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American Music, Volume 32, Number 1, Spring 2014, pp. 46-81 (Article)

Published by University of Illinois Press

DOI: [10.1353/amm.2014.0006](https://doi.org/10.1353/amm.2014.0006)



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DAVID THURMAIER

“When Borne by the Red, White, and Blue”: Charles Ives and Patriotic Quotation

Building a People’s World Nation

On April 24, 1943, Charles Ives recorded three takes of his song “They Are There!” at Mary Howard Studios in New York City. “They Are There!,” subtitled “Fighting for the People’s New Free World,” is a slightly reworked version of his 1917 song “He Is There!” with text by Ives written to support American efforts in World War II.¹ In these recordings, one is struck immediately by Ives’s exuberant and energetic singing, particularly on the chorus of the song. The text of the first chorus reads as follows:

Brave boys are now in action:
They are there; they will help to free the world.
They are fighting for the right,
But when it comes to might,
They are there, they are there, they are there!
As the Allies beat up all the warhogs,
The boys’ll be there fighting hard,
And then the world will shout
the Battle Cry of Freedom!—
(Tenting on a new campground)

While the entire song contains quotations from many popular American songs, the first part of the chorus starts with an excerpt from one particular patriotic tune that Ives belts out with passion and fervency.²

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Example 1. Ives, "They Are There!"

Chorus 1
Brave boys are now in ac - tion: They are

Chorus 2
Then it's build a peo - ple's world na - tion (Hoo - ray!) Ev - 'ry

there; they will help to free the world.
hon - est coun - try free to live its own na - tive life.

Example 1 shows the opening measures of the first and second choruses of "They Are There!" set to the first phrase of "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean." This song, also known as "The Red, White, and Blue," is a familiar tune in the canon of Ives quotations.³ It is fitting that this particular song is used at this point and over those words; the chorus of a song is its most memorable part, and the poignant call for support of American troops as well as Ives's hope for a "people's world nation" where "every honest country [is] free to live its own native life" are values expressed in the original text of "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean."⁴ Accordingly, the prominent placement of "Columbia," in combination with text that alludes to the song's subtitle—supported by Ives's boisterous performance—creates a rousing patriotic atmosphere.

In this article, I argue that such patriotic borrowings constitute a singular stylistic category within Ives's compositional practice. Recent discussions of Ives's stylistic heterogeneity—the idea that his music mixes styles within the same piece, and that "strikingly different styles can even occur simultaneously"—have pointed to hymns, ragtime, and parlor songs, among others, as the most commonly recurring types of pre-existing music that Ives repeatedly refers to in his works; to that list I add a patriotic style illustrated by his use of "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean."⁵ Ives constructs this style, using "Columbia" in particular, in clever musical ways across a wide variety of pieces: it can function in a subdued and understated fashion, often used to highlight a specific textual reference or evoke a memory; it can be treated as melodic source material for development by formal compositional means; and the tune can appear at a climax as a goal, referred and alluded to along the way through snippets and fragments. Furthermore, the extramusical meanings behind these borrowings of "Columbia" help to elucidate Ives's

patriotic beliefs—"patriotic" in the sense of love of one's country. Ives espoused such fervent beliefs in both his writings and program notes.

"Columbia" and Ives

Although Ives quoted from well over a hundred different pieces, only eight tunes were used more than a dozen times, with "Columbia" being one of his favorites. According to Clayton Henderson's tabulation in his chapter on "Patriotic Songs and Military Music" in *The Charles Ives Tunebook*, "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean" appears in at least eighteen published and unpublished works.⁶ Not only does Ives borrow the tune over and over, but he also incorporates it into the chief melodic material of several major pieces, such as the *Concord Sonata*, *The Fourth of July*, and the Second Symphony.

"Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean" was first written, copyrighted, and performed in Philadelphia in 1843 as "Columbia, the Land of the Brave" (though those words do not appear in the song).⁷ The subject of the song may have its roots in the story of the "Columbia Rediviva," which in the 1790s became the first American ship to sail around the world.⁸ Authorship of the lyrics and music has been disputed, with three people listed as composers or lyricists on various published editions: David T. Shaw, Thomas à Becket (senior), and Stephen Meany.⁹ Moreover, there was some debate whether the words of "Columbia" may have been taken from a text by Meany (who was English) called "Britannia, the Pride of the Ocean," but James J. Fuld asserts that "no substantiation at all has been given to support this claim," observing that the English version was published in 1852, nine years after "Columbia."¹⁰ It is true that some of the words could be conveniently substituted for others without any alteration of the tune or its metric stress (e.g., "Columbia" for "Britannia"), but Ace Collins points out yet another set of ambiguities regarding the lyrics, explaining that "during the time when this song was written a gem in the ocean was an island," something the United States is not.¹¹

Regardless of its complicated and ambiguous history, by the time Ives knew the song its present title was firmly established. Ives seemed to have appreciated and identified with the meaning of the text in "Columbia," which had acquired a broader cultural meaning in the mid- to late nineteenth century, and perhaps acted as his personal symbol of America. The first verse, which begins with the song's title and ends with its popular name, extolls the values of the military as well as nationalist sentiments:

O Columbia, the gem of the ocean,
The home of the brave and the free;
The shrine of each patriot's devotion

A world offers homage to thee.
 Thy mandates make heroes assemble,
 When Liberty's form stands in view;
 Thy banners make tyranny tremble,
 When borne by the red, white, and blue!

In addition to the text, the musical characteristics of "Columbia" may have appealed to Ives as well, since the song contains many hallmarks associated with patriotic music in general: simple triadic harmony, fanfare or bugle-tune melodic shapes (e.g., arpeggiated triads), repetition, and march rhythms. Example 2 shows the melody of the entire song.

In short, the tune is accessible, easy to perform, and its melodic profile lends itself well to recognition, even when it is distorted or appears out of context in some of Ives's knottiest works.

It is particularly notable that Ives quotes only the verse—the most recognizable part of the song—and never actually uses the chorus (m. 16, beat 4 to the end). Moreover, as we will see, and in ways that hold ramifications for interpretation, he often dissolves the quotation just before the final measure of the verse in his more extensive borrowed passages.

Despite his apparent fascination with "Columbia," Ives never explained why he found this particular tune so attractive. Some of its allure must have originated in its long-standing associations. Though written

Example 2. "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," 1862 publication (piano introduction omitted).

O Co-lum-bia! the gem of the o-ccean The home of the brave and the free The
 5 shrine of each pa-triot's de-vo-tion A world of-ers hom-age to thee. Thy
 9 man-dates make he-roes as-sem-ble, When Lib-er-ty's form stands in view. Thy
 13 ban-ners make ty-ran-ny trem-ble When borne by the red, white and blue, When
 17 borne by the red, white and blue When borne by the red, white and blue, Thy
 21 ban-ners make ty-ran-ny trem-ble When borne by the red, white and blue.

CHORUS

in the early 1840s, the song became wildly popular for the Union during the Civil War because it hailed national unity, and it later entered the repertoire of military bands, including the famous Marine Band directed by John Philip Sousa.¹² Given its popularity and Ives's fervent nostalgia for the Civil War period, it seems likely that he learned the tune from his bandmaster father, George, or from the bands he heard as a youth in Danbury, Connecticut.

Ives does refer to the song in his writings; for instance, in a description of the last movement of his Second Symphony, he explains that the music featured "*The Red White and Blue* and old barn-dance fiddles on top," but does not elaborate further even though the song is one of the primary themes of the movement. Similarly, Ives mentions how "the tune *The Red, White and Blue* was set over chords of fourths and fifths, and they don't go well together for some acoustical reason" in a discussion of the *Overture and March "1776"* and *The Fourth of July*, two pieces where "Columbia" is also a significant melodic theme.¹³ Once again, Ives omits reasons for why he used the tune, but his comment is intriguing; despite his apparent reservations (or regrets), he joins "Columbia" (played by the tuba and basses) with quartal and quintal chords (played by the other strings) at the beginning of *The Fourth of July* (mm. 8–12). He may have likewise have been fascinated with finding connections between "Columbia" and quartal and quintal harmonies, as one particular sketch page for *The Fourth* shows both musical elements undergoing several types of development and fusion.¹⁴ Clearly Ives viewed "Columbia" as useful both musically and symbolically.

Where Is "Columbia?"

The following list contains Ives's works that feature "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean."¹⁵ The tune appears in compositions of diverse scope, from songs to large symphonic works, and was a particular favorite of Ives during the years 1910–20 when it was used in twelve of the sixteen compositions listed. This decade was Ives's most prolific (especially for large pieces), but the fact that patriotic tunes appeared so often in these works may suggest the influence of World War I and America's heightened role in world affairs.

Orchestral Music

The Fourth of July (movement III of *Holidays Symphony*)

Orchestral Set No. 3 (movement II: "An Afternoon or During Camp Meetin' Week—One Secular Afternoon in Bethel")

Overture and March "1776"

Symphony No. 2 (movements I, IV, V)

Symphony No. 4 (movement II)

Chamber Music

String Quartet No. 2 (movements I, II)

Piano Music

The Celestial Railroad

Sonata No. 2 for Piano: "Concord, Mass., 1840–60" ("Hawthorne")

Waltz-Rondo

Choral/Song

"He Is There!"

"In Flanders Fields"

"Lincoln, The Great Commoner"

"Sneak Thief" (chorus, trumpet, piano; incomplete)

"They Are There!"

"Tom Sails Away"

There is a good deal of overlap on the list, as several pieces are related to one another. For instance, the Trio of *Overture and March "1776"* was reworked and fashioned into the climax in *The Fourth of July*.¹⁶ Similarly, "Hawthorne" from the *Concord Sonata* was drafted from sketches for a projected piano concerto, and later became the basis for the second movement of Symphony no. 4. This music was then reworked and used for *The Celestial Railroad*, a fantasy for solo piano based on Nathaniel Hawthorne's short story of the same name; Ives then orchestrated and reworked music from *The Celestial Railroad* and it became the present second movement of the Fourth Symphony.¹⁷ Also, as mentioned earlier, "He Is There!" and "They Are There!" are quite closely related, essentially the same pieces with different text.

Patriotic tunes such as "Columbia" are more likely to be universally recognized than those quoted from other Ives-favored genres such as hymns, as these songs transcend religion, class, and musical background, and are featured at prominent national events.¹⁸ It matters less whether a listener recognizes the exact name of a tune than whether he or she can identify the general style as patriotic.¹⁹ In addition to familiarity, these tunes also share extramusical and musical similarities, much as hymns or parlor songs might. As such, one finds several common features in sections where Ives uses patriotic quotation. For instance, in nearly all of the pieces listed above, "Columbia" appears concurrently with other quotations that have nationalist associations (often from different time periods, e.g., Revolutionary War or Civil War) in attempts to link borrowed material thematically to the overall piece. Of course, the subject matter of American patriotism links all the tunes together in creative and sometimes unusual ways.

The placement of “Columbia” at points within so many notable pieces confirms Ives’s fondness for this particular tune and beliefs about its function within a piece. As contemporary listeners we may be far removed from the particulars of American life at the time when “Columbia” was written and when Ives later incorporated it into his music, but the sheer amount of borrowings makes us conscious of the importance of this song to Ives. The various ways in which he includes “Columbia” suggests a specific musical style when it is fused with his original music, the particulars of which we turn to next.

“Columbia” in Three Ways

Ives uses “Columbia” in three salient compositional ways:

- As a short fragment in a string of quotations of a similar style designed to elicit a poignant memory;
- As a primary or secondary melodic theme developed throughout a movement or longer work, sometimes in a formalistic manner (e.g., contrapuntally);
- At the climactic point of a piece, marked for maximum audibility.

These diverse compositional strategies that I call “Understated,” “Developing,” and “Climactic” are loose categories and display general characteristics that capture the essence of how Ives uses “Columbia.” Of course Ives’s borrowed excerpts do not always fit solely and neatly into one category, and in some cases “Columbia” appears several times in each work and thus in multiple places; for example, in *The Fourth of July* Ives scatters numerous fragments of “Columbia” throughout the first part of the piece seemingly used to evoke a patriotic atmosphere and serve as a recurring melodic idea, while he saves the cumulative climatic statement for the end of the work. In this particular piece, stacked with stretches of quartal and quintal harmony, the melodic profile of the tune with its emphasis on perfect fourths lends itself to maximum audibility in each of its uses.

Understated “Columbia”

The first way Ives uses “Columbia” is to plant snippets of it and other patriotic tunes in the texture that in retrospect and reflection suggest nostalgic sentiments. Ives usually extracts just the first phrase of “Columbia” (and other tunes as well) for use in these sections. In so doing, he presents the most recognizable portion of the tune, but fragments it before it becomes the central focus of a melody. Many of these pieces also contain text, which adds another layer of meaning to Ives’s expressions of national loyalty. Works from the list above that feature “Columbia”

appearing in this manner include the songs "Lincoln, the Great Commoner," "Tom Sails Away," and "In Flanders Fields," along with *The Fourth of July*. "Lincoln, the Great Commoner," one of Ives's finest songs, works particularly well to illustrate this type of quotation because of its rich textual and musical references.

Ives composed "Lincoln, the Great Commoner" from 1919 to 1921, and it exists in two versions, one for chorus and orchestra, and one for voice and piano.²⁰ The following discussion makes reference to both versions. Ives adapted the text from a noted poem by Edwin Markham called "Lincoln, the Man of the People" (1900), which was read at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC, in 1922.²¹ The first part of the poem depicts Lincoln as a man of the earth with a virtuous and noble image found in all sorts of natural places (stars, trees, light, wind). Ives sets the end of the poem where Markham paints Lincoln as a man of strength, tested by adversity and challenges (earthquakes and whirlwinds), becoming a martyr who "goes down with a great shout upon the hills." In his textual choices, Ives illuminates the common image of Lincoln as a man of strength fighting for his grand ideals against all odds.

The song contains all the hallmarks of Ives's mature compositional style—a fusion of borrowed material with a thorny harmonic palette that mixes clusters and polychords. As befits a song about a significant American political icon, Ives quotes from several of his favorite tunes that all reference national unity: "Hail, Columbia," a tune stemming from America's Federal period, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," a camp meeting song turned Civil War anthem, "America (My Country 'Tis of Thee)," and, of course, "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean." Indeed, Burkholder asserts that the borrowed fragments in "Lincoln" lend a patriotic atmosphere to the piece, when consciously identified or heard as "familiar-sounding snatches in the style of patriotic song."²² Ives uses "Columbia" in three places shown in example 3: from the last sixteenth note of mm. 11 to 13 (where it appears superimposed with "Hail, Columbia"), in m. 22, and in m. 28.²³ The fact that all of the selected tunes preach the virtues of an intact, strong nation (three of the songs predate the Civil War) is particularly meaningful in a song about Lincoln and the Civil War given the events of that time. In spirit, Ives seems to be hearkening back to the days before the war, but the manner in which he distorts and fragments the tunes is suggestive of the formidable challenges to the idea of national unity during the Civil War.

The first quotation of "Columbia" from mm. 11–13 is brief and covered by other voices. The music of this passage makes explicit the patriotic meaning of the text ("One fair Ideal led our chieftain on"). Ives brings out the image of a nation's "chieftain" through numerous dotted rhythms, an exuberant vocal line, and the references to "Columbia," "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," and "America." At m. 12, "Columbia, the Gem

Example 3. Examples from Ives, “Lincoln, the Great Commoner” (arrows denote “Columbia”). *Source*: Charles Ives: *129 Songs*, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock, Music of the United States of America 12 / Recent Researches in American Music 47. Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2004). Used with permission.

3a. Mm. 10–15

10 $\frac{4}{4}$ $\text{Cap - i - tol, One fair I - deal led our chief - tain}$

13 $\text{on; He built the rail - pile as he built the}$

3b. Mm. 22–23

22 $\text{So came our Cap - tain with the}$

of the Ocean” sounds in the top voice of the piano in the key of F major, but it is obscured by a quotation from “Hail, Columbia” in the voice and a tremolo between E and F sharp in the left hand of the piano. In this example, “Columbia” resolves on a whole-note A in m. 13; this parallels what is played by the first clarinet in the orchestral version, while the piccolo concludes the quotation by adding the “tonic” F (ex. 4).

3c. Mm. 28–33

28 $\frac{3}{4}$ He held the ridge - pole up, and spiked a - gain The

30 raf - ters of the Home. He held his place— He

33 held the long pur - pose like a grow - ing tree— Held on through blame and

Example 4. "Lincoln, the Great Commoner," mm. 12–13, "Columbia" in orchestral version (transposed score; Ives wrote "on picc" on flute part in published score).

Piccolo *ff*

Clarinet in Bb *ff*

This is a small difference, but potentially important for interpretation. By choosing not to finish the borrowed phrase in the voice-and-piano version, Ives creates slight ambiguity about what happens next, but the addition of the F in the piccolo in the orchestral version to conclude the phrase lends more finality to the “one fair Ideal”—unity (i.e., of the complete phrase)—that “led our chieftain on” expressed in the text. In either case, however, Ives leaves the “Ideal” unelaborated and ambiguous due to his omission of the next few lines from Markham’s poem in his adaptation.²⁴

When “Columbia” appears at m. 22, Ives again creates salient connections between the tune and the text. Ives scores it in the right hand of the piano, quite high in range, and in the key of F major (top of first violins in the orchestral version). As in the previous example, its appearance still seems slightly ambiguous in light of what surrounds it musically and textually. The preceding music in mm. 18–21 is static with a long pedal on E (which continues through the “Columbia” passage), full of very thick chords and unstable harmonies. When “Columbia” does surface in m. 22 sounding over the omnipresent E pedal, Ives brings out the melody slightly with its high range and detached articulation. Though a particularly astute listener may recognize the tune in context (or at least parts of it), Ives obscures it harmonically so that it is only in retrospect that the connections between the text and music emerge.

The fact that Ives included “Columbia” as the only borrowed melodic segment in this passage as a bridge between phrases foreshadows the text. The singer concludes the previous phrase with the line, “to make his deed the measure of a man,” and after the “Columbia” quotation he enters with the phrase “So came our Captain with the mighty heart.” Markham’s allusion to Lincoln as “our Captain”—the leader of a ship—recalls Walt Whitman’s eulogy “Oh Captain, my Captain,” and Ives strengthens that textual connection by using “Columbia” at this spot. Narratively, the statement of the full phrase (in the same key as mm. 11–13) can be read as an inspiration for Lincoln to carry on with the challenges ahead referred to in the text. So here, as in the previous case, “Columbia” can be perceived intertextually as a memory or desire floating in and out of the texture.

These quotations, in combination with the rugged musical language, underscore the text that describes the conventional historical image of Abraham Lincoln and are employed in a largely subtle manner that enhances rather than overwhelms the text. Recall that the original text of “Columbia” extols “the home of the brave and free,” “heroes,” “Liberty’s form,” and “banners [that] make tyranny tremble.” By analogy, Ives uses the tune in a new context in its final place in the right hand of the piano at m. 28 (played by the first clarinet and piano in the orchestral version) to reflect sympathetic sentiments; in this case, the music is set to a regu-

lar beat and at the same volume, reflecting the fusion of text and music that expresses Ives's reverence toward Lincoln.

In the poem, Markham portrays Lincoln as a builder and someone with a steady hand in perilous times:

And when the step of earthquake shook the house,
Wrenching the rafters from their ancient hold,
He held the ridgepole up and spiked again
The rafters of the Home.

In m. 28, "Columbia" is stated in the right hand of the piano in the key of C-sharp major, though Ives surprisingly resolves the melody in minor, writing an E natural instead of an E sharp, perhaps alluding to the fuzziness and uncertainty inherent in forging national unity in difficult times. A parallel connection can be made to the ending of "In Flanders Fields" (another "war" song and an example of "Understated" borrowing) from mm. 38–39 where "Columbia" is set to the words "We shall not sleep though the poppies grow"; the tune is ostensibly presented in A major, but resolves suddenly into A minor (C sharp to C natural) on the word "poppies," a last plea from the buried soldiers to the living for the strength to continue their mission. This consistent theme of unity and strength in peril's path pervades Ives's songs using American patriotic tunes, particularly in this section of "Lincoln," from mm. 28–33, after the "earthquake" of the Civil War as represented by Lincoln.²⁵ The entire section that begins with "Columbia" thus sounds "patriotic"; the borrowed tunes, moreover, are coupled with march rhythms enhancing this style.

A common thread of pieces that include "understated" borrowing, such as "Lincoln, the Great Commoner," is a conflicted message of reverent yet conflicted nostalgia about their subjects: war, Abraham Lincoln, American independence, and an idealized American innocence.²⁶ Nostalgia, and more specifically a type of "innovative nostalgia," in Ives's music has been the subject of substantial scholarship and seems to be a part of how he viewed his own patriotic beliefs as well.²⁷ For example, as Michael Broyles writes, "Ives gives voice to the pervading mixture of anxiety, nostalgia, and revolution that did much to shape the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries [in American society]."²⁸ David Metzger's interpretation that "Ives's evocations of the past tie into both Victorian conceptions of childhood and the contemporary anxiety over new technologies and urbanization . . . [and] nostalgia serves as a way of escaping those concerns and finding refuge in an idealized nineteenth-century small-town childhood" helps untangle the complex meanings of a piece such as "Lincoln."²⁹ The fleeting, haunting, fragmentary quotations in "Lincoln," particularly of "Columbia," not only evoke an immediate sense of national loyalty and respect for a revered figure like Abraham Lincoln, but for Ives they also hearken back to his childhood

in a sense of sadness and loss when his conception of American ideals (real or imagined) was very different. In other words, quotations in these pieces seem to span both past and present; they evoke the innocent grandeur and reverence attached to country, ceremony, and statesmen like Lincoln as viewed from a child's perspective, but coming from Ives the adult, they also evoke a wistful, muted sadness about the realization that much has changed in the present day.

Developing "Columbia"

In contrast to its brief, often muted appearances in "Understated" borrowing, Ives sometimes employs "Columbia" more formally by utilizing compositional techniques similar to his European counterparts. In pieces using the "Developing" strategy, he presents the first phrase of the tune as a primary melodic theme stated initially at the outset of a movement that undergoes subsequent development, or uses the phrase as the catalyst to build rhythmic momentum. Ives even treats the quotation as the basis for contrapuntal explorations such as a canon. In this regard, such segments can resemble Leonard Ratner's "Learned" style, that is, style topics associated with music of the church and often found in the music of Mozart and others.³⁰ The identification of this style in the music of Ives makes sense given his background both as an organist and church musician, as well as a result of his composition study with Horatio Parker at Yale. Yet in these pieces, despite being subjected to a more rigorous compositional structure, the patriotic tunes still retain their associations. Works that illustrate "Columbia" used developmentally include the "Hawthorne" movement from the *Concord Sonata*, the Second Symphony, *The Fourth of July*, and the subject of this section, the Second String Quartet.

The Second String Quartet (1907–13) is not overtly nationalist in its title or theme, and yet it still has concrete extramusical patriotic and programmatic connotations. The piece largely adheres to a program by Ives that imagines a scenario where four men (the members of the quartet) "converse, discuss, argue, fight, shake hands, shut up—then walk up the mountain side to view the firmament."³¹ Musically, the quartet retains a largely modernist style throughout, with strong emphasis on experimentation, atonality, and disjunction. "Columbia" appears in the first two of three movements.

In an excerpt from the first movement entitled "Discussions," (shown in ex. 5), the first violin performs a snippet of "Columbia" from mm. 58–65 that begins a long developmental section fueled by the use of patriotic quotation that creates a strong sense of momentum. This section features rapid statements of fragmented American tunes in the manner of a "discussion" that alternates between the instruments: "Columbia,

Example 5. Ives, Second String Quartet, Movement 1, mm. 54–65 (four patriotic quotations denoted with arrows: “Columbia,” “Dixie,” “Marching through Georgia,” and “Hail, Columbia”). “String Quartet No. 2” by Charles Ives. Copyright © 1954 by Peer International Corporation. Used by permission

The image displays a musical score for a string quartet, consisting of four systems of music. The notation is arranged in four staves, with the top staff in treble clef and the bottom three in bass clef. The music features complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth-note runs. Dynamics such as *ff* and *p* are indicated. An arrow points to a specific measure in the second system, which is marked with a forte dynamic. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and articulation marks.

Example 5. (cont.)

60 *accel. più mosso*

The musical score consists of four systems, each with four staves. The first system includes dynamic markings *pp* and *ff*, and a *Solo* instruction with an arrow pointing to the second staff. The score features complex rhythmic patterns with sixteenth notes and slurs, and includes fingering numbers (6) and accents (^) throughout.

Tempo I

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system begins with a treble clef staff containing a 'Tempo I' marking. Below it are two staves: a second treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Both the second and third staves feature dense sixteenth-note patterns with various slurs and accents. The second system starts with a measure number '65' in a box. It continues with similar rhythmic complexity, including triplets and slurs across the staves.

the Gem of the Ocean" is followed by "Dixie" in the viola, "Marching through Georgia" in the second violin, and "Hail, Columbia" in the first violin and cello. The borrowed tunes stand out in this dense, thorny atonal landscape and sound like heated, interjected "discussions" between the four instrumentalists. J. Peter Burkholder interprets the section as a "conversation about politics, with a statement of national pride ('Columbia') provoking a response from a southerner ('Dixie'), who in turn is interrupted by a rather chauvinistic northerner ('Marching Through Georgia') before both are quieted by an appeal for unity in the name of the nation and in the spirit of its founders ('Hail, Columbia')."³² This is a creative interpretation, but irrespective of the geographical particulars, the four tunes are unified generally as patriotic tunes that feature the same type of musical characteristics.

Another interpretation of the cumulative effect of the staggered melodic entrances could be one of humor and parody. Ives incorporates "Columbia" (with the other tunes) into a type of parody in the quartet, this time of a discussion, where all of the patriotic tunes actually elicit humor despite the serious actions expressed in the underlying program. The tunes themselves are not particularly funny, but when Ives subjects them to compositional techniques designed to enhance their audibility in contrast with their surroundings, they can become humorous to the

listener.³³ For instance, example 5 shows how the first two quotations (“Columbia” and “Dixie”) are marked *fortissimo* (and with a “Solo” indication for “Dixie”), while accompanied at a *pianissimo* level. The fragments rise to the surface as the beginnings of debate that eventually get swept away by the churning accompaniment (note the *accelerando* at m. 60). In this movement, Ives essentially elevates the tunes through the use of formal “learned” procedures (e.g., staggered entries, contrasts in dynamics, a “paired duet” in the first violin and cello playing “Hail, Columbia”) and as a result informs his audience that the “discussion” concerns patriotism.

Not only does the inclusion of “Columbia” evoke patriotism and humor, but it is also used more formally to initiate a push in momentum and metric periodicity in the particular statement of “Columbia” that lasts roughly two bars (mm. 58–60). “Columbia” cuts through this frenetic activity with its long note values in the highest register of the first violin. The tune stands out not only because of its relatively slow rhythm, but also because of its pitch construction. Ives writes the melody as the top note of double stops in the “key” of A major (read with enharmonic equivalency).³⁴ But the bottom notes of the double stops produce dissonant simultaneities that shade “Columbia” a blurry color. The dissonant pitches that underlie the tune resemble a motor grinding into motion and move toward consonance as the music continues; as such, the subsequent borrowed tunes are stated more clearly and stand out more prominently in the texture.

For the remainder of this developmental section (mm. 80–95, not shown) fragments from “Columbia” recur to keep pushing the music forward in this “discussion.” The song’s initial dotted rhythm outlines a perfect fourth found in mm. 80–83, 88, and 90–91; it sounds as if the members of the ensemble interrupt each other with fragments of “Columbia,” but never go beyond the initial interval and gesture.³⁵ These utterances could represent Ives’s belief in the equality and wisdom of the quartet, with each member allowed to offer his or her own opinion in the “discussion.”

Whereas in the quartet’s first movement “Columbia” instigated development, momentum, and a resultant rhythmic stability, in the second movement, “Arguments,” Ives sets “Columbia” as the primary theme in rather formal contrapuntal passages that commence at m. 42 and continue intermittently until the end of the movement. In keeping with the atonal harmonic language and mixture of multiple styles, Ives, according to Wiley Hitchcock, writes various “canons without any harmonic underpinnings [that] follow passages anchored to static harmonic-rhythmic ostinatos.”³⁶ Several such canons occur in the section from mm. 42–55 shown in example 6.

Example 6. Ives, Second String Quartet, Movement 2 (mm. 39–56 shown), imitative entries of “Columbia.”

The musical score is organized into three systems, each with four staves (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass).

- System 1 (mm. 39-43):**
 - Measure 39:** Presto, *fff*. Violin I and Cello/Double Bass play a rhythmic pattern.
 - Measure 40:** **40** Largo sweetota, *p*. Violin I and Cello/Double Bass play a melodic line.
 - Measure 41:** *ten.* (tension) over the melodic line.
 - Measure 42:** Allegro con fisto, *ff*. Violin I and Cello/Double Bass play a rhythmic pattern.
 - Measure 43:** *pp* (pianissimo) in the Violin II and Viola parts.
- System 2 (mm. 44-46):**
 - Measure 44:** Largo, *ff*. Violin I and Cello/Double Bass play a melodic line.
 - Measure 45:** *ff* and *3* (triplets) in the Violin I and Cello/Double Bass parts.
 - Measure 46:** Allegro, *f* (forte) in the Cello/Double Bass part.
- System 3 (mm. 47-50):**
 - Measure 47:** **45** *ff* and *3* (triplets) in the Violin I and Cello/Double Bass parts.
 - Measure 48:** *ff* and *3* (triplets) in the Violin I and Cello/Double Bass parts.
 - Measure 49:** *ff* and *3* (triplets) in the Violin I and Cello/Double Bass parts.
 - Measure 50:** *ff* and *3* (triplets) in the Violin I and Cello/Double Bass parts.

Example 6. (cont.)

This musical score consists of four systems of three staves each. The first system includes a measure number '50' in a box. Arrows point to specific notes in the first and third staves of the first system. The second system has an arrow pointing to a note in the second staff. The third system has a '3' written below the second staff. The fourth system includes a measure number '55' in a box and a '3' written below the second staff. The score is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C).

He binds the four instrumental statements together by key relationship (fifth), process (canon), and technique (*stretto*). Though "Columbia" is not the first canonic theme, it figures prominently starting in the pickup to m. 49 in the viola and contrasts with the first jagged, metrically ambiguous canonic theme at m. 42. Ives writes this canon in *stretto* and with a formal set of tonal entries distributed among the four instruments, which demonstrates a certain rigor within an atonal harmonic language.³⁷ The viola enters with the first part of "Columbia" in E major accompanied by the other instruments that suddenly lock into march-like figures (dotted rhythms), a departure from the previous music. Immediately following in the last beat of m. 49 the first violin launches into the same melody minus the dotted introduction in the dominant key of B major. The cello then answers this statement on the third beat of m. 50 up another fifth in F-sharp major, and the second violin completes the canon at the pickup to m. 53 with "Columbia" in C-sharp major. Even with these formal principles, the section still holds characteristics of patriotic quotation as "Columbia" is audible, and the instruments adopt musical features of nationalist tunes even though they do not operate within an overall tonal context. Immediately after this section, the music changes style and becomes even more jagged and highly chromatic, characteristic of the modernist style that governs most of the movement.

In the final pages of the movement, Ives propels "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean" very audibly into a musical "argument" about what Burkholder describes as "[American] relations with Europe, European versus American culture, or high versus low musical taste."³⁸ At m. 87, Ives assigns "Hail, Columbia" to the first violin as the first in a stream of American patriotic and European classical music quotations from Tchaikovsky (cello, m. 88), Brahms (first violin, m. 92), and Beethoven (second violin, m. 96). It is notable that the Tchaikovsky excerpt (from the third movement of the Sixth Symphony) is constructed of fourths similar to "Columbia," foreshadowing the statement of the American tune that follows it. In the midst of this activity, "Columbia" is written in the viola and cello at m. 94 at the loudest dynamic in the piece (*fff*) in the "key" of B major. The two instruments are written a fourth apart, and this quartal harmony contrasts strongly with the fleeting sixteenth-note passages in the violins. Again, Ives scores "Columbia" to be heard through its dynamics, harmony, and relatively slower rhythm. Even sandwiched between the Brahms and Beethoven quotations, the tune shines prominently through the texture perhaps highlighting successful international relations.

In these developmental examples of "Columbia," Ives's varied nationalist impulses can be interpreted from at least three perspectives. First, patriotic tunes starting with "Columbia" can be used to parody an event—in this case a heated discussion between four people—with humor in the midst of a very musically complex section, and "Columbia"

in particular ends up being the melodic catalyst for a sarcastic “conversation.” Second, the appearance of “Columbia” as the melodic basis for the contrapuntal sections of the second movement becomes elevated through Ives’s use of learned procedures and creates a continuity lacking in its previous iterations. And finally, when “Columbia” is heard in the midst of the European quotations, it raises the question of whether we are expected to hear this as referencing the relationship between American and European musical cultures, a subject of some discussion in early twentieth-century America. If so, Ives answers with humor and formal procedures, asserting the value of his European-influenced training while thumbing his nose at it with his choice of melodic material that trumpets his national pride.

Climactic “Columbia”

When segments that contain “Columbia” occur at climactic points in a movement (such as the famous conclusion of the Second Symphony), we can think of the resulting aural picture as resembling an explosion. There is often a large buildup, complete with crescendos and broadening instrumental ranges, and the tune is placed at the center of the surrounding frenetic activity. These examples feature “Columbia” (often in combination with additional borrowed material) at a riotous volume, in the midst of the depiction of a parade or other celebratory event. To enhance the musical effect of the quotation, Ives almost always includes it within the formal context of emblematic American music (e.g., a march or “quick-step”) and uses most of the song (minus the refrain and sometimes the end of the verse). Yet even when “Columbia” is clearly audible and heard at the climax, Ives still distorts or fragments the tune in unique and telling ways as will be articulated. Pieces in this category include those with overtly nationalist themes like *The Fourth of July*, “He Is There!”/“They Are There!,” and *Overture and March “1776”*; other more abstract pieces that feature “Columbia” at a climax include the finale of the Second Symphony, and *Waltz-Rondo*.

In these examples, Ives often sets the climactic statement of “Columbia” in counterpoint with other tunes or material from earlier in the piece; doing so not only reinforces salient melodic material from the overall work, but its clear presentation heightens the importance of “Columbia.” For instance, in the flag-waving coda of the final movement of the Second Symphony, “Columbia” is stated emphatically by the trombones (starting at m. 253), while melodies heard earlier in the piece played by the woodwinds, trumpets, and violins are woven in simultaneously as countermelodies.³⁹ Ives likewise achieves this climactic effect in pieces both with and without overt programmatic implications—in this analysis, *The Fourth of July*, a work strongly associated with “Columbia,” and *Waltz-Rondo*—lending credence to its role as a compositional strategy.

By far the most recognizable quotation of “Columbia” from *The Fourth of July*, the third movement of the *Holidays Symphony* for orchestra, comes at the climax of the piece, the “Quick-step” beginning at m. 99.⁴⁰ The preceding measures foreshadow a full statement of the tune in the brass instruments (principally horns and trombones), but they continually break off after several measures. Thus it is entirely appropriate that Ives would set a full and raucous statement of “Columbia” for the denouement of the work, in light of how nearly the entire movement up to this point consists of such partial statements and developmental passages of the tune.

Ives strengthens the effect of the climax by his careful attention to detail with respect to scoring. From mm. 99–113, when the quotation dissolves, the brass instruments (cornet, trumpets, and trombones primarily) play nearly a full statement of “Columbia” in a fashion resembling players in an amateur band during a parade, but the tune is presented even more carefully than it sounds. Within a nominal overall key of B-flat major anchored by the low strings and horns, the trumpets and trombones play the quotation in and out of the key, alternating in major sevenths and minor ninths suggesting a conflict between B-flat major and B major. This scheme was conceived early in the sketches for *The Fourth* as Ives prescribes specific dynamics for these instruments; in the ink score-sketch [f0793], he writes: “be sure cornets and any brass playing off key to mark *mp* for off notes and *ff* for on notes.” In other words, the “wrong” notes that slip into B major were scored at a softer dynamic, whereas the “right” notes that reiterate B-flat major are scored loudly. Despite Ives’s request that the “off” notes be placed at a softer dynamic, they are audible and add to the frenzy created in the “Quick-step” at m. 99. Example 7 shows an excerpted passage from the sketch [f0793], while example 8 shows the trumpet and trombone lines from the published score.

Example 7. Ives, *The Fourth of July*, mm. 99–102 on [f0793] (Source: MSS 14, The Charles Ives Papers in the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library of Yale University).

The image displays a handwritten musical score sketch for Example 7, covering measures 99 to 102. The score is written on multiple staves, likely representing different brass instruments. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. There are several annotations in ink, including the words "Cornet" and "Horn" written above the staves, and a circled note with the word "keep" written next to it. The sketch is dense with musical symbols and some scribbled-out or crossed-out notes, indicating a working draft. The overall appearance is that of a composer's rough sketch, with a focus on the melodic and rhythmic structure of the music.

Example 8. Ives, *The Fourth of July*, mm. 99–102 from published score.

Trumpet in C

Trombone

In the sketch, the tune appears faintly in pencil with an incorrect B natural and an errant C sharp and A flat in the following measures. Apart from being highly amusing aurally, Ives constructs wicked dissonances with the other parts: as seen in m. 100, the incorrect B natural in the trumpet pairs with a B flat played *fortissimo* in the trombones, and the trombones play an F sharp that clashes with a G and F natural played concurrently with the trumpets in m. 101. This dialogue seems to be a takeoff on amateur music making, with its players swept away by the excitement of the parade and consequently sharpening the pitch.

In addition to the unique dynamic relationships presented at the climax, Ives also draws attention to “Columbia” through its irregular rhythmic construction. Again, the sketches provide evidence that Ives thought of stating the tune in a nonperiodic manner, at various points including different meter signatures throughout this section (e.g., an alternation between 7/8 and 4/4 on [f793]) that later made their way into the final score (ex. 9, mm. 103–8).

The resulting jerky presentation of the tune (Ives essentially cuts an eighth note off the melody in the 7/8 measures) furthers the idea of amateur band members playing, but it also displays Ives’s modernist compositional leanings. During this frenetic statement, the rest of the orchestra is engaged in a mixture of background modernist techniques (ostinatos, tone-clusters) in addition to playing two related and some-

Example 9. Ives, *The Fourth of July*, mm. 103–8, published score.

Trumpet in C

Trombone

what audible patriotic tunes, “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” (high winds) and “Yankee Doodle” (xylophone), thus enhancing the atmosphere and engaging with “Columbia,” the primary theme. Ives skillfully selected patriotic tunes—he also includes “Marching through Georgia,” “Dixie,” and others—that relate not only topically with “Columbia,” in their emphasis on national (dis)unity, but also musically, with most tunes sharing intervallic and melodic profiles.

But it is curious why Ives presents many of these quotations, and especially “Columbia,” in a distorted fashion, altering their pitch content and rhythmic characteristics. In general, Ives rarely borrows and states a tune unadorned, instead molding it to fit into his own original music. But in this case I contend that the final statement of “Columbia,” with its fuzziness and eventual dissolution, can also be viewed in two extramusical ways: first, as a literal depiction of the day’s events, when the amateur band performs and then fades into the distance or is usurped by the fireworks; and second, as a reflection on Ives’s national loyalty at the time. American life was changing during the compositional years of *The Fourth of July* (ca. 1914–18), again caught between an idealized past—exemplified in depicting the innocent events of a “Boy’s Fourth”—and a more fragmented and hectic modern present and future that now blurred with remembrances from that earlier time; hence the distorted, yet very audible “Columbia” at the climax of the “Quick-step.” As such, Ives blends past and present and shapes this borrowed material to reflect his new perspective on what it means to celebrate the Fourth of July in the early twentieth century.

And thus the climax of *The Fourth of July* works on musical and extramusical levels: it ties together the fragmentation and development of “Columbia” that is foreshadowed throughout and pervades most of the piece, it exposes Ives’s more modernist experiments with rhythm, orchestration, and melodic construction, and it depicts aurally the authenticity of a town band performing earnestly in a joyous patriotic celebration from a time long ago.⁴¹

Ives also creates extramusical connotations with his use of “Columbia” in more abstract pieces devoid of explicit nationalist references. *Waltz-Rondo*, written in 1911, is unusual given the scarcity of Ives’s compositions written in more traditional forms; it is cast in a quasi-rondo form—an alternation between a repeated refrain and contrasting episodes—with the refrain’s rhythm apparently suggestive of a waltz, or at least its style.⁴² Ives employs “Columbia” to instigate a whirlwind of quotations at the first of two climactic points: at m. 138, alongside a mishmash of fiddle tunes (quite difficult to hear individually), and in the coda of *Waltz-Rondo*. In the first excerpt it is initially stated in D major, which correlates with one of the keys of the refrain that alternates between D major and D-flat major, and at first the tonal center is established by a pedal point. Example 10 shows the statement of “Columbia”

Example 10. Ives, *Waltz-Rondo*, mm. 138–50.

F Allegro molto *sempre staccato marcato*

138 **ff** D

142

145

148

150 D [*mf jaunty*]

Example 11. Ives, *Waltz-Rondo*, mm. 138–50.

The image shows three staves of musical notation in bass clef, 3/4 time. The first staff (measures 138-142) shows a melody with syncopation and chromatic movement. The second staff (measures 143-146) continues the melody with chromatic passing tones and syncopation. The third staff (measures 147-150) shows the melody ending with a triplet and a final syncopated note.

in the left hand of the piano from mm. 138–50. Ives scored “Columbia” prominently at this point, emphasizing it with octaves in the left hand and loud dynamics. Moreover, though the tune is once again syncopated through accents, it emerges as the main theme in this section from mm. 138–50. Yet the process by which the melody is fragmented, altered, and rhythmically displaced is particularly striking. Example 11 shows the left hand melody extracted from the score in a single line.

Ives embellishes the melody with chromatic passing tones (e.g., m. 143) and weaves in and out of the “correct” notes. He leaves the final measures of “Columbia” unfinished and suddenly breaks back to the rondo refrain at m. 151. Ives accommodates the duple rhythm of “Columbia” in the triple-meter “waltz” by using syncopation and a slight displacement. In combination with the series of fiddle tunes heard simultaneously in the right hand, the sense of triple meter is lost; instead, Ives emphasizes the tune’s march-like characteristics rhythmically and thus alters the temporal flow.

After this first climactic statement before the final statement of the “rondo” theme, “Columbia” appears in several notable places in the coda, a section laden with references to other styles of music. Ives writes “Coda or Exam-Digest—or the Higher the Fewer” above the *Allegro vivace* tempo marking in the somewhat lengthy section (mm. 159–202), perhaps as a reference to the extreme density of the section with its multiple stylistic allusions.⁴³ The section begins with the refrain theme, but shifts style abruptly as Ives moves toward an emphatic statement of “Columbia.” Example 12 shows part of this section.

In the measures preceding the example (mm. 180–83) Ives first evokes romantic piano music gestures, especially if the higher melodic tones are brought out. Next, the subsequent music (mm. 184–87) moves suddenly to ragtime, a style alluded to several times earlier in the piece, but not as explicitly as in this section, here brought out by the numerous syncopated sixteenth-note figures and dance rhythms. When “Columbia” enters at m. 188 as shown in example 12, the ragtime style ends, and the tune is stated emphatically in the left hand again in octaves. Though the sixteenth notes in the right hand continue, the syncopations allow

Example 12. Ives, *Waltz-Rondo*, mm. 186–95 (arrows denote fragmented entries of “Columbia”; first in B-flat major, then C major, then B major, then D major).

the melody to emerge out of the texture. From mm. 188–91, Ives prefigures the first part of “Columbia” in this section by stating it three times—first in B-flat major, then in C major, before landing in B major where the first phrase is completed. Once again, as with the embellished and off-kilter version of “Columbia” from earlier in the piece, Ives distorts “Columbia” rhythmically and fragments the phrase, but he marks it for

recognition by including its recognizable opening fourth. This buildup of opening fragments culminates in mm. 193–94 when “Columbia” is presented explosively in D major, the original key of both the piece and the first statement of the tune heard earlier. Ives shifts the tune to begin on the downbeat and states the first phrase clearly despite the highly chromatic accompaniment in the right hand. The piece ends after a humorous quotation of “Marching through Georgia” and a grandiose and bombastic I–IV–V–I progression in D major, in a reference once more to the romantic piano style, as some bitonal melodic gestures answer the primary triads.

The “Columbia” quotations in *Waltz-Rondo* represent typical examples of a tune with explicit national associations used to suggest its own style—a recognizable patriotic melody complete with its attendant musical features helps create a separate stylistic type in between other styles. *Waltz-Rondo* exemplifies this type of analysis because the various styles—romantic piano, ragtime, patriotic, modernist, waltz—are clearly defined and self-contained. Ives employs “Columbia” as the primary source material at two different climaxes to provide an anchor to the flurry of activity and to signal patriotic allusions. What makes these sections particularly powerful is how Ives chose that particular tune to build to the climax at the end of each section—though distorted—both times in the home key.

I would assert that the use of “Columbia” in these climactic places can be interpreted in two ways, which produces a unique paradox: on one hand, Ives affirms his own exuberant and sincere feelings about “Columbia” and by extension his patriotism such that even in a work without nationalist themes like *Waltz-Rondo* he selected that very familiar song to represent his sentiments and appear prominently; and yet on the other hand, the distortion of “Columbia” and its placement within these other styles suggests that Ives may be, in the words of Lawrence Kramer, leaving it “sounding at once naïve and defamiliarized.”⁴⁴ As we have seen, this paradox recurs throughout pieces containing “Columbia.”

A Fusion of Strategies: The Fourth of July

A prominent example of climatic quotation was identified above in *The Fourth of July*, but this piece also exhibits the other compositional strategies (“Developing,” “Understated”) as well. The fact that Ives wrote this entire movement based on “Columbia” affirms his commitment to and interest in this song and its potential meanings. In addition, he skillfully weaves snippets of other types of music (styles) into the patriotic mix and in so doing shows how various styles can interact.

As before, Ives uses “Columbia” as the main melodic material that gets developed, fragmented, and harmonized. The first measures of the piece illustrate this process, resembling how “Columbia” is used in the

Second String Quartet. While Ives does not subject the tune to a formal contrapuntal process like a canon, he develops "Columbia" in several parts and in different keys that lead toward the climax at m. 99. The opening measures (mm. 1–3) present the violins playing the first part of "Columbia" very softly in the key of C-sharp major over an F-major triad held in the lower strings. After a fermata, the bass enters with the tune in B major, partially stated and rhythmically displaced. The tuba then continues the tune fragments at m. 8 in the key of C major, again displaced but still the primary melodic material. The tune is developed further and subsequent statements are louder, until the climax when "Columbia" is stated in full.⁴⁵ The principal difference between the use of the melody in *The Fourth of July* and the Second String Quartet is that in the initial statements of *The Fourth of July*, "Columbia" is dimmed by music that harbors modernist features. This textural complexity exhibits a superimposition of styles, analogous to the mixture of borrowed music that appears at this place. So while "Columbia" and its patriotic musical characteristics eventually emerge, the music is initially obscured and seems to operate in at least two different temporal levels.⁴⁶ This musical conflict might represent the "quiet of the midnight before" that "grows more raucous with the sun," described in the accompanying program; "Columbia" cuts through the texture more prominently and becomes less distorted as the celebration moves into full swing. It may also illuminate typical Ivesian ambiguity and conflict regarding his patriotic messages in his music in general cited throughout this essay.

In addition to the powerful climatic statement of "Columbia" as well as its developmental use, Ives fragments the tune in several places in a string of quotations that chatter on the musical surface in an understated way. As in "Lincoln, the Great Commoner," this particular use of the borrowed tunes points to a specific message about national loyalty. As Jennifer Iverson explains, "Ives selected tune fragments carefully and purposefully, usually adding additional fragments that enhanced or nuanced the programmatic narrative already at work in the piece. . . . For Ives, the structural connections between quoted tunes were important, but perhaps even more so were the thematic associations."⁴⁷

In a section of *The Fourth of July* from mm. 18–55 (entrance of percussion and tempo change), Ives borrows several favorite patriotic tunes, such as "Marching through Georgia," "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," "The Battle Cry of Freedom" as well as a fanfare ("Assembly") and a popular reel ("Fisher's Hornpipe") all between statements of "Columbia." Though not always quiet in volume, the borrowed tunes largely interact within a more modernist style, once again producing multiple temporal levels; on one level, Ives presents the quotations, often zipping in and out of the texture, while on another level, he couches these

quotations in a dissonant, freely harmonic framework that produces a sense of discontinuity.

The Fourth of July contains more complex structures than the other works analyzed in this article, largely as a result of the density and superimposition of other styles that challenge the audibility of the nationalist tunes; yet even here Ives has carefully chosen recognizable tune fragments to signify a patriotic style. In this case, “Columbia” fragments dart in and out of the music suggesting a nostalgic vision of a patriotic moment of the past that is understated and developed toward a completion fulfilled at the climax when the “annual explosion sets the Town Hall on fire.”

Meanings behind Patriotic Quotation, and a Patriotic Topic

Ives’s patriotic borrowings reflect his own multifaceted view of national allegiance—humorous, nostalgic, and reverent; he also expressed his beliefs in his writings and translated them into music. For instance, he was a passionate believer in “Direct Democracy,” also called “Initiative and Referendum,” a system where decisions of national importance would be voted on directly by the people instead of elected officials. As Judith Tick details, interest in this form of government took place during a time in American history (ca. 1890–1919) when experiments in government were rampant.⁴⁸ Ives wrote impassioned essays and music in support of this system (e.g., the essay and song “The Majority”), which suggests that he had great faith in the wisdom of the populace as a whole to make decisions. While this idea garnered some support at various times throughout the twentieth century, some scholars have interpreted Ives’s interest in direct democracy and politics in general as naïve, sentimental, and nostalgic.⁴⁹ And analogous sentiments also marked Ives’s views and outlook on American nationalism. In his writings, he tended to emphasize optimism and the wisdom of the people, in addition to national unity.⁵⁰ Though Ives’s beliefs were challenged by America’s involvement in World War I in particular, its rise in nationalism and subsequent actions, these general tenets held for all of his life and were expressed through his writings and music.⁵¹

Ives’s egalitarian approach toward life and music is illustrated by the wide diversity of quotations and styles found in his music, including patriotic tunes. As I have asserted, Ives references American patriotism more or less explicitly through borrowing these tunes, subjecting them to a variety of musical techniques and including them in all genres. Whereas scholars have identified and labeled the tunes, and in some cases even explained how they are incorporated into Ives’s music, these

borrowings have not been treated as a separate musical style. The case of "Columbia" and its myriad compositional uses laid out in this article alone would argue for the identification of such a "patriotic style."

Building upon the work set out by Burkholder that explores and ascribes the idea of topics (or styles) to Ives's music, I propose that any list of topics used to describe the stylistic heterogeneity in Ives's music—such as late nineteenth-century popular or parlor song, ragtime, hymn, and modernist, to name a few—should be broadened to include a patriotic topic.⁵² For a composer to translate patriotism into music, he or she could base a work on national topics, include representative and distinctive instruments (e.g., a fife and drum), and, in the case of Ives and others, take tunes with explicit national associations and weave them into the fabric of an original composition. Ives was certainly not the first to use this technique in American music, but he made use of it most frequently.⁵³ When these tunes are marked for audibility, hold some expressive meaning, and are identified and recognized by the listener as patriotic, they can be understood as topics, similar to those Ratner identified as "subjects for musical discourse"; the topics in Ives's music would resemble what Ratner calls "styles," defined as "figures and progressions within a piece."⁵⁴

The identification of a patriotic topic (or style) fits three criteria required for a topical designation in Ives's music as defined by Burkholder: first, there must be a "coherent segment of music . . . marked off from its surroundings by a number of distinctive elements, which may include melody, rhythm, harmony, counterpoint, texture, dissonance level, pitch collection, or any other parameters of style"; second, that particular segment "embodies or resembles a type of music that listeners are likely to recognize—a type of music that is familiar to the intended audience for the piece"; and third, "we should be able to find evidence for it in a wide range of his compositions."⁵⁵ I would add a fourth criterion: segments set in a patriotic musical style should have extramusical associations that can be gleaned from them. Many such borrowings naturally occur in pieces about America or related topics (e.g., famous figures, American wars), and American undertones can also be detected even in those works that do not have clear patriotic content.

For Ives, devotion to country was a very serious subject—Broyles even asserts that "Democracy and patriotism were at the core of [Ives's] work"—and as someone who was arguably prone to a patriotism that—in Broyles's words—was "naïve, sentimental, and nostalgic" at times, Ives selected and borrowed patriotic tunes to evoke a certain feeling or image that reflected his beliefs.⁵⁶ Moreover, the frequency with which he borrowed these songs strongly suggests that any analysis of his music must account for the musical characteristics and features found in works that contain them. If one merely identifies musical segments as represen-

tatives of the “patriotic” or “modernist” or any other topic, this results in labeling without a consideration of how that music functions or affects the overall musical structure of a piece. Thus my analyses highlight sections that contain this style (in this case, excerpts using “Columbia”) and consider their place within the context of what comes before and after them.⁵⁷

A patriotic topic or style would complement the numerous other styles found in Ives’s music. The levels to which he borrowed “Columbia” as well as how he used it compositionally through the three strategies identified in this article illustrate how a particular genre of song was used for musical and extramusical purposes. A patriotic style can thus be a useful way to categorize certain musical characteristics and extramusical expressions. By quoting association-rich tunes such as “Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean” in varied, inventive, and even democratic ways, Ives evokes the “mystic chords of memory” that bring together Americans of all backgrounds into, as Ives would say, “a people’s world nation.”

NOTES

1. “He Is There!” served the same function for World War I. The three takes are captured on the album *Ives Plays Ives: The Complete Recordings of Charles Ives at the Piano, 1933–1943*, New World Records, 2006.

2. “Patriotism” is defined in the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* as “love for or devotion to one’s country.”

3. In “He Is There!” the music is paired with the text “That boy has sailed o’er the ocean,” clearly related to the title of “Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean.”

4. Ives also wrote an essay called “A People’s World Nation” in which he proclaims the need for majoritarian rule by the “people” and a noninterventionist foreign policy, among other things. Ives had an unusual faith in the wisdom of the people. See Charles Ives, “A People’s World Nation” in *Essays Before a Sonata, The Majority, and Other Writings by Charles Ives*, ed. Howard Boatwright (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962), 225–31.

5. Larry Starr, *A Union of Diversities: Style in the Music of Charles Ives* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 3. My view of stylistic analysis is influenced by Starr, who coined the term “stylistic heterogeneity” and defines “style” as “the *range of expectation* that operates within the musical language of a piece” (8; emphasis in original). For another perspective on “stylistic heterogeneity” and its implications for analysts and listeners, see Lloyd Whitesell, “Reckless Form, Uncertain Audiences: *American Music* 12 (1994): 304–19. A more recent related article on the subject is J. Peter Burkholder, “Stylistic Heterogeneity and Topics in the Music of Charles Ives,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 31 (2012): 166–99.

6. Clayton W. Henderson, *The Charles Ives Tunebook*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 98–99.

7. C. A. Browne, *The Story of Our National Ballads* (New York: Crowell Company Publishers, 1931), 114–21. Four different editions of “Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean” (1843, 1844, 1846, and 1862) are digitized and appear on the Library of Congress website: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.natlib.ihas.200000004/default.html>

8. The Library of Congress website suggests a connection between the song and the “Columbia Rediviva.” More information can be found at the Massachusetts Historical Site webpage, <http://www.masshist.org/gallery/america-at-sea> (accessed January 23, 2014).

Interestingly, another ship called "Columbia" also sailed around the world from 1838 to 1840, right before the song was written; its journey is documented in Fitch Waterman Taylor, *The Flag-Ship, or A Voyage Around the World in the United States Frigate "Columbia"* (New York: Appleton, 1840).

9. Browne, *Story of Our National Ballads*, 118. The controversy boils down to this: Shaw, a noted singer from Philadelphia, wrote some patriotic verses in the hopes of creating a song that would be a crowd-pleaser for his performances and asked the English-born musician and actor à Becket to set them to music. À Becket thought Shaw's lyrics were "so deficient in measure as to be totally unfit for adaptation to music," so he wrote three verses and the melody himself under the condition that Shaw not sell or perform the work, and publish it under both their names. Shaw ignored à Becket's request, and published the work under his own name, with the credits "written, composed, and sung by David T. Shaw, and arranged by T. à Becket, Esq." Making matters worse, à Becket was then accused of plagiarizing the words and tune of "Britannia, the Pride of the Ocean" by British journalist Stephen Meany; in response, à Becket claimed that the lyrics of "Britannia" were plagiarized from *his own song*.

10. James J. Fuld, *The Book of World-Famous Music: Classical, Popular, and Folk*, 5th ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 2000), 176–77.

11. Ace Collins, *Songs Sung Red, White, and Blue: The Stories behind America's Best-Loved Patriotic Songs* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), 73.

12. *Ibid.*, 74. There is a humorous story about "Columbia" related to Abraham Lincoln that shows the ubiquity of the song: On October 17, 1962, promoter P. T. Barnum brought a three-foot-tall entertainer named Commodore Nutt (George Washington Morrison Nutt) to the White House. At the end of the evening, Nutt amused the president, cabinet members, and assorted guests with a rousing version of "Columbia." See Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington, 1860–1865* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), 201.

13. Charles Ives, *Memos*, ed. John Kirkpatrick (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972), 52, 83.

14. Page [f0782] of the sketches for *The Fourth of July* shows a wealth of experimentation with quartal and quintal harmonies, and "Columbia" is written in multiple ways on the same page. The numbering of the sketch pages (e.g., [f0726]) refers to the frame numbers in the master microfilm, in accordance with the listing in James B. Sinclair's *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music of Charles Ives* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), and the numbers from the revised edition of John Kirkpatrick's *A Temporary Mimeographed Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts and Related Materials of Charles Edward Ives 1874–1954* (New Haven, CT: Library of the Yale School of Music, 1960; reprint, 1973). For more, see David Thurmaier, "Time and Compositional Process in Charles Ives's *Holidays Symphony*" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2006).

15. Henderson erroneously identifies "Columbia" in the second movement of the Piano Trio ("TSIAJ") on p. 99 of *The Charles Ives Tunebook*—it is actually the tune "Few Days," noted on p. 150—but he leaves it off the list of full quotations for the Piano Trio on pp. 284–85. Therefore, I have not included "TSIAJ" in my list.

16. See the preface to *Overture and March "1776"* by James B. Sinclair (Merion Music, 1976) for complete information.

17. For the most comprehensive history and analysis of these pieces and their interrelations, see Thomas Brodhead, "Ives's Celestial Railroad and His Fourth Symphony," *American Music* 12 (1994): 389–424.

18. For example, someone familiar with classical music would recognize the quotations from Beethoven in Ives's music, but they may be lost on one without that background. Similarly, the numerous hymn tunes in his music hold significance to those familiar with religious music and the particular hymns, but might just sound like "church music" to others.

19. As Burkholder states, "A topic is a convention of musical discourse, and as such is easily perceived by those familiar with the convention, however they might describe it." Burkholder, "Stylistic Heterogeneity," 176 n. 26.

20. The history of this song is quite complicated, but on a sketch page Ives stated that the voice-and-piano version was derived from the "score for full orchestra." For more on the song's background, see Sinclair, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 307 and 404, and the notes in H. Wiley Hitchcock's edition of the *129 Songs: Charles Ives, 129 Songs*, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock, Music of the United States of America 12 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2004), 160–63.

21. Ives found Markham's poem in a collection entitled *Golden Numbers: A Book of Verse for Youth*, "chosen and classified by" Kate Douglas Wiggin and Nora Archibald Smith (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1902), 319–20.

22. Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes: Charles Ives and the Uses of Musical Borrowing* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 312.

23. The original piano-and-vocal score of "Lincoln" from Ives's *114 Songs* has no measure numbers; however, H. Wiley Hitchcock's edition of the *129 Songs* and the orchestral version do have measure numbers and are used in this analysis.

24. Ives omitted the following lines: "Forevermore he burned to do his deed / With the fine gesture and stroke of a King."

25. After Lincoln's assassination, he became a national symbol of unity and it is conceivable that given the influence of George Ives and living in the generation after the Civil War, Ives would have viewed him as such. See John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 210, and Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011), 333.

26. As Henry Cowell put it, "Ives . . . uses musical reminiscence as a kind of stream-of-consciousness device that brings up old tunes with their burden of nostalgic emotion." See Henry and Sidney Cowell, *Charles Ives and His Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 147.

27. Some writings by musicologists that address Ives and nostalgia include Leon Botstein, who examines aesthetic connections between Ives and Mahler in "Innovation and Nostalgia: Ives, Mahler, and the Origins of Modernism" in *Charles Ives and His World*, ed. J. Peter Burkholder (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 35–74; Michael Broyles, who critically assesses Ives's political beliefs and asserts that Ives constructed a mythological past in "Charles Ives and the American Democratic Tradition," in *Charles Ives and His World*, ed. Burkholder, 118–60; Stuart Feder, whose controversial biography *Charles Ives: My Father's Song: A Psychoanalytic Biography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992) frames Ives's career as fulfilling the desires of his father and working within a constructed past; James Hepokoski, "Temps Perdu," *The Musical Times* 135 (1994): 746–51, which posits that Ives's use of quotation attempts to recall a "lost time" of childhood innocence that cannot be realized; David Metzger, "'We Boys': Childhood in the Works of Charles Ives," *19th-Century Music* 21 (1997): 77–95, which examines Ives's quotations in pieces about childhood linked to American traditions. American historians focusing on Ives's "innovative nostalgia," a state of being progressive in music yet backward-looking in subject matter include Peter Conn, *The Divided Mind: Ideology and Imagination in America, 1898–1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), and Robert Crunden, *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives' Achievement in American Civilization* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

28. Broyles, "Charles Ives and the American Democratic Tradition," 119.

29. Metzger, *Quotation and Cultural Meaning in Twentieth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 10.

30. For a full definition of the "Learned" style, see Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980), 23–24.

31. Found on the manuscript, quoted in Sinclair, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 143.

32. Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes*, 348–49.

33. As an example, when this section was played and discussed in a previous conference paper (Society for American Music, Chicago, 2006), it elicited hearty laughter from the audience.

34. Notably the original published key of “Columbia.”

35. The allusions to “Columbia” are there, even though Ives did not always present the full tune in its original state. This is a common occurrence as noted by Alan Houtchens and Janis P. Stout in their article “‘Scarce Heard Amidst the Guns Below’: Intertextuality and Meaning in Charles Ives’s War Songs,” *Journal of Musicology* 15, no. 1 (1997): 75 n. 30.

36. H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Ives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 62.

37. It is not unusual for Ives to mix tonality and atonality in pieces or even in shorter sections.

38. Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes*, 349.

39. For an excellent analysis of this section, see *ibid.*, 102–36.

40. Wayne Shirley details the development of this section from its initial draft (what he calls “The Second of July”) into *The Fourth of July*, with particular focus on the “Quick-step.” See Wayne D. Shirley, “‘The Second of July’: A Charles Ives Draft Considered as an Independent Work,” in *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock*, ed. Richard Crawford, R. Allen Lott, and Carol J. Oja (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 391–404.

41. Ives describes this patriotic celebration in his accompanying program, which depict the experience of a “Boy’s Fourth”—the holiday seen from the eyes of a child. In the notes, which may have been written after the piece itself and went through numerous revisions, Ives presents a list of what he intended to portray in the piece, as well as some digs at adults (“country politicians”) who confuse patriotism with jingoism, but concludes cryptically by writing that “all this is not in the music—not now!”

42. Ives writes the piece in triple meter, but to my ears it does not particularly sound like a waltz due to syncopations that deemphasize the initial downbeat, traditionally the defining rhythmic feature of a waltz.

43. Burkholder calls this piece (or at least the sections with borrowed material) a quodlibet in *All Made of Tunes*, 375–76.

44. Lawrence Kramer, *Music and Poetry: The Nineteenth Century and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 178.

45. This is an example of what Burkholder calls “cumulative form.” For a definition and examples of cumulative form see chapter 5 of *All Made of Tunes*.

46. For an excellent description of this section and the temporal issues encountered in recognizing and hearing “Columbia” in *The Fourth of July*, see Jennifer Iverson, “Creating Space: Perception and Structure in Charles Ives’s Collages,” *Music Theory Online* 17, no. 2 (July 2011), <http://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.11.17.2/mto.11.17.2.iverson.html>, accessed September 3, 2013.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Judith Tick, “Charles Ives and the Politics of Direct Democracy,” in *Ives Studies*, ed. J. Phillip Lambert (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 133–62. Tick captures this belief nicely by stating that “He [Ives] fused his Emersonian optimism with the ideology of direct democracy into what I have come to call ‘transcendental majoritarianism’ (135).”

49. The interpretation of Ives’s political beliefs is an enormous topic with strong views on both sides. For example, Frank Rossiter writes that “Ives’s political and social thought was rather naïve for a man of his discernment. . . . Ives was certainly sincere in his idealistic liberalism. . . . What makes it difficult to take his views entirely seriously today is the obvious gap between his professed altruism and the actual system of capitalism and national power to which he gave practical support by his life as a middle-class business-

man." See Rossiter, *Charles Ives and His America* (New York: Liveright, 1975), particularly chap. 5, "The Political and Social Thinker" (pp. 126–44). Also see Broyles, "Charles Ives and the Democratic Tradition," which paints Ives's political beliefs as conservative, largely unrealistic, and hopelessly idealistic. On the other hand, in addition to Tick, scholars such as Carol Baron and Antony Cooke suggest that Ives's political views articulate a particular period in American history: Baron, "Efforts on Behalf of Democracy by Charles Ives and His Family: Their Religious Contexts," *Musical Quarterly* 87 (2004): 6–43; Cooke, *Charles Ives and His Road to the Stars* (North Charleston, SC: Estrella Books, 2012). Gayle Sherwood Magee stakes out a middle ground, by pointing out how in pieces like the *Concord Sonata* Ives "conjures his own idealized America, a pre-Civil War history based on the world view of the rural or small-town, protestant Transcendentalism," but also notes Ives's "crucial engagement with the present. See Gayle Sherwood Magee, *Charles Ives Reconsidered* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 132–33.

50. Some examples include the essay "A People's World Nation" cited earlier, "The Majority" (by which he means "you!—the Majority—the People"); "Stand by the President and the People," written during World War I and featuring proclamations like "This is a war for democracy. It must be fought by democracy. It can only be won by democracy" and "It is about time the people had something to say about war, about peace, and about property," and "Concerning a Twentieth Amendment," Ives's proposal for Direct Democracy. These and other pertinent writings appear in Ives, *Essays Before a Sonata*.

51. For some interesting thoughts about how World War I affected Ives, see David C. Mauk, "New England Transcendentalism versus Virulent Nationalism: The Evolution of Charles Ives's Patriotic March Music," *American Studies in Scandinavia* 31 (1999): 24–33, and Rossiter, *Charles Ives and His America*, 127–33.

52. Burkholder, "Stylistic Heterogeneity."

53. In the late nineteenth century American composers often took patriotic songs as the basis for a theme and variations or other showpiece. Examples include Louis Moreau Gottschalk's *The Union*, Dudley Buck's *Festival Overture on the Star-Spangled Banner*, and of course Ives's own *Variations on "America,"* his first major composition.

54. Ratner, *Classic Music*, 9.

55. Burkholder, "Stylistic Heterogeneity," 176.

56. Broyles, "Charles Ives and the American Democratic Tradition," 118.

57. This approach is summed up in a quote from Kofi Agawu: "It is the dialectical interplay between manifest surface and structural background that should guide the analysis." See V. Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 25.