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Ives as Innovator?
Considerations of Sources, Biography, and Style for his Songs Based on Models

by

Katharine Lynn Misener

Presented to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The traditional image of Charles Ives is one of a composer who eschewed the European tradition completely. An exploration of his use of German models provides the means for re-examining his relation to the European tradition. This thesis treats the composer's songs modeled on settings with the same texts by Brahms and Mendelssohn. The analysis bears on Ives's musical style and on his approach to song composition. In addition it speaks to larger aesthetic questions related to his output. The elements considered in this analysis include form, text painting, and harmonic language. The study of these songs affords an opportunity to evaluate literary theories of influence that have been applied to the study of music, including Harold Bloom's "Anxiety of Influence", as they relate to modeled works.

In order to understand these works better, the genesis of these works is explored through his early music training and his relationship to his teacher at Yale, Horatio Parker by a consideration of the sources. His reworking of the past and his transcendental characteristics are situated within the larger progressive movement. A reconsideration of the composer's biography contributes to a fuller picture of Ives and his compositional output.

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS i

Chapter

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. SOURCES 15

3. BIOGRAPHY 28

4. ANALYSIS 55

5. LAST WORDS 88

INTRODUCTION

In the matter of musical innovation, the profile of Charles Ives is usually oversimplified in biographical accounts and other commentary, often reduced to a stereotype. Charles Ives is usually seen as a maverick composer, an "American original"[1] who completely rejected the European romantic tradition, a pure innovator. Wilfred Mellars writes poetically that "Charles Ives was the first American composer since the Primitives to accept the loss of the wisdom that respect for tradition brings; to become, unafraid, his 'own carver'".[2] He believes that "Ives could not be content to write second-hand music in the German academic tradition. If he was to be an honest creator, he had to take his material from the world around him . . . the town band (which Ives's father directed), ragtime, the corny theatre tune, the chapel hymn."[3]

Henry and Sidney Cowell, in their *Charles Ives and his Music*, identify Ives as the "father of American music."[4] They attribute Ives's break with the European tradition to the nature of America[5] and Ives's own transcendentalist "creed."[6] Howard Boatwright,

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[1]Joseph W. Reed, *Three American Originals: John Ford, William Faulkner, & Charles Ives* (Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1984).

[2] This refers to William Billings quote: "Every composer should be his own carver." Wilfred Mellars, *Music in a New Found Land Themes and Developments in the History of American Music* (Boston: Faber and faber, 1967), 37.

[3] Ibid., 39.

[4] "because he spoke out so strongly his determination to discover what it meant to be a musician as the twentieth century began in America." Henry Cowell and Sidney Cowell, *Charles Ives and his Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 5.

[5] "In a vast new country experience is direct, intense and various, and so grass-roots creative activity in the United States has been marked by an exuberance and a diversity that are shocking to sensibilities developed in older cultures whose essence is refinement and selectivity." Ibid., 5.

in his introduction to *Essays before a Sonata, The Majority*, also notes the influence of Ives's transcendentalist readings, "in deciding to go his own way rather than to follow the direction of Parker, fellow-student David Stanley Smith, and others who felt that study in Germany was the only proper cap for a musical education, he may have recalled Emerson's famous words to the American scholar."[7]

These writers are fueled by Ives's Memos. Regarding Parker's disapproval of Ives's more experimental student works, the composer writes "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".[8] He, hedgingly, extends this criticism to others: "Parker's attitude, it seems to me (although I may be wrong), is the attitude (at least from my experience, which I'll admit has been limited) of most musicians, or at least the most that I'd met up to say about ten years ago."[9] Instead, Ives credits his father with providing him with his experimental spirit.

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[6] "For his own creed Ives drew on Emerson, and on the uncomfortable Thoreau for courage; it is not too much to say that all his life he has been closer to these two than to any living man. 'Be strong to live!' Emerson had exclaimed to a group of young Americans, 'Have confidence in the unsearched might of man . . . We have listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe . . . We will walk on our own feet, we will work with our own hands, we will speak our own minds . . . Give me insight into today and you may have the antique and future worlds" Ibids., 7.

[7] Howard Boatwright, introduction to *Essays Before a Sonata, the Majority, and Other Writings* by Charles Ives ed. Howard Boatwright (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1970), xv. Also rather than credit Ives's father for Ives's "experimental spirit", Boatwright believes that "more likely it was the impact on his receptive, imaginative and ambitious mind of passages in Emerson" (xiv).

[8] Charles E. Ives, *Memos* ed. John Kirkpatrick (New York: W.W. Norton & Company inc., 1972) 115-116.

[9] Ibid., 116. At the same time, Ives is reinforcing his own isolation from the

The authors in the collection of essays *Charles Ives and the Classical Tradition* seek to counter this traditional view point contending that "Ives placed himself in the classical tradition, drew on it heavily for his aesthetics and musical techniques, and extended it to create something new."[10] They link Ives in this way with Beethoven, Mahler, Schoenberg, Berg, Stravinsky and others.

Perry, in *Charles Ives and the American Mind*, argues that Ives was influenced by Parker's use of European models: "Musically, one of the distinguishing characteristics of his art was his susceptibility to other composer's mannerisms. Mendelssohn, Franck, Liszt, Gounoud, Brahms, Wagner and Dvorak were often his models as were certain Baroque and Renaissance composers."[11]

At the methodological level, discussion of influence in music is dominated by the theories of Harold Bloom,[12] and since the question of the nature of compositional

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artistic community.

[10] Geoffrey Block and J. Peter Burkholder ed., *Charles Ives and the Classical Tradition* (New Haven: Yale Univeristy Press, 1996), 2.

[11] Rosalie Sandra Perry. *Charles Ives and the American Mind.* (n.p.: The Kent State University Press, 1974), 8.

[12] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), *Poetry and Repression: Revisionism from Blake to Stevens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), *Agon: Towards a Theory of Revisionism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), and *Kabbalah and Criticism* (New York ?, 1983). See also Joseph N. Straus "The 'Anxiety of Influence' in Twentieth-Century Music" *Journal of Musicology* vol. 9, no. 4 (Fall 1991) p. 430-447 and Joseph N. Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, ?1990). Footnote here as well examples where his theory has been applied.

influence is central to the works considered in this thesis, a review and discussion of the theoretical framework of influence is necessary to the argument. In addition, it may be remarked that while some theorists of influence perceive their conceptions to be incompatible with the explicit use of models, the very nature of Ives's use of models has yet to be thoroughly defined, and a consideration of influence theory is a useful step towards the formulation of an adequate and responsive definition. Bloom's theories consist of three main concepts: intertextuality, misreading, and anxiety of influence. His theories are not intertextual in the conventional sense, but only in that he believes that "there are no texts, but only relationships between texts."[13] He characterizes the nature of the relationship between texts as misreading, a process in which a poet deliberately misinterprets the work of his precursor. He translates this to the act of writing: "The influence relationship governs writings, and reading is therefore a miswriting just as writing is a misreading."[14] 'Anxiety of Influence' is an affliction to which Bloom believes all 'strong' poets are subject:

> "Strong poets make history by misreading one another, so as to clear imaginative space for themselves. My concern is only with strong poets, major figures with the persistence to wrestle with their strong precursors, even to the death. Weaker talents idealize; figures of capable imagination appropriate for themselves. But . . . self-appropriation involves the immense anxieties of indebtedness."[15]

Bloom's ideas, while couched by that author in a Freudian framework, and roundly

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[13] Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 4.

[14] Ibid., 4.

[15] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 5.

criticized by his opponents for that reason, need not be tied to that body of psychoanalytic writing.

Bloom categorizes six revisionary ratios, six ways in which artists respond to this anxiety by their misreading, by their treatment of the work of the precursors that have influenced them. It might be tempting to explore how Bloom's second and fourth revisionary ratios may apply to Ives's reaction to his models in the songs that form the subject of this thesis. In his discussion of his second revisionary ratio, *Tesserai*, Bloom discusses a process in which "a poet antithetically 'completes' his precursor, by so reading the parent-poem as to retain its terms but to mean them in another case, as though the precursor had failed to go far enough".[16] Perhaps this is Ives's intention in taking his models, retaining some of their characteristics, yet interpreting the texts differently. Bloom defines his fourth revisionary ratio, *Damonization*, as "a movement towards a personalized Counter-Sublime, in reaction to the precursor's sublime".[17] If this were the case, Ives used his model to access the potential for sublime expression in the text while attempting to devalue his predecessor's work.

Joseph Straus states that Bloom's theories are particularly appropriate to the study of twentieth century music because of its conception of belatedness. Bloom describes the Romantic literary tradition as "consciously late",[18] their poets suffering "the exhaustion

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[16] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 14.

[17] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 14.

[18] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 12.

of being a latecomer", and thus he concludes that the "Romantic literary psychology" is "a psychology of belatedness".[19] Straus sees Blooms theories as an "antidote" to organisms in music theory. They provide him with a construct with which to view twentieth-century works as "relational events".[20] In place of Bloom's revisionary ratios, he outlines eight techniques that modernist composers used to recast earlier music. While Bloom is occupied with psychological reaction, Straus is interested in compositional techniques.

Like Straus, Kevin Korsyn adapts Bloom's theories for the study of music; however, while Straus is concerned with compositional technique, Korsyn is interested in structure and musical meaning. While Bloom finds the misreading in the opening of a poem, he looks to the structure of the musical work; he writes "my own swerve away from Bloom is to identify *clinamen* not merely with a poem's opening figurations, as Bloom usually does, but to consider the entire framing action as the initial swerve from the precursor."[21] This adaptation, according to Korsyn, is necessary due to the differences in the way to two art forms structure time. For him, the application of Bloom's theories is a way into musical meaning through studying the relationships between compositions.

Richard Taruskin remarks that Bloom is not concerned with what musicologists

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[19] Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 35.

[20] Joseph N. Straus. *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 16.

[21] Kevin Korsyn, "Towards a New Poetics of Musical Influence" *Musical*

are most interested in: style, compositional technique, and structure.[22] As a result, Taruskin asserts that, rather than Bloom, musicologist follow T.S. Eliot's model for influence as espoused in the essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent". Taruskin dismisses this theory as far too generous. Instead, he too subscribes to Bloom's theories; however, this author rebukes Straus for the liberties he took with theory. He has some words for musicologists as well: he cautions us to be skeptical of what composers hold up to be their influences. He also criticizes writers about music for considering models, quotations, and arrangements as instances of influence because these are outside of Bloom's definition. However, regarding modeling Taruskin writes, "overt modeling - and this is surely Bloomian theory's best precept - is to be read as a displacement from the real anxiety of influence."[23]

Choice of one's influences is irreconcilable with Bloom's conception of influence. He writes, "No poet, I amend that to no strong poet, can choose his precursor, any more than any person can choose his father."[24] Leonard B. Meyer's view is antithetical to that of Bloom's. Meyer embraces the idea of choice, stating that influence is made up of choices. He distinguishes that "a pattern, concept, attitude, and so on, is

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Analysis vol. 10, no 1-2 (1991), 35.

[22] Richard Taruskin, "Revising Revision" *JAMS* vol. 46 no. 1 (Spring 1993) p. 114-138.

[23] Richard Taruskin, "Revising Revision" *JAMS* vol. 46 no. 1 (Spring 1993) p. 114-138.

[24] Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 12.

not chosen because it is influential; rather it is influential because it is chosen."[25] He stresses that the linking of influences and choices is a speculative activity: "influence can be connected to choices only in terms of hypotheses about human behavior in specific cultural/stylistic contexts."[26] However, he tempers this notion of choice with awareness that composers make their choices within "the constraints of style and cultural circumstances."[27]

Raymond Knapp sees Bloom's theory to be lacking generosity and finds Bloom's theories insufficient to deal with the complexities surrounding Brahms's allusive process. Thus, Knapp puts forward a theory of an "Anxiety of Allusion". He argues that Brahms was less anxious about the past than the present; that Brahms was anxious about his audience discerning and misunderstanding his allusions.[28]

David Hertz rejects Bloom's theory as limited because it does not account for an artist being influenced by more than one artist or medium. Instead, Hertz advocates an approach that is even more inclusive than intertextuality: the application of Emerson's model of "quotation". He defines Emerson's notion of quotation as "any kind of borrowing from a precursor."[29] Recalling Ives's statement that "Eclecticism is part of [a

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[25] Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989) 143.

[26] Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 149.

[27] Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 149.

[28] Raymond Knapp, "Brahms and the Anxiety of Allusion" *Journal of Musicological Research* vol. 18 no. 1 (1998) p. 1-30.

composer's] his duty; sorting potatoes means a better crop next year", Heartz calls for a treatment of influence that reflects creative works as "multicultural and multiartistic" and as having more than one precursor.[30] Several writers have critiqued Bloom's theories from a feminist perspective.[31] Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, identify a gender lacuna in Bloom's theories. They propose an "Anxiety of Authorship" to address the question of women writers operating in the male tradition, a question excluded from Bloom's examination of male poets within the patriarchal system.[32]

While Lloyd Whitesell comes from a feminist perspective, his approach is unique in that it critiques Bloom's theories as they apply to music and offers up a solution.[33] Whitesell adapts for the study of music Lewis Hyde's theory of influence as gift.[34] While Bloom sees the influence relationship as anxious, Whitesell characterizes it by "nature,

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[29] David Michael Hertz, *Angels of Reality: Emersonian Unfoldings in Wright, Stevens, and Ives* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993) p. 21.

[30] David Michael Hertz, *Angels of Reality: Emersonian Unfoldings in Wright, Stevens, and Ives* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993), p. 20.

[31] For example, Annette Kolodny, "A Map of Rereading; Gender and the Interpretation of Literary Texts" in *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature, and Theory,* ed. Elaine Showalter (New York, 1985), pp. 46-62.

[32] Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven, 1979).

[33] Lloyd Whitesell, "Men with a Past: Music and the 'Anxiety of Influence'", *19th Century Music*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Fall 1994), p. 152-167.

[34] Lewis Hyde, *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property* (New York, 1993).

receptivity, fertility, and gratitude".[35] Whitesell's theory is in complete opposition to Bloom's: "The gift articulates along a path of interdependence, awareness of which forms a basis for fellowship rather than competition. Accordingly, the virtue of the artist depends on a stripping away rather than a showing up of defenses".[36]

Having considered applications of theories of influence in music, we are now in a position to situate the repertoire. At odds with the traditional view of Ives as one who completely rejected the European tradition are over thirty songs setting standard song texts that Ives wrote early in his development as a composer. These songs set texts that had been previously set by European composers, settings that would have been well known during Ives's time. They are of particular interest because, unlike the works of Ives's later polytonal idiom, they are written in a romantic style. In addition, because of his use of his models, these songs offer an interesting opportunity to observe the composer working in a controlled environment, seeing what features he highlighted from his models. They offer instances of foreshadowing of his later style as well as evidence that he felt the influence of composers of the romantic era.

There has not been a great deal written on Ives's song repertoire. Several writers have treated these songs briefly as part of larger surveys of Ives's works or the song repertoire: the most notable is Newmann with his seminal Ph.D. thesis "The Songs of Charles Ives". Only Larry Starr, Janet Gilman, and J. Peter Burkholder have treated any

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[35] Whitesell, 157.

[36] Whitesell, 158.

of the number of these songs that have German texts in detail. Starr in his article "The Early Styles of Charles Ives" analyses "In Summer Fields" ("Feldeinsamkeit") and "Ich grolle nicht."[37] Rather than compare these settings to their models, he examines Ives's mastery of the text setting techniques and although his discussion is longer than a survey, it is still quite brief, he limits it to selected instances of text painting.

Those who write about these songs generally assume that Ives began resetting the texts of well-known songs because his composition teacher, Horatio Parker, at Yale gave him this task as a compositional exercise.[38] They base this assumption on an anecdotal account of a classroom discussion that Ives wrote in the margin of one of his manuscripts.[39] This account discusses one of Ives's songs, but it does not say that this song resulted from a specific compositional assignment from Parker to set a text previously set by another composer. Nor does this discussion reveal that Parker routinely asked his students to set a text previously set by another composer using the previous song as model while creating an original song.[40] Yet this is just what these scholars claim about the genesis of all of these songs.

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[37] Larry Starr, "The Early Styles of Charles Ives" *19th Century Music* vol. 7, no 1 (1983): 71-80.

[38] They make this assumption even though Ives dates the composition of some songs of this type to before his years at Yale.

[39] The note appears on the "Ich grolle nicht" manuscripts and is reproduced in the Kirkpatrick catalogue.

[40] These songs are nevertheless not merely compositional exercises but full-fledged compositions. In addition, Ives continued to write these types of songs well after leaving Yale and, depending on the dating, may have written similar songs before his time at Yale.

Only Janet Gilman, in her Ph.D. thesis "*Charles Ives - Master Songwriter The Methods behind his madness*", examines in details several of these songs and their models, as part of a larger survey of his songs. Like the other authors discussed here, Gilman provides analysis of Ives's *Feldeinsamkeit* and *Ich Grolle Nicht* comparing them with Brahms's and Schumann's settings respectively, but she also provides treatments of Ives's *Rosamunde*, and *Wiegenlied* (*Berceuse*) compared with their respective models. She also argues that *Weil' auf mir* was composed with the use of a model.

Burkholder, like Starr, discusses "Feldeinsamkeit" and "Ich golle nich" in several of his works, and in his most recent book, *All Made of Tunes*, he adds a discussion of "Ein Ton". Burkholder's, like Gelman's, analysis explores the relationship between Ives's settings and his models. Even thought their treatment of these pieces is much more detailed than that of Starr, it is by no means exhaustive; a great deal more can be said about these songs, and a number of them will be discussed here. In addition, there are songs with German text that may exhibit modeling that have not been examined by these authors.

Burkholder claims that "although the relationship to the previous settings of the same text varies, it appears that most and probably all of Ives's songs of this type use the existing setting as a model, at least in part."[41] Before Burkholder, the consideration of

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[41] J. Peter Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes: Charles Ives and the Uses of Musical Borrowing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 34. Similarly Gelman concludes that "Ives tried to retain the characteristic style of some compositions by imitating their motivic fragments or by using similar textures in the accompaniment. While Ives did borrow some compositional elements from these art song composers, his innovative spirit took the genre a step further in the areas of structure, tonal excursions, and the treatment of nonharmonic dissonance". Gelman, 42.

influence in Ives's music was dominated by the discussion of Ives's borrowing and quotations.[42] In *All Made of Tunes*, Burkholder defines modeling as one of fourteen ways in which Ives used the music of other composers: "Modeling a work or section on an existing piece, assuming its structure, incorporating part of its melodic material, imitating its form or procedures, or using it as a model in some other way."[43] He elaborates on this notion of modeling in his article "'Quotation' and Emulation: Charles Ives's Uses of His Models":

> In resetting a text already famous in a setting by Brahms or Schumann (a favorite assignment of Parker's), Ives more often than not shows his influences in a negative way, trying to achieve a setting quite unlike that of his model while remaining true to the text. In other cases, when using a specific work as a model for another, Ives may explicitly borrow details of melody, harmony or formal structure from the model for the new piece. When this happens, a recognizable allusion to the source my result, often providing the most important clue for identifying the tune or composition that served Ives as a model. Where both formal plan and melodic details of the new work are derived from the model, the relationship is fairly easy to prove, but in some instances Ives seems to adopt only the general characteristics rather than the specific structure or melody of his source."[44]

How do the intricacies of the modeling work? What and how does Ives borrow from his model? Are there cases where the composer "shows his influences in a negative way" yet still may "borrow details"? These are some of the questions to be explored in the ensuing analysis; in addition, Burkholder's hypothesis will be tested and refined in a survey of several of the songs with German texts listed in Kirkpatrick's standard song

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[42] see Clayton Henderson, *The Charles Ives Tunebook* (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1990) etc.

[43] Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes*, 3.

[44] J. Peter Burkholder, "'Quotation' and Emulation: Charles Ives's Uses of his

text list.[45] My analysis will further explore the nature of the relationship of Ives's songs to their models, and by doing more in-depth analysis on selected songs with German texts, more insight will be gained into Ives's response to the European tradition that he was reacting strongly against.

Models," *The Musical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1985): 1-26.

[45] John Kirkpatrick, *A temporary Mimeographed Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts and related materials of Charles Edward Ives* (New Haven: The Library of the Yale School of Music, 1973).

SOURCES

Before Ives's life and early songs can be explored, it is necessary to examine the origin, transmission, and criticism of the sources that are relevant to this study. Although the two groups of sources, Ives's writings and his manuscripts, are very different mediums, a common theme will emerge in the study that follows: the question of their veracity.

The two main written works of Ives, and the ones relevant to this thesis, are his *Essays Before a Sonata*, and the *Memos*. There are few extant letters from Ives's youth and early adulthood, the time period in question here, so the *Essays* and the *Memos* are the only sources in Ives's own words. In 1919, Ives gathered notes related to his Concord sonata and built on these notes to create his *Essays Before a Sonata*. The *Essays* were intended to compliment the second Piano Sonata "Concord Mass. 1840-60. The Cowells describe the *Essays* as follows: "under the guise of the meditations on the authors, *Essays Before a Sonata* would lay out the program, aesthetics, and some of the techniques of the music."[1] As he writes about Emerson, Hawthorne, the Alcotts, and Thoreau, he acquaints the reader with his views on music and life. Swafford is critical of the *Essays'* lack of coherence. She declares that "for a composer, Ives could write and think articulately - sometimes . . . . He tended to look more to the music of a sentence, the color and rhythm and electricity, than to the sense."[2] She also remarks that "the Essays seem to have been written in a rush . . . . Though he did work over them and get some rough editing before publication, he did not give the Essays the care he gave his best

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[1] Cowell and Cowell, 53.

[2] Swafford 291.

music".[3] In 1922 Ives published privately at his own expense the *Essays Before a Sonata.* Excerpts from the Essays appeared at the beginning of movements of the *Second Piano Sonata "Concord Mass. 1840-60* which Ives also published that year as was the *114 Songs.*

Unlike the *Essay before a Sonata*, the *Memos*, the most commonly quoted primary source of information on Ives, were never intended for publication. The composer compiled them as a resource from which information on himself could be drawn to fill requests and perhaps, as Kirkpatrick speculates, to "get things off his chest in a private way".[4] Ives collected his notes and created a manuscript from which he dictated to Miss Florence Martin, his part-time private secretary. The first and third parts of the Memos were fairly complete in his draft, but the second part was only an outline.[5] As he read his manuscript to Miss Martin, he added comments and elaborated on points. He then did handwritten corrections on the typed copies, sometime inserting handwritten sheets, she would retype them and he would correct again and so forth. The writing was fragmented and disjointed so Kirkpatrick was required to make a great many editorial decisions in preparing the *Memos* for publication.[6] His task was further complicated as the pages were scattered, even tucked into books.

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Kirkpatrick's preface to *Memos*, 21.

[5] In part one of the *Memos*, Pretext, Ives introduces the letters and reviews that lead him to write the Memos. Part two of the *Memos*, Scrapbook, discusses his musical works, and part three, Memories, outline the formative people and events in his musical life.

[6] See David G. Porter "Definitely Maybe" *The Musical Times* (July 1997), 11-18 for a critique of some Kirkpatrick's editorial choices and a description that he faced in

It is important to examine the veracity of Ives's accounts in the *Memos* and the *Essays* in order to assess the period of his life in which the songs in question were written. Maynard Solomon expands on this notion of Ives's distortion of events. He tenuously hypothesizes with psychoanalysis a link between Ives's inability to have biological children due to his wife's infertility and his supposed need to transform his father into a glorified ideal[7]. He writes, "unable to surpass his father in his most fundamental roles and perhaps hoping to avoid reprisals for imagined transgressions, we may surmise that Ives was impelled to make his father his permanent collaborator, idealizing their relationship, purifying his own motives, and professing a filial piety of immaculate quality. Ives was revising."[8] The most overt of Ives's exaggerations, in Solomon's opinion, is his attribution of the invention of several "procedures and techniques of twentieth century modernism, such as polyrhythms, polytonality, atonality, quarter-tone composition, infinite divisions or condensations of the musical scale, and tonal collage" to his father. Solomon finds no external confirmation for any of Ives's claims about his father except for the famous anecdote about the two marching bands. There is a conspicuous lack of information regarding Ives's musical influences, other than his father, in Ives's writings; the author extrapolates from this lacuna in the *Memos* that "*Memos* . . . may well have originated as a polemical attempt to deny the influence of other / composers". Solomon concludes that "if his father, in his own common-sense New England way and in accordance with the tenets of Transcendental philosophy, had

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editing the *Memos*.

[7] Charles and Harmony Ives later adopted a daughter Ethel.

[8] Maynard Solomon, "Charles Ives: Some Questions of Veracity," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): idealized relationship with father 446,

foreshadowed good portions of twentieth-century modernism, inspiring his son in his musical experiments, it naturally followed that Ives could not acknowledge influences from other composers and teachers." While Solomon interprets this composer's liberties with the truth as deliberate there are more innocent theories that are worthy of consideration.

Another explanation for the errors in Ives's writings that is more innocuous than Solomon's may be put forward: Ives's ill health, both physical and mental. Stuart Feder chronicles the debilitating physical and mental illnesses that Ives suffered in his lifetime in his book, *Charles Ives "My Father's Song"*. To summarizes these problems here, Ives had always been prone to depression, but beginning in 1905 at the age of thirty, he began suffering from alternating periods of extreme excitement and depression. Feder, hesitating to label this as manic-depressive disorder, identifies it as cyclothymia, a condition that is also characterized by such mood swings.[9] In the spring of 1905, Ives suffered what his Aunt Amelia was to later call a "nervous collapse".[10] He made an urgent visit to his friend and future bother-in-law David Twichell who was practicing as a physician in Hartford. At David's suggestion, Ives's went to the Twichell family retreat at Robert's Camp at Saranac in the Adirondacks to rest. Ives may have begun having heart trouble as early as 1906 and may have had a heart attack in 1918, but he certainly suffered from heart palpitations. The Cowells note an illness that kept Ives away from work for six months in 1918, but the nature of the illness has yet to be substantiated. Also in 1918, Ives was rejected from YMCA Ambulance Corps for health reasons. By

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attribution to father 447, influence 450-451, 450.

[9] Feder, 183.

the late 1920s the tremor that affected his handwriting appeared. And in 1931, at the age of 52, Ives was diagnosed with diabetes. Feder notes that "the diabetes had neurological consequences as well, which produced problems with vision".[11] As the composer's physical condition deteriorated so did his mental condition.

In the late 1920s, as his physical condition worsened so did his cyclothymia. Regarding his mental state Feder writes that Ives's "ideation was at time grandiose, and he harbored paranoid suspicions."[12] According to Feder, the composer became angry as he became more ill, and his character became exaggerated. Always fond of word play, Ives became at this time "especially fond of punning and neologism. His habits of speech soon encroached on his writing style, which could scarcely hide the underlying anger; the result was a crazy quilt of word and clang associations." At this time, Feder writes that Ives's emotional state was most evident in his writings "especially the 'second biography' that came to be called the *Memos*. In these years Ives seemed to become increasingly irritable and phobic, and was given to outbursts."[13] Influenced by Feder's account of Ives's mental health, Gayle Sherwood concludes that dates in the *Memos* may be inaccurate and therefore should not be used as primary evidence.[14] Should Sherwood's caution be extended to all details in the *Memos*?

Perhaps Sherwood has put the question in a manner that is too narrow. The value for scholarship of Ives's *Memos* depends less on their factual accuracy than on their being

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[10] AIB to CEI March 11, 1908 cited Feder p. 183.
[11] Feder 324.

[12] Feder mental state 323, word play 324.

[13] Ibid. 324.

[14] Gayle Sherwood, "Questions and Veracities: Reassessing the Chronology of

a record of the composer's thoughts, state of mind, and opinions. In other words, they are texts that must be interpreted and explicated like other texts. They provide invaluable tools to understanding a composer whose style is difficult to define and relate directly to other musical works.

Biglow Ives, the composer's nephew, recounts that between 1900 and 1920 Ives was so occupied with getting his music down on paper that he didn't take the time to catalogue his manuscripts. At the end of this period of creativity, "he was exhausted, and the scores which he had scribbled out were here, there, and everywhere"[15]; it wasn't just in the barn. In 1912, the Iveses purchased 15 acres in West Redding and built a house and a red barn. Ives then commuted by train to New York for work. In 1934 the barn, the Iveses no longer having a horse, was designated for storage for the music manuscripts. The composer even had a horse stall converted for storage space. His next door neighbor, Will Ryder, a farmer, built the shelves for the stall.[16] Richard Ives, Biglow's brother, bought four fireproof filing cabinets for Ives scores. Biglow Ives remembers that "there was a great-to-do about setting up the storage spaces for these scores", but not much came of this. The scores were gathered from everywhere; as Biglow recalls, "they came from the rooms on Umpawaug Hill, they came from New York, they came from his office, and probably from under the seats of railroad trains

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Ives's Choral Works" *The Musical Quarterly* vol. 78, no. 3 p. 431-432.

[15] Perlis, 83.

[16] Ibid., 96. Perlis tells us that Ives became close to members of the West Redding community that he had an affinity with regardless of their social class, such as farmers and his barber see p. 108.

where he did some of his composing."[17] Harmony Ives remembers them as being all over the house before this.[18]

Kirkpatrick, Ives's first cataloguer, describes the filing cabinets as he found them: "In each drawer (and there were ten) was a pile of manuscripts lying flat. There was every evidence that he'd rummaged for things in an unsystematic say, pulling out a batch from below and leafing through it and then that became the top layer - and then pulling out another batch from below and that would become the top again, and the whole thing had been shuffled and reshuffled many times, so that different leaves of manuscripts would show up at different levels of different drawers."[19] John Kirkpatrick reports that while he was cataloguing Harmony Ives would bring him fragments as she found them in the house. Although Kirkpatrick expressed regret that while he was cataloging Ives was not available for consultation, he was consoled that if he had begun the work while Ives was alive, Ives "probably would have torn up a great deal of it, particularly the things of his boyhood".[20]

There are several difficulties that face scholars who attempt to date the composer's manuscripts. The most obvious source of chronology data is the composer's own lists. Before examining the challenge that these lists pose, it is necessary to describe

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[17] Ibid., 83.

[18] Kirkpatrick, iv.

[19] Vivian Perlis. *Charles Ives Remembered.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1974 p. 226.

[20] Ibid., p. 226.

them. The earliest extant list of his works is one he began on the back of a 1928 Ives & Myrick calendar. He prefaced the list with "for my own information, not for publication". In it, he estimates having written about 200 songs, from 1886 to 1928. The first typed extant list comes from 1935. Unlike the lists that followed, it is in chronological order. It provided the basis for the subsequent six extant lists that the composer compiled over the next fourteen years.[21] And finally, there is a manuscript list that includes recordings. Information such as dates, publishers, addresses, accounts of performances, and instrumentation are included in the lists. Sherwood remarks that "Ives's deteriorating mental condition may well have affected his memory as well as his judgement when composing the nine lists."[22] She also notes that "the elapsed time between the early compositions and their assessment in the lists thirty to sixty years later could render their dates inaccurate."[23] Ultimately the lists are unreliable as a dating tool because there are contradictions both between the different lists and between the lists and information from other sources.

Another problematic element of Ives's manuscripts is the marginalia. Swafford places all of the marginalia on the manuscripts the early 1930's, thereby making it all useless for chronology studies. Swafford propounds that as the composer was anticipating the writing of the *Memos* "he went through his manuscripts jotting ideas and reminiscences in the margins".[24] This is, however, unlikely because many of the

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[21] Kirkpatrick puts the last typed list as circa 1949.

[22] Sherwood 1995, 17.

[23] Sherwood, 1994, 431.

[24] Swafford, 387.

markings are clearly contemporary instructions to copyists with "return to" followed by an address and / or phone number. Just as there are functional marginalia on some scores in the form of instructions to copyists there are nonfunctional marginalia on others. Ives tended to use his manuscripts as a type of diary with entries contemporaneous to the composition of the music. Feder remarks that this practice began during the composer's time at Yale citing, an example relevant to this study, the anecdote on the score of *Ich Grolle nicht* about *Summerfields*. After the anecdote Ives later wrote "[This was] written on the sides of the ms. of this and [of] the Summerfields sketch copy after I got back [to] 76 S[outh] M[iddle], after class in Tr[umbull] - carefully on the margin, as at the time (1897-8) Chadwick was the big celebrated man of American Music."[25] Feder believes that other nonfunctional marginalia denote memories entered years after the pieces were composed. Because the composer's memory was linked strongly to location, these often contain addresses and place names, and thus can be confused with instructions to copyists. These notations referred to places or events that the pieces recalled for Ives or that played a role in the genesis of a work sometime years before the work's composition.[26] Solomon misinterprets these nonfunctional annotations as attempts by the composer to disguise the true date of the composition of the works.[27]

Another puzzling feature of some to Ives's manuscripts is the evidence that some of their margins have been removed. Solomon dismisses Kirkpatrick's speculations that

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[25] On the copy of *Ich grolle nicht*, apparently copied from the manuscript now lost. Reproduced in the Memos p. 184 as quoted here with Kirkpatrick's editorial insertions in square brackets.

[26] Feder, 141.

[27] Solomon, 460 and 463.

Ives cut his manuscripts to remove "symbols of commercialism" or the word "Made in Germany" because the marks remain on many other manuscripts. Instead Solomon believes that "just as Ives retrospectively entered alternative dates and datable references on his autographs, he may have removed printed dates and other datable marks or memoranda from his music paper".[28] Solomon, thereby, cites this another of allegedly of the composer's alleged subterfuges to disguise the true dates of composition for his works. After noting that these cut manuscripts all had the curious instructions "cut down to 10 x 13 for Photostat" written on them, Baron, unable to find any documentation on similar notation, consulted John Kirkpatrick who "remembered Ives's plans to put sets of Photostats into paper 'pockets' such as those used for chamber-music parts".[29] Given the disorganized state of Ives's manuscripts as reported by his nephew Biglow Ives and Kirkpatrick, this explanation is a sensible one.

Maynard Solomon's landmark article "Charles Ives: Some Questions of Veracity" of 1987 sparked debate regarding the chronology of the composer's works. Fueled by Elliot Carter's 1939 remarks that

> the fuss that critics make about Ives' innovations is, I think, greatly exaggerated, for he has rewritten his works so many times, adding dissonances and polyrhythms, that it is probably impossible to tell just at what date the works assumed the surprising form we now know",[30]

Solomon infers that "the evidence thus far suggests a systematic pattern of falsification sufficient for the prudent scholar to withhold acceptance of Ives's dating pending

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[28] Solomon, 461.

[29] Baron, 24.

[30] Elliot Carter, "The Case of Mr. Ives." *Modern Music* 16 (1939), p. 174.

independent verification of his assertions and scrupulous testing of the evidentiary trail that he left on his autographs".[31] Two scholars, Baron and Sherwood, accepted the challenge offered by Solomon and produced careful studies that disproved his theory of "systematic falsification".

Carol Baron in her 1990 article "Dating Charles Ives's Music: Facts and Fictions" made an important contribution the study of the composer's chronology by establishing datable characteristics of his musical handwriting at different periods of his compositional output. She chose three complete sets of manuscripts with known first performance dates: the manuscript sources for *The Celestial Country*, written before 1902; the Third Sonata for Violin and Piano, written circa 1914 or before its 1917 performance; and the revised full score of "Putnam's Camp" for chamber orchestra. In these manuscripts, she examined the stems, noteheads, flags, treble clefs, accidentals, the size of the writing, and the general appearance of the score and established characteristics for each to the three periods, then she verified her findings by comparing the data with nine other sets of manuscripts. Her work provides scholars with an invaluable resource for use in the dating of Ives's works by handwriting. From her work with the manuscripts Baron derives conclusions that firmly counter Solomon's views: she concludes from her evidence that:

> Ives conceived many, if not most, of his innovative techniques and musico-linguistic concepts relatively early in his career, i.e., during the first decade of this century; that during the remainder of his composing career he developed larger and more ambitious musical designs; that his so-called revisions range in scope from what are, in essence, newly-conceived works, which used earlier compositions, to the limited alterations of single notes; that these revisions move in the direction of refinement, clarity, and effectiveness, motivated by creative restlessness and commitment, rather than irresponsible or fraudulent attempts to appear

[31] Solomon, 463.

> "modern" by adding random dissonances; that the discrepancies in dating are the result of Ives's sloppy care of his manuscript and, in general, his disinclination towards systematic or professional behavior in music in anything but the conceptual aspects of musical composition.[32]

Gayle Sherwood build upon Baron's work by adding a careful study of music paper types to Baron's handwriting data. Focusing on the choral works, she begins by cross-referencing the information from watermarks or labels, from paper that has such identification, with contemporary business information, in order to establish production dates for the various paper types. For instances where these results are inconclusive, she applied a painstaking search of over one thousand dated manuscripts of contemporary composers from New York and New England in order to establish correspondences in paper usage. She also treated copyist scores, establishing dates of copying then applied this information to other Ives scores with the same paper. The value of music paper type analysis in Ives studies is tempered by the composer's propensity to reuse paper. To mitigate this, Sherwood applied Baron's handwriting data to her analysis. Her work with the psalms and the *Three Harvest Home Chorales* led her to conclude that "the source study data for these works, then, confirm / Ives's composition of experimental works around the turn of the century."[33] Despite this validation of what some have identified as one aspect of the Ives legend, the composer's writing of innovative works early in his career, she counters the legend with her conclusion from the manuscript evidence that "Ives's musical development was more gradual and more strongly influence by other composers than he was willing to admit."

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[32] Carol Baron, "Dating Charles Ives's Music: Facts and Fictions" *Perspectives of New Music* vol. 28, no. 1 (Winter 1990) p. 20-57.

[33] Sherwood, 1994, source study data 442-443, influence 444.

To summarize, the works of Baron and Sherwood refute Solomon's doubts about the veracity of Ives's dating. Specifically, they demonstrate that Ives wrote innovative pieces early in his career and that his later revisions were not attempts to modernize them. Nevertheless, there is still a great deal of work to be done on the dating of Ives's manuscripts and the dates used in this thesis can not be considered definitive. Just as the veracity of the manuscript dating must be treated with care so too must be the details from the composer's prose writings. Specifically the *Memos*, which were not intended for publication, written when Ives was in ill health, and required significant editing to prepare them for publication, need to be read critically. Despite this, they are an invaluable resource.

BIOGRAPHY

In order to consider whether the Ives mythology presents an accurate picture, the early biography needs to be re-examined which in turn entails an examination of the sources for some of these anecdotes that have come to occupy such a large place in the consideration of the composer's life and works. Again, one of the important questions is that of the influence of other music on Ives in his education and in his thought.

In fact, before turning to Ives's early musical training, it is important to first consider his father's musical education, pedagogy of music theory, and musical experiments, because Ives credits George Ives as his most important influence. As a child, the latter studied flute, violin, piano, and cornet. George White Ives and Sarah Ives had arranged piano lessons for their three eldest children, Joseph, Isaac, and Amelia, but the children had been disinterested so they did not immediately do the same for their youngest George. Family legend has it that one Fourth of July George told his parents that he would rather stay home and pick cherries in order to earn money to buy a flute than go to the Fourth of July picnic with the family.[1] The Fourth of July would have been the most exciting community event of the year, so for a young boy to want to miss this for any reason would have been surprising. After this, the Iveses made a point of starting him with music lessons. Emile Gaebler was probably George Ives's most influential childhood teacher. Gaebler taught flute as well as other instruments in Danbury. Gaebler had formerly been a teacher at the respected Reverend J. W. Irwin's institute[2], was organist at the Danbury Methodist church, and a published composer. The

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[1]Charles Ives Remembered

contribution that he made to the young musician that was "perhaps the most important of all was the example of an alternative path of life".[3]

In the spring of 1860, he began to play cornet in the Danbury Band. In August of that year, his parents allowed the fifteen year old to move to Carl Foepple's farm in Morrisania, now part of the Bronx, to study music and German with the German born composer.[4] The training he received was that of the European tradition. This is evident in his notebooks titled "Lessons on Musical theory and thorough base Taken in the Winter of 1860-1 at New York, From Prof. Chas. A. Foepple by Geo. E. Ives" indicate that Foepple covered a thorough range of topics from basics to harmony, counterpoint, and forms. The exercises include writing in the style of Bach, copying of the works of the masters including baroque masses and opera excerpts, and the writing of small forms. From Morrisania, he traveled to New York to take cornet lessons with Franz Schreiber and to attend New York Philharmonic concerts. At these concerts he would have been exposed to a great deal of orchestral repertoire that he otherwise would have not otherwise had the opportunity to hear. He also travelled home to give concerts.

After his studies he returned home to Danbury. There, he taught violin, piano, brass, woodwinds, and music theory in Danbury and the surrounding area. He would have been a seasoned teacher by the time he started to give his sons lessons. He also played in the town band, led the choral society, directed church choirs, and participated in music making at camp meetings. Although his son writes that he did not write

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[2]Feder, 26.

[3]Feder, 27.

[4] Little is known concerning Carl Foepple.

textbooks[5], the Charles Ives Collection contains 17 handwritten pages, and five typed copies version of some of these hand-written pages of an article by George Ives on music theory. David Eiseman in his article on this document elucidates how the writer encouraged his students to let their ear guide them in their study of music theory. For example, regarding the overtone series, the teacher writes, "I advise you to play and hear the above tones starting from any note for the first, so that you hear and understand exactly how they sound in whatever way things are sounded."[6] This is reflected in his pedagogical strategy. Eiseman outlines it as follows, "In introducing principles of music theory, George Ives first gives the reason why something is and then encourages his reader to convince himself through his own auditory experience. In this way Ives avoids presenting the material as a set of rules." This illuminates Ives's comments about his father not being rule bound and critical of those who abided the rules of theory strictly: George Ives in counseling students to learn the workings of music through their auditory experience rather than inflexible rules reflects his own understanding of music that was intuitive and as flexible as the ear. In this article, he seems reluctant to use standard terminology; he writes, "in order to try to explain the illogical products of the staff notation as it is, they have piled names on names, figures on figures till the poor thing Music, either written or sounded, is buried out of sight and out of hearing".[7]

In order, to understand the composer's musical education in his college years and

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[5] Memos 45.

[6] David Eiseman, "George Ives as Theorist: Some Unpublished Documents" *Perspectives of New Music* 14, no. 1 (1975),142.

[7] Eiseman, 144.

his reaction to the European tradition at the time of the composition of the songs that will be examined later in this thesis. His father started him on piano lessons at age five. When George Ives found his son imitating the drum rhythms of the town band on the piano, he arranged percussion lessons for his son. Charles Schleyer, the town barber, a German musician, and a member of George Ives's Civil war band, taught the boy basic drum techniques with drumsticks on an empty tub.[8] We are told that he then played drum in his fathers band, practicing on a "rubber-top cheese box or on the piano so as to not disturb the neighbours."[9] Ives claims that in practicing on the piano he started using dissonant chords to imitate different drums, "for the snare drum, right-hand notes usually closer together - and for the bass drum, wider chords."[10] Examples of pieces that use this technique to evoke drums include *The Country Band March*, *General Booth*, and *Calcium Light Night*. Ives's inclusion of his percussion training in his Memos brings attention to an often neglected aspect of his music - rhythm. This anecdote is pertinent because his drum practice on the cheese box then the piano acts as a parallel to his transference of percussion rhythms and effects to the piano. Although, piano drumming is not a feature of any of the songs in this study, rhythm will be an aspect examined.

At age ten, George Ives arranged for his son to take piano with Miss Ella Hollister the organist and choirmaster of the Disciples Church. George Ives taught his son harmony, counterpoint, sight-reading, and ear-training. But, it is not the instrumental

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[8] Perry, 3.

[9] *Memos*, 42.

[10] *Memos*, 42.

lessons or this theoretical training that influenced the young musician most: "what my father did for me was not only in his teaching, on the technical side, etc., but in his influence, his personality, character, and open-mindedness, and his remarkable understanding of the ways of a / boy's heart and mind."[11] Ives ranks his father's outlook as more influential than any of the technical training he received from his father: "Above all this [technical instruction in music], he kept my interest and encouraged open-mindedness in all matters that needed it in any way".[12] It was this liberal perspective that Ives found lacking in later teachers, especially in college.

Aside from the formal education he received from his father and the influence of his father's "open-mindedness", he learned by example from his musical experiments. The legends surrounding the early musical experiments of George Ives, particularly those concerning polytonality, have not been treated with circumspection, nor have they been objectively explicated so that the ramifications might be considered. Many writers have claimed that Ives credited his father with the invention of polytonality, but, regarding his father's habit of having the children sing a tune in one key while he played the accompaniment, he writes "I don't think he had the possibility of polytonality in composition in mind, as much as to encourage the use of the ears - and for them and the mind to think for themselves and be more independent - in other words, not to be too dependent upon customs and habit."[13] Hence, he did not claim that his father was a theoretical forebearer of modern music, but rather a radical thinker who eschewed rules

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[11] *Memos*, 114-115.

[12] *Memos*, 115.

and the European tradition in favour of individuals' own capacities: "he thought that man as a rule didn't use the faculties that the Creator had given him hard enough".[14] Setting aside the question of veracity for a moment, writers about Ives have traditionally been so shocked by Ives's claim that his father was experimenting with tonality believing that certainly no one would have experimented with tonality before Schoenberg, certainly not a country bandmaster in nineteenth century New England, that they focused on this outrageous claim that George Ives invented polytonality without critically examining the context of Ives's comments. This was not experimentation without rationale; Ives quotes his father as having said "you've got to know what [you are doing] and why you are doing it" and he was adamant that once his son started an experimental study that he see it to completion. This was not pure experimentation, it was predicated on a through knowledge of the theoretical rules. He was thorough in the instruction of the theoretical rules, and he gave guidelines to his son regarding experimentation. Ives quotes his fathers as having said, "if you know how to write a fugue the right way, then I'm willing to have you try the wrong way - well."[15] This led Ives to exercises such as "trying to write duets and pieces in more than one, or two keys together . . . also a fugue going up in 4ths in four keys, or up in 5ths in four key".[16] In a letter to a former student, his father wrote " the older I get (he was about 42 [at] this [time], [and] the more I play music and think about it, the more certain I am that many teachers (mostly Germans) are gradually

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[13] *Memos*, 115.

[14] *Memos*, 115.

[15] *Memos*, 47.

[16] *Memos*, 46.

circumscribing a great art by these rules, rules,/ rules, with which they wrap up a students' ears and minds as a lady does he hair - habit and custom all underneath. They (the Professors) take these rules for granted, because some Prof[essors] take these rules for granted, because some Prog[essors]taught them to them, and [before that some other] Prof[essors] taught them to them etc., ad lib."[17] This is the heart of George Ives's rejection of the European tradition, it is the systemization of the rules, the authoritativeness they have accumulated, not that they are without value just the opposite he acknowledges their importance in seeing that his son received a thorough grounding in the rules.

For Ives, attending Yale was part of a family tradition. Ives's ancestor Issac Ives was the first of the Ives family from Danbury to attend Yale. His great - great grandfather Joseph Moss White also attended. In more recent generations only his uncle Joesph Ives, his father's elder bother, was admitted to Yale, but he was expelled due to a prank. Ives's admission to Yale was a product of family collaboration. George Ives took a job at the bank to help pay for his son's schooling. Amelia Brewster, Charles's aunt, advocated his transfer to Hopkins Academy, a college prep school in New Haven, to prepare him for the entrance exam for Yale. She also found him a rooming house near the school and a tutor. Amelia's husband, Lyman Brewster, as State senator and member of a prominent Connecticut family, provided the clout that the modest Ives family lacked.

Ives attended Yale between 1894 and 1898. Then at Yale, a general liberal arts curriculum was emphasized and students were not allowed to take electives until their

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Memos, 47-48.

junior year. He did not excel as a scholar; his overall average was sixty-eight percent for his four years at Yale. It did not appear to be a priority for him: he had an active social life and supported himself as an organist at the Center Church on the Green. Academic achievement was not valued in Yale student society. It was in effect mildly disdained as was religious devotion and artistic ability. Family standing, social graces, conformity, and athletic ability were prized by Yale Society.[18]

When the young composer applied to Yale, he had no expectation of taking credit courses in composition - - none were offered at Yale at that time. He planned only to take the few music courses that were offered by Gustave Stoeckel.[19] Although Stoeckel had been teaching non-credit courses at the college sine 1855, the Musical Department only began in 1890. Yale was one of several American institutions with departments of music in the late nineteenth century, including Harvard University, The University of Michigan and Northwestern University. With the inception of the department of music, Stoeckel was appointed the first Battell Professor of Music and became responsible for most of the music instruction at Yale.[20] In his many years at Yale, he fostered the rich Glee club tradition. He also developed and taught a theory curriculum that consisted of three courses: Harmony; Counterpoint, Canon, Fugue; and Forms. In the Fall of 1894, as

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[18] Kelley, Brooks Mather. Yale A History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

[19] Swafford, 107.

[20] William Osborne, "Stoeckel, Gustave J" New Grove Dictionary of American Music p. 314. Osborne remarks that Stoeckel was "responsible for all offers [of the Musical Department] except the teaching of orchestral instruments".

Ives entered Yale, Horatio Parker succeeded Stoeckel as Batell Professor of Music,[21] but the title was changed to Battell Professor of the Theory of Music to distinguish Parker from Samuel Sanford, the new Professor for applied music.[22] At this time, credit courses were added to the curriculum. In 1894, Parker was only thirty-one and just beginning to be a prominent New England Composer. Raised in Massachusetts near Boston, he was trained in composition by George Whitefield Chadwick and Josef Rheinberger, and in theory by Stephen Emery. At Yale he became renowned as a trainer of composers. In his lifetime, he became well respected as a composer of vocal and choral music.

While at Yale, Ives studied with Horatio Parker. According to his scholastic record, Ives was registered for two courses with Parker in junior year, Counterpoint and Instrumentation, each meeting two hours a week for the year, and two courses in his senior year, Strict Composition and Instrumentation.[23] Ives did well in these classes, much better than in his other courses; in counterpoint he received seventy-three percent in his first semester and eighty-five in the second, in instrumentation eighty percent both semesters, in strict composition eighty-five percent in his first semester and eighty in his second, and in his second year of instrumentation eighty-eight percent for his first semester and seventy-six and his second. His marks in the music courses in comparison with his other subjects is evidence of the time he spent on music, perhaps to the detriment of other academic pursuits. During the years Ives was at Yale, seven courses

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[21] Stoeckel retired from Yale in 1896.

[22] William K. Kearns, *Horatio Parker 1863-1919: His Life, Music, and Ideas*, Composers of North America vol.6 Metuchen, N.J.; The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1990.

[23] Charles E. Ives, *Memos* ed. John Kirkpatrick (New York: W.W. Norton & Company inc.), 1972.

were in the calendar, all taught by Parker: *Harmony*, *Counterpoint*, *The History of Music*, *Strict Composition*, *Instrumentation*, *Free composition*, and *Practical Music*.

Clearly this Yale professor was interested in fostering the American classical music scene through the training of young composers. William Kearns writes that Parker believed that "the making of composers was the primary aim of a music school, and they were the apex of a musical society".[24] That Parker envisioned the Yale Musical department as a forum for producing composers is evident in his essay "Music at Yale" in which he expounds "I believe the finest thing which can result from the study of music in our colleges is a composer".[25] He vision became a reality: "Yale gained a national reputation for training composers"[26] and several important composers, in addition to Ives, emerged from his pupils - - Bingham, Walter Ruel Cowels, Quincy Porter, Roger Sessions and David Stanley Smith. Kearns assertion of Parker's belief in the importance of composers in a vibrant musical community is also supported by a citation from "Music at Yale": "I believe every nation's musical life centers in and radiates from its own composers."[27] Thus Parker was nationalist in his advocacy of the development of America's native composers.[28] In keeping with this vision, *Free Composition* was "the

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[24] Kearns, 20.

[25] "Music at Yale" Horatio Parker Papers VC 35/2t, p. 4 cited in Kearns p. 21.

[26] "Parker, Horatio" in New Grove Dictionary of American Composers" William Kearns p. 475.

[27] "Music at Yale" Horatio Parker Papers VC 35/2t, p. 5, cited in Kearns p. 20.

[28] Perry remarks that the composer's priority was not generally shared by others in the field at the time: "Many held the same position as Waldo S. Pratt, who urged a better general education for music students and a closer affiliation with other areas of learning

crowning achievement of the music curriculum and the one he took the most delight in teaching".[29]

Oddly for a budding composer, *Free Composition* is conspicuously absent from Ives's scholastic record. The 1894 Catalog of the Yale School of Music listed *Harmony, Counterpoint, Strict Composition* and *Instrumentation* as prerequisites for Free Composition as well as "an unmistakable talent for composition".[30] Was Ives denied admission to this course?[31] Did Parker believe that Ives lacked "an unmistakable talent for composition"? The catalog lists the content of this course as follows: "several of the smaller forms of free instrumental and vocal music will be composed by students, such as part-songs, glees for male and mixed voices, and pieces of different sorts for the piano and other instruments. At the close of the year, the student will be required to produce an extended work, probably in sonata form."[32] Only one student was enrolled in *Free Composition* at all during Ives's four years at Yale, and that was in his junior year.[33] It may be argued that the composer audited this course, but would have Parker even offered

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in order to end what he called 'the isolation of music'." Perry p. 7 quoting Waldo S. Pratt, "Music as a University Course," The American Monthly Review of Reviews, Vol. XIV, July 1896, p. 87.

[29] Kearns, p. 20.

[30] William Kay Kearns "Horatio Parker 1863-1919: A Study of his Life and Music" Ph.d. thesis University of Illinois, 1968.

[31] Conversely, Swafford p. 130, cites Ives's First Symphony as his senior thesis.

[32] Ibid. From 1901 on these final exams were kept by the school of music and are now part of the Yale School of Music papers.

[33] Was this student David Stanley Smith, Parker's chosen successor at the Yale school of music.

the course in the years in which no one was officially registered? Also of note, Ives enrolled in Instrumentation twice. Was the content different? What did Ives gain from taking this course twice? Why didn't he enroll in another course?

In the *Memos* Ives's claims that he studied with the composer for all four years. This is contentious as he was not allowed to take optional courses such as music until his junior year. The question of how long he studied with Parker becomes important in considering whether all of the songs on German texts were composed under his tutelage. Kirkpatrick concludes from the circumstance that Parker opened up his History of Music to the public, even announcing the topic each week in the Yale news, that he may have allowed auditors in his other courses. This would substantiate the composer's contention that he studied with Parker for four year. Kirkpatrick's hypothesis is corroborated by an account by Edwin Arthur Kraft. He studied harmony and counterpoint in the years immediately following Ives's graduation from Yale, 1899-1901. He remarks that there were "thirty or more students in a class". The official registration record show that the enrollment for Harmony in 1898 was seven students and two students for Counterpoint. It is highly doubtful that the enlistment for these courses increased by that much in only a year.[34] If Parker admitted auditors to his courses, it would explain this large number.

In his Memos, Ives remarks a great deal about Parker as a teacher. These comments are of interest because they provide insight into his reaction to his teacher's instruction and in turn the conventions of the European tradition. In the *Memos*, Ives accounts to some extent for their working relationship as well as provides commentary

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[34] I have not verified the official registration records for 1899-1901.

on Parker's approach. One of the themes of this commentary is Parker's conservatism regarding composition in comparison with Ives's father. In one instance relevant to the repertoire of interest here, Ives recalls this exchange with Parker to highlight the difference between Parker and his father:

> In the beginning of Freshman year, and getting assigned to classes, Parker asked me to bring him whatever manuscripts I had written (pieces, etc.). Among them, a song, *At Parting* - in it, some unresolved dissonances, one ending on a [high] E flat [in the] key [of] G (major), and stops there unresolved. Parker said, "There's no excuse for that - and E flat way up there and stopping, and the nearest D natural way down two octaves." - etc. I told Father what Parker said, and Father said, "Tell Parker that every dissonance doesn't have to resolve, if it doesn't happen to feel like it, any more than every horse should have to have its tail bobbed just because it's the prevailing fashion."[35]

At first glance, it may appear that George Ives is suggesting that the song has a will of its own from the comment "if it doesn't happen to feel like it" or that the song is generated by a late-Romantic organism. However, in light of material from the *Memos*, it is consistent with his other comments regarding experimentation, the nuance is apparent that the rules are just conventions - constructs rather than natural laws. It is perhaps not surprising, given the content of the later part of Ives's oeuvre, that considerations of dissonance treatment surfaced in his compositional training, but it is noteworthy and pertinent to the present study to consider the manner and results of this disagreement. One may even note an explicit reference to the question of octave transfer with a dissonant E flat resolving two octaves below. Similar instances of dissonant octave transfer will be examined in the analysis portion of this study. How did the young

[35] Memos 116. Although it is not one of the songs with German texts being examined here, this song is relevant as Kirkpatrick lists *At Parting* in his index of standard song-texts suggesting that it be compared to J.H. Roger's.

composer, bolstered by his father's confident encouragement of liberties with dissonance, treat this musical and ideological rift?

In another instance recounted by Ives, Parker rejected one of Ives's pieces for being too dissonant; it was a fugue with the theme in four keys that he showed to Parker. He writes,

> Parker took it as a joke (he was seldom mean), and I didn't bother him but occasionally after the first few months. He would just look at a measure or so, and hand it back with a smile or joke about 'hogging all the keys in one meal' and then talk about something else.[36]

Several things come out of this anecdote: Parker's objection to unconventional key relationships, his good natured reaction, and Ives's subsequent reluctance to bring experimental works to his teacher. Of particular interest is the issue of proportion of dissonance of keys used, as this will become important in the analysis section of this study. It may be noted that other points may be implicit in this recounting. It does appear that Ives wanted his teacher's approval, and was hurt by his rejection, enough to note years later, as we shall see several times, that he avoided unpleasantness by not "bothering" him with his music. It is possible that Ives was playing up this rejection by Parker to elevate his father's image. It is also clear that Ives composed pieces during the college years that were neither class assignments nor shown to his teacher.

In discursive fashion Ives provides us with more clues regarding his reluctance by including two accounts, similar to the last, in his *Memos*. Ives recounts that "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."[37] Once again Ives accentuates the difference between Parker and his father but, more importantly, he reveals that soon he no longer brought controversial scores to Parker. This is in contrast with the previous anecdote in which he "occasionally" brought scores divergent with Parker's teachings to him. In this account he ceases to bring such scores to Parker all together.

Yet this idea of "bothering" returns; and in the following anecdote, the tone is different than the first. Regarding his more experimental student works, Ives writes

> in the music courses at Yale (four years with Parker) in connection with the regular college courses, things or ideas of this nature, or approaching them, were not so much suppressed as ignored. Parker, at the beginning of Freshman year, asked me not to bring any more things like these into the classroom, and I kept pretty steadily to the regular classroom work, occasionally trying things on the side.[38]

In this account, Parker is not jovially glancing over Ives's innovative works, but he is indifferent to them and banishes them from the classroom. We learn that Ives is not just withholding these works from Parker - they are not permitted. Also, importantly he reveals that he was working on other compositions that were not part of his course requirements that he did not show to Parker.

Turning to the teacher's reactions to his students' work for a moment, John Tasher Howard offers an account of Parker that presents a dichotomy to Ives's portrayal of Parker as teacher. According to Howard, Parker's "brusque manner frightened the timid, and he despised those who were afraid of him. In this he was somewhat of a bully;

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[36] Memos 49.

[37] Memos 116.

[38] Memos 49.

he would often willfully confuse his pupils in class, and then scoff at their confusion."[39] This begs the question, was Ives one of the students who was intimidated by Parker? Howard, who evidently admired the Yale professor, adds that "those who stood up to him [Parker] on their own two feet and talked back to him, he had the profoundest admiration." A teacher who was "seldom mean" is not consistent with a teacher who was "somewhat of a bully". While neither of these claims is substantiated, if we accept for a moment that Howard's version is the most reliable, a hypothesis worthy of consideration can be formulated to elucidate the discrepancy. Stuart Feder opines that, with his shy nature, Ives would have been unlikely to challenge his teacher.[40] If this is indeed the case, one can infer that Ives would not have earned Parker's respect in this fashion. That his character was part of his failure to gain Parker's approval would have been embarrassing for Ives to recall, hence it is understandable if he had obscured this by painting Parker as more pleasant in retrospect. If Ives's recollection was coloured by shame, it would also account for the variations in the narrative of these three versions.

Despite his teacher's resistance to his ideas, Ives expressed a generally high opinion of Parker, and he had this to say about his teacher's adherence to German training: "I had and have great respect and admiration for Parker and most of his music . . . . Parker had ideas that carried him higher than the popular, but he was governed too

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[39] John Tasher Howard, *Our American Music* (New York: Crowell, 1931), p. 337; quoted in Stuart Feder, *Charles Ives "My Father's Song"* (New Haven, Yale University Press: 1992) p. 139.

[40] Stuart Feder, *Charles Ives "My Father's Song"* (New Haven, Yale University Press: 1992) p. 137.

much by the German rule, and in some ways somewhat hard-boiled.".[41] Here his criticism of the popular is that it was conventional and looked to Europe for guidance and new ideas. Therefore, he is acknowledging his teacher for having innovative ideas. But why would Ives have qualified his remarks on his admiration for his teacher's music? If he praised most of the music, by implication there were works that he did not care for. One cannot escape the conclusion that the second half of this citation attests to his frustration with his teacher's conservatism while still praising him for some innovative concepts. These two sentiments are substantiated in the following comment from Ives's *Memos*: "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."[42] Once again he praises the composer, but criticizes his German influences. Nevertheless it is important to note a key distinction present in both of these remarks. Ives criticizes only this New England composer's adherence to the "German rule" (as personified by Rheinberger), and his propensity to be constrained by the example of German composers, not the German musical tradition as a whole. Both of these quotations speak to how Ives wished to position himself: as an innovator who transcended the conventional, who would not be limited by the constraints of "German rule".

Henry and Sidney Cowell illuminate, in their book on Ives, the relationship between American composers of Parker's generation and German teachings:

> Until after the First World War, American composers of symphonic music were almost without exception trained in Europe by Europeans, and they absorbed the esthetics of the older civilization along with its techniques. At the time that Ives

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[41] Memos 49.

[42] Memos 115-116.

> struck out for himself, central Europe had been the center of the musical culture for 250 years, and a composer for raw America who presented himself there as a student could never dream, nor would he have been allowed, to question the canons of musical composition that were given him as absolute law.[43]

This is certainly true of Parker because he was indoctrinated into this from the beginning. George W. Chadwick was the composition teacher who influenced Parker the most in his early years. Chadwick had studied in Germany with Jadsson, and briefly with Joseph Rheinberger. Chadwick encouraged Parker to study in Europe which he did with Rheinberger in Germany. As noted in my first chapter, Ives, unlike so many of the composers of his generation, did not pursue a European musical education. It is possible, as it is generally assumed, that this was by choice, but given the family's financial situation and Ives's feeling of obligation to look after his mother, it may have been impossible.

Certainly, it may be pointed out that German composers received the same training as the Americans who went there to study, but that there were German composers who went on to experiment with the limits of their musical tradition, in contrast to the conservatism of their American counterparts. The Cowells add that "transported to the United States, the rules of harmony and composition took on a doctrinaire authority that was the more dogmatic for being second hand." This suggests that the teachings themselves were not the problem, but rather the attitudes inherent in bringing them home to the New World.

From Ives's accounts, we develop a vision of Parker as a rigid teacher who did

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[43] Henry and Sidney Cowell, *Charles Ives and his Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 4.

not welcome innovation. In this context, it is surprising to think that Parker, himself may have been an experimenter in his student days. William Apthorp a Boston critic reports in an 1899 article that,

> It is said of H.W.Parker that when he was a student in Munich under Rheinberger he was repeatedly introducing some new wrinkle, some unheard of effect in the modest compositions on which he was than laboring. Certain of these musical inventions were distasteful to the master, who detected in them an outrage against the canons of the Royal Conservatory, and others were railed at playfully but secretly endorsed and even imitated by Rheinberger himself.[44]

It can be argued that his musical inventions were much milder than Ives's student experiments that Parker apparently objected to, but it is doubtful that Parker would evolved from a student rebelling against the rules, to a teacher who was intolerant of such infraction in only ten years.[45] In addition to an experimental nature, he shared his most famous student a pragmatic outlook: he claimed that the "empirical process" should be a composer's guide.[46] Perry notes that his teaching began to reflect his pragmatism when in

> 1900, two years after Ives left Yale, Parker made a basic change in the curriculum of his theory course by de-emphasizing figured-bass writing and stressing the harmonization of melodies. He now encouraged the student to discover "original principles" rather than engage in rote learning of rules . . . . George W. Chadwick's book Harmony, replaced Jadassohn's European - oriented textbook.[47]

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[44] Kearns p. 9 citing a clipping from *Boston Evening Transcript*, 27 September 1899, HP Papers, IV E 6.

[45] Parker studied from 1882 to 1885 with Rheinberger in Munich and began teaching at Yale in 1894.

[46] Horatio Parker, "Addresses, Essays, Lectures," 189?-1919, No. 13 Yale University Library of the School of Music (MA 33-P-A4) quoted in Perry, p. 11.

[47] Perry, 11.

In short, it would appear that Parker and Ives had more in common than the latter admitted in his writings.

A recurring theme in these excerpts from the *Memos* is Parker's strict adherence to German teachings. Kearns counters this portrayal of the composer as a proponent of the German tradition: "Contrary to prevailing opinion, Parker did not accept his German training uncritically. The so-called "German influence" which is said to have been dominant at Yale during his teaching career there was certainly not consciously fostered by him."[48] In fact, Kearns notes that as early as 1893, the composer down played his German training, highlighting his American experience instead: "he commented in an 1893 interview that his study with Rheinberger was rather "a development of the seeds sown by his American teachers which contained most of the germs of art truth." Moreover, he expresses a regret that he did not have a broader musical education, implying that his German training was insufficient or limiting: in the same interview he said that "the largest mistake he would correct would be that of confining his musical education to Germany."[49] Ives was not the only one to promote this false assertion; Kearns notes that this misconception was circulated in approximately twenty published sources, beginning as early 1893, the year before he began at Yale.

In the same vein, it is often concluded from Parker's supposed affinity with German musical training, that he recommended study in German to his students. While he did advocate European study for his promising students, it was France not Germany

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[48] Kearns p. 9.

[49] Kearns p. 9 citing an unidentified clipping, n.d. (ca. 1893), HP Papers, IV E3.

that he espoused. He saw France as having "the atmosphere most conducive to composition" and an artistic milieu for musical composition that had "an expansive, enthusiastic and romantic nature."[50] Among some of his students to later study in France, were David Stanley Smith, Bruce Simonds, and Douglas Moore.[51]

If Parker did not perpetuate this myth regarding the German musical tradition, where did it come from? Did people such as Ives just assume that Parker followed the common trend, as reported by the Cowells, of American composers idealizing their German training?

It is seldom acknowledged that Ives's first lessons in the German idiom came from his father and not from Parker. This is understandable given the emphasis that Ives gives to his father's experimental nature and teaching, and their reputed effect of Ives's later style. George Ives had received formal traditional compositional training from the German teacher Foepple, and Ives had completed the Jadassohn harmony text, a classic German text with his father previous to his studies with Parker. Feder speculates that "The access to European tradition passed on to Charlie from George's studies with Foepple, previously so precious, must have seemed paltry, makeshift, and somehow homespun in comparison with Parker's elegant and thorough training."[52] This may help to explain the way in which Charlie was inclined to frame his remarks on his university teacher compared to his first, his father. From Feder's commentary it can be concluded

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Kearns p. 9.

[52] Feder, 139.

that for Ives to acknowledge the extent of the influence of Parker's teachings of the European tradition would have some how denigrated his father's memory.

Within the context of the history of American music, Ives has often been seen as an aberration - - a composer without precursors, and a man without peers. At times the portrayal of the composer as a quoter of rustic music juxtaposed in an eccentric bitonal framework has bordered on caricature. However, the musical thought of Ives can be placed in a larger intellectual-historical context than it usually has been. Several writers have tried to place it within the movement of the transcendentalists, but the composer's connection to those figures must be characterized as retrospective; furthermore, his philosophical orientation is not limited to the transcendentalist movement.

An alternative viewpoint is offered by Robert Crunden, an Americanist, who places the composer within the larger progressive movement of the turn of the twentieth century. He suggests "that we should think of Ives as a 'progressive' American who seems strange and out of place only because other progressives did their innovating in other disciplines like educational psychology, politics, or business administration."[53] The progressive era, so called by its members' belief in the inevitability of progress, was a time of political reform in response to the great social and economic changes the nation faced with the increasing urbanization and industrialization. The progressive movement was characterized by increased democracy, nationalism, and populism. *The Annals of*

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[53] Robert Crunden, "Charles Ives's Place in American Culture." in *An Ives Celebration Papers and Panels of the Charles Ives Centenial Festival - Conference*. ed. by H. Wiley Hitchcock and Vivian Perlis. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1974, p. 5.

America describes the academics of the progressive movement: "In a sense, all these scholars were involved in the same pursuit: a war on formalism, on the shibboleths that for decades past had constrained the intellectual realms."[54] Ives was involved in a quest similar to that of the scholars with his own attack on formalism through his experiments with musical language, and his tirades against the restriction of popular idioms from art music. In his Memos, Ives notes that there have been some objections to his use of hymns and popular music. A professor whom Ives reports as an example of such an objector[55] told Ives "In music they should have no place. Imagine, in a symphony, hearing suggestions of street tunes like Marching through Georgia or a Moody and Sankey hymn!"[56] This was Ives's music just as much as the hymns were. The popular German *Lieder* would have had a place in the concert life of Danbury. He chastises the musical establishment for not seeing the place for quotations of popular music and hymns in art music. Why should we do the reverse and believe that the art songs of the romantic era were not part of Ives's musical continuum? Do we believe that a Schubert *Lied* has no place in a mature work of Ives? Perhaps he has made his point of inclusivity so well that now we exclude what was then assumed to be a tradition from which he drew. The use of quotation by Ives has been frequently referred to, but seldom considered critically, and it may be hoped that such consideration can contribute to the understanding of the

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[54] *The Annals of America* vol. 13 1905-1915 The Progressive Era. William Benton Publisher Encyclopedia Britannica, inc. 1968. p. xix. Some of the academics of the progressive era were Louis D. Brandeis and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. in law, Herbert Croly and Walter Lippmann in politics, and Thorstein Veblin in economics.

[55] Could this professor have been Parker?

[56] Charles Ives, *Memos* ed. John Kirkpatrick. New York: W.W. Norton & Company inc., 1972.

composer's borrowing in general, and by extension modeling, which is the subject at issue here.

Although the progressives' efforts to change the status quo implied a break with the past, there was a widespread nostalgia for the America of old. In fact, "many Americans in the 1900's undoubtedly continued to think of reform as a means of recapturing a mythical golden age."[57] They longed for the perceived order, morality, religious faith, and simplicity of a generation before. For Ives this was the America of his father, the revival meetings, the pageantry of the civil war, the transcendentalists, and the small town. Robert Crunden calls the paradoxical trend of reform in the guise of a return to the past "innovative nostalgia". He writes, the Progressives "were neither derivative nor original in any pure sense of these terms. They looked backward for emotional support and secure ideas even as they bravely experimented with federal regulation, instrumentation, and polyrhythms."[58]

"This tension between the old and the new helped generate art, but it also made that art confusing and contradictory. Most often, the new ideas found themselves in works of art that were based on traditional forms, as if the comfort of the old forms took the sting out of the threat of the new ideas."[59] This is sometimes the case with Ives, as it is in his use of strophic lied form in his songs with experimental harmonies, and several

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[57] Arthur A. Ekirch jr. *Progressivism in America* check library catalogue for the rest of the reference.

[58] Robert Crunden. *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives' Achievement in American Civilization 1889-1920.* New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers 1982. p. x.

[59] Ibid., 90.

of the composer's detractors would call his music "confusing and contradictory". Another product in art of the progressive era was new forms. Crunden points out that "the innovations of form that resulted were not the product of pure experimentation; they were, rather, the innovations of nostalgia, as the composer tried to recapture the ideals of Transcendentalism and its leaders."[60] Is this what Ives was attempting to achieve with innovative works such as his song "*Wie Melodien zie es mir*"? In line with his belief that artists' intent in creating experimental works was to recreate the ideals of the past, Crunden claims that these ideals, in turn, became the program of their art: "The art that resulted was always, in some way, programmatic: It had a meaning, and even a moral in the eyes of the creators and that meaning was a realization of something of the past."[61] This belief that all progressive art is programmatic is supported by Ives's rhetorical questions: "Is not all music program music?"; "Is not pure music, so called, representative in its essence?"[62] For Crunden then, the program to all of Ives's music is the themes of the progressive movement.

What is the program of these Ives songs on German texts? If this intellectual historian's theories were applied to the settings on German texts that are the subject of this thesis, then his resetting of the songs of the German masters is nostalgic in its use of material of the past and its evocation of memory of these lied from the past by the use of the same text. Yet it is progressive in its "improving" on the works of the masters,

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[60] Crunden, 121.

[61] Ibid., 117.

[62] *Essays Before a Sonata*, p. 4.

evidence of Ives's belief in progressive evolution.

A diligent search of the argument's preparation fails to turn up proof that these songs were written only explicitly as classroom assignments. At the root of the propagation of this false idea is an attitude towards that biography of this composer: it is characterized by the assumption that Ives would not write a piece like this later in his career, that his development as a composer entailed a constant progression towards greater innovation. Perhaps, instead, the Romantic composers' settings of these songs were part of Ives's musical memory and he could have accessed them at any time in his life. Perhaps these setting were instances of musical transcendentalism, Ives's way of being part of a transcendental continuous improvement by improving upon the work of his predecessors.

Rosalie Sandra Perry links Ives to Emersonian transcendentalism, the stream of consciousness movement, realism, revivalism and the social gospel, and pragmatism[63]. His works are characteristically transcendental in its use of old materials to transcend the present. However, Perry fails to distinguish that relationship to transcendentalism was a progressive one; it was nostalgic, an honoring of the past. She also associates the stream of consciousness movement with free association playing a role in such works as the Fourth Symphony and the Fourth Violin Sonata. And she sees his liberties with temporality in his music as analogous to stream of consciousness in writing. Ives's stream of consciousness works could also be seen as nostalgic, the stuff of dream and memory. Perry finds elements of realism in Ives's attempts to make music more tangible

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[63] Rosalie Sandra Perry. *Charles Ives and the American Mind.* The Kent State University Press, 1974.

and his use of themes of common people. On the other hand, these themes are the songs of his childhood and the New England of his father's generation thus evoking the past. The author acknowledges Ives's evocations of revial meetings in his music, for example the third movement of the String Quartet No. 1 that is subtitled "A Revival Service", and the ideals of social Christians in his writings. But this too is nostalgic in nature, recalling the revival meetings from his father's time, and yearning for a simple more moral past. As strong as Perry's scholarship is in describing traits of the progressive movement, and in citing several authors in ancillary fields, such as law and philosophy, her connection of the progressive movement to specific musical points in Ives's works is less than successful.

To summarize, the myth of Ives the pioneer, the innovator can be better understood and placed in its proper context by the foregoing points that arose in discussion of the composer's education and the study of the *Memos* themselves. If we include the elements of European art music and progressivism then the adjusted and expanded pictures of the young Ives is a truer one.

ANALYSIS

The songs possible based on Brahms's works were chosen for this study in order to examine the way in which Ives received his harmony. Those songs that may have been influenced by Mendelssohn were included so that all of the possible models by a second composer could also be examined. Of the latter there are only two songs on Kirkpatrick's list of standard song texts. As well, there is both a Mendelssohn setting and a Brahms setting of "Minnelied", providing an opportunity to evaluate two possible models for Ives's setting.

A set of elements will be examined for each pair of songs, and for the three settings of "Minnelied". This pattern will only be deviated from for the analysis of Ives's "Wie Melodien zieht es mir". The first element examined will be the form. Form mapping is a term used in this study to mean the way in which the composer translates the form of the poem into the form of the song. Form mapping occurs on two levels. Large-scale form mapping entails repetition of lines and the treatment of entire stanzas. It is by large-scale form mapping that the composer creates the overall structure of the song. Small-scale form mapping treats the way in which the composer articulates the line endings and caesuras of the text.

After form mapping, the analysis will turn to the setting of the individual words. The setting of one syllable linking words with more than one note will be shown to be a possible stylistic trait in these Ives songs. The words chosen by each composer to be set with more than one syllable will be contrasted in order to highlight this feature of Ives's settings. The respective composer's choices of images to text paint and the gestures used to depict these words will be compared and their use of register in the vocal lines,

particularly the use of the highest notes of the piece to highlight important words, will be analyzed.

In addition, the harmonic language and the rate of harmonic change will be analyzed. Finally, a group of elements, that along with other elements, create the mood of the song and evoke the emotions of the text, will be examined.

Ives set four texts which Brahms also set: Brahms's "Wiegenlied" Op. 49/4, "Minnelied" Op. 71/5, "Feldeinsamkeit" Op. 86/2, and "Wie Melodien zieht es mir" Op. 105/1. The first pair to be examined will be Ives's and Brahms's settings of "Wie Melodien zieht es mir". The analysis will not follow the same format of the analyses that follow it.

The text of "*Wie Melodien zieht es mir*" is from a poem by Klaus Groth. James Sinclair believes that Ives's source for the text was Brahms's setting.[1] Kirkpatrick tentatively dates this song to 1898.[2] Sinclair adopts 1900 as a possible date as it is the date that Ives in *114 Songs*. In adapting this song for a new English text, the composer added a new ending creating the song "Evidence". Brahms's "*Wie Melodien zieht es mir*" op. 105.no.1 was written in 1886 and first published in 1889.

Ives's treatment of tonality can be seen as progressive. Robert Morgan believes that the composer "came to view traditional tonality as a "historical" language - that is, as having become in some basic sense consigned to the past".[3] As a result, he viewed

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[1] James Sinclair, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music of Charles Edward Ives*, 395.

[2] John Kirkpatrick, A Temporary Mimeographed Catalogue of the music manuscripts and related materials of Charles Edward Ives 1874-1954, p. 178.

[3] Morgan, 4.

tonality nostalgically as a relic of the past. Although it was not part of his present, he felt free to use it in his work. Morgan writes that although "the remnants of common-practice music are still everywhere evident in his work, their meaning has been fundamentally transformed. They are treated as available material, as elements to be refashioned at will without consideration for their origins or previous implications".[4] This study intends to demonstrate that the composer did, in fact, consider convention in his use of common-practice material. Although, as Morgan points out, the composer often chose to use tonality in untraditional ways, the "previous implications" were elements that he manipulated in his refashioning of the material. Thus, Ives's approach to common-practice tonality is one of innovative nostalgia: treating his source as historical, appreciating it, and contriving to improve it in a progressive fashion thus transcending the original.

One aspect of nineteenth century tonality that Ives adapted was Brahms's roving harmony.[5] Brahms's roving harmony moves from one tonality to a distant one through a series of neighbouring chords that relate to one another, such as secondary dominants and Neapolitan chords. Ives takes Brahms's roving harmony and treats it as a "historical language". As shown in the analysis that follows, Ives transforms roving harmony in a progressive way into a new more structure harmonic scheme. Evidently Ives was influenced by Brahms's harmony; however, Brahms's setting of *Wie Melodien zieht es Mir* does not contain examples of roving harmony. Therefore, unlike the other modeling relationships examined in this study, there is not a one to one correspondence between a

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[4] Morgan, 5.

[5] See Arnold Schoenberg, "Brahms the Progressive" in *Style and Idea*, Leonard Stein ed. Leo Black trans. New York: St Martins Press, 1975, p. 405

element in the original that influence Ives and an element in his setting. Ergo, in these settings of standard song texts, the composer was influenced not only by the setting that was the source of his text, but also the compositional style in general of his precursor.

In his book *A Union of Diversities: Style in the Music of Charles Ives*, Lawrence Starr identifies the distinction of musical sections by contrasts in harmony, rhythm, and motivic and melodic content as a stylistic hallmark of the composer.[6] This musical heterogeneity would be an obstacle to unity if it were not, as Starr notes, for the composer's use of devices such as repeated motives throughout the sections. Burkholder magnanimously demonstrates that this style feature is not unique to Ives.[7] He notes that variation in style within a single work is found throughout the history of Western music, from Gregorian chant to Scriabin, and thus argues that Ives's stylistic heterogeneity places him within the European tradition rather than outside of it. This is an example of how Ives viewed tonality and its conventions as a historical language. Morgan claims out of this view of Ives grew the composer's "realization that there was no longer any necessity for seeking absolute stylistic or structural consistency".[8] So Ives made stylistic inconsistency into a style feature.

In his setting of "*Wie Melodien zieht es mir*", we find evidence of this style characteristic in his use of contrasting harmonies to define musical areas. In overview, is a strophic setting with three strophes. The setting has a two-bar introduction and the

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[6] Lawrence Starr, *A Union of Diversities*, New York: Schirmer Books, 1992.

[7] J. Peter Burkholder, "Ives Today" p. 253-290 in *Ives Studies* ed. by Philip Lambert. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

[8] Morgan, 5. (Ives studies)

strophes are separated by three-bar transitions, mm. 15-17, and mm. 30-32. Although the composer's use of conflicting harmonies to separate the stanzas and the transitions does not create, in this instance, the polarity of styles between sections that Starr has in mind, the effect produced is in the same vein, and it certainly provides an example of Ives's disregard for the conventions of tonality that Morgan speaks of. Ives creates a setting that is defined by two keys a diminished fifth apart - D flat major and G major. Although the key signature is that of D flat major, the song begins with G major arpeggiated chords (example one shows the first two measures of the work) and the tonality that is inflected in the transitions between the stanzas (example two fives mm. 14-18 and mm. 29-33, mm. 14-17 and mm. 29-32 are the transition bars, while m. 18 and m. 33 are the first bars of the second and third stanzas respectively).

m. 1-2

Wie

m. 14-18

hin.

Doch kommt das Wort und

Therefore, G major is an important tonality to the piece, because it is the tonality that the song begins with, and it returns at the transitions, both structurally important points. The transitions begin with D flat major chords which are followed by a bar of A major (m. 16/m. 31), the sharp dominant of D flat major. In voice-leading, if D flat is re-notated as C sharp, an enharmonic interval of a minor sixth between it and the root of A major in apparent, creating a third relation. Harmonically, the A major chord can be interpreted as the Neapolitan of V of D flat. In the next bar, m. 17/m. 32, we have the G major and the

entrance of the voice on the last beat. The preceding A major chord can be heard as a secondary dominant: the dominant of the dominant of G major. Then in m. 18/m. 33 we have an A flat major chord, the dominant of D flat major (that marks the beginning of an A flat major tonal section that continues until m. 22/m. 37). In relation to its preceding chord, the A flat major chord is the Neapolitan of G major. This A flat major chord is a semitone away from the preceding G major chord creating a dissonant voice-leading juncture between the transition and the new stanza.

The dissonances created by the progression of these four chords is intensified by parallelism: all four of these chords are in root position and voice led so that each chord moves by step to the next. In fact, almost every chord of the song is in root position, making it rife with parallelism: the exception - a dominant seventh chord of A flat major in first inversion in m. 5, m. 20, and m. 35. Viewing the bass line of the transition section and of the bars immediately surrounding it as a line in isolation from the harmonies that it supports, it creates a tonic to dominant line ornamented with lower and upper neighbours to the dominant: it begins with the tonic of D flat major followed by a G natural with that resolves up to the last note A flat, then an A natural that, acting as an upper neighbour, resolves down to the dominant of D flat major, A flat. In summary, Ives defines his sections in this song with sharp contrasts, specifically with contrasting harmonies between the introductory bars and the first stanza and between the stanzas and the transitions, a characteristic that Starr presents as a feature of Ives's style. And his use of distant tonalities was inspired by Brahms's roving harmony, but the composer has transcended it in a progressive manner by eliminating the intermediating related chords that Brahms's used to move between his unrelated keys thereby moving directly from one

unrelated key to the next. Whereas, Brahms's roving harmony served a harmonic and voice leading function, Ives has turned it into a method for creating structure by his use of distant tonalities to distinguish sections.

The discussion will now turn to the examination of some of Ives's songs that are more conventional sounding. The first of these is "*Feldeinsamkeit*". Kirkpatrick dates this piece from before November of 1897 as there is a notation on the outline sketch indicating that that the piece was written for Dr. Griggs's recital at Center Church November 10th, 1897.[9] He does remark, however, that the singer was performing at Simsbury that evening, not at Center Church. Sinclair dates it at early 1898 because the piece was probably discussed in Parker's class on Thursday the 31st of March 1898 when Chadwick visited the class.[10] Ives gives 1900 as the date of composition in 114 songs, but this makes the class discussion impossible. Brahms's "*Feldeinsamkeit*" was composed between 1877 and 1889 and first published in 1882.

In his setting of "*Feldeinsamkeit*", Brahms provides unity with repetition through a varied strophic from. He sets the second stanza with a variation of the music from the first stanza creating two sections. The second section begins the same as the first with its first two measure identical to the beginning of the song, measures 19- 20 are the same as measures 3-4. Thus a sense of unity between the two stanzas is beginning to be drawn through a parallel by setting their beginnings to the same music. However, the difference in tone is reflected in Brahms' reharmonization of the material from m. 5-7 in m. 21-24. Although the harmonies are different, familiar gestures are retained from the first stanza, most notably the arching eight note arpeggiation of m. 22 recalls m. 6.

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[9] Kirkpatrick catelogue p. 175.

m. 22:

schö - ne stil - le

m. 6.

mei - nen Blick nach

At the end of the caesuras of the respective stanzas, they each modulate to C major at this point and share a cadential figure in the vocal line. Although the realization of the harmonies is different in the accompaniments, this is a point that provides unity as the

[10] Sinclair p. 251.

two stanzas share this common structural event.

In the subsequent phrase, the two settings of the stanzas diverge. The composer creates variety by harmonic and metric means. In his setting of m. 10-11, Brahms uses a diminished seventh chord followed by an f minor chord with these harmonies underlined by a C pedal. In the second stanza, m. 26-27, Brahms maintains a vocal line that is very similar to its corresponding point in the first stanza, but he transforms the materials in two ways. He takes the notes of the diminished seventh chord and transmutes it into a localized key are of D flat major. As well as permutating the harmony, he alters the temporarlity in m. 26-27. Whereas this melodic fragment begins on the last eight note of the bar, as a pick-up in the first stanza, it comes in "early", on the last half of the second beat in the second stanza thereby catching up some of the time "lost" by the extension in the previous phrase. This time is then "lost" again as the note value of the melody lengthens to a half note giving greater emphasis to the text "*gestorben bin*".

m. 26-27.

mir ist, als ob ich längst ge - stor - ben

m. 9-10-11

von Gril - len rings umschwirrt ohn Un - ter - laß. von

At this juncture, the sense of time is also distorted by a change in texture. The accompaniment has eight note octaves in the left hand on the down-beat with the right hand in octaves on the off beat. This is a distinct break in texture from the more fluid accompaniment of the rest of the lied and with the change of texture comes a bit of ambiguity of meter with the articulation of the off beats. Finally, for the last textual phrase of each stanza, they share the same music providing unity, closure, and a sense of return at the end (m. 12-17 = m. 29-34). Thus, Brahms created unity through his repetition of material in the second strophe, yet maintained interest through harmonic and metric variants.

In the articulation of the phrases of the text, Ives appears to have modeled his form mapping in "*Feldeinsamkeit*" on Brahms's, yet he created a different form. Both Brahms and Ives reserve cadencing for the ends of each stanza. In his setting of this text Brahms repeats certain lines and phrases: "*noch oben*" in measure eight, "*von Himmelsbläue wundersam umwoben*" in measure fourteen to seventeen, "*wie schöne stille Träume*" in measures twenty-four to twenty-five, and "*Und ziehe selig mit durch ewge Räume*" in measures thirty-one to thirty-four. Ives takes Brahms model of repeating text and takes it even further. Ives uses the text repetition the Brahms uses, and

adds even more repeats: "*ohn' Unterlass*" measure fifteen to sixteen, a second repeat of "*schone stille Träume*" in measures thirty-one to thirty-two, "*mir ist, als ob ich längst gestorben ben*" in measures thirty-four to thirty-six. Ives takes this notion of repeating takes and takes it even farther by repeating the entire first stanza and its accompanying music at the end of the song measures forty to forty-nine. This repetition accounts for the differences in the larger form. Ives turns Brahms's varied strophic form, with it subtlety-varied repetitions, into a ternary form with literal repetition. Thus Ives models his small scale form mapping of the text on Brahms's, yet transforms his model's larger form.

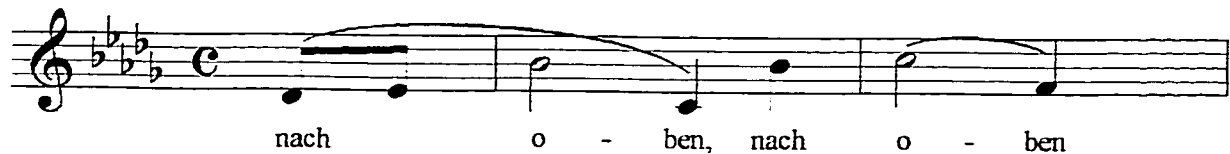
His setting of "*Feldeinsamkeit*" is an instance where Ives's stylistic trait of setting insignificant one syllable words with more than one note per syllable is evident. Both Brahms and Ives set "*Feldeinsamkeit*" almost entirely with one note per syllable. Brahms only set two groups of words with more than one note per syllable: "*meinen Blick nach*", my glance up, in measure six, and "*schöne stille*", lovely calm dreams, in measure twenty-two. Ives set several small words with more than one note per syllable: "*nach*" in measures eleven and forty-five, "*ohn'* " in measure sixteen, "*von*" in measure seventeen, and the prefix of "*umwoben*" in measure nineteen. While the words the former composer chose to set with more than one syllable are descriptive ones, the words the latter chose for this treatment are prepositions or other small words.

An examination of these composers' respective settings of this text reveals that they chose to underscore many of the same images with similar text-painting. Brahms sets the first statement of "*noch oben*" (upwards) in measures six and seven with a gesture that goes down a major second, up a minor third, then down a minor sixth. He sets the second statement, measures seven to eight with a truncated gesture that goes up a

minor second then down a perfect fifth. Ives sets "*nach oben*" in a similar fashion. His first statement uses a gesture that goes up a minor sixth, up a perfect fifth, and down a minor seventh. His second statement is very similar to Brahms's second statement.

Brahms:

Ives:



This musical fragment expresses an upward movement with a gesture that goes up a major second and down a perfect fifth. Another instance or similar text painting occurs at "*schöne still Träume*" (calm dreams). In measure eleven of the Brahms and measure twenty-eight of Ives, they both use minor sevenths arpeggiation to evoke this text image. They also both use minor inflection to set *Unterlass*, stopping. This occurs in the Brahms at measure eleven, and the Ives at measure sixteen. In his setting of "*Minnelied*" and "*Feldeinsamkeit*", Ives chose to accentuate many of the same images with text painting as Brahms did in his. The similarity of the gestures used in text painting is also striking. These congruencies in text painting may be the result of the conscience use of Brahms's settings as a model by Ives or merely the result of coincidences.

While they may have chosen to set many of the same images using similar melodic gestures, their overall all settings of the texts are quite different. Ives's setting opens with a six-bar introduction that presents the "Schubertian" arpeggiated sixteenth-

note chord accompaniment which will continue through out this song. Philip Newman interprets this accompaniment as depicting "the unceaseless voices of nature", for instance, the song of the crickets (*Grillen*) from the text.[11] On the anacrusis to measure seven, the vocal line enters beginning with a repeated note, followed by a falling perfect fourth, then an interloping step up, then returning to the original note; this opening gesture may paraphrase the tune of *America the Beautiful* by implying both the repeated note followed by the falling and rising fourth and, through the step up, the subsequent rising line. The vocal line of *In Summerfields* continues in the majestic spirit of *America the Beautiful.*

m. 5-8.

In m. 16-17 with the return to the home key in m. 19-22 the listener is reminded of the allusion at the beginning of the song.

m. 16-17.

[11] Philip Edward Newman. "*The Songs of Charles Ives*" Part II Ph.D dissertation University of Iowa, 1967, p. 242.

It appears that the idyllic landscape described in the first stanza of the German text is interpreted by Ives as a patriotic junction of Heaven and earth in an American setting. In the English translation that he added to the song for its publication in *114 Songs*, "*von Grillen rings umschwirrt ohn' unterlass*" (from crickets all around chirping unceasingly) is translated as "by voices of the woodland and a constant call". Thus as Newmann suggests, perhaps the accompaniment depicts not only the chirping of crickets but also the "call" of nature, both in its literal sounds and it figurative allure. In m. 16-17 accompanying the repeated text "*ohn' unterlass*" / "a constant call", the composer uses a dissonant setting featuring parallelism. The overt dissonance adds a sense of urgency to the text "a constant call".

Following the statement of the first stanza text, there is a link in m. 23-24 (with its figuration beginning in m. 22) features a rising dominant seventh arpeggios that has a magical quality. The B section, from m. 25 to m. 45, uses an extension of Brahms's roving harmony with secondary dominant and parallelism. By the extensive use of such devices, Ives eliminates any sense of key. This dissonance and atonality evokes the confusion of the world of dreams. The wandering tonality suggests the infinite freedom of the narrator moving with the clouds. While Brahms's setting portrays the peacefulness of nature, Ives' depicts the sound of nature and the restlessness of spirit.

Ives sets different words with high pitch emphasis in his setting of "*Feldeinsamkeit*". Brahms used one of the highest pitches to highlight "*Grillen*", to illustrate crickets chirping in measure ten. He also uses this on "*himmelsbläue*" to evoke the height of heaven in measure fourteen. Finally, Brahms treats "*stille Träume*", calm

dreams, with high pitch emphasis to invite this high dreamy realm. Ives sets "*umschwirrt*" (whirred) with this high pitch emphasis to elicit this effect of cricket chirping. He also uses it to highlight *schöne* (lovely) in measures twenty-nine and thirty-one, and *ziehe* (move) in measures thirty-seven and thirty-nine. These differences are consistent with the differences in line contour. Both Brahms and Ives use vocal lines that outline triads to set "*Feldeinsamkeit*". Ives, however, inverts some Brahms's line contours and creates different ones. These similarities in the melodic line may be an instance of modeling.

Modeling of harmonic scheme may be apparent in the settings of "Feldeinsamkeit". Both settings have a slow rate of harmonic change. Brahms employs from measure twenty-one to twenty-five what Schoenberg calls Brahms's "roving harmony". This harmony moves from tonic through subdominant to the dominant by the means of chromaticism and secondary dominants. Ives demonstrates Brahms's influence on his harmony by his use of this roving harmony from measure fourteen to eighteen. The similar rate of harmonic change and harmonic language may be evidence of modeling of harmonic scheme in Ives's song.

Both Brahms's and Ives's settings of this text employ very different accompaniments, tempos, and keys. Brahms applies a solid chordal accompaniment while Ives applies arpeggiated motion that extends upward through both hands. There is also a marked difference in tempo between these two works. Brahms marked his setting "*Langsam*", slow. Ives gave his setting a much faster tempo, "*Allegretto molto tranquillo*". The contrast extends to keys. Brahms's setting features F major that gives it a very pleasant character. Ives's setting features D flat major, which is more somber. All

in all, Ives's D flat major setting with it arpeggiated movement and quicker key is a more restless and animated depiction of the landscape than Brahms's peaceful, meditative one.

The first stanza of "*Wiegenlied*" is from the collection "*Das Knaben Wunderhorn, Alte deutsch Lieder*". The second stanza was added by Georg Scherer in his "Alte und neue Kinderlieder, Fabeln, Sprüche und Räthsel from 1849. Sinclair notes that Ives's source for this text was probably the ubiquitous Brahms setting from 1868. Kirkpatrick and Sinclair both give 1900 as a tentative date of composition for Ives's song.[12] Ives later changed the music with a new ending and put it with a new text to create "Berceuse".

In 1859, Bertha Porubsky, then a member of Brahms's women's choir sang to him a folk-like song by Alexander Baumann, "*Du moanst wohl, du glabst wohl, die Lieb lasst si zwinga*?". You mostly want, you think you want the love you force to stop. Eric Sams claims that Brahms was at this time reading the folk song collection *Des Knabe Wunderborn* that contains the text "Guten Abend, gut' nacht". Sams believes that the Baumann song and the lullaby text became "fused" in Brahms's memory at this point.[13] Brahms wrote "Wiegenlied" in July 1868 in honor of the birth of Bertha Porubusky's, now Bertha Faber, second son. Compare example one from the song by Alexander Baumann, to the right hand of the accompaniment of the beginning of Brahms's Wiegenlied. Brahms varied the material rhythmically and by repetition. For example the

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[12] Kirkpatrick, 184 and Sinclair, 549.

[13] Eric Sams, *Brahms Songs*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972, p. 31.

material of measure three of the Baumann song does not occur in Brahms's *Wiegenlied* until measure five. On the 15 of July 1868, Brahms sent a copy of *Wiegenlied* to, Bertha's husband, Arthur Faber accompanied by a short note: 'Frau Bertha will realize that I wrote the *Wiegenlied* for her little one'. She will however find it quite in order, as I do, that while she is singing Hans to sleep, a love song is being sung to her".[14] This offers a double layer of private reception. Brahms wrote this song for a particular child thus it would have particular meaning for the child's parents. As well, through his incorporation of the love song he added a private subtext between Bertha Faber and himself. The composer acknowledges that this secret program may perhaps be perceived by a larger public. This Viennese *Landler* like song is distinctive. Upon the publication of *Wiegenlied* he wrote to Frau Faber asking slyly "Has Haslick perhaps noticed the Austrian element that has been smuggled in?".[15] Arrangements of this famous song became so proliferous that Brahms's exclaimed to his publisher "Why not make a new edition in the minor for naughty or sick children? That would be yet another way to sell more copies!".[16] Brahms must have been distressed to see this private message desecrated.

Ives clearly modeled his mapping of the form of the text into the music on Brahms's form mapping in his setting of "*Wiegenlied*". In his "*Wiegenlied*" Brahms proportioned his articulation of the text division conservatively. Harmonically he

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[14] Friedlander 70.

[15] Friedlander, 80.

[16] Lucien Stark, *A Guide to the Solo Songs of Johannes Brahms*. Bloomington: Indianna University Presss, 1995, 148.

reserves cadencing at all until the perfect authentic cadences at the ends of stanzas. And he strongly articulates the caesuras at the measures 10 and 28 with rhythmically with rests and melodically with an octave leap. Like Brahms, Ives in his "*Wiegenlied*" reserves cadencing until the perfect authentic cadences at the ends of the stanzas. He also strongly articulates the caesuras at measure 10 and 26 with octave leaps, but he ends the phrase with a half note and a breath indication rather than a rest as Brahms did.

Both Brahms's and Ives used primarily syllabic setting with one note per syllable of text in the settings of all three of these poems. In their settings of "*Wiegenlied*" the text that they chose to highlight with more than one note per syllable is often different, I find the similarities most intriguing. Both Brahms and Ives set some minor joining words with more than one note per syllabe:"*Mit*" in bar 4 of the Brahms and Bar 4 of the Ives, "*unter*" in bar 9 of the Brahms and bar nine of the Ives, "*Von*" in b. twenty-two of the Brahms and bar twenty of the Ives, and "im" in bar twenty-five of the Brahms and twenty-three of the Ives.

Brahms:

steckt, schlupf' un - ter die Deck': mor - gen

Ives:

steckt, schlupf' un - - - ter die

The settings of *Mit*, *Von*, and *Im*, - - with, by, and in suggest that Ives may have been imitating Brahms's settings of these words. These setting of *unter* may be part of text painting in both pieces as the eight not setting forms part of a melodic arch as if creating musically with the voice something to go under.

In their use of text painting, Ives and Brahms often privilege different text images. This is true in their settings of "*Wiegenlied*". In pitch emphasis, Brahms strongly highlights *früh* in measure 10 and *selig* in measure 29 by giving them the highest pitch of the piece accentuated by an octave leap. Ives reserves his highest pitches for the beginning of lines. Ives reacts against Brahms's characteristic and, unique for a lullaby, arching melody line. Ives chooses falling melodic lines more characteristic of folk lullabies which for him would have been more characteristically American. Ives's text painting has a darker character than Brahms's. For example, he highlights "*Nacht*", night, with a minor modal inflection.

Harmonic scheme offers examples of modeling. In the two settings of "*Wiegenlied*", the harmonic pace of change is very similar and follows a similar pattern of change in both songs. They both establish the tonic strongly in the beginning and have on average one harmonic change per bar. The areas of greatest rate of change in harmonies occurs in roughly the same place in each of these pieces, measures 6-8 of the Brahms and measure 7-8 in the Ives. Ives clearly modeled the harmonic scheme and language on Brahms's.

In his settings, Ives evokes quite different mood and emotion than Brahms in his. Ives does this by his use of accompaniment, tempo, and key. Brahms's accompaniment of "*Wiegenlied*" as aforementioned is based on a Waltz like Viennese song. The accompaniment reflects this with its steady quarter note arpeggiation in the left hand. Brahms's tempo marking is *Zart Bewegt* indicating gentle movement this reflects the character of the accompaniment. Ives rejects this obvious sign of the European tradition in Brahms's accompaniment in favor of an accompaniment that acts as rhythmic counterpoint to the melodic line, in his setting of "*Wiegenlied*". The rhythm in the accompaniment complements the melody line so that there is constant movement at the quarter note if not at the eighth note level. Ives's tempo marking is *Andante bene tenuto* , a well held walking pace. This strictness in the tempo marking is necessitated by the nature of the accompaniment. Finally Ives's choice of C sharp major distinguishes it instantly for Brahms's setting in E flat major. His choice of C sharp major renders the character of his setting much darker and sharper.

The poem "*Minnelied*" was written in 1773 by Ludwing H.C. Holty. Kirkpatrick tentatively dates this work to 1892 because of an annotation on one of the manuscripts that reports that Ives transposed the song to F major for Miss Isabelle Fayerweather to sing at a Danbury School concert on June 11, 1892.[17] Sinclair remarks that Krikpatrick did not find a report of the concert in the Danbury News. He suggests instead that the song was possibly composed in 1898.[18] The composer reworked the song to create "Nature's Way". Because the manuscripts for this work are untitled, the title was added editorially when the song was first published in *Forty Earlier Songs* in 1993. Both Brahms and Mendelssohn set this text. Brahms's setting is from 1877 while Mendelssohn's is from 1828.

There is little similarity between Mendelssohn's and Ives's form mapping or between Brahm's and Ives's form mapping in their settings of "*Minnelied*". They each create different larger forms. Mendelssohn uses a rounded binary form to set this text: A material from m. 1-8, new material, B, from 9-12, a return of the second of the A material at m. 13-17. The B material is characterized by falling lines while the vocal line of the A material rises and falls. This rounded binary form sets the first two stanzas. The next two stanzas are treated by a repeat. Thereby the first and third stanzas are set with the same music and the second and fourth are set to the same music. Because of the rounded binary form the music for the last half of all four stanzas is the same. Brahms's "*Minnelied*" has a varied strophic structure. It forms a four-part form, A, A, B, A^1, that corresponds to the four stanzas. Ives chose a more expansive form than either of the

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[17] Kirkpatrick, 161.

[18] Sinclair, 298-299.

other composers used, grouping the first two stanzas together and the last two stanzas together, to create a two part binary form: A, A^1.

Just as there is little similarity in large-scale form mapping between Mendelssohn and Ives, and Brahms and Ives in these settings, Ives's choices for small-scale form mapping have little resemblance to his predessors' choices. Mendelssohn closes the first and third stanzas with inauthentic V-I cadences and the end of the second and fourth stanzas with Perfect authentic cadences. This provides a stronger sense of finality for the ends of the second and fourth stanzas while still providing closure to the first and third stanzas. Brahms articulates the ends of the first, second, and fourth stanzas with perfect authentic cadences. He does not articulate the end of the third stanza musically. In order to create his two-part form from the four-stanza poem, Ives reserves perfect authentic cadences for the ends of the second and fourth stanzas, mm. 18 and 34. He closes the first and third stanzas with half cadences with secondary dominant at mm. 11 and 28. This provides continuity between the first two stanzas and between the last two stanzas.

All three composers use predominantly one note per syllable in their setting. Mendelssohn sets *wandelt* and *durch* in m. 7 with two notes on the first syllable of *wandelt* and the one syllable *durch* and *dünkt* and *schön* in the repeat. Brahms uses more than one note per syllable on *durch*, *die*, *Blumen*, and *Kräuter*. Ives's habit of setting small words with more than one note per syllable is not evident in this song; nevertheless, he does sets *Wasen* and *fliehen* with triplets.

In his setting of *Minnelied*, Mendelssohn text paints *Vogelsang* (birdsong) with a gesture approached by a leap up a perfect fourth up and step down then down a perfect fourth. This same gesture comes back, echoing the bird song in m. 6 on *Herz bezwang*

(heart conquered) and in m. 14 meiner *Frau* (my lady) then in the repeat on *alles tot* (everything dead), *abendrot* (sunset), and *dieser Au* (this meadow). Brahms sets *Vogelsang*, birdsong, with the outline of the tonic triad, a falling minor sixth and a rising minor third. Ives uses a leap of a perfect fifth up a falling fourth and a rising minor third. Although Ives's setting of this word contains Mendelssohn's perfect fourth, his line contour is closer to Brahms's. He uses Brahms's rising minor third and further accents this word by approaching it by a leap of a perfect fifth.

Mendelssohn:

der Vo - - - gel - sang,
ist al - - - les tot,

Brahms:

klingt der Vo - gel - sang,

Ives:

klingt der Vo - gel - sang,

Mendelssohn does not set "Tal und Au" with a dramatic gesture. Brahms sets "*Tal und Au*", valley and pasture, with a falling sixth for "*Tal*" in measures eighteen and nineteen. Ives also text paints valley with a falling gesture. He uses a falling fourth on "*Thal*" in measure thirteen.

Mendelssohn sets *Fruhlingsabendroth* with the angular gesture used for

Vogelsang. Brahms evokes the setting sun on "*Frühlingsabendroth*" (sunset), in measures thirty-two and thirty-three, with a falling gesture that spans a range of a minor seventh and ends with a downward leap of a perfect fifth. Ives chose a much gentler gesture than his two predecessors to mimic the sunset did. He sets "*Frühlingsabendroth*", in measures twenty-five and twenty-six, with more conjunct falling motion that ends with a small leap down of a minor third.

Mendelssohn:

die mein jun - ges Herz be - zwang,
und kein frühlings - - - a - bend - rot

Brahms:

Früh - - - ling - a - bend - rot

Ives:

Früh - lings - a - bend - roth

Brahms treats "*minnigliche*" (charming) with a charming gesture in measure thirty-seven. This gesture has a falling line with a leap down of a minor sixth. Ives also treats "*minnigliche*" with a falling line. Only he uses a leap of a minor fourth rather than a minor sixth. The text that Mendelssohn uses does not contain "*minnigliche*". The version he uses has "heißgeliebte" instead of "minnigliche". There is some similarity in the text painting of Brahms and Ives in that they chose to text paint and accentuate some

of the same important images in "*Minnelied*". They both text-paint the words "*Volgelsang*", "*Frühlingsabendrot*", "*Tal und Au*", and "*minnigliche Frau*".

On the other hand, Brahms and Ives treat the bleak third stanza of "*Minnelied*" differently. Brahms evokes the desolate imagery of this stanza with chromaticism and a modulation to the minor from mm. 27 to 34 while Ives does not set the third stanza more dissonantly than the others. Instead, he uses the tritone throughout the song to text-paint selected words: *Blühen* in measure twelve, *minnigliche* in measure twenty-nine, and *nimmer* in measure thirty-one. His use of the tritone gives a dark, almost ironic inflection to these words.

The three composers accentuate different words with high pitch emphasis in their settings of "*Minnelied*". Mendelssohn set *Tal* in m 10 and *heißegliebte* in the repeat with a high G. Brahms accents "Wonne" appropriately with a high G in measure forty-five. He also accents *Blühen*. Ives accentuates *Wandelt* in measure ten with the highest note of the song. This note is further accentuated as it is approached by a leap of over an octave. This gesture is also used in the second section for *Dünkt* in measure twenty-seven.

Ives's harmonic scheme in this song is different from Mendelssohn's and Brahms's. While Mendelssohn uses one or two harmonies per bar, Ives's rate of harmonic change is slower with one harmony per bar or less. Brahms's setting has a fast pace of harmonic change, and it more complex harmonically than Mendelssohn's or Ives's. He makes use of secondary dominants and modulates to the minor in the third stanza. Ives does not use modulation, although, he does make use of secondary dominants. There is no evidence that Ives modeled his harmonic scheme in his setting of "*Minnelied*" on Mendelssohn's or Brahms's.

These composers create different moods and evokes different emotions in their settings through their accompaniments, tempo and choice of key. Mendelssohn's accompaniment and vocal line are almost identical rhythmically. The accompaniment reinforces the vocal line in the upper notes of the right hand through out all of the A section and the return of A. In the B section the upper right hand notes offer counterpoint to the vocal-line. Because Brahms based the vocal line of his setting on the melody of a waltz-like song, a waltz character permeates the accompaniment. The accompaniment consists of steady eighth note arpeggiation in the left hand with sections of tonic pedal. This pace slows down to quarter notes approaching the cadences. The right hand contains chordal figuration. The texture changes in the third stanza. Here, the left hand consists of simple dominant pedal figuration. Ives, as in his setting of "*Wiegenlied*", rejects the waltz character of Brahms's setting. The accompaniment he uses in this song is similar to the one he uses in "*Wiegenlied*". It features continuous eighth note movement: where there is a longer note value in the left hand, the right hand fills in with an eighth note. The left hand consists of arpeggiation and the right has a sort of tonic pedal in octaves. Mendelessohn's setting in 6/8 time has a very different feel than Ives's and Brahms's which are both in 3/4. The three composers each chose a different key for their setting: Mendelssohn, Fmajor; Ives, E flat major; and Brahms's C major. Ives's setting does not appear to be modeled on either of the two predecessors. On the other hand, there is a striking similarity between Ives's text painting and Brahms's in their respective settings of this text.

The other text that both Ives and Mendelssohn have set is "*Gruss*". The text of "*Gruss*" is from a poem by Heinrich Heine. The poem was published in two versions.

Sinclair speculates that Ives's source for the text was Mendelssohn's setting because they both set the earlier version of the poem while other composer set the later.[19] That Ives took his text from Mendelssohn's song suggests a modeling relationship. Kirkpatrick provides of tentative dating of 1895. [20] Sinclair dates it later, to 1898. One of the manuscripts has the address of a dormitory at Yale where Ives lived from October 1894 to June of 1898. Mendelssohn's Gruss was published in 1834. Ives later put new text to the music, and with a few changes, create the song "The World's Wanderes". The song "*Gruss*" is refered to a *Leise zieht* in one of the manuscripts.

Ives clearly modeled his form mapping on Mendelssohn's setting of "*Gruss*". Mendelssohn sets both of the stanzas of *Gruss* to the same music by use of a repeat. Ives also sets both stanzas to the same music, however, rather than using a simple repeat he adds a piano interlude between the two stanzas. This interlude is in effect, a varied repetition of the accompaniment from the verses. One may also note the upward-moving suspension in m. 15. This is the first incidence of prolonged stasis in the right hand, the only time at which the second beat is not articulated. In this setting, the accompaniment is characterized by articulation of the pulse, so its absence is notable at this point.

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[19] Sinclair, 260-1.

[20] Kirkpatrick, 169.

The Interlude:

Mendelssohn articulates the caesura at *Geläute* (sounding)/ *spreßen* (blomming) in measure 8 with an eighth note rest in the vocal line and a quarter note rest in the left hand of the accompaniment.

Mendelssohn m. 7-8.:

lieb - li - ches Ge - läu - te;
wo die Veil - chen sprie - ßen;

These are the first rests to occur in either the vocal line or the accompaniment after the entrance of the voice; therefore, they create a noticeable break by lightening the texture thereby highlighting the caesura. While the vocal line and the left hand of the accompaniment have rest, this effect is distinguished from the full stop at the end of the

stanza both by the brevity of the rest and by the right hand of the accompaniment. It provides continuity with the repeated sixteenth notes that make up much of the right hand of the accompaniment, measures 4 to 10, helping to create the texture of this work.

Mendelssohn marks the end of the stanza harmonically with a Perfect authentic cadence. This cadence is articulated by a shift from eighth notes to quarter notes in the vocal line, the use of two notes to set the first syllable of the last words and a descending $\hat{3},\hat{2},\hat{1}$ vocal line. Like Mendelssohn, Ives reserves cadencing until the end of the stanzas. Through the stanzas there is no harmonic rest, the sound of the bells just peals out and out. However, Ives takes this even further and reserves cadencing for the end of the final stanza.

Having examined the form, the analysis will now turn to text setting. A comparison of these two settings illustrates Ives's habit of setting small words with more than one note per syllable. Both Ives and Mendelssohn use mostly one note per syllable in both their settings of *Gruss*. In *Gruss*, Mendelssohn only uses two notes for a syllable to articulate his final cadence. Ives, in his *Gruss*, gives emphasis to several syllables by setting them with more than one note: *mein* m.5/ an m. 21, *lieb liches* m. 7/ *wo die* m. 23, *kling* m. 9/ *wenn du* m. 25, *lied* m. 10/ *schaust* m. 26, and *kling'hin-aus* m. 11/ *Sag' ich* m. 27.

The text painting of these two settings is interesting to consider as Ives and Mendelssohn chose to text paint some of the same words. In Gruss, Mendelssohn uses a sharp tonic on *kleine* (small), *eine* (a) in the repeat, in m. 9 creating an e minor inflection with a secondary dominant of ii. This sharp tonic is further emphasized because it is the lowest note of the vocal line. Although *kleine*, is less of an insignificant word than it

equivalent in the repeat, *eine*, and therefore, more worthy of being accented in this way, it is the words that follow them that are being given emphasis. Thus the sharp tonic is pointing to *frühlings-lied*, and *Roseschaust* in the repeat. He then paints measure 10 by a leap of a perfect fourth up then a leap of a perfect fourth down. This gesture is striking as it is the largest leap in the piece and it is bare; it is approached from below. This gesture is anticipated by a similar gesture on *klinge* (Sound) m. 9. The sharp tonic that anticipates this point, the striking leaping gesture on the text and a precipitating gesture the measure before that prepares the listener for this gesture combine to make this text in m. 10, *frühlings-lied* and *Roseschaust* in the repeat, the most accented of the *lied*. Another point is the end of the stanzas where the vocal line soars to the highest pitch of the vocal line on Weite (wide)/ grüBen (greeting).

Ives creates notes of nostalgia and bitterness in his setting of "Gruss" by the use of a diminished seventh chord followed by a dissonance chord on words that denote beauty: *Gelaute* (Pealing make heard) in m. 7-8, *Kleine Frühlingslied* (springsong) m 9-10, *Blumen spriessen* (flowers blooming) m. 23-24, and *Rose schaust* (see rose) m. 25-26. Ives also accents certain note by use of the highest note of the vocal line the tonic E on *Leise* (gently) m. 3, *Frühlingslied* (springsong) m. 10, *kling* (sound) m. 19, and *Rose* (rose) m. 26.

There may also be evidence of modeling in their harmonic schemes in their settings of *Gruss*. Both Mendelssohn and Ives use very little real harmonic change. The tonic is strongly established and prolonged through both of their settings.

In his settings, Ives evokes quite different mood and emotion Mendelssohn in his. He does this by his use of accompaniment and tempo. Mendelssohn's accompaniment

for *Gruss* offers little support for the vocal line, rather it acts as a foil with its continuous sixteenth note movement that drones providing a strong harmonic base. Ives's accompaniment of *Gruss* features a left hand that offers counter-rhythms to the vocal line, eighth, quarter, eighth. Ives right hand of the piano more clearly support the vocal line through doubling although it is more likely to offer counterpoint. It even offers cross rhythms to the vocal line: m. 5 and 21 with triplets in the vocal line versus sixteenth notes in the right hand of the piano. There are instances where the right hand goes even more of an octave above the vocal line. Ives treats the piano here pianistically, more of a duet between piano and voice than a conventional accompaniment. Both of these settings of *Gruss* are in 2/4 although Ives's is slower with its *adagio sostenuto* than Mendelssohn's *andante* marking. Mendelssohn's setting is in D major while Ives's is in E flat.

Ives's setting of *Gruss* appears to be modeled on Mendelssohn's by its form mapping, text painting, and harmonic scheme. Yet, Ives's distinguishes his composition from Mendelssohn's by his accompaniment, tempo, and key.

To briefly revisit the analytical finding of this chapter, text painting and form mapping were the most common element that Ives's possibly modeled on his precursor. Ives appears to have made text-painting choices similar to those of his predecessors in his settings *Feldeinsamkeit*, *Minnelied*, and *Gruss*. Ives may have based his form mapping on his precursors's in his settings of *Feldeinsamkeit*, *Wiegenlied*, and *Gruss*. The other element the Ives's may have modeled is harmonic scheme. Ives's harmonic language was strongly influenced by Brahms's in "*Wie Melodien zieht es Mir*". And the rates of harmonic change that Ives used in his settings of *Feldeinsamkeit*, *Wiegenlied*, and *Gruss*

are similar to those used in the respective settings by romantic composers.

Last Words

Having considered these pieces from an analytic perspective and having discussed the relevant details of chronology and biography, we may now revisit some of these points by way of concluding remarks. Because Kirkpatrick's list contains over thirty such songs, it is doubtful that all of the songs on standard texts were written as classroom assignments. Furthermore, of the music courses that appeared on his transcript - Counterpoint, Instrumentation, and Strict Composition - there are none that an argument could be made for the writing of songs on German texts as a possible assignment. It is possible that Ives had private lessons with Parker or that he was allowed to audit Free Composition, however there does not appear to be evidence of either scenario. If Ives had, in fact, audited Free Composition the large scope of musical forms covered in the course would make it unlikely that Parker would have would have been able to spend significant amount of time on the writing of song using models.

Given that this is supposedly a "popular" assignment of Parker's, it would be reasonable to assume that there would be other surviving student songs on standard texts. In my search of the papers of David Stanley Smith, Quincy Porter, and Roger Sessions in the Yale Archives, all students of Parker, I did not find any manuscripts of songs using standard texts. Nor did I find any by other students in the Yale School of Music Papers. One might assume that Parker himself may have written such songs, but none appear on his list of works or in the Horatio Parker Papers at Yale. It is possible that songs on standard texts were a class assignment, but none have survived because they were not valued by the other students as Ives valued his.

The composer included a disclaimer of sorts for his songs on German texts in his *114 Songs* which at first glance seems to be an indication that he did not regard them as highly as other works included in this collection:

> The writer has been severely criticized for attempting to put music to texts of songs, which are masterpieces of great composers. The song above and some of the others, were written primarily as studies. It should be unnecessary to say that they were not composed in the spirit of competition; neither Schumann, Brahms or Franz will be the one to suffer by a comparison; another unnecessary statement. Moreover, they would probably be the last to claim a monopoly of anything - especially the right of man to the pleasure of trying to express in music whatever he wants to. These songs are inserted not so much in spite of this criticism as because of it. [1]

This statement is more cryptic than it first appears. To begin with, who criticized Ives for writing these songs? There are no references in the sources to anyone making such remarks. Perhaps the composer was anticipating criticism or simply wished to make a point. Ives states that is "unnecessary" to point out that he did not mean to compete with he precursors or to imply that he might not compare with their level, yet he does point these things out insinuating that perhaps he does not mean what he says. An anecdote from the *Memos* casts doubt on the sincerity of the modesty of this remark: "My brother says, "That's rather conceited of you, isn't it, to criticize the great men (as Mozart, Wagner, etc.), especially when [you] do some composing yourself. Some might say that you imply any such thing - I don't have to - I state [that] it is better!"[2] He evidently valued his settings of standard song texts as he chose to include some of them in his *114 Songs* and he reused some of this music to set new texts for later songs.

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[1] *114 Songs* p. 192. This anecdote follows the song "Ich Grolle Nicht".

[2] Memos 135.

The most interesting excerpt is his reference to "the right of man to the pleasure of trying to express in music whatever he wants to". This brings us to the question of how Ives created a unique setting while using aspects of his model. The analysis of the songs that Ives modeled on works of Brahms and Mendelssohn, brings nuance to Burkholder's comments on the nature of Ives's modeling. Burkholder identifies two possible modeling categories: one in which Ives strives to distinguish himself from his model by creating a very different setting of the text eschewing elements from his source, the other in which Ives uses features of his model. The analysis of this thesis has shown that the two categories are not mutually exclusive as Burkholder implies; in fact, whenever Ives models aspects of his setting on a processor's work, he nevertheless creates an interpretation of the text that is different from his model.

Returning to the literary theories of influence raised in Chapter One, I began my discussion of influence with Bloom's theories. I raised two of Bloom's revisionary ratios as possibly being at work in these settings, *Tesserai* and *Damonization*. In light of the analytical findings, *Damonization* seems to be the most apt description of Ives's attempts to present an interpretation of the text that is superior to his precursors. Joseph Straus's work is not relevant to this repertoire, as it does not contain the modernist techniques on which he focuses. Korsyn's adaptation of Bloom's theory to embrace musical structure was useful to this study as if relates to form mapping. My examination of form mapping is my interpretation of Korsyn's theories of influence and musical structure.

While David Hertz's alternatives to Bloom's theories would be highly applicable to other studies of Ives's music, namely his use of quotations, it was not useful to this study since the nature of modeling implies that the composer used only one model not

several sources of influences as in Hertz's theory. Ives may have suffered from something similar to what Gilbert and Gubar call an "Anxiety of Authorship".[3] Just as the nineteenth-century woman writers that they speak of suffered a lack of strong woman precursor, and were alienated from the patriarchal mainstream of writers, Ives lacked innovative American precursors and was alienated from the European tradition by education and geography. These may have been factors that he had to overcome before he could give himself legitimacy as a composer.

In his note in the *114 Songs*, he refers to these songs as "studies". This does not necessarily mean they were student compositions. They may have been Ives's way of confronting his European tradition that he grudgingly admired. He certainly enjoyed this exercise; even if the habit of modeling songs was introduced to him as a classroom assignment, he returned it long after he had finished studying with Parker even as late as 1925 with his song *A Sea Dirge*. And if they were indeed student compositions, that does not necessarily that they were written under Parker's tutelage.

Chronologically, the most troubling stylistically of the songs examined here is "*Wie Melodien zeiht es Mir*" dated by Sinclair to 1900. How can we reconcile the marked difference in the harmonic language between this work and the other songs all, by Sinclair's dating, written in a span of two years from 1898 to 1900 with "*Wiegenlied*" dating to the same year as "Wie Melodien zeiht es Mir". The dating of this work could be dismissed as too early because it is stylistically incongruous with the period. However, this would be in gross disregard for the evidence from the manuscripts. There is clearly functional address on the ink copy: "send back to Chas. E. Ives 317 W. 58 St

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[3] Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writerand Ninettenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven, 1979).

NY".[4] This was Ives's "Poverty Flat" address in New York from 1898 to 1901. If the address did not have "send back", it would have possibly been a retrospectively entered date to mark a memory of the time he spent there to that song. But, seeing as it is marked "return to", the dating of 1900 is a likely one. To claim that this style is too complex for this time is too discard the likelihood that Ives's worked in more than one style at a time. Sherwood's work on his choral music demonstrated both that he wrote innovative works early in his career and that his development was more gradual than once supposed.

Ives's setting of "*Wie Melodien zieht es mir*" also challenges the notion of model. While in other works examined here that displayed modeling, Ives derived their modeled elements directed from his precursor's work with the same text, the key feature of "*Wie Melodien zieht es mir*", its innovative use of "roving harmony", was not present in Brahms's setting. Ives's drew instead from Brahms's general style. This is a reflection of the complex nature of questions of influence.

From this we gain a very different picture of Ives as innovator. Instead of the simplistic image of an "American original" who divined his artistic innovation from the American landscape and spirit, a picture is beginning to develop of a more human artist. From this analysis of the songs, and the work of the authors in *Charles Ives and the European Traditon,* we can see that Ives was influenced by the music of the German Romantic era composers. Perhaps the one finding that is most evident in the present work is that more study is required to expand our understanding of the composer's styles.

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[4] Sinclair, 395.

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