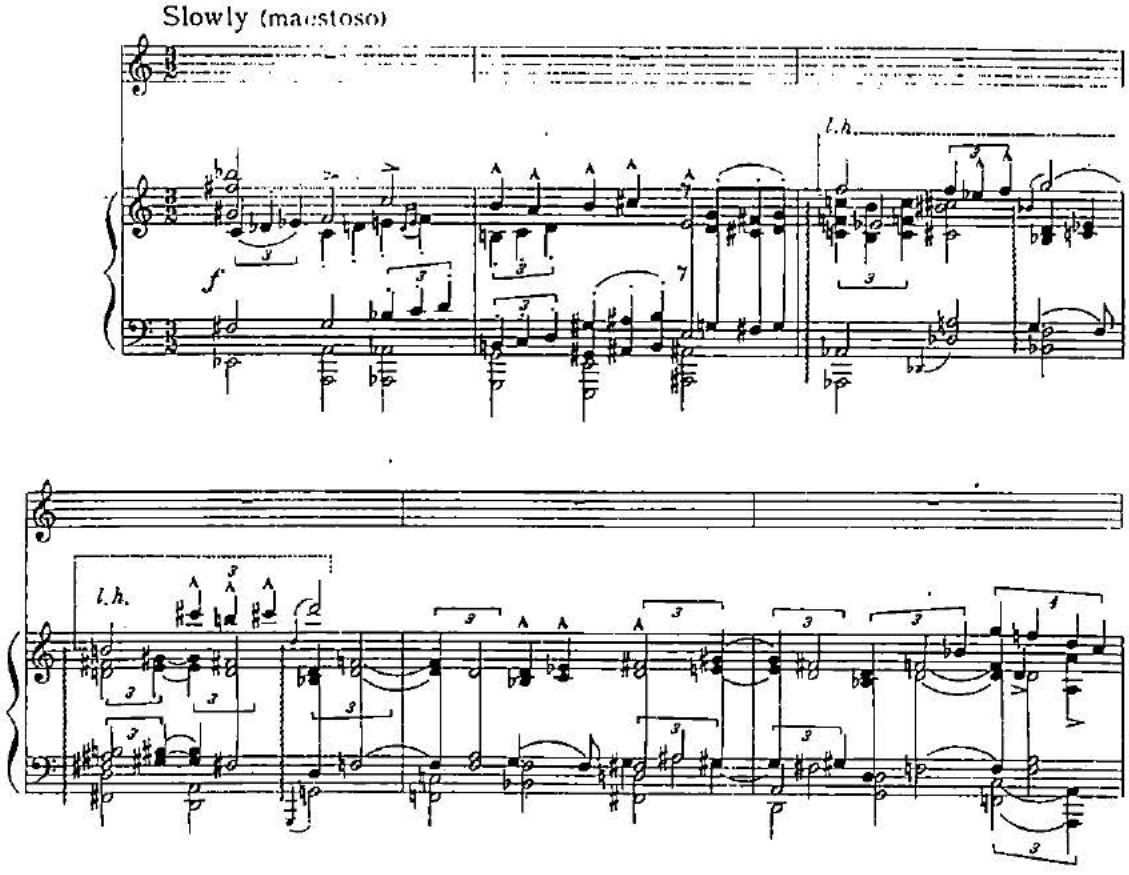
> A necessary part . . . of progressive evolution . . . is that everyone should be as free as possible to encourage everyone, including himself, to work, and to be willing to work where this interest directs . . . until the products of his labor shall beat around and through his ordinary work, -

> shall strengthen, widen and deepen all his senses, aspirations, or whatever the innate power and impulses may be called, which God has given men . . . . . The instinctive and progressive interest of every man in art, we are willing to affirm with no qualification, will go on and on, ever fulfilling hopes, ever building new ones, ever opening new horizons, until the day will come when every man while digging his potatoes will breathe his own Epics, his own Symphonies (opera if he likes it); and as he sits of an evening in his back-yard and shirt sleeves smoking his pipe and watching his brave children in their fun of building their themes, for their sonatas of their life, he will look up over the mountains and see his visions, in their reality . . . .[11]

For Ives, then, the morality engendered in honest physical and spiritual effort lies at the centre of art.

The text of "His Exaltation" is the second of four stanzas of a hymn by a New England preacher, Robert Robinson (1735-1790). His text is frequently sung to the tune "Autumn," which Ives used both as title and thematic basis of the opening movement of his Second Violin Sonata. In 1913 he adapted the movement's final section into song form. In the sonata, the hymn not only contributes thematic material but determines the structure of the movement, a type of variation set based on the verse-refrain pattern of the hymn. (Ives describes the movement as ". . . a kind of magnified hymn of four different verses, all ending with the same refrain . . . .")[12] As is typical of Ives, the variation process moves from complexity toward simplicity, culminating in an unambiguous revelation of the hymn tune near the end of the movement. This final statement is begun by the violin in octaves at a forte dynamic, but it gradually becomes more gentle, reflecting the hymn text's shift from images suggesting an impressive but magisterial God to images of one whom the weak may approach with confidence.

The song's extended piano introduction reflects the initial view of an impersonal God. Though highly chromatic throughout, it touches on conventional harmonies, most notably in measures 3-5, where the tune of "Watchman" appears, accompanied by its characteristic modal harmonies (Ex. 8). The first seven measures feature a constant interplay between



Ex. 8: "His Exaltation," mm. 1-6

duple and triple rhythms; the triplets outline a series of motives derived from the opening third of the hymn. While the instrumental texture is thick, the individual lines of counterpoint are powerfully etched and clearly audible. The final section of the introduction (mm. 7-11) is

a masterful transition to the first vocal phrase. A pair of two-measure phrases foreshadows the melodic arch of the hymn tune, with its initial rising third leading to a drawn-out descent. The earlier rhythmic complexities disappear, and bare sonorities become prominent in preparation of the opening lines of the hymn.

The vocal portion of the song (mm. 12-26) follows its instrumental parent's model of movement from sternness to gentleness; the dynamic level falls from fortissimo to mezzo piano, and chromaticism is gradually softened. Ives preserves the identity of "Autumn," but makes the tune weightier through its accompaniment and by shifting the opening notes of the hymn from the anacrusis to the downbeat. While he expands some melodic phrases, he deletes two other phrases from the original tune. A conventional framework of harmonies in the tonic, A major, supports the expanded binary structure of Ives's arrangement of the hymn stanza although he freely injects chromatic chords:

Phrase	Chord Progression
A	I-V
B	ii-I (colored by v)
C'	IV-I (colored by v)

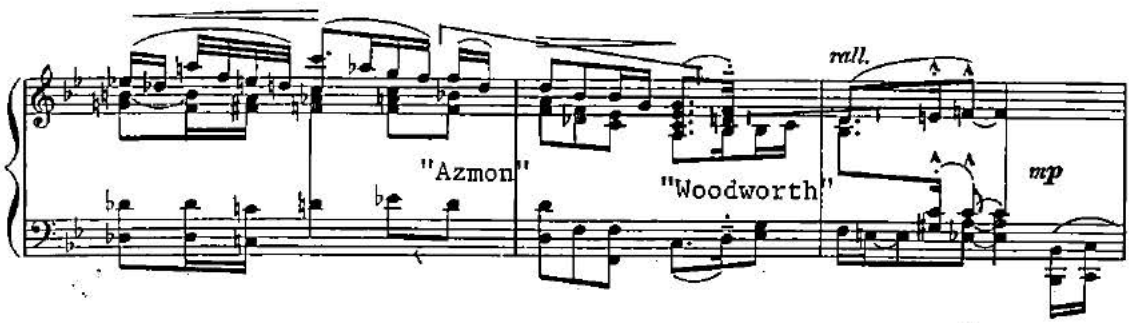
The central phrase is a point of relaxation framed by more intense phrases which are accompanied by chromatically descending bass lines and which rise above the top $C^{\#}$ of the hymn's initial motif. The final phrase is also expanded chromatically (although firmly within the home key) on the words "Through Thine Empires wide domain" and extended through the long-held final cadence. The central phrase, however, introduces a harmony which reverberates through these final measures, the tonic

superimposed by the minor dominant. This sonority imparts an ethereal mood to the closing measures, blurring the tonic while avoiding the dissonance of the leading tone. The texture of these measures is almost transparent, as the tempo slows and the dynamic level drops. The top voice of the accompaniment rises through the notes of the tonic chord toward the piano's uppermost range, perhaps symbolizing a spiritual ascent.

Ives's Third Symphony (1901-1904), subtitled "The Camp Meeting," served as the model for his setting of the hymn-tune "Woodworth" for voice and piano. The symphony is imbued with nostalgia for the outdoor religious gatherings which Ives attended during his youth. In this work he communicates the intensity and sincerity of the religious fervor that he witnessed among the country people he saw while assisting his father with the music at the camp meetings. The symphony's three movements, which are entitled "Old Folks Gatherin'," "Children's Day," and "Communion," originated from earlier works for organ and string quartet which were first presented during services at the Central Presbyterian Church in New York, where Ives served as organist. Its outer movements are built on the hymn tune "Woodworth," while the central movement quotes another hymn tune, "Fountain." Ives's song arrangement is a compression of the final half of the symphony's third movement. Ives described the first version of this movement as ". . . an organ prelude (on Woodworth),"[13] and in a manner reminiscent of baroque practice, the tune appears as a chorale, first in the opening movement in horns and trombones against a vigorous counterpoint in strings and woodwinds. This mode of statement gives the quotation great symbolic force, as a representation of divine constancy set against the confusion of life. The third movement, which

commences with the rising third of the hymn, is at first an extensive development of fragments of "Woodworth." After a reappearance of the chorale, we eventually arrive at two full, climactic statements of the hymn, which Ives incorporates as the sung portion of the song arrangement.

The tempo of "The Camp-Meeting" is a dignified Largo cantabile which prevails through the song's three sections--an extended piano fantasy-introduction, a free variation on a stanza of "Woodworth," and a literal quotation of a stanza of the hymn. The introduction (mm. 1-9) is chromatic and densely contrapuntal. A clear reference to "Woodworth" is heard in measures 4-5 and is highlighted by a startling but momentary emergence from the surrounding chromaticism into the key which will ultimately emerge as the tonic, B^{b} major. Its appearance is further emphasized by its pivotal position within the structure of the introduction, as it closes the first phrase with a half-cadence (articulated by a rallentando) and then introduces the second phrase. Another hymn tune, "Azmon," is heard (Ex. 9); it reappears in the accompaniment during the final section.



Ex. 9: "The Camp-Meeting," mm. 3-5

Other passing references to B^{b} (particularly in measure 8) are striking; their pure, diatonic character lifts them out of the chromatic context,

so that the tonic and functional harmony symbolize stability much as does the symphony's chorale melody.

The text of the second section, which was written by Ives, evokes and celebrates the central events of the prayer meetings:

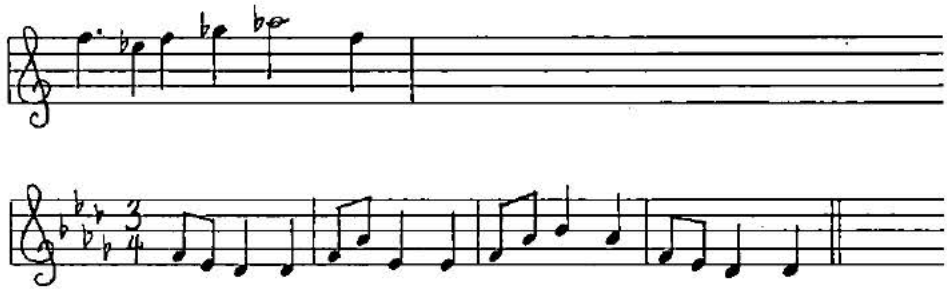
> Across the summer meadows fair,
> There comes a song of fervent prayer,
> It rises radiantly o'er the world,
> Exulting in the power of God!
> Exalting Faith in life above
> But humbly yielding to His love.[14]

Ives preserves the tune only to the extent of referring to the first notes of each of its two phrases (the first opening in the key of A^b, the second circling around B^b). However, the melody is subjected to chromatic intensification. It reaches a climax on the repeated word "exulting"; its majestic accompaniment and harmonic coloring in the comparatively bright key of E major project a lordly radiance. Ives's final lines, which suggest the necessity of offering oneself in order to encounter God, function as a textual and musical transition to the final stanza, where the supplicant asks for God's acceptance. The harmony of this passage (mm. 19-21) settles on a repeated cadential ii^7-V while the word "yielding" is reiterated on the pitches E^b-C. The harmony and melody give way on the words "to His love" to the tonic, whose arrival signals the opening of the distinctly diatonic final stanza. One surprise, however, remains. The last phrase of the hymn is truncated and the resultant space filled with a piano variant of the hymn's second phrase, now quietly moved to a higher register and the key of C major. This brief passage (mm. 29-32) stands completely apart from the preceding section; this interlude of calm somehow suggests that the hymn's expressed hope of conciliation with God has been well-founded. The last words

of the song, "I come!," confirm this; the purity and simplicity of the moment is conveyed by the most unassuming chordal accompaniment possible, on a perfect cadence. (In the symphony, these last notes are accompanied by bells, which have a religious association.) The triumphant humility of this section stands in contrast to the musically and spiritually uncertain postludes of "Watchman!" and "At the River."

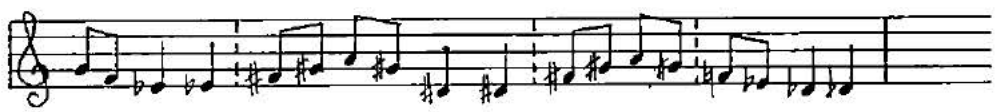
In "The Innate," composed in 1916 to a text by Ives, this religious idea is extended in a mystical direction. Ives admonishes: "Voices live in every finite being, in every Godless lifetime. Hear them! . . ." God is sensed through the discovery of the eternal in one's fellow man. Ives later subtly altered the text, removing overt Christian references. By lifting the text to a more universal level and removing it from the pulpit, he achieves a more powerful, mystical effect. However, the good progressive of 1916 was undoubtedly more self-consciously Christian than the Ives of 1935, when he revised the song for inclusion in 19 Songs.

In "The Innate," Ives quotes two famous hymn-tunes, "Beautiful River" and "Nettleton." Only fragments appear, however, to underline the religious background of the song. These fragments emerge from a complex texture; they are always distinct and recognizable but must await the last phrase of the song to coalesce into anything like a conventional statement. Certainly, the choice of "Beautiful River" as a frame for the song is apt, as it conveys the sense of spiritual communion between the earthly community and God. The tunes are musically related; both emphasize the third degree of the scale, and both circle persistently around the interval of the third (Ex. 10). Because of the song's predominantly chromatic, almost atonal harmony, the relatively diatonic



Ex. 10: "The Innate," m. 1; "Nettleton"

quotations pierce through the thick accompanimental fabric. Ives's handling of the "Nettleton" theme is masterful. In a type of reverse development, it is only gradually allowed to materialize in a form close to its original state. The opening vocal phrase (m. 2), while unmetrical, is a free variant of the corresponding four-measure phrase of the hymn (Ex. 11). The next appearance of the tune ("They sense truth . . .")

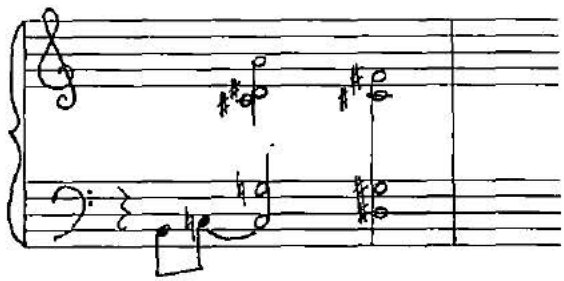


Ex. 11: "The Innate," mm. 2-3

is an expansion through the repetition and extension of its motives, now less chromatic and more reflective. The tune's suggestions of the pentatonic scale are exploited, and as the melody unfolds we hear a broad variation of the tune's first three phrases. Finally, the melody is sung in G major to the song's essential message: "As a child and, as a poor man/Christians give all. Christians have all." This gradual

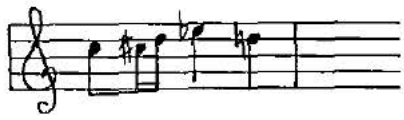
emergence of the tune may be a metaphor for a growing awareness and receptivity of the individual to the voice of God in others. Overlapping with the dying note of the vocal line is a subdued restatement of "Beautiful River."

The contemplative unwinding of the vocal line is supported by a web of complementary motifs in the accompaniment, which moves deliberately and without cadence in a prevailing eight-note pace. The opening measure establishes the song's serious, rather otherworldly mood with atonal harmonies and somewhat severe quartal harmonies. The opening accompanimental motif (Ex. 12) is heard throughout the opening melodic phrase and returns



Ex. 12: "The Innate," m. 1

in broadly expanded form in the song's final section. The semitone movement of another motive (Ex. 13) dominates and intensifies the



Ex. 13: "The Innate," m. 3

intervallic content of both melody and accompaniment of the subsequent passage. From the descending head motif of "Nettleton" is derived the next important accompanimental idea (Ex. 14). While this motif is

Ex. 14: "The Innate," m. 6

distinctive, its recurrences are always varied so that any suggestion of metric regularity in the melody is undermined. It is noteworthy that the final statement of "Nettleton" is supported by a related tonal harmony, vii^7/V. This harmonic consonance and the very broad voicing of the accompaniment help to achieve a sense of affirmation which, however, evaporates with the song's last notes.

While "The Innate" is composed in a less popular style than the other songs discussed in this section, Ives's utilization of recognizable fragments of "Beautiful River" and "Nettleton" gives it considerable impact. In this song, Ives's moral view of art is realized:

> The future of music may not lie entirely with music itself, but rather in the way it encourages and extends, rather than limits, the aspirations and ideals of the people, in the way it makes itself a part with the finer things that humanity does and dreams of.[15]

The substance of the song, represented through the text and suggested through quotation, is imaginatively and movingly communicated through its manner.

A more dramatic view of religion is portrayed by the song "General William Booth Enters into Heaven," composed in 1914. The song is a setting of a portion of the poem by Vachel Lindsay, written in commemoration of the founder of the Salvation Army, William Booth, who had died in 1912. Ives would have been attracted by the poem's implicit

expression of the progressive ideal of religion aiming at social as well as moral regeneration, the cleansing of the downtrodden in "the blood of the lamb." Ives's song contrasts a scene of religious frenzy and ecstasy with a view of the comforting power of Jesus, conveying the contrast musically by shifting from a declamatory, jagged style to one of calm lyricism. In the poem, Booth assumes the guise of a minor messiah, gathering a flock of outcasts whose spiritual worth he acknowledges. The text's succession of images of squalor and chaos do not erase this conviction that all are equal before God. Although Booth's followers are painted as "vermin-eaten" and "with mouldy breath," they are saints nevertheless. The recurring phrase "Are you washed in the blood of the Lamb?" reinforces the vision of redemption as a cathartic act, available, perhaps especially, to the suffering. Jesus blesses the mob, which continues to march past, in search of Him. They have been transformed through His grace, but they must continue on their road, even if they are now "spotless, clad in raiment new." Radical change has been brought about but more is to be achieved.

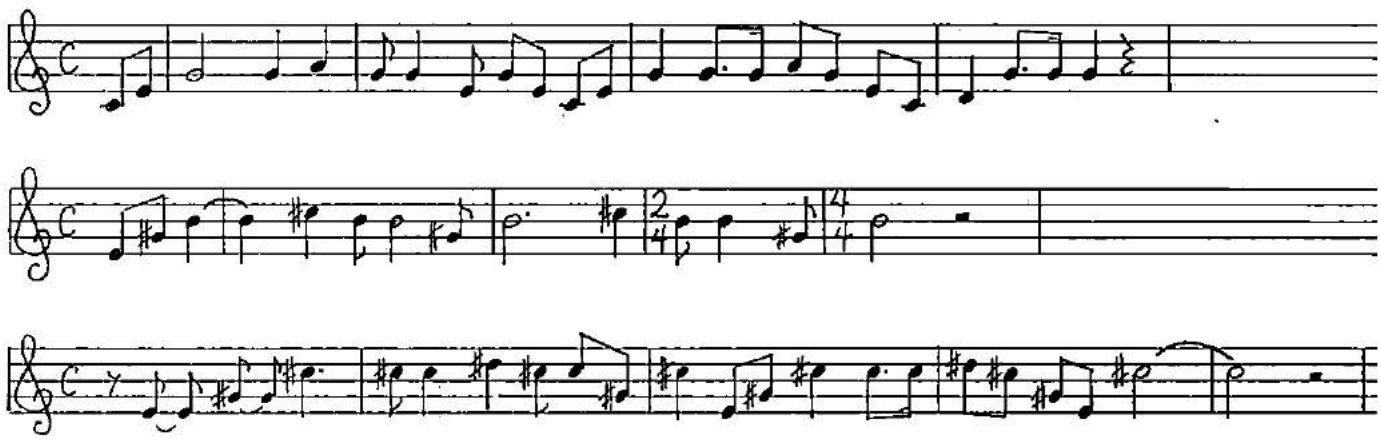
Vachel Lindsay's poem demands and receives a dramatic musical setting, replete with vivid aural images. His ideals would have resonated with those of Ives, although his lifestyle was far removed from that of the insurance executive. A sort of vagabond poet, he travelled the American West and South, supporting himself through his exuberant readings and through the sales of his pamphlet of poems, appropriately named "Rhymes to be Traded for Bread." Ives would have been attracted also by Lindsay's musical suggestions that the poem be sung to the hymn tune "The Blood of the Lamb" and accompanied variously by bass drum, banjos, and flute, all contributing to the "tranced, fanatical" effect recaptured in the song.

"General William Booth" is constructed additively, following closely the meaning and shifting images of the text, although it falls into three broad sections (mm. 1-39, 40-81, 82-111). The song is framed by a distinctive musical idea, a musical recreation of the bass drum, and again we await the latter part of the song to arrive at a full statement of its most important quotation.

The first sections of the song present a mounting succession of forceful rhythms and harmonies with numerous musical references to the scene painted by the poem. The song's tempo marking is Allegro moderato (March time), but the regularity of the prevailing 4/4 is frequently truncated. A marvelously effective simulation of the bass drum opens the song with a whack; Ives had been experimenting with such non-harmonic chords as percussion substitutes since his youth. Several devices are used to achieve the mood of religious hysteria. In measure 10, we suddenly hear a measure of 3/4 in the 4/4 of the march, suggesting a lurch. Much later (m. 47), in a wild, shrieking passage, the narrator has to grab for a gasp of breath in a measure of 4½/4, and the music rushes ahead in a set of "Hallelujah's." "Lions with trumpets" blare out the tune "Reveille," whose military associations coupled with the context of the religious call make it a particularly apt quotation (mm. 70-73). The accompaniment of the popular 19th century-tune "Oh Dem Golden Slippers" is suggestive of the banjos played by the "big-voiced lassies." This secular, even vulgar style is contrasted by the "sweet flute music" heard at measure 82, when Jesus appears. The contortions of the song's characters are underlined through harmony as well as rhythm. Harmonies are freely spiked with dissonance although not completely removed from a conventional framework. We hear outbursts

of chords built of seconds (m. 25), bitonal chords (mm. 40-46), and such bristling passages as measure 47, where a succession of parallel sevenths in the accompaniment moves independent of the atonal whole-tone scale of the melody. Such devices intensify the dramatic tension that breaks with the appearance of the Saviour, where suddenly the key of A^{b} is heard, and the scene assumes a robe of purity that has been conspicuously absent.

The song's most prominent quotation is a fragment of the hymn-tune "Fountain," which accompanies the words "Are you washed in the blood of the Lamb." According to Philip Newman, this arrangement is usually associated with William Cowper's text "There is a Fountain Filled with Blood,"[16] which incorporates imagery similar to Lindsay's. This quotation first appears in C major, accompanied by the drum chord (mm. 4-8). As the excitement mounts, it is distorted, first rhythmically and through metrical displacement, then in pitch (Ex. 15). Subsequent statements



Ex. 15: "General William Booth Enters into Heaven," mm. 4-8, 15-19, 34-38

(m. 58, m. 75) extend the process of transformation in a pattern of mounting dislocation and frenzy, until passion evaporates into the A^b Adagio section beginning at measure 82. Now the tune is heard in the tenor range of the accompaniment, which suggests the sonority of an organ. We hear the entire four phrases of the tune, absolved of its violent associations. This statement is repeated in C major in the vocal line over the drum patter, which has crept back into the musical texture. The song closes with a final statement of the question now posed to the listener, "Are you washed in the blood of the Lamb?", in E major. Interestingly, these three statements outline an augmented triad, A^b-C-E (all belonging to the same whole-tone scale). Ives's affection for the whole-tone invades even this section of the song, which, for once, is harmonically conventional.

II. SONGS OF WORLD WAR I

The formal entry of the U.S. into World War I provoked intensely conflicting emotions in Charles Ives. Rossiter describes the conflict in Ives as a battle between ". . . his moral idealism that condemned Germany for its depredations and his moral idealism that condemned all warring countries for their violation of social justice."[17] Ives's conviction that Americans would save democracy by soundly defeating the Germans was balanced by an awareness of the inevitable personal tragedies that would befall ordinary citizens. At the same time, Ives felt that the rich would largely evade the costs of war and would, in fact, benefit financially. During 1917, Ives composed three songs, grouped as "Songs of War" in 114 Songs, each of which takes a distinctive approach to the subject. Another song, "The Things Our Fathers Loved," is a nostalgic

remembrance of small town life, a life of innocence which will never again be experienced. All four songs make extensive use of 19th-century American melodies--civil war tunes, Stephen Foster melodies, and fragments of hymns and patriotic songs. Ives wishes to spark associations in the listener which will provide a set of cultural and historical references, a set of values underlying the attitudes and actions of the present. Quotations are also used in the aural recreation of a scene, in which case the values of the past intermingle with our perceptions of a specific vision of a lost world of the past.

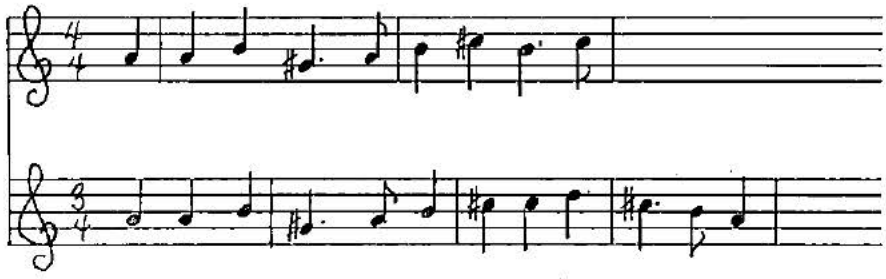
"In Flanders Fields" is set to the famous text by the Canadian John David McCrae (1872-1918). Although the poem was written well in advance of American entry into the war, its text, a call to the struggle, was certainly apt in 1917. Although it was written by a Canadian, Ives thoroughly Americanized it through extensive quotation of patriotic tunes.

An eloquent introduction materializes from an ominous reiterated E^{b}-F in the bass. A fragment of the patriotic melody "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean" is heard as the accompaniment, moving through harmonies that emphasize open fifths. It climaxes on an arpeggiated diminished seventh chord that leads to a dominant pedal in the key of G, which functions tenuously as tonic in the opening vocal phrase. Over the tremolo pedal, the right hand descends in parallel seventh chords by whole tone, leading in measure 6 to the inspirational Civil War tune "Battle Cry of Freedom," and subsequently to an evocative passage imitative of a snare drum. The introduction thus sets the elegiac tone of the song, providing it with patriotic and military associations. Note the overall shape of the introduction; it is a broad gesture, arising from a sombre bass drumbeat,

soaring over the battlefield, and then subsiding. This is a microcosm of the musical shape of the whole song, which builds to a climax at measure 30, only to subside gradually in a return to the desolate scene.

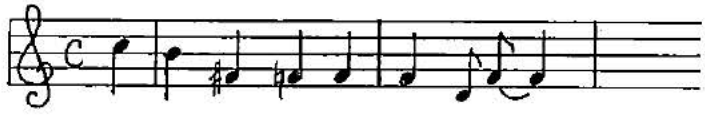
Ives treats the first two verses as a unit, with little break. The harmonic vocabulary is chromatic; although attached briefly to a key (often primarily through quotation), diatonic harmonies are veiled, as, for instance, in the use of the minor form of the dominant in the first vocal phrase. An unequivocal passage in G major awaits the opening of the third verse, with its assertive challenge to "take up the quarrel," but the harmonic context is clouded once more as we return to the bleak scene of battle.

Quotation is closely tied to the song text, adding an associative dimension throughout. The presence of these quotations is usually clear, if sometimes fleeting. The two patriotic tunes of the introduction recur in various guises. "Columbia" clearly functions as a patriotic focus; in the G major area of measures 9-11, it appears in the piano, touched by the minor key. As the image of graves materializes, the F takes over as we descend into what may be A minor. The picture is completed by a quotation of the funereal bugle call "Taps," which is sung on the words "We are the dead" (m. 20). In measures 15-16, the gentle image of larks in the sky is contradicted musically by forcing the triple meter of the tune "America" into a martial duple metre. The quotation of "America" is abandoned in mid-phrase, which suggests some trepidation and uncertainty in the face of battle (Ex. 16). The "Battle Cry of Freedom," heard in the piano, refers to the battle in the text, while the "Reveille" which accompanies "Taps" (mm. 20-21) seems to be a direct appeal to the



Ex. 16: "In Flanders Fields," mm. 14-16; "America"

responsibility and duty of the listener. The song's major textual divisions are marked by the recurrence of motifs evoking scenes of death; the drum motif and the melancholy sighing motif of measures 10-12 (Ex. 17) are touchstones for the tragedy of the text. Suddenly, resolve is summoned with the cry "Take up our battle with the foe." In vigorous fortissimo,



Ex. 17: "In Flanders Fields," mm. 10-12

we hear the Marsellaise (a reference to the country Americans would be liberating) combined with the complete, unaltered statement of the first six measures of "America." The two quotations are thus joined in a sort of musical diplomacy! The passage remains decisive long enough to forcefully make its call to arms. But the major mode is quickly clouded and the mournful tone creeps back in as the collective narrator sinks back from this heroic cry into a sort of phantom march. The spirit of

those already sacrificed endures, but they march on, leaving the challenge to others.

"He is There!," dated May 30, 1917 in 114 Songs, displays none of the darkness of "In Flanders Fields." This is an effective piece of musical propaganda, with a strong popular appeal based on quotation, clear harmonies, and dynamic rhythm. The text, by Ives himself, expresses an unreserved patriotism:

> . . . our Yankee boy
> Does his bit that we may live
> In a world where all have a say.
> He's conscious always of his country's aim,
> Which is liberty for all.[18]

Apart from the abundance of quoted musical material, the words themselves make plenty of nostalgic references to an earlier time, fueling an idealistic rallying cry that closes with religious and patriotic promises of deliverance into a beautiful future.

The origins of the song date from the 1914 invasion of Belgium by the Germans. At that time, Ives sketched a work for chorus and orchestra called "Sneak Thief," which he later adapted into song form. In 1942, when the U.S. was once again embroiled in world conflict, Ives wrote a parody of the text of "He is There!" returning to the angry, abrasive tone that had marked the text of "Sneak Thief." This work, which he entitled "They are There, a War Song March (Fighting for the People's New Free World)," was scored for voice and piano, and later, on a commission from the League of Composers, arranged for chorus and orchestra. The music is only slightly altered, but the text, adapted to new circumstances, illustrates Ives's deeply engrained disgust with existing governmental systems and the persistent idealism which had

survived the defeat of his political hopes. The text of the song's second chorus conveys both of these qualities:

> Then let's build a people's world nation, Hooray;
> Every honest country's free to live
> Its own native life.
> They will stand for the right, but if it comes to might,
> They are there, they are there, they are there.
> Then the people, not just the politicians,
> Will rule their own lands and live. Then you'll hear
> The whole universe shouting the Battle Cry of Freedom,
> Tenting on a new campground.[19]

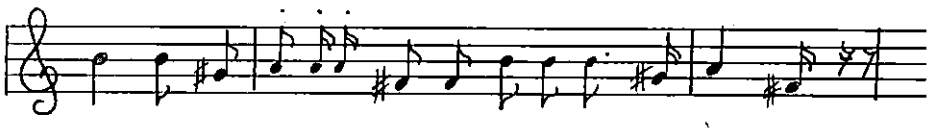
Notably, the entire universe has now embraced American values, according to Ives. Presumably, not only nations but even nature itself are encompassed in this spiritual rallying cry.

The numerous quotations all appear in the chorus passages, where they are either absorbed unaltered into the vocal line or are incorporated into the obligato for violin, flute, or fife. The songs quoted are all from the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, and the song ends with a fragment of "The Star-Spangled Banner," which rings forth alone in the obligato. The purpose of the quotations is to inspire an infectious, rousing energy associated with a call to arms in the name of American values, embodied in references to earlier moments of national glory. It is notable that the musical style of the choruses is simpler than that of the verses, consistent with the image of a crowd joining in the cry. The only harmonic pungency occurs in measures 25-26, where a suspended G provides invigorating dissonance at the reiterated statement "He is there." The verse sections, "In march time," are given additional energy through syncopation and short outbursts of ragtime figures (m. 11, m. 19). Although there are a few linearly-derived chromatic chords, the harmony is conventional and indeed simple, as befits the propagandistic function of the song.

"Tom Sails Away," again on a text by Ives, is the most personal of the three war songs. It contains an impressionistic series of images passing in a dreamlike manner between present and past, and relating the fears of the present to mirage-like apparitions from a happy but lost childhood. Musical quotations wistfully frame the song. The song opens with a fragment of the spiritual "Deep River" over a transparent arpeggiated harmony composed to two seventh chords related by a semitone. This melodic phrase recurs in the vocal line in the opening words "Scenes of my childhood are with me," and it once again evokes the atmosphere of reverie at the end of the song, before it dissolves into a self-absorbed incantation. The source of this melody is a moving spiritual in which the desire is expressed to cross over into "That promised land, that land where all is peace."[20] Here, the need is to transport oneself into the past, away from the pain of separation caused by the war. The suggestion of vague self-absorption is enhanced by the absence of regular meter; bar lines are placed freely, and although we feel some sense of meter related to the quotations, we sense that the images are conjured up by association, without an imposed pre-ordained structure. "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean," is quoted in relatively stern guise, as an expression of patriotic sentiment, perhaps comforting the narrator in his realization that "But today! In freedom's cause Tom sailed away." The bugle-call from the World War I song "Over There" by George M. Cohan follows, with melancholy effect.

The song's musical content is built additively, in an internally developing structure. The music carefully matches each phrase of the text and within each phrase is stylistically quite static; ostinati

are used prominently in patches of static harmony. The dreamlike introduction is followed by two phrases which evoke a physical scene, followed by the recollection of loved ones in this childhood setting. Whole tone scales accompany the open fifths of nature (from m. 2) on the words "a spring day's sun is setting." This emphasis on the fifth reoccurs in measures 10-11 on another nature image, "stronger comes the breeze from the ridge." A dancelike musical idea appears throughout this section in various forms, conveying a sense of childlike excitement (Ex. 18). These reminiscences are cast in a pattern of



Ex. 18: "Tom Sails Away," mm. 5-7

gradually increasing rhythmic activity, with a rising tessitura, tempo, and dynamic level in the vocal line. This quickening and intensification, which culminate on "We're running down the lane to meet him," heighten the evocation of pain, as the narrator tries desperately to evade the present reality. But this fever breaks; the accompaniment expands into the extreme range of the piano and disappears, while at the same time preparing the texture of the next phrase. With the solemn announcement of patriotic tunes (m. 19), the reality of Tom's departure is faced. The lively rhythm is broken off and changed to a deliberate rhythm reminiscent of the battle field of "In Flanders Fields." Throughout most of the song, but most noticeably in the final section (mm. 19-25), harmonic changes occur only with new textual ideas; harmonies are clung

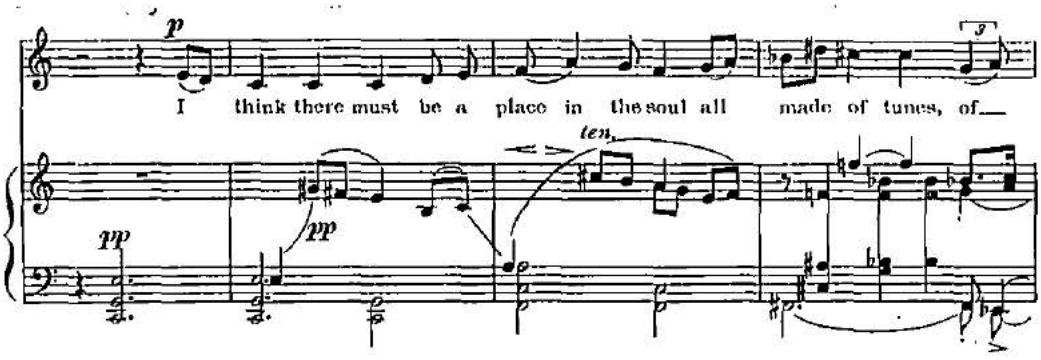
to almost obsessively, as if the narrator were in a state of shock. The brutality of the present is symbolized by marcato marching rhythms in measures 19-20, but these are quickly discarded as the narrator returns to contemplation. The tension between these inward recollections of the past and confrontations with painful reality in the present is the central aspect of "Tom Sails Away."

As Rosalie Sandra Perry has pointed out,[21] Ives is able to musically portray shifts in psychic time. He develops a stream of consciousness through additive rather than symmetrical structure, reinforced by the avoidance of regular temporal relationships. "Tom Sails Away" contains such shifts; various styles are used to convey memory, from the use of whole tones and fifths to convey a state of reveries, to the employment of quotations to signal Tom's departure. Each phrase of the text is carefully articulated and the intensity of the central section carefully gradated by the use of such relatively straightforward devices as change of rhythm and pitch area. The result is an ephemeral picture, reinforced by a strongly visual text, whose fragility becomes sadly apparent before the end of the song.

A steady flow of quotations runs through "The Things Our Fathers Loved (and the greatest of these was Liberty)," from 1917, a song which can be related to the war songs of that year by its nostalgic patriotism. It is an oblique but affecting appeal to Americans to rally to the values of an earlier time, and though its tone is hardly warlike, its association with war was intentional, as Ives originally distributed the song together with "Tom Sails Away."

The first line of Ives's text hints at the musical content of the song: "I think there must be a place in the soul all made of tunes, of tunes of long ago." The quotations encountered are analagous to the others discussed in this group, with somewhat less emphasis on battle songs. This is small-town New England, again conjured up by the visual images of the suggestive text as well as by the types of music which are quoted and developed in distinctive, isolated musical phrases. The song's structure is also reminiscent of "Tom Sails Away," and, as in that song, an introductory phrase recurs, in a condensed, unresolved version, at the work's end. The main body of the song contains a series of evocative images, which set the mood and prepare the listener for a patriotic message.

Musically this song is quite conservative, but it is still distinctly Ivesian. Larger tonal areas can be identified; the key of F major dominates the song's nostalgic areas (mm. 1-14) while a shift to a bright G major accentuates the song's essential message. After a conventional deceptive cadence (mm. 19-20), there is a gentle but sudden move to an unrelated tonality to close the song ambiguously and with a tone of some disquiet. Ives uses harmony metaphorically; the opening C major chord, while rhythmically ambiguous, rings pure and seems to represent a bedrock of values. While Ives sometimes uses conventional harmony in sarcastic jibes at certain philistines, here he employs it to represent a cherished social tradition. Of course, chromatic coloring is applied as freely as usual. In measure 2, the echo in the piano of the opening notes of the vocal line (Ex. 19) colors the C major chord with Ives's favored whole tones. In measure 10,



Ex. 19: "The Things Our Fathers Loved," mm. 1-2

which textually serves as a pivot between scenes, chromatic harmonies remove us from the surrounding F major in a sort of reflective half cadence. Nonharmonic tones are added freely in measures 15-20, which are clearly in G major, primarily to add some invigorating colour and to thicken the texture.

Quotations are freely incorporated into the vocal line, sometimes changed in meter and chromatically altered. The opening notes of the accompaniment suggest an organ sonority; the first notes of the melody anticipate a phrase from the hymn tune "Nettleton," which is used in measures 7-8 to allude to "Aunt Sarah humming Gospels." Band music appears in measure 10, with a fragment from the chorus of "The Battle Cry of Freedom" in the accompaniment. Tempo and rhythmic activity are increased from the earlier leisurely movement as patriotic feeling is being developed. We even encounter a patch of ragtime syncopations before the song's climax in measure 15. The text here is obviously

deeply felt and is not merely the result of some nostalgic fever: the spiritual values of the past, "the things our Fathers loved," are to be summoned. The music of this passage is heavily loaded with patriotic suggestion, as in the accompaniment's high register a motif from "The Battle Cry of Freedom" (Ex. 20) is played four times.

Ex. 20: Fragment of "The Battle Cry of Freedom" ("The Things Our Fathers Loved," mm. 15-18)

Its varying metrical position in the prevailing 4/4 meter only highlights its presence and resultant message. The complete abandonment of this exalted atmosphere in the final phrase suggests, however, some sense of melancholy, as if "the things our Fathers loved" should not have had to endure the test of war.

III. SONGS OF POLITICAL IDEALISM

Ives's songs on matters of political concern span the decade between 1911 and 1921, but stylistically they are closely related. They are aggressively dissonant and technically demanding, and their style variously symbolizes the massive strength of the masses and the embittered outpourings of the disappointed progressive. In keeping with his lofty, idealistic view of politics, Ives depends little on the quotation of familiar, homely tunes here. In place of quotation, musical styles or abstract musical ideas may be used metaphorically. These are the works

of an idealist, who, when dealing with the political realities, reacts angrily; when presenting his vision of the ideal, on the other hand, he achieves grandeur.

"Vote for Names" was composed in November, 1912 as a frustrated reaction to that year's Presidential elections. Ives responded negatively to the political machinations which had led to the split of the Republicans and the foundations of the Progressive Party under Roosevelt, and he seems to have withdrawn from the public debate in disgust. The song exists only as a sketch which has been published in two realizations.[22] It is scored for three pianos (one each for Roosevelt, Wilson, and Taft), each banging out its own, unchanging idea, marked by Ives, "same chord hit hard over and over. Hot Air Election Slogan."[23] While there is little concern about synchrony between the three parts, each works with a similar intervallic set. Piano 1 plays a broken arpeggio of minor ninths, an interval which is prominent in the upper register of Piano 2 and is heard, along with its inversion, the major seventh, with dulling regularity in Piano 3. These locked-in patterns symbolize the differences he perceived between the candidates, which ". . . were about as great as the differences among three chords that were exactly the same: 'a sad chord--a hopeless chord--a chord of futility.'"[24]

The song's vocal line moves freely, without reference to its accompaniment. The perplexity of the voter who can choose his leader only on the basis of a name and not of policy platform is expressed in a wild, declamatory vocal line which includes several huge leaps, glissandi, and trembling effects. The song is virtually unsingable, and the fact that Ives never realized his sketch suggests that he never intended it to be performed. Rather, his music is a vehicle for

expressing symbolically, in the manner he knew best, his frustration with the political process in action.

"Majority" is one of Ives's most massive and impressive vocal works. It was written for chorus and orchestra in 1914 and arranged for voice and piano in 1921. Presumably Ives hoped that publishing it in this form would more widely disseminate the important ideas carried therein. He acknowledges in 114 Songs that the song works better as a unison chorus, as the accompaniment can easily overwhelm a solo voice. As well, a chorus, as a physical representation of the masses of the song's text, would function well symbolically.

"Majority" predates Ives's political essay of the same title by five years, but it shares the later work's expressed conviction that the masses, rather than a small privileged class, are the source of man's achievements. The continued importance of these ideas for Ives is reflected in the prominent position he assigned "Majority" in 114 Songs. However, he also gained satisfaction in imagining the reaction of conservative musicians. He writes:

> The book of 114 Songs was to start with the second one on page 6, Milton's "Evening." But the "ta-ta's," etc., above, made me feel just mean enough to want to give all the "old girls" another ride--and then, after they saw the first page of "The Masses" as No. 1 in the book, it would keep them from turning any more pages and finding something "just too awful for words, Lily?"[25]

The song opens with a massive, elemental introduction. The primeval force of the Masses is represented by large tone clusters which are played on the piano by depressing a stick over two octaves of the keyboard. These clusters act as a backdrop to a succession of slow-moving, descending declamatory phrases. Thematically, this section bears little resemblance

to the subsequent six antiphonal sections of the text, although minor thirds and perfect fourths, which are of great importance later, are given some prominence.

Each phrase of the text is set distinctively, but intervallically; each verse is related to the opening one, with its opening minor third and closing major third. The elemental force of the labor of the masses is portrayed by tone clusters into the piano's lowest register. Throughout the first verse, the texture maintains this density, which is intensified through dissonance. At "The Masses are thinking," quartal harmony is employed, resulting in a more open texture suggestive of nature and purity. Ives movingly portrays the creation of art through the Masses' singing in a shift to a rocking, lullaby 6/8 and a suggestion of a tonal centre, either G major or E minor. The minor third B-D is very prominent, but dissonances, in parallel ninths, continue without disruptive effect. The "yearning" of the next line is convincingly communicated in a vocal phrase reminiscent of the opening vocal line, repeated insistently in a slow tempo in continually shifting meters. The harmony, while freely chromatic, hovers about G minor. Indistinct tonality returns with the Masses' dreaming. Arpeggiated chords of major thirds (an accompanimental texture related to that of the opening, dreamlike phrase of "Tom Sails Away") delicately underly the vocal line, which moves trancelike in a legato, semitone line which is matched by the chromatic descent of the left hand.

The final, religiously-inspired section is introduced by a rhapsodic expansion of the clusters heard at the opening of the song. Amazingly, the work ends with a perfect cadence in F major. Its effect is not trite

but profound; the dynamic level decreases from fortissimo to piano over the last two measures, making this close sound sacred and reverential. Also, while we hear a V-I progression as the final two chords, the last phrase of text, "All will be well with the World," is freely chromatic. On the downbeat of measure 45 we hear a B^{b} chord (contradicted by the $B^{\#}$ of the vocal line) which moves chromatically to D^{b} before reaching an $F^{\#}$ sonority, once again a semitone removed from F. Therefore, the final cadence is reached by the most unconventional route possible. Interestingly, the juxtaposition of extreme dissonance with this final consonance is not contradictory in effect. The clusters symbolize the masses and the dissonances their power; the introduction of conventional tonality symbolizes, for once in Ives, the closing of a definitive statement of belief.

In an earlier version of the song, Ives composed a passage that points to 12-tone procedure, in which each instrument of the orchestra would play a different version of the tone row. This passage accompanied a verse, later deleted, that depicts the wandering of "the tribes of the ages." However, in a marginal note, Ives discounted the use of such preordained patterns, even if they had a programmatic function, as here:

> Occasionally something made in this calculated, diagram, design way may have place in music, if it is used primarily to carry out an idea . . . but generally . . . it is a weak substitute for inspiration or music. It's too easy . . . . It's an artificial process without strength . . . .[26]

Ives evidently felt that such structures didn't give him the freedom to develop his pieces in his own way. In fact the predetermined structure of "Vote for Names" was a symbol for his contempt. Musical freedom is always of paramount importance to Ives, and the mode of expression chosen

for each song must match his conception of the text, regardless of wildly divergent styles, sometimes within the song itself.

"Nov. 2, 1920," or, as it is entitled in 19 Songs, "An Election," reflects an embittered attitude toward politics; the ideal world of "Majority" has been, at least temporarily, thwarted. The song is Ives's outraged reply to the election of Warren Harding in that year's presidential election. During the war, Ives had developed an intense admiration for Woodrow Wilson because of his progressive credentials, diplomatic skills and espousal of the cause of world government, as represented by the foundation in 1919 of the League of Nations. However, when the American Senate twice defeated moves to join the League, Wilson declared the 1920 election a referendum on the issue. The defeat of the Democrats sealed American nonparticipation in the league. Ives set his own text for male chorus and orchestra in 1920 and made this arrangement in 1921. By 1922, the year in which he compiled 114 Songs, his optimism had been somewhat restored, and he restated some of his suggestions for the reorganization of government in a note appended to the song:

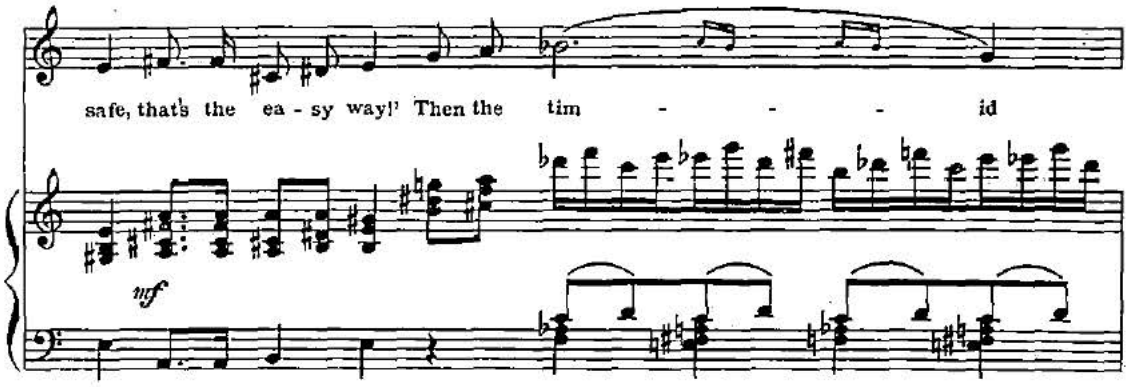
> The assumption, in the text, that the result of our national election in 1920, was a definite indication, that the country (at least the majority-mind) turned its back on a high purpose is not conclusive. Unfortunately election results coming through the present party system prove nothing conclusively. The voice of the people sounding through the mouth of the parties, becomes somewhat emasculated. It is not inconceivable that practical ways may be found for more accurately registering and expressing popular thought . . . .[27]

To Ives's perennial chagrin, these ways were never adopted, and he continued to feel that essential questions were obscured by the commercialism and secularism of the society of the 1920's and 1930's. This view is expressed in the song "The New River," in which a nervous,

discordant ragtime accompaniment symbolizes the decay of nature and morality.

In "An Election," Ives quotes his own works, casting them into new contexts. The song is framed by forcefully virile passages from his choral work "Lincoln, the Great Commoner." Ives was a great admirer of Lincoln, whose stature certainly overwhelmed that of Harding, the winner of the 1920 election. Again quotation is used as a reference to the highest American ideals. As always, Ives manages to salvage some optimism; the final line of text is ". . . Captain! a heritage we've thrown away; But we'll find it again." On the final four words, the confident notes of "The Star Spangled Banner" ring out. "Over There," which was also heard in "Tom Sails Away," suggests the sacrifice, now perhaps wasted, of those who fought in the war.

The central section of the song depicts the actions of those persons complacent enough to discard the idealism and patriotism inspired by the war. In a free-flowing, declamatory style, Ives throws sarcastic barbs at these. Dissonance covers the gamut of tertial, quartal, whole-tone, mixed-interval, and bitonal chords. Such devices as parallel fourths and references to simple harmony, which in other songs may reflect a positive attitude, now have a biting effect. The "lily-livered" who voted to support the status quo are dismissed with trite conventional cadences (Ex. 21). Several times, the music runs anemically out of energy, as in measures 4-5 on the line "Some men and women got tired of a big job." Here, the left hand sticks stupidly to a single reiterated figure which is used also in later passages (Ex. 22), while the vocal line is stubbornly doubled at the fourth by the piano, which lags behind the beat. On "Perhaps



Ex. 21: "Nov. 2, 1920," m. 12

Ex. 22: "Nov. 2, 1920," m. 3

some who stayed at home are beginning to forget and quit," there is no linear independence of voices, and the slowing of tempo and chromatic sliding movement suggest mental and moral atrophy. On "timid," the bass ostinato mentioned above underlies a filigree tinkling figure in the upper range of the keyboard, while the vocal line feebly warbles a few ornaments. "Hell" is scornfully portrayed through converging lines of cluster chords, played fortissimo. Ives's equation of the female sex

with weakness emerges in the next line, "All the old women, male and female, had their day to-day," accompanied by a return to the musical banalities from the beginning of the song. The emotions of this song approach in intensity the uncontrolled fury of "Vote for Names," but now they are fully worked out, and thus more bitingly expressed.

The parodistic devices of "An Election" embody once more the persistent tension between ideals and practical reality so characteristic of the political and devotional songs of Charles Ives. This tension is present even when not overtly stated, as all of Ives's works are in a sense idealistic and highly vulnerable to the appraising eye of today's more secular world. Ives's message would have been somewhat more plausible to the Progressives of his own day, who shared his idealistic sense of mission. The significance of these songs of religious and political faith lies not only in their uniqueness as musical expressions of the Progressive viewpoint, but in the extraordinary musical means by which he conveys the intensity and sincerity of his convictions.

NOTES

[1]Ives also set Harmony's poems "Spring Song," "The South Wind," "Autumn," "Mists," "To Edith," and "Two Little Flowers." All of the songs appear in 114 Songs.

[2]Ives, 114 Songs, p. 93.

[3]Ives, Memos, p. 68.

[4]Charles E. Ives, "The Camp Meeting," 114 Songs (n.p.: National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1975), pp. 101-102.

[5]Ives, Memos, p. 68.

[6]Ibid., p. 68.

[7]Perlis, p. 111.

[8]Cowell, p. 24.

[9]Charles E. Ives, "Watchman," 114 Songs (n.p.: National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1975), pp. 93-94.

[10]Charles Ives, Sonata No. 4 for Violin and Piano: "Children's Day at the Camp Meeting" (New York: Associated Music, 1942).

[11]Ives, 114 Songs, p. [262].

[12]Ives, Memos, p. 69.

[13]Ibid., p. 128.

[14]Ives, "The Camp Meeting," pp. 100-101.

[15]Charles Ives, "Music and Its Future," in Contemporary Composers on Contemporary Music, ed. Elliott Schwartz and Barney Childs (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 197.

[16]Philip Edward Newman, "The Songs of Charles Ives (1874-1954)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1967):70.

[17]Rossiter, p. 132.

[18]Charles E. Ives, "He is There!," 114 Songs (n.p.: National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1975), pp. 107-108.

[19]Charles Ives, "They are There!," Nine Songs (New York: Peer International, 1956), pp. 21-23.

[20] James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond, eds., The Books of American Negro Spirituals (New York: Viking Press, 1956), p. 101.

[21]Rosalie Sandra Perry, "The Stream of Consciousness in Ives' Works," Charles Ives and the American Mind (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1974), pp. 40-55.

[22]The sketch has been transcribed for voice and piano and published by Peer International, 1968. Nachum Schoffman includes a realization for voice and three pianos in his article "Charles Ives' Song 'Vote for Names,'" Current Musicology 23 (1977):56-68.

[23]John Kirkpatrick, "Ives as Revealed in his Marginalia," Cornell University Music Review 4 (1961):18.

[24]Rossiter, p. 128.

[25]Ives, Memos, p. 127.

[26]Ibid., p. 164.

[27]Charles E. Ives, "Nov. 2, 1920," 114 Songs (n.p.: National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1975), p. 55.

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VITA

Surname: GAUDET Given Names: MICHAEL RONALD

Place of Birth: SUMMERSIDE, P.E.I. Date of Birth: AUGUST 14, 1955

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

ACADIA UNIVERSITY, WOLFVILLE, N.S. 1973 to 1976

UNIVERSITY OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, CHARLOTTETOWN, P.E.I. 1978 to 1979

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, B.C. 1979 to 1985

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B. A. Mus. 1976 Acadia University, Wolfville, N.S.

Honours and Awards:

Bronze Medal in Music, Acadia University, 1976

University of Victoria Fellowship, 1979/81

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