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LETA E. MILLER AND ROB COLLINS

The Cowell–Ives Relationship: A New Look at Cowell's Prison Years

On May 21, 1936, the Juvenile Officer of San Mateo County brought an arrest warrant to Henry Cowell's cottage in Menlo Park, California, charging Cowell with a single violation of section 288a of the California Penal Code.¹ The events that followed have been told and retold in a series of sympathetic (and some not-so-sympathetic) accounts: the revelations about Cowell's sexual activities with a group of boys at the pool behind his home,² his guilty plea, and the four years he spent in San Quentin Prison. Cowell's remarkable productivity during his prison term has been noted by many scholars. He organized a thriving music department at San Quentin, which offered ten classes; he studied Spanish and Japanese, learned to play various transverse and end-blown flutes,³ wrote fourteen articles and a treatise on melody, and composed

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about sixty works.⁴ The numerous letters he wrote to family and friends during these years (many of which have only recently become available to researchers)⁵ are surprisingly optimistic, attesting to a characteristic resilience that helped Cowell readjust following his release. In 1940, after repeated appeals, he was paroled, and at the end of June he moved to New York to serve as secretary to Percy Grainger.⁶ Two years later (December 1942), through the dogged efforts of his wife, Sidney Robertson Cowell, and to the relief of family and friends, Culbert Olson, the lame-duck governor of California, granted Cowell unconditional clemency, countermanding a denial of a similar request by the state's pardon board earlier the same month. (A chronology of the events and documents cited in this essay is given in the appendix below.)

Included in most discussions of Cowell's incarceration is the story of Charles Ives's break with him during the prison years (1936–40). Several authors (from both the Ives and Cowell perspectives) quote from a pair of letters sent by Ives's wife, Harmony, to Carl Ruggles's wife, Charlotte, expressing disgust and indignation.⁷ Harmony was horrified by "this hideous thing about Henry Cowell—that he has been guilty of Oscar Wilde practices"; she found a disturbing "spirit of bravado" in his reaction, and suggested that "a thing more abhorrent to Charlie's nature couldn't be found. . . . The shock used him up. . . . He said characteristically 'I thought he was a man and he's really a g— d— sap.'"⁸ According to accepted lore, Ives refused communication while Cowell was in prison.⁹

However, correspondence in the Cowell Collection at the New York Public Library belies this simple conclusion, painting a more complex picture of the two men's interaction during Cowell's imprisonment. Ives, it seems, *did* write to Cowell—though not through Harmony, as was his normal practice during this period when his eyesight was failing and he suffered from a debilitating hand tremor. A heretofore-unknown letter (in two versions) shows Ives's characteristic bluster, but also suggests his ambivalence about Cowell's plight. Additional messages between Cowell and Ives were transmitted through intermediaries. Cowell's letters, in contrast to Harmony Ives's characterization, evince little sign of bravado. Rather, Cowell worried openly about the stress his news might cause.

Cowell's arrest in the spring of 1936 was hardly kept secret. It was reported in major newspapers on both coasts: the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Francisco Examiner*, *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, *New York Times*, and *New York Herald Tribune* all ran stories on May 23, noting that Cowell had been arrested "on charges involving a 17-year-old boy."¹⁰ The *Call Bulletin's* version (a lengthy story on page 1) added that "Cowell . . . confessed to a series of offenses against boys 10 to 17 over a four year period."¹¹ Furthermore, the news reports described court actions that

were far from reassuring. Bail, which was first set at \$2500, was raised to \$5000 the next day, and the *Chronicle* reported that "the court . . . expressed the hope Cowell would not meet it."¹²

Word of Cowell's arrest spread quickly within the musical community, and supportive letters soon began arriving from his many friends. As early as May 30, Wallingford Riegger wrote to offer whatever help he and Cowell's other New York colleagues could muster.¹³ Two days later Alvin Johnson, director of the New School (where Cowell had been teaching for six years), sent a letter in which he called Cowell a "magnificent musical figure, honest as the day and catholic. I am deeply grieved that anything is going on to rob your days of sunlight, and I hope everything will straighten itself out and you can proceed as usual in your own brave way."¹⁴

In the first half of June, Cowell received encouraging letters from Charles Seeger (June 3 and June 13), Otto Luening (June 4), Nicolas Slonimsky (June 8 and 16), Roy Harris (June 14), Richard Buhlig (June 16), and many others. On June 18 John Cage wrote from Los Angeles:

I refuse to be downhearted. It is only those who do not know you who will suffer. Maybe I am evading something. Maybe I don't understand. But I cannot but believe that you are as you always are. Perhaps I shouldn't say anything. But I want to say something that you may know that I am stronger than ever your friend.¹⁵

These responses stand in sharp contrast to that of one of Cowell's West Coast employers, Stanford University. Five days after the arrest, a curt letter requesting his written resignation as Lecturer in Music for the summer quarter was sent to the Redwood City Jail.¹⁶

Other expressions of support came via Cowell's parents. Virginia Adams (wife of photographer Ansel Adams) wrote to Cowell's stepmother, Olive, on July 9, offering the "privilege" of helping in any way possible.

Justice is a strange and terrible thing in this civilization; the basic values are entirely discounted in favor of technicalities and inhuman definitions. Every person who creates or thinks can only feel for Henry and you that Henry's cross is their cross, too. In a sense, he is closer to all of us for his misfortune. We only hope and pray that he will have the strength and patience and power of spirit to endure these very painful times.¹⁷

In early July 1936, Cowell wrote to Harmony Ives, enclosing a letter for Charles with instructions that Harmony was to show it to him if she "felt it would not be too much of a shock for his health."¹⁸ But Harmony had already heard the news from John Becker. On July 3 she wrote to Charlotte Ruggles, attributing Cowell's "defect" to disease and noting

her dread at having to tell her husband. Within a week she had received confirmation from Cowell himself, and had broken the news to Ives. Whether Harmony gave (or read) him Cowell's letter, or merely reported the matter as she understood it, remains unclear. In her second letter to Charlotte Ruggles (July 12), she simply stated that she "told Charlie & he and I feel just as you do. . . . He will never willingly see Henry again."¹⁹ Three weeks later Harmony wrote a similar letter to Becker's wife, Evelyn, noting "a deep physical repulsion" and the "blow" that the news had caused Ives. "We shall send no money or gifts and shall not write," she said.²⁰

Harmony was particularly disturbed by Cowell's apparent lack of remorse. She found his letter "strange," particularly his assertion of being "contented," his "spirit . . . undaunted." But what Harmony interpreted as bravado ("Is he contented with *himself* do you suppose?") may instead have been Cowell's concern to reassure his friends of his well-being. The prison letters as a whole are notable for their lack of despair. Whatever pain Cowell must have felt he kept well hidden, even from his family. In August 1937, for instance, when the board of pardons fixed his sentence at the maximum (fifteen years without the possibility of parole), he wrote to Olive: "I feel quite comfortable . . . not a bit upset, since I was afraid that something of the sort would happen, as you know, and so was set for it! With love to you both, and endless appreciation of the great efforts you have made to prevent this from happening."²¹ In letters to Johanna Beyer, Percy Grainger, and others, Cowell emphasized that he would understand if they found it too upsetting to continue correspondence with a convicted felon. Lack of remorse? Perhaps. But there is scant evidence of bravado.

By fall 1936 Cowell had heard from a great many of his musical colleagues. Gerald Strang visited him in the Redwood City Jail and in San Quentin, as did the music and art critic Alfred Frankenstein.²² Aaron Copland wrote to him on October 18 about "this tragic business," urging Cowell to "be brave" so as to "triumph" over the "spirit-breaking experience."²³ Though the number of letters he was allowed to send was limited by prison rules, Cowell kept in regular communication with colleagues such as Nicolas Slonimsky and Percy Grainger. He reported to them that he had heard from Elie Siegmeister, Marc Blitzstein, William Grant Still, and many others. But there had been no response from Ives.

Among the rare signs of distress in Cowell's letters is the tone of his inquiries probing Ives's prolonged silence. Since their first meeting in the mid 1920s, Cowell and Ives had corresponded frequently. Ives generously supported many of Cowell's projects: he was the most consistent and philanthropic contributor to *New Music* (the quarterly publication of contemporary scores), he helped fund the New Music Society's concerts in

California, he provided scholarships for students taking Cowell's courses at the New School, and he paid for Cowell's purchase of a recording device to copy discs and cylinders of world musics and begin the New Music Recordings series.²⁴ Cowell, in turn, published Ives's orchestral and vocal works in *New Music* and extolled his compositions in a series of articles beginning as early as 1925. As Frank Rossiter says, "Cowell knew everyone in the musical avant-garde; and . . . largely through his efforts, nearly everyone in the avant-garde knew about Ives."²⁵ An active correspondence and warm relationship developed between the two men, and by March 1934 Cowell was opening his letters with "Dear Charlie." Thus Ives's silence came as a particularly painful blow.

On December 11, 1936, Cowell wrote to his stepmother, Olive, asking her to repay a \$400 debt to Ives.

This is a delicate matter because [Ives] is very apt to be offended if I seem to be returning the money to him myself; he had told me to hold the money to his account, and then as I did pieces of work for him in scoring and arranging his almost illegible old manuscripts, he was to pay me, taking it by reducing the debt I owed him.²⁶

Cowell suggested that Olive repay the debt in installments, taking the money from the sale of his car. He "had bought a very expensive car cheap, and tried to put a diesel engine in it," Olive recalled in a narrative she wrote for psychologist Ernst Wolff, whom the Cowell family hired for help in preparing for parole board hearings. "It was an elegant car—such as kings ride in—and Henry kept telling me that it was just suited to his purposes. . . . This was very unlike our Henry, who had always lived simply."²⁷ The debt to Ives troubled Cowell greatly, but since he had received no response to his initial letter, from either Charles or Harmony, he hesitated to write directly: "It would appear that the Ives are very much down on me (although I am still not certain that Mrs. Ives has told [Charles] of it)."²⁸ If the money were to come from Olive, however, the issue of Cowell's imprisonment could be avoided. In subsequent letters, Cowell mentioned the loan again, urging Olive to hasten to send the funds.²⁹

Meanwhile, Cowell tried to ascertain whether Ives knew of his imprisonment. He apparently expressed concern to Slonimsky as early as June 1936, since Slonimsky wrote on June 27: "I am sure that Ives has not seen or read anything. Even I missed the item, and was told about it by a newspaperman two weeks later. . . . As you know, Ives never reads the papers."³⁰ Cowell pressed Slonimsky on the matter again on August 14: "I have heard not a word from Ives," he wrote. "Do you have any news of him? It does not seem in the least like them to turn against me as to remain silent on account of the present condition, and so I worry for fear he is very ill." On December 15 he asked Slonimsky once again:

Do you hear from Ives? . . . I asked them to please not form judgment until after I had had a chance to tell them of the matter myself. It is very unlike him to suddenly cut me off from all communication. . . . Since the matter is very delicate, and I have no way of knowing anything or finding out anything of him, perhaps you would know something of what happened? If you do, good or bad, I wish you would let me know. Not hearing anything at all is really torturing, because as you know, I regard Ives the same as a father.³¹

In a letter to Blanche Walton (January 5, 1937), Cowell reported finally receiving a note from Ruggles. But "I do wish that Ives would write. I feel dreadfully about him; he was, of course, one of my closest friends. I have often wondered just what or how much Mrs. Ives told him of my present status."³²

On March 6, 1937, Olive Cowell wrote to Ives about the \$400 debt, reporting that she was still trying to sell Henry's car and would send a check as soon as a buyer was found. Here we find the first suggestion that reports of Ives's anger may have been greatly exaggerated, for he scrawled across the bottom of Olive's note, "Henry owes me not a cent."³³ Harmony responded to Olive within the week, assuring her that "not a cent" was owed ("to use [Ives's] own words") and that Ives had not written to Cowell because he was ill and "because he 'does not know what to say or what to write or what to do.'"³⁴

Despite Ives's not knowing what to say or write or do, he wrote those very words to Cowell two-and-a-half months later. On May 29, 1937, Cowell told Olive, "Tonight I finally received a letter from Ives, written in his own handwriting. It relieves my mind to hear from him; the letter is non-committal, says just what yours did, that he did not know what to say or do." (Olive had apparently transmitted Harmony's words to Henry.) "His writing was very bad, and he said he cannot hear or see music anymore."³⁵

In the collection of Cowell correspondence at the New York Public Library are two brief, barely legible (and undated) notes that correspond quite literally to Cowell's report.³⁶ The first, written on the back of a financial document, reads as follows:³⁷

Dear Henry:

I've [*sic*] haven't written ~~before~~ because I didn't know what to write or what to do—and I don't now— But I can at least do [what] I can & I will to help the [?] New Music Editions keep going as well as possible. Strang seems to be a ~~good~~ capable man for the work ~~and~~ he seems to be much interested [*or possibly*: he seems to h(ave) such intention] and it is good of him to give so much [of] his time & care [;] it will involve ~~so~~ many delays, I imagine.

As far a[s] music is concerned, I am through.—I can't seem to see it, hear it "good" or play it any more.—

I do hope you will have good health & that things will go well with you in the future

With best wishes [?]

The second letter, on yellow lined paper, is reproduced in Figure 1. It is similar to the first and (to judge from the opening sentence) postdates it.

I've started to write you a few times or more, but didn't because I didn't know what to write or say or what to think or do—and I don't now—so I'll shut up! At least I can do all I can & I will to help New M[usic] Editions keep going as well as possible and as you would want. Strang seems to be a good man for the work—& he is generous to take the time & care that the ~~work~~ it requires, I imagine.

As far as music is concerned, I'm through—can't see it, can't hear it well, & can't play it ~~except~~ with one [changed to "both"] hands or both feet.

I do hope you can keep well & that things will go well in the future [?].

With [?] best [wishes]

Whether either of these notes is the copy sent to Cowell, or whether both are drafts for the final version is not clear (neither has a signature).³⁸ Nevertheless, they correspond closely to Cowell's report to Olive. Though hardly a strong expression of support, the note relieved Cowell's anxiety, and his concern turned instead toward Ives's deteriorating health: "He must be in a dreadful condition," Cowell wrote, "and it is heart-rending to look at the telltale scrawl."³⁹

The similarity between Harmony's words to Olive and Charles's words to Henry might indicate that Harmony knew her husband had written to Cowell. However, several factors suggest quite the opposite. Most important is the simple fact that Cowell received the note in Ives's hand. During this period, Harmony took charge of most of Ives's correspondence. He would write out a draft—often in the third person ("Mr. Ives appreciates your interest . . .")—and then Harmony would copy it neatly to post. Though the ostensible reason for this process was the increasing illegibility of Ives's script (due to his palsy and deteriorating eyesight), Frank Rossiter and others have posited psychological factors as well:

The method that [Ives] worked out for dealing with the [medical] situation only emphasized his desire for isolation from his correspondents. . . . What he had devised, perhaps unconsciously, was a means of maintaining personal control over what happened to his

music while at the same time keeping correspondents at one remove from himself by forcing them to deal with his wife.⁴⁰

Whatever the motivation, the fact that this letter reached Cowell in Ives's "telltale scrawl" suggests that Harmony was either unaware of it or, if she knew of it, was unwilling to copy and send it.

Furthermore (as we will see below), three months later Cowell received information from Ives's friend Clifton Furness suggesting that Harmony was blocking communication (therefore prompting Ives to convey messages through intermediaries). When Harmony finally *did* send a Christmas gift to Cowell two-and-a-half years later, she did so indirectly through Gerald Strang, professing not to have Cowell's address (to be discussed below). That Ives used wording so similar to Harmony's implies that the Iveses discussed the question of writing to Cowell (and the reasons for *not* doing so), but in no way proves that Harmony knew this letter was actually transmitted. For Harmony the matter seems to have been clear: there was no obligation to write. For Charles, however, the situation was considerably more complex. As for Cowell, knowing that Harmony acted as Charles's amanuensis, he seems not to have responded directly to Ives (though he did send a message through Furness).

Despite the hiatus in correspondence, Ives's music remained a companion to Cowell through his courses at the prison conservatory. By August 1937 Cowell was actively promoting Ives's works to the prison population. "All the best musicians here are in a great tether over Ives," he wrote to Slonimsky. "I have gotten in the score of his Washington's Birthday Symphonic movement [published in the New Music Orchestra Series in October 1936], and have been demonstrating it to a class of advanced students. They were mystified, but highly interested."⁴¹ How "advanced" these students were is questionable, but there were at least a few talented musicians in San Quentin.⁴² In February 1938, for example, Cowell told Slonimsky that "there is a fairly good cellist in our department and now a viola has been added."⁴³ In September he told his parents that the first violinist in a chamber group he organized "is really good, the first professional musician, as far as I know, who has come in since I have been here; he studied under Joachim in the Berlin Conservatory of music about the beginning of this century."⁴⁴ (Cowell kept meticulous records of the number of students in his classes; in January of 1940, he recorded surpassing 2700 enrollments in various courses and ensembles.)⁴⁵

Later in August, Clifton Furness, supervisor of academic studies at the New England Conservatory of Music, transmitted additional messages between Cowell and Ives. Furness had never met Cowell. Nevertheless, at the suggestion of Amy Seward, widow of Cowell's old friend and

patron Samuel Seward, Furness wrote a testimonial on Cowell's behalf to the parole board in anticipation of its August 13, 1937, hearing (after which Cowell's sentence was set at fifteen years).⁴⁶ Furness sent Cowell a copy of this letter and Cowell responded to him directly.⁴⁷ Since Furness was on vacation in California, Cowell suggested contacting his parents, Harry and Olive Cowell, in San Francisco. On August 23 Furness wrote to Olive Cowell, summarizing Cowell's letter to him, inquiring about the outcome of the parole board hearing, and offering to convey a message from Cowell to Ives (in all likelihood a response to the note Cowell had received in May).

I have not had time to go out and visit him, as I hoped to do. I have telephoned you several times the last 3 days but no answer. Henry wants to send a message by me to his friend Charles Ives. Can you see him and explain that I am sorry not to be able to come out. Write the message to me [at] . . . 1215 Alemany Boulevard, San F. Or I will telephone you Saturday or Sunday morning next to get it.⁴⁸

Cowell was apparently concerned that letters directed to Ives would be intercepted by Harmony. He communicated directly with Furness after the San Francisco trip, as he reported to his father on September 11. "Please tell Olive I wrote to Furness direct. I was able to say all that was required." Furness eventually conveyed Cowell's message to Ives, as Cowell told Slonimsky a year later.⁴⁹

A letter from Cowell to Becker on September 5 reveals that Furness also conveyed messages from Ives (perhaps in the proposed phone conversation with Cowell's parents). Cowell told Becker that

from his old friend Furnes[s] in Boston . . . I have had splendid warm messages from Ives. It seems (please do not repeat this) that Mrs. I was very much up in arms but that he was very sympathetic in the matter. And of course he can't write or do much of anything except through her. This is just for your private information. But I was very happy to hear from him.⁵⁰

Though Cowell may well have exaggerated the importance of Furness's communication, we have no reason to doubt the basic message as reported to Becker—namely, that Ives had sent warm regards and that Harmony was "up in arms." At the time Cowell wrote to Becker, less than a month after the disastrous parole board hearing, his future looked particularly bleak. We should therefore not find it surprising that he would seize eagerly on any scrap of good news. Thus he may perhaps be forgiven for seeming unduly buoyed by Ives's little note and the "splendid warm messages" from Furness.

After these exchanges, however, Cowell received no further letters from Ives during the San Quentin period. A year later (July 21, 1938)

he wrote to Slonimsky: “I have not heard anything further from Ives. I had the one little note—and I heard that he is abroad, which seemed rather strange. I had not thought that he was well enough to take such a trip.”⁵¹ Some months later, he asked Becker if he’d heard from Ives, adding that he was glad at least “for the good little note.”⁵²

Cowell’s suspicions that Harmony was blocking direct communication are bolstered by an interchange in 1939 involving Harmony Ives, Cowell, and soprano Mary Bell (who had recorded three of Adolph Weiss’s songs for Cowell’s *New Music Quarterly Recordings* in 1933). On January 19, 1939, Cowell wrote to Bell that he often thought of Ives: “I do not hear from him, as I know he cannot write himself, but had a very fine note from him last year here. I wish that you would tell him that I think of him very often. . . . And give him my staunchest greetings.”⁵³ Bell wrote to Harmony Ives, enclosing a letter from Cowell, but on February 2 Harmony returned it, saying, “That matter has been such a blow to Mr. Ives that we never speak of it.”⁵⁴

Nevertheless, even Harmony’s indignation abated over time. In December 1939 (nearly a year after the interchange with Mary Bell), she wrote to Gerald Strang about his application for a Guggenheim Fellowship, for which Ives had written a supportive letter. She enclosed with this letter a Christmas gift (presumably a check) for Cowell. “As we are not sure of the correct address now,” she wrote, “will you please forward the enclosed to Henry Cowell.”⁵⁵ Early the next year, Ives wrote a letter supporting Cowell’s application for parole, for which he received thanks from Johanna Beyer, who had solicited and collected such letters. On May 24, 1940, Beyer wrote to Ives:

Henry Cowell asked me to-day to thank you for your letter on his behalf. He has been paroled. . . . I had over 40 wonderful letters from prominent people. . . . Henry would like to thank all his friends personally, but he is frightfully busy with the details of getting out and he is trying to select and train in men to continue . . . the conservatory of music he has founded here.⁵⁶

Soon after his release in June 1940, Cowell wrote to Ives again, apparently in regard to *New Music*.⁵⁷ Harmony responded on August 14 that Ives had been ill for over a year and that the doctor ordered him to “keep quiet” to avoid heart attacks. Jan Swafford characterizes her letter as “chilly”; Stuart Feder calls it “impatient and scolding.”⁵⁸ But its message—declining Cowell’s request for a visit—is consistent with other evidence of Ives’s extraordinary isolation after 1940.⁵⁹ Cowell asked Ives to serve on *New Music*’s editorial board, to which Ives agreed, though Harmony cautioned that his health would prevent him from participating actively. Nevertheless, she confirmed that Ives would continue to send monthly checks in support of the edition. Though she denied

Cowell's request to visit, Harmony closed with good wishes, using language (possibly dictated by Charles) very similar to the handwritten note of 1937: "[Charles] hopes you are well and that things will go well with you. He greatly appreciates Mr. and Mrs. Grainger's friendship and kindness to you and sends his best wishes to them and to you."⁶⁰ In December she sent a Christmas "remembrance" on behalf of her husband "with his kind wishes,"⁶¹ and communication between Cowell and the Iveses resumed on a fairly regular basis. After Cowell told them (on September 15, 1941) about his engagement to Sidney Robertson, Harmony responded immediately with a very warm—and clearly relieved—note, enclosing a check ("for we can't enclose a book-case or a sofa") and a promise to try to see the couple "next winter."⁶² After a series of exchanges on professional matters in November–December 1941 and February–March 1942, Cowell did indeed visit Ives twice in April 1942; Sidney and Harmony also visited during the same period.⁶³ The close professional and personal interaction that developed between the two couples eventually culminated in Henry and Sidney Cowell's biography of Ives, published in 1955, a year after Ives's death. Nevertheless, Cowell never resumed addressing Ives as "Dear Charlie," as he had in the years prior to his arrest.

The discovery of Ives's 1937 letter to Cowell and the related documents from the prison correspondence reinforce recent commentaries in the scholarly literature about Ives's apparent inconsistencies: his conformity to social conventions versus his sympathy for radical innovation; his debt to musical predecessors versus his vision of himself as an American original; his disparagement of his colleagues versus his financial generosity in supporting their work. Thus Ives's reaction to Cowell's imprisonment was typical in its ambivalence. His initial response ("I thought he was a man and he's really a g— d— sap") is stereotypically Ivesian in its gruff language; but equally Ivesian are his generosity (shown in his response to Cowell's debt), his 1937 note to Cowell in San Quentin, the "warm messages" conveyed by Furness, the Christmas gift sent through Strang, and his letter of support for parole.

Despite Ives's many contradictory statements, we have ample evidence of his opinions through his letters, memos, and other writings. But as his health deteriorated, these opinions were increasingly filtered through Harmony, who, surely with the best of intentions, sought to project a respectable image of her husband—an image that would resonate with her New England upbringing in the Hartford home of a minister father. Thus her statements about how she and Charles felt, couched so often in the first-person plural ("the thing fills us with deep physical repulsion," "we do not talk about it," "we feel . . . that if a man is a man he would

take his punishment and not have it sweetened”) may well reflect her opinions to a greater degree than his.⁶⁴

In this broader context, Harmony Ives’s characterization of her husband’s reaction—often quoted to illustrate Ives’s alleged homophobia—may have assumed too much importance in the musicological literature. Ives’s attitude toward the many homosexual musicians with whom he interacted in New York was neither monochromatic nor immutable. A small glimpse of self-reflection is provided by the recollections of Lou Harrison, an openly gay composer who worked closely with Ives from 1936 to 1950. Harrison edited several of Ives’s works for publication, orchestrated one of his songs, reconstructed portions of the *Robert Browning Overture* (the original of which was later found), and premiered Ives’s Third Symphony in 1946 (for which Ives received the Pulitzer Prize the following year).⁶⁵ Ives paid Harrison generously for this work (at times more than Harrison billed), and sent him half of the Pulitzer Prize money. Despite their frequent contact by mail, Harrison met Ives in person only once, for lunch in Ives’s New York apartment in February 1947. Recalling this meeting years later, Harrison said,

The problem of whether you were gay or not didn’t arise among the people that I was with. Ives was repressed but nonetheless he was a married man. [Yet] there was no problem. In fact that was the point I think that Ives made at the one luncheon I attended. Harmony was there and he, sitting off from the table, told me that when he was growing up, if you had anything to do with musicians it meant you were a sissy. Then he looked thoughtful and a little worried and said, “But all that seems to have changed now.”⁶⁶

The new information presented in this article in no way negates or excuses Ives’s virulent outbursts against effeminate tastes, superficial and nondiscriminating female audiences and patrons, or emasculated performers and composers (a strategy possibly designed, as Judith Tick suggests, “to weaken his adversaries by inverting gender discourse, rendering the patrimony . . . suspect on its own terms”).⁶⁷ But it does reveal a personality far more complex and richly nuanced than a simple reading of his widely quoted initial outburst would suggest.

Whether Ives’s reaction in this case was prompted by Cowell’s letter itself or by Harmony’s *interpretation* of that letter may never be clarified, but we have no reason to question the validity of Harmony’s report. At the same time, it would be naive to assume that Charles’s opinions remained fixed after the initial revelation of Cowell’s arrest. His 1937 note, perhaps sent despite Harmony’s objections, suggests Ives’s conflict between shock and disapproval on the one hand and the warm memories he retained of Cowell’s support on the other. It contains as well a hint

of self-criticism: According to Tom Owens, the phrase "so I'll shut up" in the second note is "particularly telling," one that Ives used "when he was making fun of his own bluster."⁶⁸ We may never know whether Harmony was aware of Ives's note, but her own response also became tempered over time; after all, it was she, not he, who wrote to Strang enclosing the Christmas gift, perhaps belying her assertion to Mary Bell that she and Ives "never discussed" Cowell's imprisonment.

There is no question that Cowell's prison years are marked by a notable lacuna in his frequent correspondence with Ives. Yet, contrary to previous assumptions, contact was not entirely severed; rather, it was at times facilitated, at other times impeded by the efforts of Ives's friends and relatives. For his part, Ives was certainly distressed by Cowell's arrest, but we can now see through his initial anger and recognize that he was not so callous as to cast off lightly a decade of friendship and collaboration in a single moment of frustration.

Appendix

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MAIN EVENTS AND DOCUMENTS CITED IN THIS ARTICLE

1936

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|-----------|---|
| May 21 | Arrest warrant brought to Cowell's house in Menlo Park. He is taken to the Redwood City Jail. |
| May 26 | Letter to Cowell from Stanford University requesting his resignation. |
| May 30 | Supportive letter from Riegger to Cowell. |
| June 1 | Supportive letter from Alvin Johnson (New School) to Cowell. |
| June 2 | Letter from Stanford president accepting Cowell's resignation. |
| June 3–16 | Supportive letters from Charles Seeger, Otto Luening, Nicolas Slonimsky, Roy Harris, Richard Buhlig, and many others. |
| June 18 | Supportive letter from John Cage. |
| June 27 | Letter, Slonimsky to Cowell: doubts that Ives knows anything. |
| June–July | Becker informs Harmony Ives about Cowell's arrest. |
| July 3 | First letter from Harmony Ives to Charlotte Ruggles. |
| July 6 | Letter, Cowell to Slonimsky: sentence of one to fifteen years imposed. |
| July 8 | Cowell enters San Quentin. |
| July 9 | Supportive letter from Virginia Adams to Olive Cowell. |
| July 12 | Second letter from Harmony Ives to Charlotte Ruggles. |
| Aug. 1 | Letter, Harmony Ives to Evelyn Becker. |
| Aug. 14 | Letter, Cowell to Slonimsky: any news about Ives? |
| Oct. 18 | Supportive letter from Copland to Cowell. |
| Oct. 23 | Letter, Cowell to Copland: reports that Roy Harris visited. |
| Dec. 11 | Henry Cowell tells Olive Cowell about his debt to Ives. |
| Dec. 15 | Letter, Cowell to Slonimsky: inquires about Ives. |

1937

- Jan. 5 Letter, Cowell to Blanche Walton: heard from Ruggles; what about Ives?
- Jan. 10 Letter, Henry Cowell to Olive Cowell: on repaying debt to Ives.
- March 6 Letter, Olive Cowell to Ives: on debt repayment. Ives annotates it ("Henry owes me not a cent").
- March 12 Letter, Harmony Ives to Olive Cowell: not a cent is owed.
- May 28 Cowell writes Becker that he's heard nothing from Ives.
- May 29 Cowell receives note from Ives and reports to Olive about it.
- Aug. 6 Cowell writes Slonimsky about playing Ives's music in his prison classes.
- Aug. 13 Cowell's hearing before the parole board.
- Aug. 13 Letter, Cowell to parents: sends a copy of Furness's supportive letter and says he's replied directly to Furness.
- Aug. 14 Letter, Henry Cowell to Olive Cowell: fifteen-year sentence imposed.
- Aug. 23 Letter, Furness to Olive Cowell: wrote letter on Cowell's behalf; offer to convey message from Cowell to Ives.
- Sept. 5 Letter, Cowell to Becker: had warm messages from Ives through Furness.
- Sept. 11 Letter, Cowell to his father: sent message for Ives directly to Furness.

1938

- July 21 Letter, Cowell to Slonimsky: have heard nothing further from Ives.
- Oct. 3 Letter, Cowell to Becker: mentions "good little note" from Ives.

1939

- Jan. 19 Letter, Cowell to Mary Bell: send regards to Ives. (Bell sends letter to Harmony Ives.)
- Feb. 2 Letter, Harmony Ives to Bell: returns Cowell's letter.
- Dec. 20 Letter, Harmony Ives to Gerald Strang: please send "the enclosed" gift to Cowell.

1940

- May 24 Letter, Johanna Beyer to Ives: thanks for supportive letter; Cowell's been paroled.
- June 26 Cowell's parole takes effect.
- June 29 Cowell writes to Sidney Robertson, John Becker, Percy Grainger from Nevada on his way to the East Coast.
- Summer Cowell writes to Ives regarding *New Music* matters.
- Aug. 14 Letter, Harmony Ives to Cowell: Ives not well enough for a visit.
- Dec. 20 Letter, Harmony Ives to Cowell: Ives sends "Christmas remembrance."

1941

- Sept. 15 Letter, Cowell to Ives: announces forthcoming marriage.
- Sept. 18 Letter, Harmony Ives to Cowell: best wishes on marriage; gift enclosed.

Sept. 27	Marriage of Henry Cowell and Sidney Robertson.
1942	
April 15, 27	Letters from Cowell noting his visits to Ives
April 22, May 15	Letters from Cowell documenting visits between Sidney Cowell and Harmony Ives.
Dec. 29	Cowell granted unconditional pardon by California governor Culbert Olson

NOTES

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1. The statute prohibited oral copulation; Cowell later confessed to sexual encounters with other boys. Cowell was not at home when Officer Francis Robinson brought the warrant; he arrived home ca. 1 A.M. (May 22) when the warrant was served. The most extensive account of Cowell's arrest and prison years is Michael Hicks, "The Imprisonment of Henry Cowell," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 92–119. Hicks also discusses the episode in his recent book, *Henry Cowell, Bohemian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 134–41, where he adds new information but appears less sympathetic to Cowell. I note some of the differences between Hicks's two accounts in my review of his book in the *Journal of Musicological Research* 22, nos. 1/2 (Jan.–June 2003): 167–70.

2. Some sources say "pond," but Cowell's stepmother, Olive, notes that Henry had built a small swimming pool in his yard; Olive Cowell, "My Life with the Cowells," unpublished manuscript, Cowell Collection, New York Public Library (hereafter NYPL), 23. In a statement Cowell wrote after his arrest, he noted that the boys started building a swimming pool, which he had completed for them by "a cement man"; Cowell, "Synopsis of My Sex Life," unpublished document, 1936, Box 99, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

3. Among the instruments Cowell studied are the modern silver flutes in C and D flat, the shakuhachi, and an end-blown Chinese flute. Hicks (*Henry Cowell, Bohemian*, 94) and Dick Higgins (*Essential Cowell: Selected Writings on Music* [Kingston, N.Y.: Documentext, 2001], 14) state that Cowell played flute in the band of the U.S. Army Ambulance Corps in 1918–19, but in a letter to his father on Feb. 2, 1938, Cowell wrote that he had "been permitted to take a regular flute to try, and it seems quite a puzzle." In the same month (Feb. 26, 1938), he wrote to Slonimsky that he was practicing the flute and hoping to learn it "well enough to play with the band." He was also studying the violin, adding that it was "a new experience for me since I never played one of these single-voiced chamber instruments." Cowell had studied the violin as a child, but may have dismissed these early lessons as insignificant; see, for example, the photograph in Hicks, *Henry Cowell, Bohemian*, following p. 90. Five months later (July 17, 1938), Cowell reported to Grete and Pierce Williams that he played with the band for the first time in concert, "my debut in concert as a flutist!" All quotations from unpublished materials by Cowell are used with the kind permission of the Cowell estate.

4. Cowell recounted these accomplishments in a letter to his stepmother, Olive (Jan. 29, 1940), for use in her attempts to have him reconsidered for parole (Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL).

5. The Cowell papers, which his widow, Sidney, donated to the New York Public Library, were not available to scholars until 2000. Sidney Cowell stipulated that access to these

papers be restricted to one scholar, who was working on a biography of the composer. After her death the library petitioned the court to open the collection. Other letters from Cowell's prison years are in the collections of the recipients or in private hands.

6. In an undated letter to his wife (Box 20, Folder, 641, Cowell Collection, NYPL) Cowell reminded her of the exact dates: parole was granted on June 8, 1940, and became effective on June 26. The following day, Olive Cowell sent two telegrams to Percy Grainger, informing him that Cowell would arrive in New York on July 2 at 7:40 P.M. (Box 95, Cowell Collection, NYPL). On June 29, 1940, Cowell wrote to John Becker, Sidney Robertson, and Percy Grainger from Nevada on his way to the East Coast (Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL).

7. For example, Stuart Feder, *Charles Ives: "My Father's Song"* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 344; Jan Swafford, *Charles Ives: A Life with Music* (New York: Norton, 1996), 405; and Hicks, *Henry Cowell: Bohemian*, 136.

8. Harmony Ives, letters to Charlotte Ruggles, July 3 and July 12, 1936, Folder 31/11, Ives letters, Yale University Music Library (hereafter YUML), New Haven. Letters from Charles and Harmony Ives are quoted by the kind permission of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, copyright owner.

9. For example, Hicks, "Imprisonment of Henry Cowell," 100–101 (reported similarly in other works).

10. "Teacher Held on Statutory Charge," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 23, 1936, 1; "Cowell Arrested on Coast," *New York Times*, May 23, 1936, 5; "Henry Cowell, Composer, Held on Boy's Charge," *New York Herald Tribune*, May 23, 1936, 3; "Ban on Bail Faced by Cowell," *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, May 23, 1936; "Morals Charges Jail Noted S.F. Composer," *San Francisco Examiner*, May 23, 1936 (the last reported in Hicks, *Henry Cowell, Bohemian*, 193). The specific quotation is from the *New York Times*, but similar wording appeared in the other stories. See also four stories in the *Palo Alto Times*: "Composer in Jail on Serious Charge," May 22, 1936; "Cowell Arraigned on Morals Charge," May 23, 1936; "Cowell May Contest Charges Against Him," May 27, 1936; and "Cowell Is Resigned to Fate; Cheerful, Scoffs at Suicide," May 28, 1936.

11. "Ban on Bail Faced by Cowell," 1. The *Chronicle* simply noted that "other boys are also said to be involved." These reports correspond roughly to a written statement Cowell penned in the Redwood City Jail ("Synopsis of My Sex Life"), but later assertions in parole applications specify that none of the boys was under sixteen.

12. "Hearing Set for Cowell," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 24, 1936. The article in the *Call Bulletin* on May 23 reported: "After the hearing, Judge Ryan said that if Cowell made any attempt to raise the bail of \$5000 by cash or \$10,000 bond, he would increase it. 'I am afraid if this man gets out he will attempt suicide,' Judge Ryan said. 'He is safer in jail.'" Cowell scoffed at such fears and showed a very upbeat demeanor, according to the *Palo Alto Times* ("Cowell Is Resigned to Fate; Cheerful, Scoffs at Suicide").

13. Riegger, letter to Cowell, May 30, 1936, Box 96, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

14. Johnson, letter to Cowell, June 1, 1936, Box 146, Folder 87, Cowell Collection, NYPL. The letter is not filed with the prison correspondence, but rather is included in the teaching materials related to the New School.

15. Cage, letter to Cowell, June 18, 1936. Box 95, Cowell Collection, NYPL. Quoted by the kind permission of the Cage estate.

16. Box 148, Folder 101, Cowell Collection, NYPL. Cowell apparently complied, since a follow-up letter from Stanford president Ray Lyman Wilbur, accepting Cowell's resignation, was written on June 2.

17. Virginia Adams, letter to Olive Cowell, July 9, 1936, Box 95, Cowell Collection, NYPL. Quoted by permission of the Trustees of The Ansel Adams Publishing Rights Trust.

18. Henry Cowell to Nicolas Slonimsky, Dec. 15, 1936, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL: "I wrote the whole thing to Mrs. Ives, with a letter to give Mr. Ives if she felt it would not be too much of a shock for his health." Cowell's letter to Slonimsky is reprinted in

Nicolas Slonimsky, *Perfect Pitch* (New York: Schirmer, 2002), 151. On July 6, 1936, Cowell had written to Slonimsky, "I wrote Mrs. Ives—will let her break news as seems advisable" (Cowell Collection, NYPL, Box 97).

19. Harmony Ives, letter to Charlotte Ruggles, July 12, 1936.

20. Harmony Ives, letter to Evelyn Becker, Aug. 1, 1936, JPB 79–6, Folder 7, Becker Papers, NYPL.

21. Henry Cowell, letter to Olive Cowell, Aug. 14, 1937, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

22. Letters, all in Cowell Collection, NYPL: Gerald and Clara Strang to Olive Cowell, May 26, 1936, and Gerald Strang to Carlos Chávez, Aug. 30, 1936 (both in Box 96); Frankenstein to Olive Cowell, May 23, 1936, Box 95; Henry Cowell to Olive Cowell, Sept. 25, 1936, Box 97. Cowell wrote to Aaron Copland on Oct. 23, 1936, that Roy Harris had also visited.

23. Copland, letter to Cowell, Oct. 18, 1936, Box 95, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

24. These projects are discussed in the voluminous correspondence between Cowell and Ives. The most detailed report of their interaction is found in Rita Mead's meticulously annotated study, *Henry Cowell's New Music, 1925–1936: The Society, the Music Editions, and the Recordings* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981).

25. Frank Rossiter, *Charles Ives and His America* (New York: Liveright, 1975), 217.

26. Henry Cowell, letter to Olive Cowell, Dec. 11, 1936, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

27. Olive Cowell, narrative for Ernest Wolff, Box 95, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

28. Henry Cowell, letter to Olive Cowell, Dec. 11, 1936.

29. For example, Henry Cowell to Olive Cowell, Jan. 10, 1937, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

30. Nicolas Slonimsky, letter to Henry Cowell, June 27, 1936, Box 96, Cowell Collection, NYPL. Quoted with the kind permission of Electra Slonimsky Yourke.

31. Both letters are quoted in Slonimsky, *Perfect Pitch*, 150–52. Slonimsky also quotes letters in which Cowell says he sent a second letter to Ives.

32. Henry Cowell, letter to Blanche Walton, Jan. 5, 1937, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

33. Olive Cowell, letter to Charles Ives, March 6, 1937, Box 95, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

34. Harmony Ives, letter to Olive Cowell, March 12, 1937, in *ibid.*

35. Henry Cowell, letter to Olive Cowell, May 29, 1937, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

36. The two notes are not filed with the prison correspondence, but rather are in a folder of undated letters from Ives to Cowell (Box 9, Folder 250, Cowell Collection, NYPL).

37. We are much indebted to Tom Owens for helping us decipher a few of the more difficult words in these letters.

38. Tom Owens, who is editing the volume *Selected Correspondence of Charles Ives* (forthcoming from the University of California Press), speculates that Cowell may have received a final draft in ink, as opposed to these two notes in pencil. An ink version would have been even more difficult to read, as Ives could exert less pressure on a pen than on a pencil. Owens feels that Cowell's specific mention of the illegibility of Ives's scrawl points to this conclusion. (Tom Owens, email letter to Leta Miller, Sept. 19, 2004.)

39. Henry Cowell, letter to Olive Cowell, May 29, 1937.

40. Rossiter, *Charles Ives*, 256–57.

41. Henry Cowell, letter to Nicolas Slonimsky, Aug. 6, 1937, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

42. Warden Clinton T. Duffy discusses John Hendricks in *The San Quentin Story* (New York: Doubleday, 1950), 234–43. Hicks ("Imprisonment of Henry Cowell," 106) claims that Hendricks was the bandleader under whom Cowell worked beginning in 1937, but Duffy

states that Hendricks did not become bandleader until 1940. (Hicks cites Cowell's letter to Slonimsky of Nov. 14, 1936 as evidence; however, in this letter, Cowell speaks of the bandleader without naming him.) According to Duffy, Hendricks rejuvenated the band, whose performances and radio broadcasts in the 1940s helped to bridge the gulf between the prisoners and the general population.

43. Henry Cowell, letter to Nicolas Slonimsky, Feb. 26, 1938, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

44. Henry Cowell, letter to Harry and Olive Cowell, Sept. 12, 1938, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL. Hicks identified the violinist as Raul Pereira, who was sent to San Quentin for writing bad checks (Hicks, "Imprisonment of Henry Cowell," 109–110).

45. Henry Cowell, letter to Olive Cowell, Jan. 29, 1940, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL. In July 1937 Cowell was transferred from working in the jute mill to the prison's education department. He reported to Olive that he was teaching a harmony course and an elementary music course three times a week, a nonmusic class dealing with his foreign travels, and a general music appreciation course (Henry Cowell, letter to Olive Cowell, July 7, 1937). By the next year, he reported teaching sixteen classes a week and reading papers for other courses (Henry Cowell, letter to Grete and Pierce Williams, July 17, 1938). By July 1939, Cowell had thirty-nine students enrolled in a harmony course and nineteen in a composition class (Henry Cowell, letter to Carl Ruggles, July 8, 1939). He also directed chamber music ensembles and band rehearsals. In January 1940 Cowell summarized his teaching activities at San Quentin, noting that he had organized a music department that now offered ten courses, that he was teaching twenty-five hours per week, and that he had written two correspondence courses and corrected papers for three University of California extension courses in harmony (Henry Cowell to Olive Cowell, Jan. 29, 1940).

46. Furness told Olive Cowell that he had written a letter on Cowell's behalf "at Mrs. Seward's suggestion" (Furness, letter to Olive Cowell, Aug. 23, 1937, Box 95, Cowell Collection, NYPL). A list of eighty-six additional testimonials from prominent supporters of Cowell (including Ansel Adams, Carlos Chávez, Aaron Copland, Eugene Goossens, Martha Graham, Serge Koussevitzky, Otto Luening, Douglas Moore, Walter Piston, Wallingford Riegger, Dane Rudhyar, Arnold Schoenberg, Charles Seeger, Nicolas Slonimsky, and Leopold Stokowski) is found in Box 99, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

47. Cowell sent the copy of Furness's letter to his parents on Aug. 13, 1937 (Henry Cowell, letter to Olive and Harry Cowell), noting that it was a "fine" letter from a "very conservative" source and should be kept with the other testimonials. Cowell told his parents that he had replied to Furness directly and suggested he contact them when he arrived in San Francisco. Although Cowell's letter to Furness has not been found, its contents can be deduced from Furness's Aug. 23, 1937 letter to Olive Cowell (*ibid.*).

48. Furness, letter to Olive Cowell, Aug. 23, 1937, Box 95, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

49. Henry Cowell, letters to Harry Cowell, Sept. 11, 1937, and Nicolas Slonimsky, Dec. 3, 1938, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

50. Cowell, letter to Becker, Sept. 5, 1937, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL. We are grateful to David Nicholls for pointing us toward his article "Unanswerable Questions/Questionable Answers" (*Music and Letters* 75, no. 2 [May 1994]: 246–52), which mentions the role of Clifton Furness.

51. Cowell, letter to Slonimsky, July 21, 1938, Box 97, Cowell Collection, NYPL. Ives traveled to Great Britain in 1938 (see Rossiter, *Charles Ives*, 255).

52. Cowell, letter to John Becker, Oct. 3, 1938, Becker Collection.

53. Cowell, letter to Mary Bell, Folder 27/7, Ives letters, YUML. Swafford, *Charles Ives*, 411, cites Cowell's letter to Bell and wonders, "Had Ives actually written . . . or had the prodigal son imagined it?"

54. Harmony Ives, letter to Mary Bell, Feb. 2, 1939, Folder 27/7, Ives letters, YUML. On June 16, Cowell wrote Slonimsky that he had sent Ives a letter, "saying how . . . pleased

I have been with the progresss of his performances, but I did not have a reply" (Cowell Collection, NYPL, Box 97).

55. Harmony Ives, letter to Gerald Strang, Dec. 20, 1939, Folder 32/7, Ives letters, YUML. The letter bears no year, but can be dated by the reference to Strang's Guggenheim application.

56. Johanna Beyer, letter to Charles Ives, May 24, 1940, Folder 27/9, Ives letters, YUML.

57. In a letter to Harmony Ives on Dec. 2, 1940, Cowell notes that he hopes Ives's health is better than when he wrote "last summer"; Folder 28/6, Ives letters, YUML.

58. Swafford, *Charles Ives*, 416; Feder, *Charles Ives*, 344.

59. For one discussion of this isolation, see Rossiter, *Charles Ives*, 289–90.

60. Harmony Ives, letter to Cowell, Aug. 14, 1940, Folder 28/6, Ives letters, YUML.

61. Harmony Ives, letter to Cowell, Dec. 20, 1940, *ibid.*

62. Harmony Ives, letter to Cowell, Sept. 18, 1941, Box 9, Folder 243, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

63. Letters, Cowell to Charles Ives: April 15, 1942 ("it was a wonderful pleasure to see you yesterday"); April 22, 1942 ("Sidney was delighted to see Mrs. Ives"); April 27, 1942 ("it was grand to have a visit with you again"); and letter, Cowell to Harmony Ives, May 15, 1942 ("Sidney was so delighted with your visit"). All letters in Box 19, Folder 564, Cowell Collection, NYPL. See also a letter from Harmony Ives to Evelyn Becker on April 26, 1942, in which Harmony reported visiting Sidney in her apartment in the Village since Sidney was flat on her back for several months due to her pregnancy (reproduced in J. Peter Burkholder, *Charles Ives and His World* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996], 251). About a month later Sidney miscarried (see letter from Cowell to his parents, May 28, 1942, Box 19, Folder 564, Cowell Collection, NYPL). In a 1989 interview with Stuart Feder, Sidney recalled that Harmony first visited her *after* the miscarriage (see Feder, *Charles Ives*, 345).

64. Quotations are taken from the letter from Harmony Ives to Evelyn Becker, Aug. 1, 1936.

65. On these interactions see Leta E. Miller and Fredric Lieberman, *Lou Harrison: Composing a World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998; rev. paperback ed., *Composing a World: Lou Harrison, Musical Wayfarer* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004]). The song Harrison orchestrated was *He Is There!* (revised title: *They Are There!*).

66. Lou Harrison, interview with Leta Miller and Fredric Lieberman, Aptos, California, March 31, 1994.

67. Judith Tick, "Charles Ives and Gender Ideology," in *Musicology and Difference*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 104–5.

68. Tom Owens, email letter to Leta Miller, Sept. 17, 2004.