Political Discourse and American Published Sheet Music: A Commentary of Four Published Works

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Existing Published Works

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Abstract

The purpose of this commentary is to discuss the context and theoretical underpinnings that form the basis of my four publications, and how these works have made a meaningful contribution to the study of American socio-political discourse in general, and to the study of American historical music in particular.

The study of American political history has principally focused on traditional primary and secondary sources for such inquiry: contemporary letters, journals and diaries, books, official documents, newspapers and other periodicals. One major primary source that has been largely overlooked is that of published music. Two factors have precipitated this oversight: historically, traditional musicology ignored popular music as having no scholarly legitimacy. Secondly, most repository institutions have ignored, or are unaware of, the historical context and relevance of socio-political sheet music, cataloging it as a one-dimensional artifact defined almost exclusively in musical terms such as “vocal,” “instrumental,” or “ballads,” and not for its historical context and non-musical relevance.

Published music encompasses far more than just notation, structure and form; it illuminates a plethora of human activity far beyond the composer-listener archetype: performance, publishing, commercial enterprise, and socio-political context are only a few of these extra-musical facets of published music that can tell us not only about the composer and music itself, but also about the society in which it was created.

It was the purpose of my four published works submitted herewith to begin to remedy these issues by illuminating a source of contemporary discourse that can shed a different light on history; a discourse oriented towards the popular masses rather than the educated elite. These four works broaden contemporary discourse in American history by providing historians with the knowledge of, and access to, this vast wealth of untapped resource material.

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3. *Ku Klux Klan Sheet Music: An Illustrated Catalogue of Published Music, 1867-2002*. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2003.

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Preface

> It has become a commonplace to say that popular music is an index to the life and history of the nation. Unfortunately there are still too many who do not really believe it. They are actually unaware of the extent to which the manners, customs and current events of every generation have been given expression in popular songs … nor do they realize how honestly, and often naively, such songs have reflected the changing character of our people.
>
> Sigmund Spaeth[1]

I am a hoarder...

Some people prefer the more refined term "collector," but I think hoarder is probably more accurate. I have always been a hoarder. I blame my mother. She was a hoarder too. Growing up, I collected everything: rocks, baseball cards, drink stirrers, bottle caps, menus, buttons, match book covers, cat figurines, etc., etc. I also blame the Boy Scouts. In the process of earning my Eagle rank, I completed over forty merit badges. Each of these badges required me to learn a new subject area which, in turn, opened up whole new areas of collecting: coins, stamps, fossils, and insects to name only a few.

As for my non-collecting interests, music, politics, and history were always my favorite subjects in high school and throughout college. History and politics are reflected in my choice of government for my major area of study and history as my minor, while music was always a personal passion (trombone in high school band, and banjo, guitar and accordion in my spare time).

My passion for collecting sheet music started one August afternoon in 1972. While awaiting the start of graduate school, I found myself wandering around an antique shop in Tallahassee, Florida, and noticed several campaign buttons for President William McKinley. I had never really thought about campaign items as collectibles. I asked the dealer if he had any more items and he replied that he had a trunk full in the back. When I looked into the trunk, there were scores of old

[1] Sigmund Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America* (New York: Random House, 1966), xiii.

campaign souvenirs including buttons, ribbons, banners, and a large stack of sheet music. I bought the entire lot.

When I got home and began sorting through the items, the sheet music struck me as particularly interesting. I can still remember uncovering a piece of Teddy Roosevelt sheet music, awash in bright colors, with his portrait almost jumping off the page. And it hit me - what a wonderful way to combine my love of politics, history and music into one inexpensive collectible.

From that day forward, wherever I would go, I started buying political-related sheet music. At first I haunted antique stores but soon added flea markets and yard sales. Music was in abundance in those days and was usually only 10¢ to $1.00 per sheet. Next, I discovered that there were other political item collectors and they had their own organization, the American Political Item Collector's Association (APIC). They held conventions, published a newspaper with multiple political item auctions, and published an academic-like journal with articles on the history of campaign memorabilia.

Forward fifteen years to 1987. While roaming through an old bookstore looking for sheet music, I "discovered" a used book on political sheet music that had a profound and immediate impact on me and on the direction my collecting would take. The book, *Music for Patriots, Politicians and Presidents: Harmonies and Discords of the First Hundred Years* by Vera Brodsky Lawrence,[2] was a chronology of American political history through its published music. It was illustrated in black and white with occasional full color plates and detailed the history of political music through the nation's early years. I realized that here was a significant historical resource of primary source material that was almost unknown outside of a few hobbyists and librarians. Thus began my passion with

[2] Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Music for Patriots, Politicians and Presidents: Harmonies and Discords of the First Hundred Years* (New York: McMillan, 1975).

documenting political music; an obsession which ultimately led to my four books on the topic and to the PhD program at the University of Sunderland.

The PhD by Existing Published Works is a new experience for me as an American. No such comparable route to a research degree exists in the United States. A key component to the awarding of the degree is the preparation of a commentary placing the proffered works in the context of significant academic achievement.

At the time my books were published, it was my intention to provide both academicians and the general public with a historical resource not generally known or accessible. By documenting published socio-political sheet music, I anticipated that new academic inquiry could be undertaken that would provide a unique view of history not generally found in traditional source material such as letters, diaries, and news accounts; however, just how to accomplish this when so much was unknown proved to be a challenge.

D.W. Krummel describes four categories of bibliographic record: [3]

1) What we have;
2) What we lack and know about;
3) What we lack but which never really existed; and
4) What we lack but have not and know not what we have not.

This latter category was the dilemma I faced when I first began the process of documenting political sheet music: how does one go about finding the unknown?

I knew that the research process would be dominated by repository search and the systematic review of relevant literature on sheet music.[4] While these techniques are as old as research itself, they are reliable and provide a sound basis for gathering the necessary bibliographic data.

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[3] D.W. Kurmmel, "Counting Every Star, or, Historical Statistics on Music Publishing in the United States," *American Music Bibliography, IV, Anuario Intermericano de Investigacion Musical*, Vol. 10, (1974), 175-193, http://www.jstor.org/stable/779844.
[4] D.W. Krummel, *Bibliographical Handbook of American Music* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1987), 3.

Because most music published before 1840 is void of a printed copyright date, interpretative skill would be required in order to properly classify and date the music. I also knew I would need to use secondary and tertiary sources such as other bibliographic records and texts, contemporary newspaper accounts, and municipal street directories to document relevant data and publishing addresses. Interpretation of period themes, allusions, occasional lyrical metaphors, as well as iconic images found on old sheet music also proved to be a critical skill needed when classifying individual pieces of music. This was imperative for pieces of music that had no direct or obvious reference to a particular political figure or event on its cover. I found that it was frequently necessary to inspect the actual, physical piece of sheet music and to review the lyrics (when present) in order to find a link to a particular person or cause.[5]

In addition to the technical issues that arose, the larger question of physically accessing the sheet music for inclusion in the books was problematic. The cornerstone for each book was the music from my personal collection. This provided approximately seventy-five to ninety percent of the items requiring documentation, though I did not know this at the time. In order to ascertain "what one doesn't know" and to locate this unknown music, I prepared a brief outline of how I would approach the task. This included the following steps:

1) Determine what was needed:

   Included in this task was defining what type of music I would document. For example, in my first book, it was presidential-related music. That led

[5] For example, "The Dallas Clarendon Polka." From the title alone, it was impossible to know where to place this piece in its historical context. Because it is an instrumental tune, using the lyrics to establish context was not possible. It was necessary to use secondary sources to determine that the "Dallas" referred to in the piece was not "Dallas, Texas," or an individual named "Dallas Clarendon," but it referred to ex-vice president and minister to Great Britain in 1856, George M. Dallas, and that "Clarendon" referred to Lord Clarendon with whom Dallas negotiated the treaty. Thus, I listed it under the entry for President James K. Polk and Vice-President George Dallas.

to the need for a definition of "presidential music."[6] Once defined, I had to determine what forms of music to include (i.e. sheet music, broadsides, song books, etc). I also had to decide just what bibliographic data to present. This was critical as I had two audiences for the book: academia and sheet music collectors.

To answer some of these questions, I turned to the works of bibliographers Oscar Sonneck and William and Richard J. Wolfe.[7] From a close review of the entries in their epic volumes, I was able to identify a pattern in their approach to the task. They started with material in their own institution, and then worked through the major collections at other American repositories - simple, systematic and effective.

2) Identify possible sources or repositories for such music:

Based on the approach of Sonneck and Wolfe, I identified the following potential sources to help me locate archived sheet music:

- Review of Existing Literature

  I began by undertaking a survey of other bibliographies and books on sheet music. This helped me identify a number of major public and private collections that held accumulations of sheet music. I reviewed each of the 15,000+ entries in Sonneck and Wolfe, and

[6] Danny O. Crew, *Presidential Sheet Music, an Illustrated Catalogue of Published Music Associated with the American Presidency and Those Who Sought the Office* (West Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2000), xiii-iv.

[7] Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, and William T. Upton, *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1945) and Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America 1801-1825: A Bibliography* (New York: New York Public Library, 1980).
Sonneck and Upton documented all music published in America to 1800. Wolfe documented all music published between 1801 and 1825.

extracted the bibliographic data for any items having to do with the presidency.

• Contact Collectors

Throughout the fifteen years preceding this project, I had established a personal relationship with a dozen or so sheet music collectors. I contacted each of them and asked for their assistance in identifying items from their own collections that I might not have, and sought their help in identifying other collectors who may have relevant material.

• Advertise in the APIC Newsletter

I developed a bibliographic record-sheet to ensure that I consistently collected relevant bibliographic data for each entry, and then took out advertisements in the APIC newsletter soliciting assistance from the membership of over seven thousand collectors and institutions. Respondents who indicated they had had music which was new to me were sent a copy of the bibliographic record-sheet and directions for its completion. I also requested that they return a color photocopy of the cover and black and white copies of the interior pages.

• Visit Major Institutional Collections

I often traveled to the northeast and mid-west to attend major antique and paper shows. While there, I allocated time to visit local libraries and arranged to purchase photocopies of needed pieces from their collections. I also arranged several trips to specific institutions that I knew had major holdings.

• Correspond with Other Repositories

For those institutions I was not able to visit personally, I identified a particular individual librarian or archivist at the library and corresponded with that person directly. Most institutions were extremely helpful in identifying items in their collections that I needed and in making copies of these for my use. Often, they would send me original items through interlibrary loan.

• Political Item Auction Catalogues

One interesting facet of the collecting hobby is the mail auction sale. Each month, the APIC newspaper contains advertisements from established political item dealers soliciting interest in their up-coming mail auctions. Interested bidders receive by mail a small, multipage printed auction catalogue which includes a fixed closing date for bidding. These catalogues are heavy on graphics as that is a primary interest of most collectors. Through dealer friends and other contacts, I was able to acquire hundreds of back issues of these old catalogues and meticulously combed each, extracting any information on sheet music, including photographs and the bibliographic data.

• Institutional Collections on the Internet

During the 1990s, the digitization of sheet music collections by institutions was in its infancy; however, the Library of Congress had initiated its *American Memory* project which provides digital reproductions of sheet music from their collection. Johns Hopkins University had also commenced the online digital archiving of the Lester Levy collection. These proved extremely helpful in adding new pieces to my projects.

3) Making the Findings Available:

> A final consideration I had to resolve was how to best make the material available to a wide range of potential users. The early software I used allowed me to make hard discs of the data that could be made available to interested researchers and collectors; however, the storage capacity of these discs was minimal. I estimated that in order to present the entire set of data, it would take over one hundred of these discs. This was impractical from both a cost and usability standpoint. My most practical alternative was to publish my findings in book form.[8]

Opening up a new field of study for scholars, researchers, historians and collectors alike has provided me with a level of satisfaction that mere collecting alone could never bring. And, with millions of pieces of sheet music published over the past two hundred years, on an almost infinite number of topics, published music continues to offer future researchers ample material for their own discoveries.

In preparing the four major works submitted herein, I have received the help of many individuals and organizations. Their assistance is acknowledged in each of my books respectively. As for my present journey with the University of Sunderland, I want to express my gratitude to my academic supervisor, Dr. Kevin Yuill. I would not be preparing this commentary without his gracious decision to take me on as a PhD candidate. I also wish to thank my other two advisors, Dr. John Kefla-Kerr and Professor Peter Smith. Their enthusiasm and support at my admissions sub-group committee meeting gave me the encouragement to see this process through. Finally, I want to think my wife for her editorial suggestions and spell checking. She always has a way with words and I could not have completed this without her assistance.

[8] Margaret F. Stieg, "The Information Needs of Historians," *College & Research Libraries* 42 (Nov. 1981): 549-69, quoted in Wendy Duff, et al., "Historians' Use of Archival Sources: Promises and Pitfalls of the Digital Age," *The Public Historian* Vol. 26. No. 2 (Spring 2004), 9. According to her survey of 767 historians in the United States, her respondents used books more often for their research, and that bibliographies and references were the most important sources for identifying information on their topic.

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Commentary

> The key to understanding how and why strategic political communications work so effectively is to realize that words and pictures generate images that do shape popular perceptions of political reality.
>
> Jarol B. Manheim[1]

1.1 Defining Sheet Music

According to information specialist and historian Calvin Elliker, the term, "sheet music" first appeared in America around 1832.[2] Prior to that time, printed music was known by various terms including "music sheet," "sheets of music," "song sheet," "score," and "music folio."

The modern, or popular, nomenclature for "sheet music" is likewise broadly inclusive and often vague: almost any printed music, including folios, pamphlets, scores, and single sheets are generally classified as sheet music. Added to this mix are song books and compilations of multiple songs, which are also generally referred to as "sheet music."

After maintaining that a conclusively specific, limited, and correct definition of the term "sheet music" was possibly unattainable, Elliker did proffer his own definition, a definition so narrow that it considered only one distinguishing factor determined if a published score was sheet music - whether the music was bound or unbound.[3] In Elliker's system of classification, any compilation of bound music is *not* sheet music; only unbound printed music can be deemed sheet music.

In its 2003 publication *Cataloguing Sheet Music*, the American Music Library Association (MLA) adopted Elliker's limited definition.[4] Acknowledging the ambiguity in the subject, the MLA also made allowances for the personal

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[1] Jarol B. Manheim, *All of the People All of the Time: Strategic Communication and American Politics* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1991), 10.

[2] Calvin Elliker, "Toward a Definition of Sheet Music," *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 55, No. 4 (June 1999), 836.

[3] Elliker, "Towards a Definition of Sheet Music," 835.

[4] Lois Schultz and Sarah Jean Shaw, *Cataloging sheet music: guidelines for use with AACR2 and the MARC Format* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2003), 1-2. It is interesting to note that Calvin Elliker sat on the working group that developed the definition.

preferences of the individual cataloguer, in essence, leaving the definition of exactly what does, or does not, constitute sheet music inexplicably illusive.

D.W. Krummel, arguing tongue-in-cheek, agrees that defining just what "sheet music" is is difficult:[5]

> We all know what it is – more or less. But nobody has ever successfully defined it, since it means different things to different people … The term nevertheless may usefully be defined positively, which is to say quantitatively: all music larger than 9" by 12" (or 5" by 8" or whatever) is sheet music. Or it may be defined negatively, which is to say subjectively: anything insubstantial that is deemed not worth bothering which can be relegated to the pile called sheet music.

For the purpose of my project, I used a more comprehensive definition that includes published music in almost any format and any size including folios, pamphlets, scores, single sheets, and bound compilations.

1.2 Prior Thematic Cataloguing Efforts

Sheet music is a reflection of the larger society in which it was created. According to Maurice Wheeler and Mary Jo Venetis, "Historical sheet music and its accompanying illustrated cover art present a rich source of social commentary, providing researchers with the societal norms and voices of a particular time in history."[6] As such, it can be expected that music expressing almost all aspects of social interaction has been written. Virtually every subject, incident, celebrity, locality, profession, complaint, invention, pastime, product, or feeling has generated published music.

[5] D.W. Krummel, *Bibliographical Handbook*, 8.
[6] Maurice Wheeler and Mary Jo Venetis, "Evaluation of Web Access to Historical Sheet Music Collections and Music–Related Iconography," *First Monday* Volume 10, Number 10 (October 2005), 1, http://www.firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/viewArticle/1283/120.

In commenting on the illustrated covers found on published sheet music, Kevin Yuill states that "I believe that the illustrated music cover epitomizes, as well as embodies, the history of the American people. All of these pieces of sheet music *are* history, and more importantly, all reflect history as understood by contemporaries at the time they were created and await cataloguing."[7]

Prior to the 1945 publication of Oscar Sonneck and William Upton's seminal work (hereinafter referred to as Sonneck), *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*,[8] there had been few serious attempts to comprehensively document published American secular music.[9] Following Sonneck's *Bibliography,* his successor as director of the music section at the Library of Congress, Richard J. Wolfe, expanded the time frame of Sonneck's work with his three volume bibliography, *Secular Music in America 1901-1825*.[10] Between the works of Sonneck and Wolfe, virtually every secular song published in the United States from 1767 to 1825 was documented.

Since these works, there have been a number of survey books published that highlighted individual songs in selected genres such as the Revolutionary War, presidential campaigns, and the Civil War.[11] In addition, there has been some research on documenting certain individual songs of importance such as "Yankee Doodle" and "The Star Spangled Banner;"[12] however, no comprehensive attempt

[7] Kevin Yuill, email to author, 21 Jun. 2013.
[8] Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, and William T. Upton, *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1945).
[9] However, there had been significant scholarship on the oral folksong and concert traditions in America. See: D.K. Wilgus, *Anglo American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1959). Wilgus documents over 135 works published between 1898 and 1959.
[10] Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America 1801-1825: A Bibliography* (New York: New York Public Library, 1980).
[11] Survey works such as: Kenneth A. Bernard, *Lincoln and the Music of the Civil War*. (Caldwell: the Caxton Printers, 1966); Willard and Peter W. Heaps, *The Singing Sixties: The Spirit of the Civil War Days Drawn from the Music of the Times* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1960); Marion Klamkin, *Old Sheet Music: A Pictorial History* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1975). Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Music for Patriots, Politicians and Presidents*: *Harmonies and Discords of the First Hundred Years* (New York: McMillan, 1975); Lester Levy, *Picture the Songs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); John Nathan, *Dan Emmitt and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelry* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1962); and Davis Tatham, *The Lure of the Striped Pig: The Illustration of Popular Music in America 1820-1970* (Barre: Imprint Society, 1973).
[12] Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Report on the Star-Spangled Banner, Hail Columbia, America, Yankee Doodle*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1909); Gustav Kobbé, *Famous American Songs* (New York: Thomas P. Crowell & Co., 1906).

to gain bibliographic control of post-1925 published music on the scale of Sonneck/Upton has ever been attempted. The probability that these two works will be extended is unlikely due to the rapid growth after 1825 in the number of music publishers throughout the nation, and with the explosion of printed music following the development of the lithographic press.[13]

What has taken place over the past fifty years, however, is a movement to document various thematic fields in popular music. An early pioneer in this approach was Richard Hartwell. In his bibliography, *Confederate Belles-Letters* (1941), Hartwell attempted to document all printed material, including sheet music, published in the Confederacy during the Civil War.[14] In 1963, Edwin Wolfe II prepared his A*merican Song Sheet, Slip Ballads and Poetical Broadsides, 1850-1870* for The Library Company of Philadelphia.[15] This was an early attempt to document a specific genre of published music, not by its theme, but rather by the physical printed format of the music which, in this case, was the penny song sheet. In total, he documented over three thousand such song sheets.

Likewise, the late Don Suttblebine published several volumes of bibliography documenting both British and American theatre music. In 1990, William Mills published his *Songs, Odes, Glees and Ballads: A Bibliography of American Presidential Campaign Songsters* and more recently, a bibliography of World War I sheet music was compiled by Bernard S. Parker.[16]

1.3 Music as Public Discourse

Given today's all pervasive media, it is difficult for us to conceive of a time when the primary form of public discourse was face-to-face interaction.[17] There were,

[13] Krummel, *Bibliographic Handbook*, 15.
[14] Richard B. Hartwell, *Confederate Belles-Letters: A Bibliography and a Finding of the Fiction, Poetry, Drama, Songsters, and Miscellaneous Literature Published in the Confederate States of America* (Hattiesburg: The Book Farm, 1941).
[15] Edwin Wolfe II, A*merican Song Sheet, Slip Ballads and Poetical Broadside, 1850-1870* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1963).
[16] Bernard S. Parker, *World War I Sheet Music: 9,670 Patriotic Songs Published in the United States, 1914-1920*, Vol. 1 (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2007).
[17] Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865* (New York: Oxford Press, 1989), 41.

of course, newspapers in eighteenth and nineteenth century America, though few resembled our papers of today in their approach to content; rather they were a more thoughtful publication, a "literary diversion rather than the hard news …"[18] These papers were dominated by essays, letters, poetry, music, and only the occasional major news event. It was not unusual to see speeches by important public figures and even entire legislative bills reprinted in full for all to see and read; however, breaking news reporting was not the standard of the times.[19]

In addition to newspapers, pamphlets and broadsides were also commonly used to communicate a position or idea in early America. These were published and sold, or even given away, by print shops or partisans on the street or at mass rallies. Additionally, they were often posted in public places for all to read.

However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially outside of the major cities, face-to-face communication was the primary component of political interaction. Politicians held rallies that were often accompanied by barbeques with free liquor, parades, stump speeches and lots of singing.[20] The art of one-on-one campaigning was perfected and ingrained into our national psyche during this era. "It was … in their rich array of parades, festivals, civic feasts, badges and songs that most Americans experienced national politics." [21]

According to Michael Delli Carpini, "researchers have ignored or downplayed entertainment media, popular culture, art, and so forth, in construction of both news and public opinion."[22] As early as 1925, music historians began to recognize the importance of music in early American politics: "In those days [Colonial

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[18] Brown, *Knowledge is Power*, 39.

[19] Brown, *Knowledge is Power*, 47. In Colonial times, Brown states that most of the elite still preferred English newspapers and magazines. In the Virginia region, these materials might arrive from England "in as little as two months and as much as two years after publication."

[20] Much time was spent at these events one-on-one with supporters and prospective supporters as the lack of amplified sound made mass discourse difficult if frequently impossible.

[21] Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), xiii.

[22] Michael X. Delli Carpini, "Let Us Infotain You: Politics in the New Media Age," *Annenberg School for Communications Departmental Papers* (2001), 161, http://repository.upenn.edu/asc.papers/14.

America] a new patriotic song was a most important matter, and its first performance became almost a national affair."[23] Tony Scheurer argues that:

> Popular songs play a key role in establishing social consensus through the selection of patriotic symbols songwriters choose to employ … Symbols, images, and themes that songwriters select – for whatever emotions they are trying to evoke – are important because they are a site where cultural consensus about values and attitudes is reaffirmed.[24]

One major form of entertainment and mass media social communication during the pre-electronic era of American history that has largely escaped serious academic study is popular music; in particular, published sheet music. According to Suzanne Flandreau, "Sheet music is [was] the primary means by which music was disseminated from 1800 to the 1920s."[25] Because the role and place of music in our society today is so different from its role in pre-electronic America, it is often overlooked as a valuable source of primary research material that reflects the thoughts and priorities of the people of those eras.

1.4 Evolution of Sheet Music in Historical Research

The role of popular music in our culture is a subject of continuing discourse among musicologists, historians and others interested in the development of American cultural traditions. Ray Pratt notes that: "As a collective dialog over popular identity and community purpose, the historically diverse forms of peoples' and popular music … have been some of the most important ways in which this discussion is undertaken…"[26] This recognition by academia has resulted in a growing body of literature regarding the role of popular music in our

[23] Arthur Elson, *The History of American Music* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), 148.
[24] Timothy E. Scheurer, *Born in the U.S.A.: The Myth of America in Popular Music from Colonial Times to the Present* (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 1991), 10. I would expand upon his reference to songwriters by adding music publishers also.
[25] Suzanne Flandreau, Review of Louis Schultz and Sara Shaw, "Cataloging Sheet Music," *Archival Issues* Vol. 28, No. 2 (2003-2004), 140.
[26] Ray Pratt, *Rhythm and Resistance: The Political Use of American Popular Music* (Washington: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 213.

culture; both as a reflection of that culture and as a determining factor in creating and altering our cultural beliefs and traditions; but it was not always that way.

Musicology, in its most basic definition, is simply the study of music. Today, we see musicology as a broad field; however, this has only recently become the norm. Elliker's article on the definition of sheet music also chronicles the thinking of musicologists over time, focusing on the difference between "popular music" and "art music" with art music being characterized by "sophistication, formalism, development and structure" and popular music being characterized as "unimportant, unsophisticated, formless, hackneyed and short."[27] Surprisingly, this narrow view largely prevailed well into the twentieth century.

Semiotician Phillip Tagg states: "At least until quite recently, musicology has managed to ignore most of the music produced and used in the post-Edison era."[28] In actuality, it had ignored most popular music of all eras. Recognition of the need for an expanded definition of music worthy of study was slow in coming. The first change was an acknowledgement that there was music outside of the traditional Euro-centric cannon worthy of study. Musicologist Guido Adler coined the term "Comparative Musicology" in 1885, generally referring to music outside of the European art tradition.[29] In America, the concept of comparative musicology was being argued principally in the context of African-American music (or slave songs as they were often called)[30] and folk songs.[31] Then, in 1950, musicologist Jaap Kunst proposed a new name and definition for this idea of an expanded musicology. He called it "ethnomusicology."[32] This was further expanded in 1974 by Bruno Netle's encompassing definition of ethnomusicology

[27] Elliker, "Toward a Definition of Sheet Music," 847.
[28] Phillip Tagg, "Musicology and the Semantics of Popular Music," *Semiotica* 66-1/3 (1987), 2, http://tagg.org/articles/xpdfs/semiota.pdf.
[29] In 1885, Guido Adler proposed a definition for "comparative musicology" that referred to the "folksongs of peoples around the world." See: Guido Adler, "Untang, Methode und Zeil der Musikwissenschaft," *Vierteljahrsschrift fur Musikwissenschaf*, 1:5-20, 14, quoted in Alan Merriam, "Comparative Musicology and Ethnomusicology: An Historical-Theoretical Perspective" *Ethnomusicology*, v. 21, n. 2 (May 1977), 191, http://www.jstor.org/stable/850943.
[30] Daniel Weaver, "Robert Nathaniel Dett and the Music of the Harlem Renaissance," (History Thesis, Paper 18, University of Buffalo, 2013), 10.
[31] See: Kip Lornell, *Introducing American Folk Music* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1993).
[32] Merriam, "Comparative Musicology and Ethnomusicology, 198.

as "the comparative study of musical cultures, particularly as total systems including sound and behavior …"[33]

As the field of musicology was grudgingly expanding, one thing that both the new and the old musicology generally had in common was that their definition of "music" still only encompassed actual composed music and its component parts such as composition, structure, notation, intervals, chords, harmony, form, counterpoint, and other similar aspects of musical composition and theory. Little, if any, scholarship was directed to the extra-musical components of music. Tagg complains that musicologists "tend to steer clear of viewing music as a symbolic system …"[34] Timothy Sexton agrees: "… classical musicology suffers from an overreliance on notational content as well as on language and a discursive technique that is ideologically unsound."[35]

Tagg's point is that what is needed are "interdisciplinary mass media studies" into music.[36] Unfortunately, Tagg's own concerns about musicology's lack of a broader vision of popular music also ignores a large part of what constitutes music; namely, physical sheet music, its iconic art covers and lyrics, all of which have much to add to the discussion and analysis of music. Juan González writes that "There are several approaches to doing historical research in music: aesthetic, artistic, economic, technological, biographical, and social; [however] … musicologists and ethnomusicologists have been more reluctant to investigate the crossovers between sheet music, oral tradition, and mass media."[37]

By the mid-to-late twentieth century, interest in popular music-as-cultural-icon had grown beyond the folk genre to all forms of popular music from jazz, to country and western, to rock and roll; virtually all types of musical expression were now open to serious inquiry. Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel summarize

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[33] Merriam, "Comparative Musicology and Ethnomusicology, 198.
[34] Philip Tagg, "Musicology and the Semantics of Popular Music," 2.
[35] Timothy Sexton, "Musicology and Semiotics: A Non-Traditional Approach to Studying Popular Music" (2006), 1, http://voices.yahoo.com/musicology-semiotics-non-traditional-approach-54314.html.
[36] Sexton, "Musicology and Semiotics," 1.
[37] Juan Pablo González, "The Making of a Social History of Popular Music in Chile: Problems, Methods, and Results," *Latin American Review/Revista de Musica Latinoamericana* Vol. 26, No. 2 (Autumn-Winter, 2005), 248-249.

this thinking: "The culture provided by the commercial entertainment market [music] … plays a crucial role. It mirrors attitudes and sentiments which are already there, and at the same time provides an expressive field and set of symbols through which these attitudes can be projected."[38] This shift in thinking of popular culture as "a set of symbols," was a direct result of the rise of the discipline of semiotics in the 1970s.

1.5 Semiotics and the Iconography of Published Sheet Music

According to Marcel Dansei and Paul Perrone,[39] semiotics "studies signs and how they produce meaning. It seeks to unravel the nature, origin, and evolution of signs … the study of representation and communications."[40] Sexton defined semiotics in music as "less of a study of the music itself than a study of how that music is interpreted by the listener."[41] He hails the semiotic analysis of music: "By centering analysis on meaning and not on text … Semiotics can take into effect all manner of extraneous aspects of musical performance and how meaning can be sociologically interpreted in many different ways as a result of these factors."[42]

Traditionally, semiotics in relation to music has meant the study of the compositional qualities of the music.[43] However, applying this principal to the non-musical aspects of sheet music, the iconographic elements of the cover art and lyrics, is not a great stretch. These images serve as windows into the minds and attitudes of those by-gone ages and their music composers, publishers and consumers. Umberto Eco, the developer of interpretative semiotics, suggests that

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[38] Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel, *The Popular Arts* (London: Hutchinson, 1964), 276, quoted in John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, 5th Ed. (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2009), 54.
[39] Marcel Dansei and Paul Perrone, *Analyzing Cultures: An Introduction & Handbook* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 40.
[40] Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington: University of Indiana, 1979), 7. Eco defines a sign simply as: "Everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else."
[41] Sexton, "Musicology and Semiotics," 1.
[42] Sexton, "Musicology and Semiotics," 4.
[43] See: Tagg, "Musicology and the Semantics of Popular Music"; Sexton, "Musicology and Semiotics; and Douglas Worthen, "Understanding Semiotics in Music," *Faculty Papers*, Paper 1, University of Illinois, http://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/safmusicpapers_faculty/1.

every cultural phenomenon can be studied as communication.[44] Dansei and Perrone go even further:

> "Cultural semiotics is the science that applies sign theory to the investigation of signifying orders … It includes the study of bodily communications, aesthetics, rhetoric, visual communications, gesture, eye contact, clothing, advertising … anything that has been invented by human beings to produce *meaning*."[45]

In *From Art to Politic,* Murray Edelman states that "For each [type of art] … there is likely to be a small set of striking images that are influential with large numbers of people, both spectators of the political scene and policymakers themselves.[46] Jarol Manhein adds that, "The key to understanding how and why political communications works so effectively is to realize that words and pictures generate images that do shape popular perceptions of reality."[47]

There has been a growing recognition in academia that there is more to popular music in general and sheet music in particular, than its musical notation. Sophy Levy writes that popular music "alludes to the historical circumstances of people otherwise absent from the standard histories except as statistics."[48] Scholars are now recognizing that the imagery contained in published sheet music can be as important, or even more important, than the music itself (however disconcerting this notion might be to musicologists) in telling the story of the composers, consumers and culture of the past. D.W. Krummel agrees adding that "music of the later periods (post-1800) is generally [more significant] for its subject matter or illustrations.[49]

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[44] Michael Caesar, *Umberto Eco: A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington: University of Indiana, 1979), 55.
[45] Marcel Dansei and Paul Perrone, *Analyzing Cultures,* 40.
[46] Murray Edelman, *From Art to Politics: How Artistic Creations Shape Political Conceptions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 1.
[47] Jarol B. Manheim, *All of the People All of the Time: Strategic Communication and American Politics* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1991), 10.
[48] Sophy Levy, "The Past Didn't Go Anywhere: Making Music/Making History in Contemporary American Folk," *Revue LISA/LISA e-journal* Vol. II – no. 2, 1 (2004), http://lisa.revues.org/2989.
[49] D.W. Krummel, "Counting Every Star, 183.

According to Maurice Wheeler and Mary Jo Venetis, "Historical sheet music and its accompanying illustrated cover art present a rich source of social commentary, providing researchers with the societal norms and values of a particular time in history."[50] Ronald and Mary Zboray refer to such music as "image-making songs…"[51]

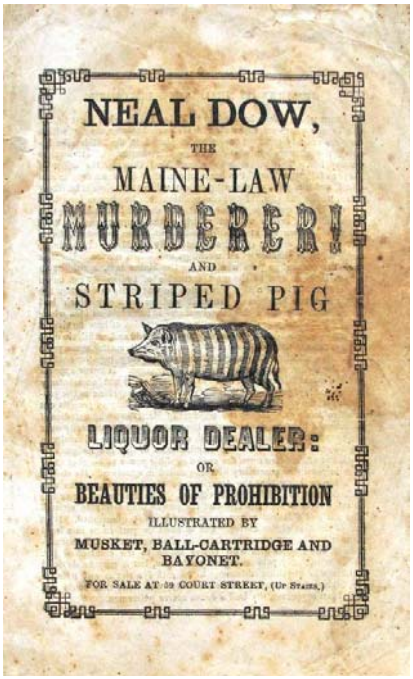

Figure 1.1 "Neal Dow, or Maine Law Murderer and Striped Pig Liquor Dealer or, Beauties of Prohibition." Words and music by: Anonymous. Unknown publisher, 59 Court Street, [Portland, ME], ca. 1853. Author's Collection.

The iconographic images on sheet music covers have long been recognized by collectors as more than just decoration to boost music sales. In his three illustrated survey books on American sheet music covers, mid-twentieth century scholar/collector Lester Levy raised the consciousness of collectors and historians alike by introducing a generation of Americans to the graphic nature of printed music.[52]

A classic example of this connection between sheet music and the historical record is found in Figure 1.1.[53] This sheet music was published in the mid-1850s in Maine where temperance was the hot topic of the day. The illustration – a pig with stripes - is a direct reference to an 1838 incident in Dedham, Massachusetts, where it was illegal to sell alcohol. It in order to circumvent the law, one enterprising liquor dealer set up a tent and literally painted stripes on a live pig, then selling admission to see the wondrous creature. Of course, the admission came with a free drink. After that incident, the "stripped pig" image became a metaphor for those individuals who were thought to be soft on the temperance question.

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[50] Maurice B. Wheeler and Mary Jo Venetis, "Evaluation of Web Access to Historical Sheet Music Collections and Music–Related Iconography," *First Monday* Volume 10, Number 10 (October 2005), http://www.firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/viewArticle/1283/120.

[51] Ronald Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, "Whig Women, Politics, and Culture in the Campaign of 1840: Three Perspectives from Massachusetts," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (Summer 1997), 277, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3124448.

[52] Lester Levy, *Flashes of Merriment* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1971); *Picture the Songs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); and *Grace Notes in American History: Popular Sheet Music from 1820-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

[53] Neal Dow was the Mayor of Portland, Maine, in 1851. He was personally responsible for the State's adoption of the 1852 Liquor law.

Other more focused books on specific historical subject areas followed Levy's examples.[54] Most of these books were aimed at collectors and the general public. They stirred collectors, including this author, to discover what other treasures might lie hidden in the libraries and museums of our nation.

They also drew the attention of serious scholars. Over the past forty years, academicians have begun to publish niche studies focusing on the wealth of imagery found on sheet music covers. For example, Irene Heskes' 1984 monograph, "Music as Social History: American Yiddish Theater Music, 1882-1920," viewed Jewish social history through the lens of early twentieth century Yiddish sheet music.[55] Likewise, Maurice Wheeler published a study of the power of negative symbolism as depicted through Black iconography on nineteenth century minstrel music;[56] while Elias Cohen researched the popular perception of old age as reflected in a collection of three hundred sheet music covers.[57] Additionally, museums, libraries and private websites have begun to digitize their sheet music collections, making available these once hidden resources to a wide audience of scholars and non-scholars alike.[58] Some of these websites provide full data for each piece while others provide reproductions of the cover only.

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[54] These include among others: Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Music for Patriots, Politicians and Presidents: Harmonies and Discords of the First Hundred Years* (New York: McMillan, 1975); Nancy Groce, *New York: Songs of the City* (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1999); Richard B. Hartwell, *Confederate Belles-Letters: A Bibliography and a Finding of the Fiction, Poetry, Drama, Songsters, and Miscellaneous Literature Published in the Confederate States of America* (Hattiesburg: The Book Farm, 1941).

[55] Irene Heskes, "Music as Social History: American Yiddish Theater Music, 1882-1920," *American Music* Vol. 2, No. 4 (Winter 1984), x, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3051563.

[56] M. B. Wheeler, "Popular Music Imagery as an Information System: Stereotypical Depictions of African Americans in Historical Sheet Music," *International Journal of the Humanities* Volume 2, No. 2. (2006).

[57] Elias S. Cohen, and Anna L. Kruschwitz, "Old Age in America Represented in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Popular Sheet Music." *The Gerontologist* 30, 3 (1990), 345-354.

[58] Some of the more important websites for sheet music images are: Duke University at: http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm/; New York Public Library at: http://www.nypl.org/weblinks/2494; The Lester Levy Collection at Johns Hopkins University at: http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/; https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/2085; The Library of Congress at: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html; and http://www.loc.gov/search/?q=&fa=Subject%3Asheet+music; U.C.L.A. Library at: http://www.library.ucla.edu/libraries/music/music-scores-sheet-music-online; and Cover Browser at: http://www.coverbrowser.com/covers/sheet-music.

1.6 Music Publishing

Music publishing in America can be traced back to 1640 when the *Bay Psalm Book* was printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts; however, it wasn't until the 1790s that a permanent music-publishing industry was established. Prior to this time, Wolfe estimates that only a handful of music books were actually published.[59]

Music printing in the early American republic was a very expensive and time consuming endeavor as it involved the hand engraving of wood blocks or copper plates. As a result, music printing revolved around silversmiths: "Silversmithing leads naturally to engraving, for cutting a design on a silver teapot is little different from cutting it on a flat copper plate…"[60] Perhaps the best know of these early engravers was Paul Revere, who is credited with engraving the first works of America's premier native born composer William Billings, as well as printing some of the earliest political broadside music.[61] By the turn of the nineteenth century, typesetting was replacing engraving as the technique of choice for printers. Though less labor-intensive than the engraving method, it was still a complicated and challenging process even for the best of printers, especially when printing music.

Many of the early music publishing giants, such as Benjamin Carr, E. Riley and James Hewitt, for example, were themselves composers. Most, at least initially, had other professions which allowed them to compose on the side. Many entered the publishing side of the music industry as a way to get their own compositions published, or just to make a living. John Hewitt, for example, the leader of New York's musical community, "was obligated – as were his less conspicuous musical brethren – to pursue a diversity of complementary activities in order to survive …" including concert violinist, musical event organizer, soloist, music

[59] Richard J. Wolfe, *Early American Music Printing and Engraving* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 12. Wolfe cites Allen P. Britton's estimate of 319 publications between 1698 to 1800.
[60] Stephen De Witt Stephens, *The Mavericks, American Engravers* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1950), quoted in Wolfe, *Early American Music Printing*, 17.
[61] Wolfe, *Early American Music Printing*, 21.

director, composer, publisher and retail store operator. Even with all of this activity, he "was unable to sustain a professional career after losing his "principle job" as a theatre music director.[62] Wolfe states that after the Revolutionary War, a "number of additional typographic music presses … [came] … into existence, and from that time on, the publication of music … became a rather routine business in America,"[63] though maybe not quite a fully sustainable one.

In the early 1800s, the music publishing industry business grew throughout the eastern United States in such cities as Baltimore, Providence, and Charleston (SC). According to Sonneck and Wolfe, approximately 20,000 pieces of music were published prior to 1826, averaging about 3,000 pieces nationwide from 1800-1825.[64]

With the introduction of the relatively cheap lithographic printing process in the 1830s, the production of sheet music finally became a lucrative business for a publisher, especially one who could link up with a popular composer. For example, Steven Foster's *Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground* sold 75,000 copies in 1852. At 25¢ a copy, or approximately $7.00 in today's money,[65] a fortune could be earned with just one big hit.[66] During the balance of the nineteenth century, music publishing spread across the nation: Baltimore, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and Chicago became large regional centers. Later, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Detroit and San Francisco would be added to the growing list of major regional publishing centers. Smaller cities such as Albany (NY), Louisville, and St. Louis also experienced music publishers moving in to service local markets.

The biggest change in the industry came with the rise of Tin Pan Alley. This is the name given to a small geographic section of New York City where, in the late

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[62] Very Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: The New York Music Scene of George Templeton Strong, 1836-1875*, Vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), xxviii-xxxi.
[63] Wolfe, *Early American Music Printing*, 35.
[64] Determined from the number of entries in their respective bibliographies: Sonneck, *A Bibliography of American Music*, and Wolfe, *Secular Music in America, 1801-1825*.
[65] Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis online, "Consumer Price Index (Estimate), 1800-," http://www.minneapolisfed.org/community_education/teacher/calc/hist1800.cfm. Accessed 14 October, 2014.
[66] Philip Furia, *The Poets of Tin Pan Alley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 20.

1880s through the early 1950s, scores of music publishers set up shop near West 28th Street and Broadway so they could service the booming craze for musicals. These publishers not only published sheet music, but set up active creative and marketing divisions to churn-out song-after-song and then to "plug" them to producers, directors and singing stars. At its height, over 25,000 songs a year were being published. One song, "After the Ball," written in 1891 by Charles K. Harris, brought in over $25,000 a week[67] and ultimately sold over ten million copies.[68]

While the sheer volume of music published in the United States came from the big city publishing houses, the soul of political publishing was with the composers. Many music publishers, especially publishers in smaller communities, provided vanity publishing services for local composers. Individuals could write songs about their favorite politician, then take them to their local music store and pay to have a small number of copies printed, usually a hundred or less. These would be sold, or more likely, be given away by the composer and publisher to friends and artists. Even if a would-be composer only had lyrics or maybe a rough tune, the publisher would have the song arranged for piano and most often, provide a stock sheet music cover. These covers typically included a likeness of the composer or a "stock" photo of the politician about whom the music was written. This practice continued well into the twentieth century.

1.7 The Evolution of Published Secular Music in Early America

> Memories are not transmitted or shaped by reading alone.
> Peter Burke[69]

In order to better understand the nature of historical sheet music as political speech and as an important historical record, it is instructive to present a brief contextual history of published music in America.

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[67] $657,000 in today's dollars. "Consumer Price Index (Estimate), 1800-," Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, http://www.minneapolisfed.org/community_education/teacher/calc/hist1800.cfm.
[68] James M. Salem, "African American Songwriters and Performers in the Coon Song Era: Black Innovation and American Popular Music," *The Columbia journal of American Studies on Line*, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/cjas/salem1.html.
[69] Peter Burke, *What is Cultural history?* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity, 2011), 68.

From America's earliest days, music played an important role in the daily life of its people. When the Pilgrims landed in 1620 at Plymouth, Massachusetts, they carried with them a number of sacred song books from Europe. Music was central to Puritan worship.[70] Kip Lornell states that "Most private and public rituals called for music as part of the event … From … ceremonies to the songs chanted by pole-wielding boatmen, music was an integral part of [society]."[71]

Twenty years after the Plymouth landing, the first song book in British America appeared. The 1640 *The Bay Psalm Book* was an English translation of the *Hebrew Book of Psalms* [Figure 1.2].[72] Krummel states that: "Sacred music – tunebooks as well as sermons with musical references and tutors in the rudiments of music – dominated the music production of the early American press into the last decade of the eighteenth century."[73]

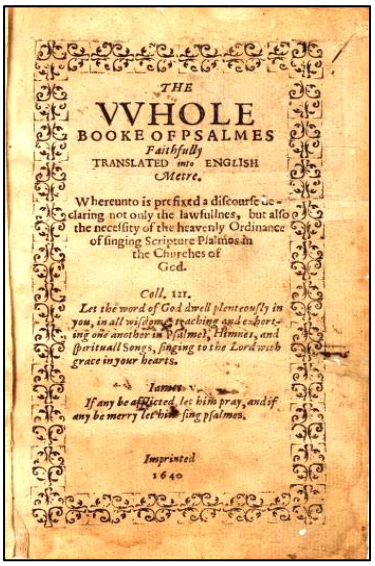
THE
WHOLE
BOOKE OF PSALMES
Faithfully
TRANSLATED into ENGLISH
Metre.
Whereunto is prefixed a discourse de-
claring not only the lawfullnes, but also
the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance
of singing Scripture Psalmes in
the Churches of
God.
Coll. III.
Let the word of God dwell plenteously in
you, in all wisdome, teaching and exhort-
ing one another in Psalmes, Himnes, and
Spirituall Songs, singing to the Lord with
grace in your hearts.
Iames V.
If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if
any be merry let him sing psalmes.
Imprinted
1640

Figure 1.2 *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre: Whereunto is Prefixed a Discourse Declaring not Only the Lawfullness, but Also the Necessity of the Heavenly Ordinance of Singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God.* Published by Stephen Daye, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1640. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University

By the mid-eighteenth century however, the nature of American music had made the transition from ritual (religious) to art (secular), and began to find its way into various published formats including songs published in newspapers, magazines and almanacs, song books, broadsides, and sheet music.

1.8 The Emergence of Patriotic and Political Music

As relations with the British Crown deteriorated during the mid-to-late eighteenth century, music began to take on a more political flavor. In 1768, the first

[70] Patrick W. Dill, "From Ritual to Art in the Puritan Music of Colonial New England: The Anthems of William Billings" (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2012), http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc149583/m2/1/high_res_d/dissertation.pdf.
[71] Kip Lornell, *Introducing American Folk Music* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1993), 2.
[72] Full name: *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre: Whereunto is Prefixed a Discourse Declaring not Only the Lawfullness, but Also the Necessity of the Heavenly Ordinance of Singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God.*
[73] Krummel, *Bibliographical Handbook*, 9.

American patriotic song, "The Liberty Song," was written by John Dickinson, and published in *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack* [Figure1.3].[74] Set to a popular British song, "Heart of Oak," it became an immediate success.[75] According to Sonneck, "The Liberty Song" was met with great controversy: "Dickinson's Liberty Song aroused the ire of the Tories to such a degree that they parodized [sic] it under the title of "The Parody"… In turn, Dr. Benjamin Church… ridiculed [the Tory version]… under the title of "The Parody Parodiz'd." [76]
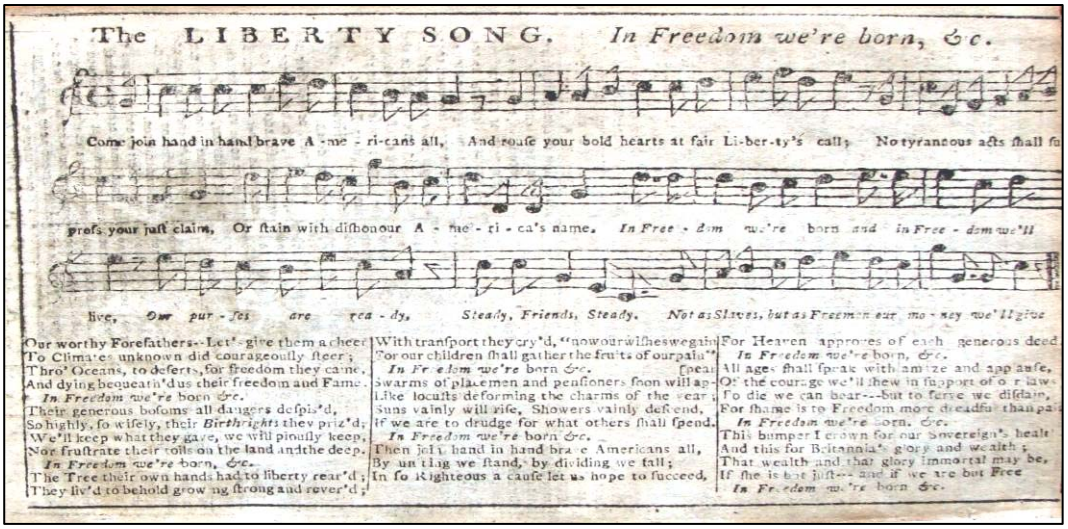
Figure 1.3 "The Liberty Song." Words by John Dickinson, Music: Music: "Hearts of Oak." Published by in *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack*, 1768. Author's Collection.

1. Original British Version
Come, cheer up, my lads, 'tis to glory we steer…

2. Original American Version
Come join hand in hand, brave Americans all…

3. Tory "The Parody"
Come shake your dull noodles, ye bumpkins, And Bawl…

4. Church's "Parody Parodiz'd"
Come swallow your bumpers, ye Tories! And roar…

[74] Oscar George Theodore Sonneck and William T. Upton, *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1945), 79. Although Sonneck and Upton credit "The Liberty Song" with being the first patriotic song in America, Arthur M. Schlesinger in a 1954 journal article, identified several songs of a similar nature that had preceded "The Liberty Song" including such 1765 and 1766 examples as "An Excellent New Song for the Sons of Liberty in America," "Advice form the Country," and "Song for the Sons of Liberty in the Several American Provinces." See: Arthur M. Schlesinger, "A Note on Songs as Patriot Propaganda," *The William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Jan., 1954), 82.

[75] "William Boyce," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Online, 2012), http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/76444/William-Boyce (Accessed 3 July, 2014). The original "Heart of Oak" had been composed by David Garrick and William Boyce for a 1759 London stage production commemorating British victories over the French in The Seven Years' War.

[76] Sonneck and Upton, *A Bibliography*, 79. "The Liberty Song" was first advertised in the *Boston Chronicle* as "published as a copper-plate half-sheet" broadside; however, no copy is extant to verify that it was ever actually published.

As events heated up prior to the American Revolution, songs and song parodies gained in popularity among the public. This was true for both loyalists and patriots. One of the most famous of these parodies before and during the War was "Yankee Doodle." Originally sung by British troops to mock the disorganized American troops during the French and Indian War, it became a staple in the musical arsenal of both British and patriot soldiers. Over the course of the War, the lyrics were constantly rewritten in support of both sides' cause; however, the original British version became a badge of honor for the Americans after the battles of Lexington and Concord when the "retreating British troops heard the Patriots singing "Yankee Doodle" and shouting "How do you like it now?" Although this story cannot be verified, it does make for great folklore.[77]

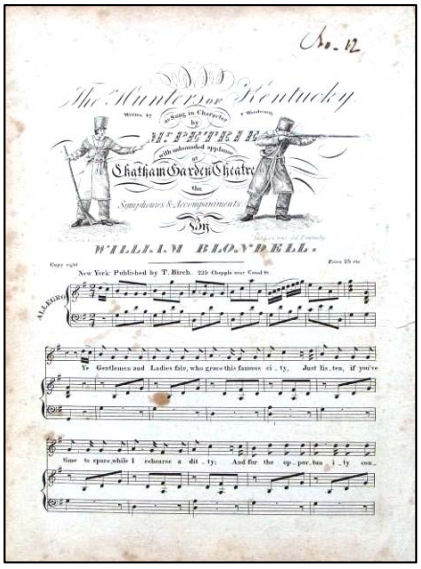

Figure 1.4 **"**The Hunters of Kentucky." Words and music by William Blondell. Published by T. Birch, New York. 1824. Author's Collection.

1.9 The Advent of Campaign Music

While a number of songs were written about Presidents George Washington and John Adams, these songs were more patriotic than political in that they were not written as campaign songs for their election.[78] This remained the case until the presidential election of 1824.

Both the 1824 and 1828 presidential elections were very controversial and were a catalyst for what is probably the first song

[77] Event-based music is generally the essence of political song writing. These works are folklore at its most basic level. Scholarship into this aspect of socio-politico music can provide a unique view of our political heritage, providing insight into the people and spirit of the times. Unfortunately, this commentary does not afford the time or space to adequately explore this aspect of historical music. For basic scholarly approach to folksong, I suggest D.K. Wilgus, *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1959), as a starting point. For a fascinating scholarly application of this insight in action, see Kevin Yuill's "Creating an American Music: A Critical View of the Origins of Country," *Reconstruction: Studies in Contemporary Culture* 8.4 (2008), http://reconstruction.eserver.org/084/yuill.shtml.

[78] "United States Electoral College," National Archives and Records Administration, http://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/. Prior to the ratification of the twelfth amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1804, the president was elected by members of the House of Representatives and not by popular vote of the people. This amendment established a quasi-popular vote system in which voters selected a slate of "electors" who in turn, voted for the president. This system is still in place today.

written specifically for a political campaign: "The Hunters of Kentucky" [Figure 1.4].[79] The song was written in 1824 to celebrate Andrew Jackson's victory over British General Edward Pakengham at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815.[80] The song was reportedly used as a rally song during Jackson's unsuccessful 1824 presidential campaign, and again in his successful 1828 campaign.[81]

Even though the Jackson elections were aggressively contested, music played only a marginal role. It was not until the presidential election of 1840 that campaigning evolved into the political spectacle that we know today. Leslie Hunter states that the "The Harrison-Van Buren campaign was without precedent in American history. The parades, banners, slogans, marching clubs, party newspapers, songbooks, and sheet music were all mass campaign techniques aimed at putting Harrison in office."[82] Of all these mass media devices, Hunter states that "Without a doubt singing was the most successful campaign device used by the Whigs."[83]

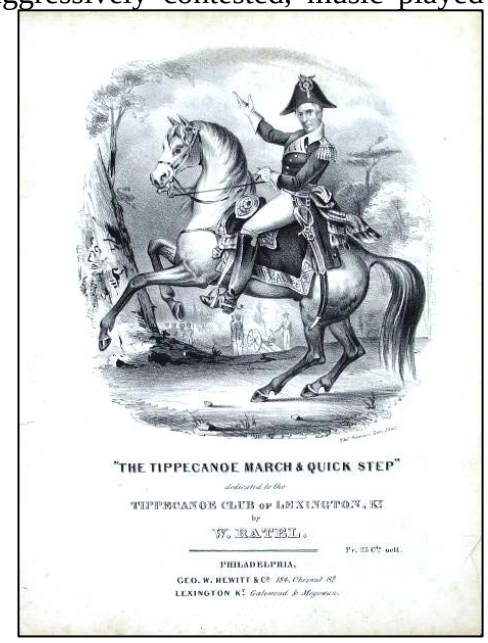

Figure 1.5 "The Tippecanoe March & Quick Step." Music by W. Ratel. Published by Geo. W. Hewitt & Co., Philadelphia, PA. 1840. Author's Collection.

The implication that music, through song, was a critical element of political speech in the campaign is supported by John Fiske: "Discursive power has always been politically crucial, and media technologies have enhanced it…"[84] Chief among these technologies impacting the 1840 campaign was the use of the new

[79] Donald R. Hickey, *Don't Give Up the Ship! Myths of the War of 1812* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006), x. You can hear a recorded version of the song at: http://almostchosenpeople.wordpress.com/2012/03/03/the-hunters-of-kentucky/.
[80] The war was actually over by this time; however, neither side on the frontier knew this. See: "Hunters of Kentucky," Library of Congress, http://www.loc.gov/teachers/lyrical/songs/hunter_kentucky.html.
[81] Jackson won the popular vote over J.Q. Adams but tied in the electoral vote. The tie was broken in the House of Representatives in Adam's favor.
[82] Leslie Hunter, "The Role of Music in the 1840 Campaign of William Henry Harrison," *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education* Vol. 10, No. 2 (July 1989), 108, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40214748.
[83] Hunter, "The Role of Music," 108.
[84] John Fiske, *Media Matters* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 218.

lithographic printing process that enabled publishers to produce a wide variety of decorated sheet music covers. Many of these pieces of sheet music had an image of Harrison when he was a general during the War of 1812. He was affectionately called "The Hero of Tippecanoe" [Figure1.5].[85]

The passion of the Whigs in the 1840 campaign was unlike anything America had ever seen, especially from a grass roots level, and music played a major role in channeling this passion in order to secure a successful outcome. One observer, Anthony Banning Norton, writing in 1889, described the impact of music on the participants on the 1840 campaign:

> Was it not burning with a red-hot iron when Whig songs were so riveted upon the mind of hard-shell Democrats that they can correctly quote from memory, that which was so distasteful after a lapse of forty-eight years? When men, women, and children did nothing but sing … The writer can remember of many wives, and daughters of Democrats joining in the singing, and how mad the husbands and fathers were … all to no purpose; the singing went on …"[86]

Music had now become an integral part of campaigning in America. Usually these political songs were sung at parades or mass rallies where it was often difficult to hear the speaker. Small, pocket-size song books became a popular way to share partisan lyrics and by using existing tunes: it was an easy way for the masses to join in and sing along as no prior knowledge of music was required. [87] They were also cheap to produce. Single leaf, broadside music was often given out to the crowds free of charge to encourage participation.

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[85] Irwin Silber, *Songs of America Voted By* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1971), 34. As a slur to Harrison, an editorial in a Democratic newspaper suggested: "Give him a barrel of hard cider and settle a pension of two thousand a year upon him, and our word for it; he will sit the remainder of his days content in a log cabin." Whigs, however, picked up on the symbols and used them with great success to "sell" Harrison as a simple man of the people (though Harrison came from a family of some wealth). Music publishers also made great use of the log cabin and barrel of hard cider to represent Harrison.

[86] A.B. Norton, *Reminiscences of the Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign: The Great Rebellion of 1840* (Mount Vernon: A.B. Norton & Co., 1889), 375.

[87] Hunter, "The Role of Music," 110.

Throughout this era, campaign musical output was directly proportionate to the popularity of the individual candidate. Few of these songs were officially tied to a candidate's campaign. Most were written by independent, enthusiastic supporters or enterprising publishers hoping to cash-in on the partisan fervor. As sheet music was relatively expensive, publishers took advantage of the cheap lithographic process to add a decorative cover, thus enhancing the music's commercial appeal.

The next campaign that generated a large volume of campaign music was that of 1860 in which Abraham Lincoln (Republican), Stephen A. Douglas (Democratic), John Bell (Constitutional Union Party) and John Breckenridge (Southern Democratic Party) represented the four major political parties. Of these, the Lincoln campaign generated by far the most published songs. This was in part due to the general assumption that Lincoln represented the only real chance among the candidates to save the Union from dissolution, a popular sentiment in the North where the majority of large publishing houses were located. Lincoln's colorful background, having been born in a log cabin and having worked as a rail splitter and country lawyer, combined with his honest reputation, provided ideal subjects for decorative cover art iconography [Figure 1.6].

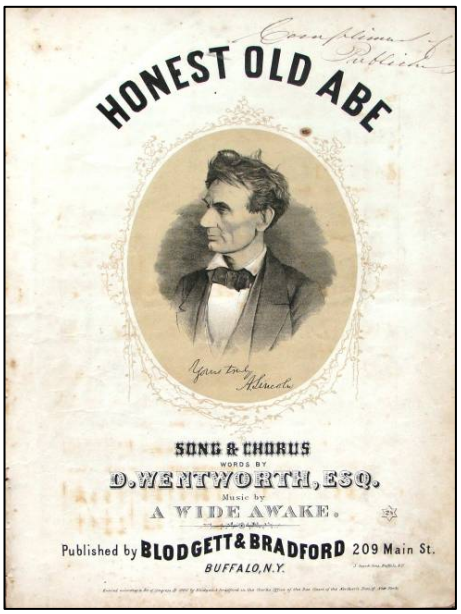

Figure 1.6 "Honest Old Abe Song & Chorus." Words and music by D. Wentworth. Published by Blodgett & Bradford, Buffalo, NY. 1860.

As politics entered the twentieth century, the use of music in campaigning continued to be essential. In the election of 1900, Republican William McKinley chose Spanish-American War hero Theodore Roosevelt as a running mate. Their opponent, William Jennings Bryan, was a charismatic speaker who generated many passionate supporters, especially with farmers in the West who resented the big business monopolies, especially the finance and transportation trusts that

controlled their access to farm commodity markets. This "personality-oriented" campaign generated hundreds of campaign songs.[88]

In 1901, William McKinley was assassinated and Theodore Roosevelt became President. As a larger-than-life figure, he continued to fuel musical tributes and brickbats. One such typical "brickbat" is found in Figure 1.7. The illustration depicted on the sheet music cover of "Teddy's Partners" uses a racially prejudiced caricature of African-Americans to attack Roosevelt for his invitation to African-American educator Booker T. Washington, to a White House dinner:[89]

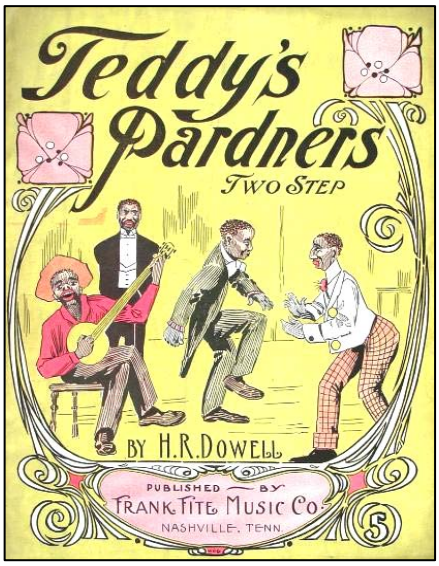

Figure 1.7 "Teddy's Partners." Music by H.R. Dowell. Published by Frank Fite Music Co., Nashville, TN. 1901. Author's Collection.

> 'Dining,' and I put it in quotation marks, was really a code word for social equality. And the feeling was, certainly in the South, that if you invited a man to sit at your table, you were actually inviting him to woo your daughter. He should feel perfectly comfortable asking your daughter to marry him. And so that's really the primary reason why people were so offended. It just shouldn't happen in 1901 that a black man would be able to ... have that entree into your family.[90]

This event immediately became the object of malicious ridicule in the southern media, including published sheet music. This sheet, published by Frank Fite of Nashville, is a good example of a regional publisher taking advantage of the sentiment found in his local market.

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[88] Crew, *Presidential Sheet Music*. There were at least 102 songs published for Bryan and over 330 for William McKinley.

[89] A fascinating account of this dinner and its aftermath is found at National Public Radio online at http://www.npr.org/2012/05/14/152684575/teddy-roosevelts-shocking-dinner-with-washington.

[90] Deborah Davis, "Teddy Roosevelt's Shocking Dinner with Washington," National Public Radio online interview with the author of *Guest of Honor: Booker T. Washington, Theodore Roosevelt, and the White House Dinner that Shocked a Nation* (New York: Altria Paperbacks, 2012), http://www.npr.org/2012/05/14/152684575/teddy-roosevelts-shocking-dinner-with-washington.

The election of 1908 did not generate a significant amount of music; however, 1912 again saw Theodore Roosevelt run as a third party candidate against a popular Woodrow Wilson and the incumbent president, William Howard Taft. A significant musical outpouring reflected this wide open race.

1.10 Political Music in the Modern Era

The passage of time brings changes to our institutions as well as our daily lives. Often, these changes are profound. Such was the case as the twentieth century began. A new phenomenon was beginning to be heard around the nation - mechanically reproduced sound. Invented in the late 1800s, the technology did not become a social force in our society until the second decade of the new century when the Edison phonograph and the home radio began to capture the imagination of the general public.

In 1924, radio made its first direct foray into politics by broadcasting the Republican National Convention. This singular event would fundamentally alter the nature of campaign politics in America. In addition to changing the way candidates directly communicated to their followers, it also contributed to the decline in the writing and publishing of campaign sheet music.

The decline in sheet music sales was hastened along in the 1930s by the Great Depression. Pianos were already expensive, as was sheet music, but with twenty-five percent of the nation unemployed, printed music became a luxury that few regular folks could afford. By the time the Depression ended, World War II had begun, negatively affecting everything from piano sales and piano lessons for children, to sheet music sales. The industry never fully recovered. Even when music sales did pick up again after the war, they never again reached their former levels.[91]

[91] "US Piano Sales History, Brand New Pianos Sold from 1900-Present," *Blue Book of Pianos* (2012), http://www.bluebookofpianos.com/uspiano.html.

Due to the dominance that radio, and later television, achieved in personal entertainment, coupled with the loss of face-to-face campaigning resulting from this new mass media, it is little wonder that campaign music was relegated to a lesser role in politics by the mid-twentieth century. A minor exception was the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt, from 1932 to 1945.

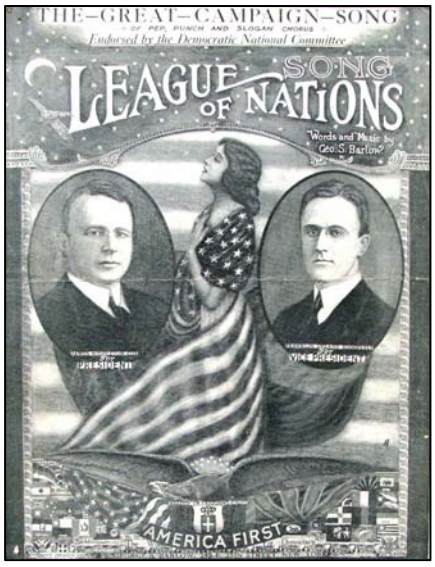

Figure 1.8 "The League of Nations Song." Words and Music by George S. Barlow. Published by George Barlow, 245 E. 25th St., New York, NY. 1920. Author's Collection

Roosevelt had a special relationship with the American public. Taking over during the Great Depression, he led the country through this dark era and subsequently through a world war. He ended prohibition, created social security, saved the banks, and defeated the Germans and the Japanese militaries. It is little wonder that he was so well represented musically [Figure 1.8].[92] With the exception of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, more songs were written about Franklin Roosevelt than any other politician (although his cousin Teddy comes close).[93]

Today, sheet music is still published; however, the days of sheet music as an important campaign-device have ended. Occasionally, a candidate will seize a popular song to use as a campaign song, but this use bears little relationship to the campaign songs of old. Today, music serves as a "feel-good" backdrop to other media and little more, and certainly not for communicating specific messages. A good example of this is from the presidential campaign of Bill Clinton in 1992. With permission of the British-American rock group Fleetwood Mac; Clinton's campaign appearances were accompanied by a recording of the group's hit single

[92] Crew, *Presidential Sheet Music*, 383. This is the first known image of Franklin Roosevelt on sheet music. He had been an Assistant Secretary of the Navy during World War I and was picked by Democrat James M. Cox to be his vice-presidential running mate in the 1920 presidential election. This simple, black and white piece of sheet music is the most valuable piece of published presidential music since the founding of the nation, selling for over $13,000 at auction in 2006.

[93] Crew, *Presidential Sheet Music*. Entries include 632 publications for Washington, 517 for Abraham Lincoln and 423 pieces for Franklin Roosevelt. The count for Theodore Roosevelt is 383.

"Don't Stop (Thinking about Tomorrow)." Clinton even managed to pull off what most people thought was impossible - reuniting the rock group for a special White House appearance at his inauguration. According to author Claire Suddath:[94]

> Bill Clinton took a 1977 hit song that peaked at number three on the Billboard charts and repurposed it as his own, going so far as to convince the long-disbanded Fleetwood Mac to reunite for a special performance at his 1993 inaugural ball. Fleetwood Mac wasn't the hippest musical choice, though, and at the time, Clinton's aids tried to get their candidate to switch to something cooler. He wouldn't have it, and the song stuck. Don't Stop proved to be such a malleable theme song that Clinton still uses it regularly; he plays it at fundraisers and speeches, he name-checked it at the 2000 Democratic National Convention and this year in Denver, he walked on stage to it.

Interestingly, there is still one tradition that continues to thrive today: the campaign parody. Although today's parodies no longer have the power of our nation's early parodies such as "Yankee Doodle," occasionally one of these modern day tunes will make headlines. It seems that as a result of one of our newest communications platforms - the internet - parody has found a new home. One site in particular seems to host the most parody songs on the net – Amiright.Com.[95] This interactive site invites users to write parodies using existing tunes (something old is new again). It has an extensive archive of past parodies which is electronically searchable. Some songs are quite clever while most, like in earlier times, are boring, naïve, forgettable, or just plain distasteful.

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[94] Claire Sudduth, "A Brief History of Campaign Songs Whether it's Stevie Wonder or Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too — You can't run for President without some catchy theme music," *Times Specials*, 8, http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1840981_1840998_1840923,00.html.

[95] Amiright.com, http://www.amiright.com. The Amiright.com web site was rated one of the top 50 web sites for art and culture by the *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 2006.

1.11 The Evolution of Sheet Music Cover Imagery

Maurice Wheeler and Mary Jo Venetis state that "The visual imagery in the popular music of any culture captures not only the imagination of the creators, but also the social, political and cultural realities of the times."[96]

The practice of using illustrations on published music in America began in the mid-eighteenth century. Early illustrations were often crude wood block prints or copper-plate engravings placed at the top of the music [Figure 1.9].

Figure 1.9 Detail: "The Federal Constitution & Liberty for Ever." Words and music by Mr. [James] Hewitt. Published by J. Hewitt, New York. 1801. Author's Collection.

During the American Revolutionary War, the images used were most often those of George Washington or patriotic symbols such as an eagle, flag, naval ship, or the liberty hat.
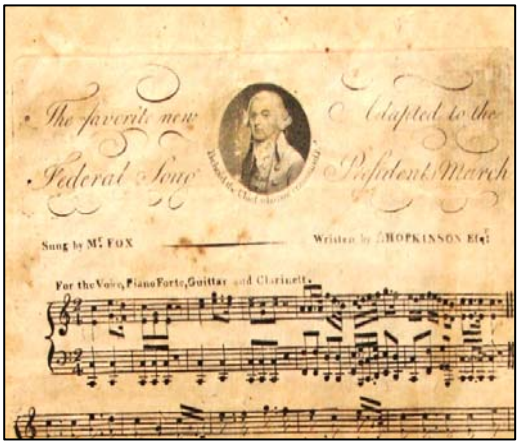
Figure 1.10 Detail: "The Favorite New Federal Song" ["Hail Columbia"]. Words by John Hopkinson. Music by Phillip Phyle. Published by B. Carr, Philadelphia, 1798. Author's Collection.

Another early form of illustration found on political music was the "paste-on" engraving. These illustrations were usually cut from another publication and glued to the new sheet. Among the earliest known examples of this technique was the 1798 sheet music publication "A Favorite New Federal Song" by Joseph Hopkinson.[97]

[96] Maurice Wheeler and Mary Jo Venetis, "Evaluation of Web Access to Historical Sheet Music," 1.
[97] O.G. Sonneck, "Critical Notes on the Origin of Hail Columbia," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 3 Jahrg, H.1. (Nov., 1901), 143, http://www.jstor.org/stable/929067. In 1798, Hopkinson added words to a 1793 instrumental tune by Philip Phile, "The President's March." This new work soon became know as "Hail Columbia,"
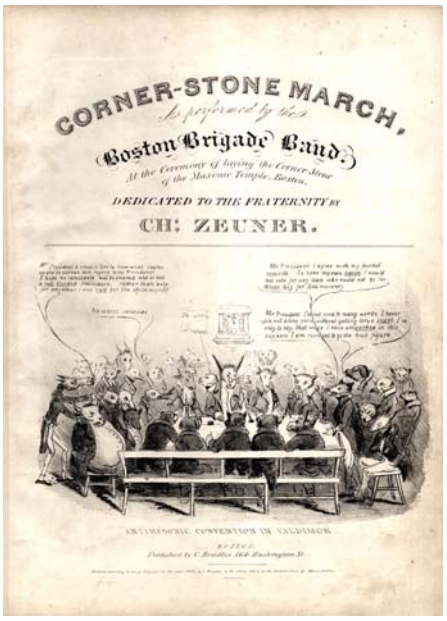
Figure 1.11 "The Corner-Stone March." Music by Ch: Zeuner. Published by C. Bradlee, Boston, MA. 1834. Author's collection.

This piece was published as both a non-illustrated sheet and with the paste-on engraving. This illustrated version came in two varieties: one with an engraving of George Washington, and another with an engraving of John Adams [Figure 1.10]

While illustrations occasionally adorned sheet music covers in the late eighteenth century, their prevalence and importance as a communications device did not reach its full potential until the advent of lithographic printing in the mid 1800s. This printing process made it much cheaper and easier to reproduce illustrations.[98]

Early music illustration was almost always an afterthought to the actual music and lyrics themselves. What changed with the advent of the lithographic printing was nothing less that the nature and role of the illustration itself. With the dawn of the nineteenth century, sheet music began to shift from a single leaf, broadside-like sheet, to a booklet format.

This format freed up space on the front cover to add a lithographic illustration. In many cases, the lithograph became more important than either the music or the lyrics. Figures 1.11 and 1.12 graphically illustrate the use of this new lithographic technique with a cartoon image by famous American illustrator D.C. Johnston.[99] This was a boon to publishers in their marketing efforts.

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the first unofficial national anthem of the United States. It was also the first "National Song" in which both the words and music were written in America.

[98] Instead of printing directly from engraved plates that required continuous inking and cleaning, a transfer copy was made from the original plates and that copy was again transferred to a lithographic stone which could then be use to make multiple copies. For a detailed description of the lithographic process, see: Richard J. Wolfe, *Early American Music Engraving and Printing*, (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1980).

[99] In 1832, illustrator and humorist David Claypool "D.C." Johnston prepared this cartoon sheet music cover poking fun at the delegates to the 1832 Anti-Masonic Party Convention held in

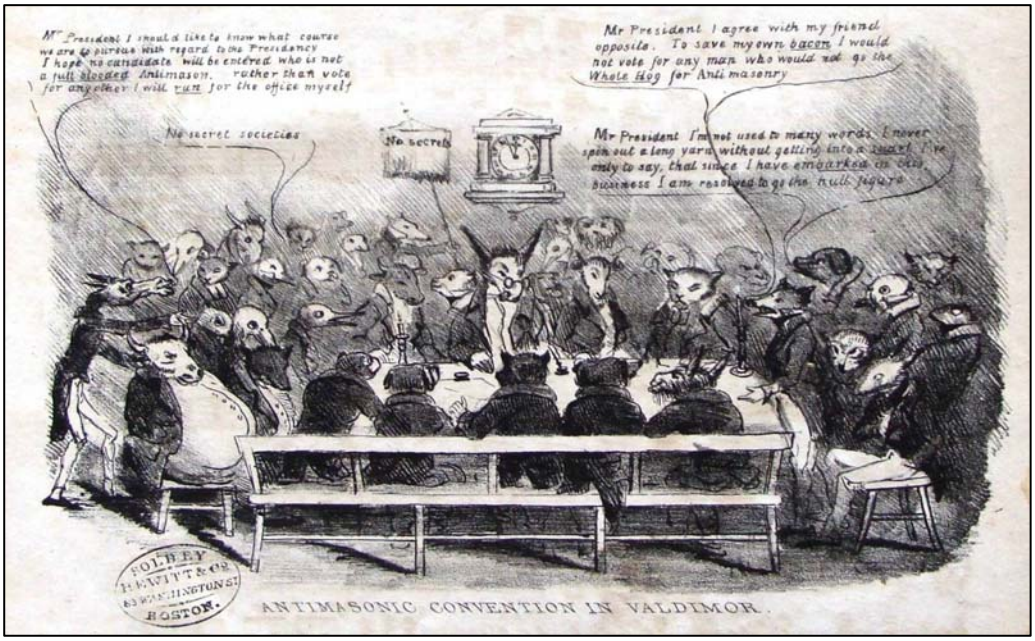

Figure 1.12 Detail: "The Corner-Stone March.: Music by Ch: Zeuner. Published by C. Bradlee, Boston. 1834. Author's collection.

Following in Johnson's footsteps was a drop-out from the United States Military Academy at West Point, James Whistler. In 1832, he created an illustrated cover for a piece of sheet music honoring the West Point class of 1832. He would go on to become one of the most famous oil-on-canvas artists in American history.

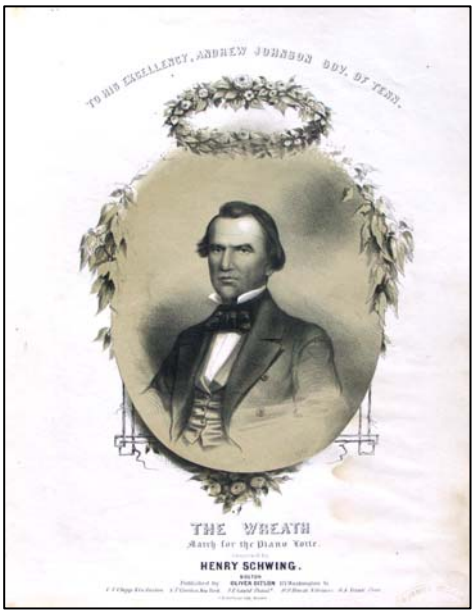

Figure 1.13 "The Wreath." Music by Henry Schwing. Published by Oliver Ditson, Boston, MA. 1856. Author's Collection

Many other famous artists of the day also undertook sheet music illustration. These included Nathaniel Currier and James Ives, and famed American painter Winslow Homer. At the beginning of his illustrious career, Homer took a position with the printing firm of J.H Bufford's Lithography of Boston. While there, he produced sixteen music lithographic covers including five that were of a political nature. [His cover of future president Andrew Johnson when he was the governor of Tennessee is shown in Figure 1.13]. Other artists

Baltimore [or as Johnston called it – "Valdimore]." The Anti-Masonic Party was America's first third party.

who would find sheet music illustration a lucrative endeavor include Thomas Nast, and twentieth century giants such as Albert Barbelle, Earl Christy, Alberto Vargas and Norman Rockwell.

Lithography became the staple of political music illustration throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. One major enhancement which occurred in the mid-century was the development of chromolithography.[100] Figure 1.14 illustrates this technique on a piece of sheet music published for the Lincoln campaign of 1860 titled "The Wide Awake Quick Step."[101]

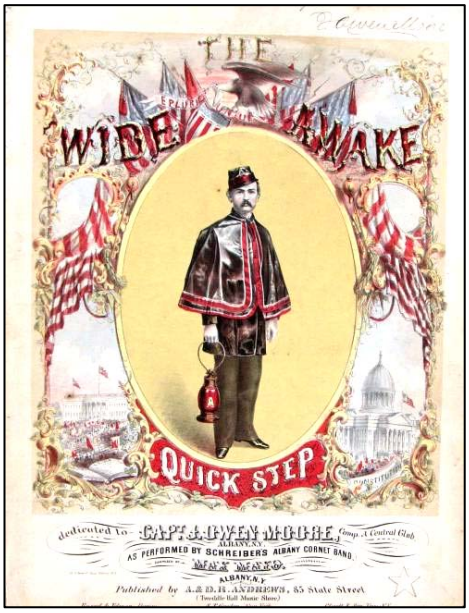

Figure 1.14 "The Wide Awake Quick Step." Music by Max Maed. Published by A. & D.R. Andrews, Albany, NY. 1860. Author's Collection.

The development of the modern media-driven campaign, coupled with the partisan-fueled passion of American politics, made the nineteenth century one of the most interesting and provocative eras in American history. Added to this mix were issues of monumental importance in shaping just who we were and who we were to become as Americans (slavery, the Civil War, African-American and female suffrage, and the rise of the modern industrial society to name a few), and song would play a key role in all of these cultural battles.

[100] "Chromolithography," *Webster's New World College Dictionary* (Wiley Publishing, 2010), (Accessed 15 June, 2014), http://www.yourdictionary.com/dictionary-definitions/. "A colored picture printed by the lithographic process from a series of stone or metal plates, the impression from each plate being in a different color." Although color had been used on music lithographs for years, it had been applied by hand. Publishers would employ women to hand color hundreds of illustrations on pieces of sheet music and then sell them at a premium over the standard black and white covers.

[101] The term "Wide Awakes" applies to a series of loosely connected groups of campaign marching clubs for Abraham Lincoln. They dressed up in special uniforms and marched in torch-light parades during the course of his campaign.

1.12 Overview of the Commentary

Chapter 1 of this commentary has presented an overview of published sheet music. It reviewed the development of secular music in America, focusing on the emergence of popular music as socio-political speech and in particular, the use of visual images on the cover page of published music and their role in historical discourse. Finally, it looked at the developing role sheet music is playing in academic scholarship.

Chapters 2 through 5 take a closer look at the practical aspects of using sheet music as academic source material. Each of these chapters features, respectively, sheet music from each one of my publications, illustrating how published sheet music can be used to enhance our understanding of the historical record. Chapter 2 looks at the sheet music of the 1850s Know Nothing movement and how its nativist position is represented in song. Chapter 3 discusses the beginnings of the American women's movement in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as reflected in the popular music of the time. The music of the Ku Klux Klan is the subject of Chapter 4, and in particular, how the Klan used the image of American public schools to advance their anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic agenda. Chapter 5 examines former Louisiana governor and U.S. Senator Huey P. Long as a politician-songwriter. Long was almost unique in American history for writing a musical composition for a political cause, namely his Share-the-Wealth Plan.

Finally, Chapter 6 presents some final thoughts on sheet music as a historical resource by discussing some of the limitations to accessing published sheet music that I encountered during the preparation of this commentary. It also a presents a brief reflection on the role of published sheet music in historical research and how I believe my works contribute to academic inquiry.

Chapter 2: Book 1: *Presidential Sheet Music* and The Music of the Know Nothings[102]

2.1 Introduction

While my first publication, *Presidential Sheet Music,* may be viewed strictly as a reference catalogue of popular music related to our presidents, those who sought the office, and the major, national political parties, it is in fact, much more. Through its illustrations and descriptions of the visual cover iconography of each piece of sheet music, it provides a unique link between American political music and our larger American political culture. The book opens up a world of graphic illustration that has contributed to the "cultural capital of images … and context to which historical, political, social and cultural processes and practices are shaped visually."[103]

The Know Nothings were an anti-immigration, anti-Catholic, nativist movement. Originally they were not one particular group or organization, but rather a number of philosophically-related secret societies formed to stem the influence of Catholicism and the influx of Irish and Germans in particular, that predominated immigration at the time. Two of the larger of the Know Nothing secret societies were the "Order of United Americans" and "The Order of the Star Spangled Banner." Party membership was restricted to white, Protestant men. When asked by an outsider about their principles, the reply was "I know nothing." By the mid-1850s, the membership of many of these groups had coalesced into the American Party. They gained significant political influence throughout the country, especially at the local level, electing "eight governors, more than one hundred congressmen, the mayors of Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago, and thousands of other local officials."[104] In 1856, the party nominated ex-president Millard Fillmore as their presidential candidate. In 1855, when asked if he was a Know Nothing, Abraham Lincoln replied:

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[102] Crew, *Presidential Sheet Music*.
[103] Udo, J. Hebel and Christopher Wagner, eds., *Pictorial Cultures and Political Iconographies: Approaches, Perspectives, case studies from Europe and America* (New York: Walter de Gruyter Gmblel & Co., 2011), 8.
[104] Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism & Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings & the Politics of the 1850s*" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), ix.

> I am not a Know-Nothing. That is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of Negroes, be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that *"all men are created equal."* We now practically read it "all men are created equal, *except negroes"* When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes, and *foreigners, and Catholics."* When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty -- to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocracy [sic].[105]

The Know Nothing movement was short-lived and by 1860 they had been largely absorbed by the Republican Party (if they were anti-slavery) or the Constitutional Union Party (if they were pro-slavery).

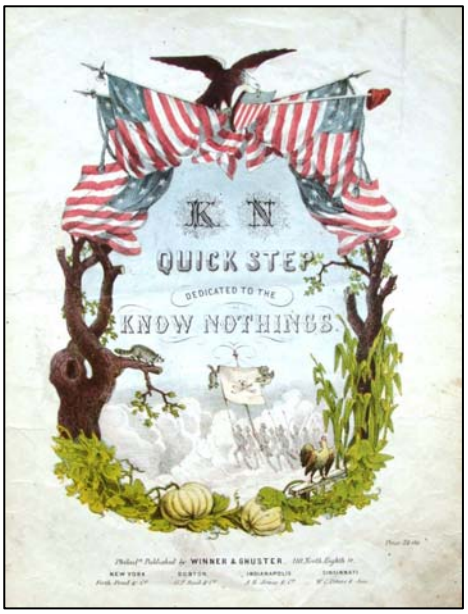

Figure 2.1 "K.N. Quick Step." No composers indicated. Published by Winner & Shuster, Philadelphia, PA. 1854. Author's collection.

2.2 Iconography of the "K.N. Quick Step"

A good example of this rich imagery can be found in Figures 2.1 and 2.2. Depicted are reproductions of the cover page of a piece of sheet music titled "K.N. Quick Step." This music was published in 1854 in support of the Know Nothing movement in America. The iconography found on much of their printed matter, including sheet music, is typical of other contemporary political illustration. The use of American patriotic and other cultural images was a well established practice since the Revolutionary War for any individual or group attempting to tie their identity to the Founding Fathers.

[105] Abraham Lincoln, "Letter to Speed Johnson, Springfield, Illinois, August 24, 1855," *Abraham Lincoln Online*, http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/speed.htm.

The sheet music cover at Figure 2.1 is a rare color lithograph supporting the Know Nothing movement. It is divided into two parts: The outer illustration (eagle, American flags, pumpkin & corn) was clearly designed to tap into the greater American identity, or as Robert Bellah calls it, the "civil religion" of Americans.[106] The intent was to connect like-minded thinkers through patriotic iconography, thus associating their identity to the larger "American" identity. Also represented in the outer image, and linking it to the inner image, are the symbols for the two prevailing political parties: the Raccoon, which was commonly recognized as a symbol of the Whig Party, and the rooster, which often represented the Democratic Party.

Figure 2.2 Detail. "Know Nothing Quick Step."

The inner illustration is also adorned with a number of politically-oriented iconographic representations [Figure 2.2]. In the center of the image is a parade of marchers carrying a banner featuring an illustration of a skull and crossbones. This represents both secret societies like the Know Nothings, and the danger facing society by the immigrant hordes. There is also a dead raccoon and dead rooster hanging from either side of the banner representing the defeat of the two

[106] Udo J. Hebel and Christopher Wagner, *Pictorial Cultures and Political Iconographies: Approaches, Perspectives, Case Studies from Europe and America* (Berlin and New York: Gruyter and GmbH & Co., 2011), 378. Bellah defines it as: "A Particular set of beliefs, symbols, and ritual … that ensure the peaceful survival of the community and create a sense of mutual agreement and unity for the members of society"

major political parties. Notice the original raccoon and rooster are looking at this spectacle with alarm.

Finally, it is informative to note that the musical style chosen for the composition was a "quick step," a musical style that was popular with the military bands of the era. This choice was certainly not an accident. The quick step is lively dance music and was no doubt selected to give an aural enhancement to the cause moving forward.

2.3 The Know Nothings and the All Seeing Eye

Figure 2.3 "Know Nothing Polka." Composed by "Nobody." Published by James Coheaven, Philadelphia, PA. 1855. Author's collection.

The use of highly charged iconography on the "K.N. Quick Step" highlights the importance of graphics as a communicative device. The music was published by Winner & Schuster of Philadelphia with co-publishers in Boston, New York, Indianapolis and Cincinnati. Though no definitive proof exists, it is fair to assume that these publishers were probably sympathetic to the Know Nothing cause - All of the cities where publishing took place were Know Nothing strongholds (Philadelphia, Boston and New York City all had elected Know Nothing mayors and Indianapolis had a Know Nothing majority City Council).

While the above example epitomizes the use of traditional American images by the Know Nothing movement, it is important to note that they also borrowed symbols from other movements. Figure 2.3 is a copy of the cover of the sheet music for the Know Nothing Polka. At the top of the title, there is a lithograph of a large eye surrounded by rays of light emanating in all directions. This symbol has played a noteworthy role throughout American history. Referred to as the "All Seeing Eye" or "Watchful Eye," it was and is, an important symbol of the Order of Freemasons, a secret society to which many of the nation's founding fathers

belonged, including George Washington, John Hancock, and Benjamin Franklin. A similar eye can be found on the reverse of our $1.00 bill.[107]

For Masons, the eye represents the Great Architect of the Universe and is symbolic for personal responsibility:

> … justice will sooner or later overtake us, and although our thoughts, words and actions may be hidden from the eyes of man, yet the All Seeing Eye, whom the Sun, Moon and Stars obey, and under whose watchful care even comets perform their stupendous revolutions, pervades the whole, and will reward us according to our merits.[108]

The use of the eye by the Know Nothings, however, had a more political meaning, one with a more ominous overtone. According to The Library of Congress, the Know Nothing eye "symbolizes the Know Nothings' vigilance against 'foreign influence' in American politics and government."[109] It is interesting to note that this piece was composed by "Nobody" and is dedicated to "Everybody," making it clear that the song, with its vigilant "eye," is a reminder to everyone to be wary of the dangers of immigrants. Listing the composer's name as "Nobody," is consistent with the secret nature of the Know Nothings.

2.4 The Know Nothings and the "Sam" Metaphor

The watchful eye was not the only image borrowed by the Know Nothing movement. Another key image used extensively on Know Nothing printed literature was that of "Sam" [Figure 2.4]. The exact origin of the Sam motif may be lost to history. Know Nothing lore claims that "'Young Sam,' whose uncle (the famous 'Uncle Sam') had become discouraged about America's decline and had

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[107] Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Seal of the United States* (Washington: Department of State, 1909), 12. According to Hunt, Jefferson, Franklin and Adams explicitly approved the inclusion of the eye of providence in the seal.
[108] "All Seeing Eye," Masonic Dictionary.com, http://www.masonicdictionary.com/eye2.html.
[109] "Know Nothing Polka dedicated to everybody by nobody," Library of Congress Prints and Photographs On-Line Catalogue, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2008661569/.

asked his nephew to start an organization that would revitalize the nation."[110] Patrick Young adds that the Sam story supports the Know Nothing narrative that they "had a familial relationship to the founding generation, just as Young Sam was related by birth to Uncle Sam."[111] Hutcheon quotes an 1855 Know Nothing follower with the following explanation which puts a slightly different take on the origin:

> There is a certain personage abroad in the land, at the sound of whose voice the shackles of party drop from the hand of our people … They call him "Sam." But he is not Uncle Sam … his march is ever onward … he never stops except to drop a tear upon the grave of some Revolutionary hero, for his heart is as tender as his nerves are strong … The creed of his faith is the Constitution of his country, and Luther and Washington are his two great exemplars of religious and civil freedom.[112]

Figure 2.4 "Sam (Song)" Composed by J.B. Bacon. Published by Horace Waters, New York, NY. 1855. Author's collection.

The image of Sam itself predates the Know Nothings by at least ten years. Similar images were known to be used in association with the earlier Young America movement in the 1840s.[113] According to the Library of Congress, "The Citizen Know Nothing figure appears in several nativist prints of the period" not necessarily associated with the Know Nothing

[110] Anbinder, *Nativism & Slavery*, xiv.
[111] Patrick Young, Esq., "The Know Nothings: From Triumph to Collapse," *Longislandwins.com*, http://www.longislandwins.com/news/detail/the_know_nothings_from_htiu,pg_to_collapse.
[112] Wallace S Hutcheon, Jr., "The Louisville Riots of August, 1855," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* Vol. 69, No. 2 (April 1971), 154, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23377216.
[113] Daniel Feller, "Civil War Book Review," LSU Libraries' Special Collection (undated), review of *The Young America Movement and the Transformation of the Democratic Party, 1828-1861*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), http://www.cwbr.com/civilwarbookreview/index.php?q=3393&field=ID&browse=yes&record=full&searching=yes&Submit=Search. "The label Young America surfaced in the 1840s to denote an exuberant romantic nationalism and the literati who espoused it."

order.[114] The addition of the hat, however, appears to be unique to the Know Nothings and does appear on at least two other pieces of sheet music.

The image of Sam as a young, well-dressed, and heroic-looking man in fedora and suit and tie, is a perfect metaphor for "a vision that was built upon the American myth that America was a new Eden, a fresh place, a new beginning, an opportunity."[115] To reinforce the Sam image and link him to American values, the central image is surrounded by traditional American patriotic images: flags, the Union shield and cannons.

The lyrics, as expected, support Sam in his protective vigilance of American values and character:

Sam (Song) by J.B. Bacon

(Some of the repetitive lyrics have been removed for clarity)

Verse 1
Sam! Sam! Sam!
Sam! Have you seen Sam!
Wide-Awake, boys,
for Sam went on the deck one night d'ye see,
And his glass he squinted right o..er the sea
He'd a yankee ship, and a yankee crew,
And Sam was a yankee true
A stranger sail To his Hail
Flung out her red cross flag,
Samuel laught'd at that craft,
For, say he, I know that rag,
We gave that fits on Old Bunker Hill
And we finish'd it off with a hickory pill.
Sam! good boy, Sam! Wide a wake, boys, for Sam!

Verse 2
A sail ahead! she floats the green
No yankee flag, that's plainly seen
Our stars along must kiss the breeze
And rule Columbia's seas.

[114] "Uncle Sam's Youngest son, Citizen Know Nothing" Library of Congress Prints and Photographs On-Line Catalogue, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003689281/.
[115] A. Cheree Carlson, "The Rhetoric of the Know-Nothing Party: Nativism as a Response to the Rhetorical Situation," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Eastern Communications Association, Baltimore, Md. (April 27 - May 1, 1988), 13.

Ship ahoy! Starn there, Old Boy!
Haul down your cross at the fore!
In old Rome that's at home
But here it's the wrong Commodore.
We've heart and home for all, its true
But all must wear the red, white and blue
Jolly old Commodore, Sam!
Now run your colors to the mast,
Aloft, my lads, and spike them fast
Let Young America be seen
True to the old Thirteen.
Steady boys Steady!
Sons of the soil awake
Ready boys Ready
You're native land's at stake
The union that our fathers won
Must ne'er be rul'd by a traitor son
Go, boys for Sam! Wide awake, boys, for Sam!

In the lyrics, "Sam" is now "Commodore Sam," sailing in his ship patrolling "wide-awake," protecting Columbia's shore from the immigrant hordes: "Haul down your cross at the fore! In Rome that's your home" is clearly targeted at Catholic immigration.

The publisher of this song, James Ceouhaven, was one of the larger publishers of the 1840s and like Winner & Schuster, was from the Know Nothing stronghold of Philadelphia. Although there is no contemporary record of commentary on this piece, the tameness of the lyrics would indicate that most likely the publisher had a hand in "toning down" the Know Nothing rhetoric. According to George Jackson, "Many editors seemed to feel that songs were important as a means of moral improvement and therefore vigorously cut out everything of a questionable nature."[116] It also potentially broadened the sales potential. A hint of this is in Verse 2 – "We've heart and home for all, its true, But all must wear the red, white and blue." This phrase makes it sound like the Know Nothings would welcome immigrants, even Catholics, if they adopted American ways. This is certainly far from the truth. The Know Nothings "professed purpose was to check foreign

[116] George Stuyvesant Jackson, *Early Songs of Uncle Sam* (Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1933), 19.

influence [and] purify the ballot box" by disenfranchising non-native Americans.[117]

This is further demonstrated by the violent side of the Know Noting movement. From 1853 to 1855, Know Nothings were responsible for burning numerous Catholic Churches, rioting, beatings and even deaths. These included St. Mary's church in Newark, New Jersey, where "windows were broken, the statuary destroyed, and one unoffending bystander, an Irish Catholic, was shot and killed," and in Ellsworth, Maine, where "Father John Bapst, S.J., was dragged from the church, robbed of his watch and money, tarred and feathered, and ridden about the village on a rail."[118] Other Catholic churches in Dorchester, Massachusetts, Sidney, Ohio, Massillon, and Galveston, Texas, were also attacked or destroyed. The worst of these incidents was the "Bloody Monday" riot in Louisville, Kentucky in 1855 where businesses, private homes and tenements had been vandalized, looted and/or burned, including a block long row of houses known as Quinn's Row. The death toll was estimated at 19-22.[119]

2.5 The Know Nothings and the popular tune, "Few Days"

In addition to the Know Nothings' penchant for borrowing symbols, they also borrowed tunes, the most famous of which was "Few Days." Written in 1854, it was a popular "comic" song by several of the many of the traveling singing groups popular in the 1850s, particularly Christy's Minstrels and Kunkel's Nightingale Ethiopian Opera Troupe. The lyrics were typical of these "Ethiopian" songs in that they were written in fake "African" dialect, and touched on various popular topics of the day in the verses:

Few Days

Music by unknown (Jenny Lind?)
Lyrics by John Hill Hewitt

[117] Humphrey Desmond, *The Know Nothing Party, A Sketch* (Washington: New Century Press, 1905), 60.
[118] "Knownothingism," *New Advent*, http://www.newadvent.org.htm.
[119] Hutcheon, "The Louisville Riots of August, 1855," 160-161.

Verse 1
This world is coming to an end,
Few day's, few day's!
I'll leave it for I have no friend;
I'm gwine home,
I'm gwine to run clear out o' sight
Few day's, few day's!
And leave these naughty diggins quite;
I'm gwine home!

Verse 2
They tell about Maine Liquor law,
Few day's, few day's;
It makes the folks get drunk the more,
I'm gwine home.
Nebraska's gwine to be a state,
Few day's, few day's;
Cuba, too, will come in late,
I'm gwine home.

Verse 3
Every thing is done by steam,
Few day's, few day's;
Leather taffy - chalk Ice Cream,
I'm gwine home.
Boys wear beards and Women too,
Few day's, few day's;
Though all things change, there's nothing new;
I'm gwine home.

Figure 2.5 "Few Days or Now Our Country is Great & Free." Composed by J.B. Bacon. Published by Horace Waters, New York, NY. 1855. Author's collection.

Typically, these comic songs have up to a dozen verses. "Few Days" was very popular and was parodied for many specific audiences. There is a temperance version, a comic spiritual version, a Southern patriotic version, a California gold miner's version and a Jenny Lind version. Jenny Lind, the Swedish opera singer, is often credited with composing the tune, though no definitive proof exists.

Because of the nationwide popularity of the song, it became the perfect vehicle for the Know Nothings to use to further their cause. There are at least five different sheet music or penny song sheet versions of this song associated with the movement.[120] Below is the most recognized. As is clearly seen above the song title on the sheet music [Figure 2.5], the song was promoted as "The Know-Nothings Union Song."

Few Days or Our Country Now is Great and Free

Words by K.N., Arranged by S. G. A.

Verse 1

Our country is great and free,
Few days, few days.
And thus shall it forever be,
We know the way.
We'll teach the hosts that gather here,
Few days, few days,
That we'll protect what we hold dear,
We know the way.

Chorus:

We'll battle innovation,
Few days, few days,
And fight 'gainst usurpation
By a cunning foe.
For our guide is Freedom's banner,
Few days, few days
Our guide is Freedom's banner,
We know the way.

Verse 2

The world shall see that we are true,
Few days, few days,
And that we know a thing or two,
We know the way.
As "Know Nothings" we're hand in hand,
Few days, few days,
Our countless throng shall fill the land,
We know the way.

[120]"Few Days or Our Country Now is Great and Free." Words by K.N. Arranged by S. G.A. Published by Oliver Ditson, Boston, MA. 1854; "Few Days Few Days or We Know the Way." Words by D. L., Music F. Ferry. Published by J. E. Boswell, Baltimore, MD. 1854; "Few Days or The United American's (sic)." Written by George Morris. Published by Faulds, Stone and Morse, Louisville, KY. 1854; "Few Days," No attribution. Published in the *Golden Wreath* song book, Oliver Ditson & Co., Boston, MA. 1857; and "Few Days." No attribution. Published as a penny song sheet by Berry & Gordon, NY. Undated ca. 1855.

Verse 3
From East and West, from South and North,
Few days, few days,
We'll call our many legions forth,
we know the way.
The freedom that our fathers won,
Few days, few days,
Shall be defended by each son,
We know the way.

Verse 4
Then shout, then shout o'er hill and plain,
Few days, few days,
Our Union shall its rights maintain,
We know the way.
We'll guard, we'll guard the ballot box,
Few days, few days,
From foreign wiles and treason shocks,
We know the way.

The first three verses tout the Know Nothing's strength and resolve in protecting America's traditional values, but in Verse 3, their real priority – guarding the ballot box - becomes evident. For Know Nothings, the ballot box is a metaphor for the nation's political and social values that must be protected from immigrant influence.

2.6 Conclusion

Fueled by the demise of the Whig party, the threat of sectional division in the Union, and the surge of Irish and German immigration, the Know Nothings became a formidable political power, albeit for only a few years. They successfully "linked nativism to common American values in such a manner that audiences were convinced that nativism was consistent with American tradition."[121] While it is not possible, based on the existing record, to conclude definitively that Know Nothing music was a critical factor in their rise to power, however, given the important role of music-as-political-discourse in the eighteenth century, it is fair to presume that song contributed to the fervor that strengthened and maintained the movement.

[121] A. Cheree Carlson, "The Rhetoric of the Know-Nothing Party," 4.

Chapter 3: Book 2 - *Suffragist Sheet Music and Musical Rumblings in the Early American Republic*[122]

3.1 "Women's Rights" in Early America

In her 2007 book, *Revolutionary Backlash*, Rosemarie Zagarri discusses in detail the nature of women's rights.[123] Her premise is that in early America, there was not a generally agreed upon understanding of just what "women's rights" meant. It certainly did not mean women's political rights as we tend to understand them today.[124]

The actual term "women's rights" came into general usage following the 1792 publication of Mary Wollenstonecraft's powerful essay, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*.[125] As the nation entered the nineteenth century, a number of historic factors helped to muddy a precise definition of women's rights, including religious beliefs; the historic bifurcation of family duties between men (hunting, gathering) and women (cooking, child rearing); "structural sexism" in the governmental arena;[126] and the gradual evolution and acceptance of the idea that the distinctions between the sexes were the "result of innate, biological differences. "Women's bodies were not just different from men's; they were inferior."[127]

With all of these different influences, it is no wonder that the generally accepted definition of women's rights was in flux. For example, Zagarri looked at the early nineteenth century idea that women were intellectually equal to men, and in particular, how this equality created a "right" for women's education. However,

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[122] Danny O. Crew, *Suffragist Sheet Music: An Illustrated Catalogue of Published Music Associated with the Woman's Rights and Suffrage Movement in America, 1795-1921, with Complete Lyrics* (McFarland & Company, 2002).
[123] Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 11-41.
[124] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 47.
[125] Mary Wollenstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Oregon State University online, http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/texts/wollstonecraft/woman-a.html.
[126] Shay Welch, *A Theory of Freedom: Feminism and the Social Contract* (New York**:** Macmillan, 2012), 91.
[127] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 7.

she goes on to explain that a right to an education did not mean a right to the same type of education as to afforded men: "The proper purpose of women's education is to make women rational companions, good wives, and good mothers."[128] It was not to educate them in law, medicine, politics or other "men's" professions.

Another example of what was often meant by the term "women's rights" revolved around the home-sphere. Zagarri quotes a 1797 article in the *American Spectator or Matrimonial Preceptor* magazine that reflects this thinking: "As men's social equals, women gained the right to be protected and respected by men."[129] A common thread in these so-called "rights" was their function as an activity supporting men in their endeavors.[130]

There were those in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who were supportive of women's rights evolving to become more complex and inclusive. However, even among these individuals, there was a wide diversity of beliefs, especially when it came to the issue of political rights.

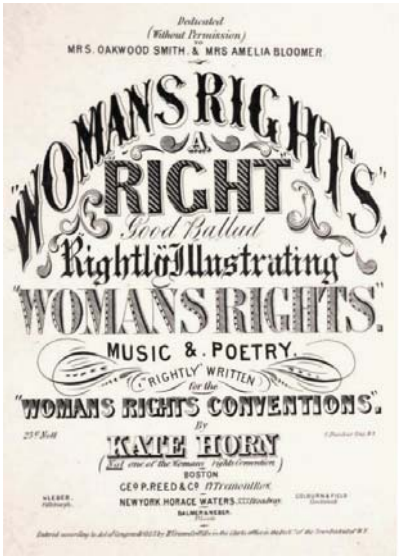

Figure 3.1 "Womans Rights, A Right Good Ballad Illustrating Womans Rights." Sheet music cover. Words and music by Kate Horn. Published by Horace Waters (New York), 1853. Author's collection.

3.2 Early Feminist Music

This battle between competing ideas about the nature of women's rights was reflected in the popular songs of the times. Figure 3.1 represents music reflecting the more traditional concept of women's rights. This piece, "The Rights of Women" by Kate Horn, is typical of the argument found in the literature of the day.

[128] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash,* 48.
[129] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash,* 48.
[130] The legacy of this line of thought is evident even today in such organizations as women's auxiliaries to the primary men's organizations such as the Veteran's of Foreign Wars, American Legion, The Women's Army Auxiliary Corp (UK) and Fire Department auxiliaries throughout the country (US).

Reading the cover, one might assume that this was a pro-women's rights song. Note the dedication at the top: "Dedicated (without permission) to Mrs. Oakwood & Mrs. Amelia Bloomer." The two women were leaders in the early women's rights movement. Also note the phrase just below the title – "Rightly written for the 'Women's Rights Conventions.'" It is not until you read the small print under the composer's name that it becomes clear that she is "Not one of the Womans [sic] Rights Convention;" instead, she is a supporter of the definition of women's rights that was prevalent in the culture of the early nineteenth century. Verses 2 and 4 provide ample evidence of this:[131]

Verse 2
'Tis "women's Right" a home to have
As perfect as can be,
But "Not her right" to make that home, to ev'ry lover free;
'Tis women's Right to rule the house
And petty troubles brave,
But "not her right" to rule the head
And treat him as her slave.

Verse 4
'Tis "Women's Right" to claim respect
From men of ev'ry grade
But "not her right" to walk around
As master to each trade.
'Tis "Women's right" as Wife to act
Alone to Legislators,
But "not her right" to mount the stand
And speak as commentators.

Here it is clear that a woman's place is in the home and she should eschew sexual promiscuity:

> But "Not her right" to make that home,
> to ev'ry lover free

and not to covet men's work:

> "But 'not her right" to walk around
> As master to each trade

or overt political participation:

[131] Crew, *Suffragist Sheet Music*, 37.

But "not her right" to mount the stand
And speak as commentators.

What she should do is to rule over her household, though even in this; she must yield to her husband:

But "not her right" to rule the head
And treat him as her slave.

Inspired by Wollstonecraft's treatise, popular music began to reflect a new, more rebellious debate: "A highly visible, if relatively small, number of women, embraced a more radical approach. They assumed their political role with an independence of spirit and intellectual assertiveness that impresses some people and alarmed others."[132]

This new rebellious sentiment also found an audience in the popular music of the times. The 1797 song titled "Rights of Women" and written "By a Lady" called for a greater voice for women. Published in the *Philadelphia Minerva,* it left no doubt what was demanded:[133]

Verse 1
GOD save each Female's right, how to her ravish'd fight
Woman is Free; Let Freedom's voice prevail,
And draw aside the vail [sic],
Supreme Endulgence [sic] hail.
Sweet liberty.

Verse 2
Man boasts the noble cause,
Nor yields supine to laws,
Tyrants ordain;
Let women have a share,
Nor yield to slavish fear,
Her equal rights declare,
And well maintain.

Verse 8 makes it clear where the inspiration for the song originated:

Verse 8
Women should rejoice,
Exalt thy feeble voice

[132] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash,* 5.
[133] Crew, *Suffragist Sheet Music*, 8-9.

In cheerful strain;
See Wollstonecraft, a friend,
Your injur'd rights defend, Wisdom her steps attend,
The cause maintain.

In the ensuing decades, other popular songs echoing this new feminist theme followed: "But Mind to Slip Obey" (1813), "No, No, I will Never Marry" (1839); "O Never Fall in Love" (ca. 1832), "I'll Be No Submissive Wife" (1835), and "Lords of Creation" (1938).[134]
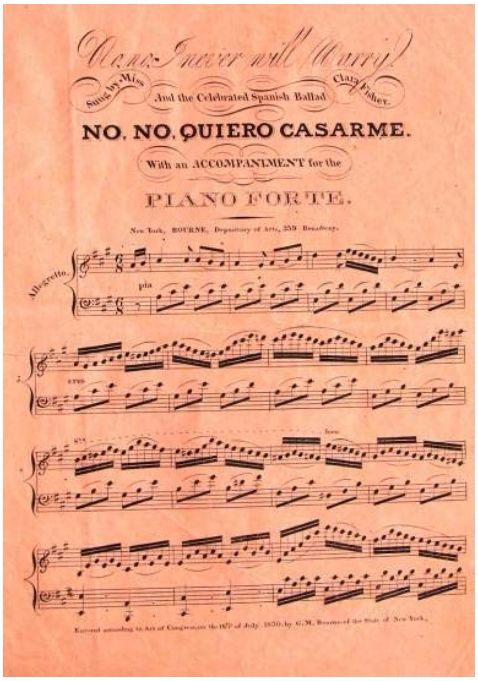
Figure 3.2 "No, No, I Will Never Marry." No composers indicated. Published by Bourne, New York City, 1836. Author's collection.

"No, No, I will Never Marry" [Figure 3.2] for example, was typical of these songs. There is no indication on the sheet music itself to identify the composer; however, thanks to an inscription at the title, we do know that the song was "Sung by Miss Clara Fisher," a famous music hall singer of the era. Her name is found on several other "anonymous" pro-women rights musical works, suggesting that she probably had a hand in writing the lyrics.

Verse 1
No, No, No, I never will marry,
To Live single and happy's [sic] my plan,
For I'd rather lead monkies [sic] forever,
Than be led by that ape called man…

These examples clearly demonstrate that published music played a supportive role in the early women's movement in America by taking on the patriarchal culture through their satirical and often defiant lyrics. As Susan Klepp observes in her book *Revolutionary Conceptions*:

[134] "But Mind to Slip Obey" by C.E. Horn; "No, No, I Will Never Marry" by an unknown author; "Lords of Creation" by J.P.R.; and "I'll Be No Submissive Wife" by Alexander Lee. For full text on all of these, see: Crew, *Suffragist Sheet Music*, 10-13.

> Women's declamation's, whether humorous or serious, reveled an emerging sense that women were a social and political category whose wrongs (whether a lack of rights, of opportunity, of responsibility for self, or of support and protection) affected all women … Catchphrases, humor, gossip, novels and other forms of communication [songs], diffused recognition of the many benefits of a more autonomous femininity…[135]

3.3 Conclusion

From the above examples, we are clearly able to see the divide that characterized the early women's movement in America; how the traditional cultural perception of women's role impacted the early women's movement. We can also see how a determined group of composers with a different point of view were attempting to alter this cultural paradigm through popular music.

Music provides a window into how our popular culture. It reacts to events and can help change popular perception over time. My second publication, *Suffragist Sheet Music,* provides the material to analyze this phenomenon in ways not previously available. Through documentation of over two hundred suffrage-related songs, including complete lyrics and facsimiles of the cover illustrations of each, this wealth of material opens research and analysis into topics as wide-ranging as fashion and politics as reflected in the bloomer movement of the 1850s, the anti-feminine rhetoric of the Pan Alley publishing industry, the female image as depicted on sheet music covers, or changing popular perception of the women's movement from 1800 to 1920.

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[135] Susan E. Klepp, *Revolutionary Conceptions: Women, Fertility, and Family Limitation in America, 1760-1820* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 2009), 104-105.

Chapter 4: Book 3 - *Ku Klux Klan Sheet Music:* The Klan and "The Little Red Schoolhouse"[136]

4.1 Nativism in Early America

Understanding the history of the Ku Klux Klan and its role in our nation's history is critical to understanding today's political culture. Ray Pratt uses the term "Conservative/Hegemonic" to describe music that "carries implications of maintenance of the status quo, that is, the existing relations and distribution of power and values in a society, and its existing and established traditions, institutions, and 'way of life.'"[137] The Ku Klux Klan and its musical legacy was both a product of this conservative tradition, and an influence on its continuing evolution. "Nativism, 100 per cent Americanism, anti-Catholicism, distrust of the rich and well-born, political and moral religious fundamentalism" have all played a role in the development of our American cultural landscape[138] and have, individually and collectively, spawned numerous political and cultural movements: Young America, Know Nothings, John Birch Society, English-Only, America First, Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens League, and Order of the Star Spangled Banner among others, each has played a role in defining who we are as Americans, good and bad.

Over the past two centuries, these threads of thought have directly contributed to our customs and laws - From the Alien & Sedition Act of 1798 and the Anti-Immigration Acts of 1920s, to the "English as the official language" and "Anti-Sharia" laws found in many locales today. Understanding the Klan's manifestation of these underlining traditions, myths, and stereotypes throughout a large part of our nation's history, provides an important window into today's cultural attitudes.

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[136] Danny O. Crew, *Ku Klux Klan Sheet Music: An Illustrated Catalogue of Published Music, 1867-2002* (West Jefferson: McFarland & Co, 2003).
[137] Pratt, *Rhythm and Resistance*, 9.
[138] Davis B. Tyack, "The Perils of Pluralism: The Background of the Pierce Case," *The American historical Review* Vol. 74. No. 1 (October 1968), 74.

The America of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a rather homogeneous society. It was during this period that the term "melting pot" became part of our cultural vocabulary:

> What then is this American, this new man? … leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. … Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men … They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes … he is European or descendent of an European … here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared. [139]

Today, we think of melting pot as people of all races and ethnicities coming together under the "American dream;" however, as is clear from Crevecoeur's comments, the immigrants of whom he wrote were all Northern European (and largely Protestant).

As the country moved into the mid-nineteenth century, this mix began to change, especially in the 1840s with the immigration of large Irish and German populations. The trend was exacerbated by a number of factors including famine in Ireland, the acquisition of former Spanish and Mexican territories, the freeing of the slaves after the Civil War, and the rapid industrialization of the economy.

4.2 The Rise of the Middle Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan in America has had three distinct periods of significant activity and influence: the late 1860s and early 1870s, the early-to-mid 1920s, and the 1950s-1960s, though there has always been some Klan activity in between and after each of these major periods. While each of these eras offers opportunities for study and analysis, it was during the second era Klan, roughly 1915-1926, that

[139] J. Hecton St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer (1792)*, http://www.xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/CREV/home.html. This is the first known instance of the use of the term "melting pot" relative to America.

the movement reached national significance with an estimated four million members.[140]

It is a testament to the power of popular culture that the unofficial beginning of the second Klan era is generally credited to the premiere of D.W. Griffith's highly successful film, *The Birth of a Nation*. Loosely based on Thomas Dixon's 1905 novel *The Clansman*, the film portrayed the Ku Klux Klan "as the most chivalrous knights of all ages."[141] This portrayal tapped into a wealth of long-held and emerging American attitudes including, among others, a distrust of non-whites and foreigners, a culture of post-civil war reconciliation that emphasized a shared belief in white superiority, and the "constructed" Southern imagery that sold the South as an exotic land representing the pastoral ideal of America's rural heritage (where supposedly our cultural traditions were still honored).[142]

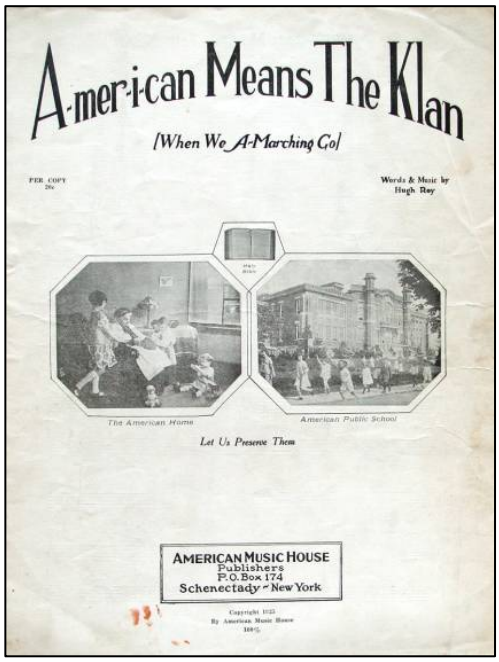

Figure 4.1 "A-mer-i-can Means the Klan." Sheet music cover. Words and music by Hugh Roy. Published by American Music house (Schenectady, NY), 1925. Author's collection.

4.2 The Klan and the American School

One interesting facet of the early twentieth century Klan incarnation was their interest in public education, particularly grammar school education. The Klan, and many other Americans, believed that one major role of public grammar school education was to instill American values into children at a young age.

[140] Roland G. Fryer Jr. and Steven D. Levitt, "Hatred and Profits: Under the Hood of the Ku Klux Klan," (2011), 1, Harvard University online, http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/fryer/files/hatred_and_profits_under_the_hood_of_the_ku_klux_klan.pdf.
[141] J.A. Rogers, *The Ku Klux Spirit* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1980), 34.
[142] Karen L. Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South was Created in American Popular Culture*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 1-8. Of course, just which traditions were to be honored and followed was very a selective perception.

Values such as patriotism, faith in God and the Bible, and respect for the symbols of America such as our flag, our presidents, and our national holidays, were to be core values integrated into the school's curriculum. Of course, in the case of the Klan's sympathizers, and many others as well, these values were viewed through the lens of a "white, Protestant" perspective. As they saw it, these values were being challenged by parochial schools, mostly Catholic, but also Jewish and non-Protestant Christians such as Seventh Day Adventists, Mormons, as well as "Popish" denominations like Anglicans and Episcopalians.

The importance of the public school movement to the Klan was frequently reflected in the music of the Klan movement. Between 1921 and 1925, no less than eight popular songs associated with the Klan were published about public schools or featured a schoolhouse in the iconography of the sheet music cover page.[143] Figure 4.1, "A-mer-i-can Means the Klan," is one such piece. Its illustrated cover page features several photographs reflecting some the of the most common continuing Klan themes including "The American Home," "The Holy Bible" and "The American Public School." Below the photographs is the phrase "Let Us Preserve Them."

In reality, the Klan's concern for public schools and their use of public school imagery actually had less to do with education and everything to do with their ongoing campaign against ethnic pluralism. It was, in fact, about anti-immigration and anti-Catholicism. A number of these songs went beyond iconography and addressed the subject directly in the lyrics. Songs such as "School Days," "The Little Red School house," and "Put the Bible Back in the Schools" focused on using the public school as a metaphor specifically to attack Catholicism:

The Little Red School House[144]
Words: Anonymous
Music: "Air: The Old Oaken Bucket"
Published in: *Song Book for Women of the Ku Klux Klan*
Published for Mary I. Goodwin, Major Kleagle of Pennsylvania, ca. 1924

[143] Danny O. Crew, *Ku Klux Klan Sheet Music*.
[144] Danny O. Crew, *Ku Klux Klan Sheet Music*, 144-145.

Verse 1
The little red school house is nearer and dearer,
As down through the years I am passing along,
How often the lessons I learned there have helped me,
Not can I refrain from to raise this my song.
No Milligan guards in the school of my childhood,
We read not with predjudice [sic], but with my eye.

Chorus:
I'll vote for the school house,
The little red school house;
I'll vote for the school house,
I'll save it or die.

Verse 2
In lands where the Romans hold longest dominion,
Is ignorance blackest and darkest is crime,
Awaken, ye Yankees, and guard well the school house,
The foe is upon us, don't lose any time.
For foreign hands clutch at the throat of our goddess,
Come enter the battle with this for your cry.

Verse 3
We sang Hail Columbia instead of Hail Mary,
And never once to the pope [sic] did we kneel,
No crossing ourselves in the little red school house,
Then why let the Romans our treasury steal;
Our teachers has Bibles and led our devotion, But now all such teachers and Bibles must go.

Here the Klan leaves little doubt about the source of America's problems: foreigners, and especially the Roman Catholic Church, were attempting to use parochial schools to indoctrinate children in the ways of the Catholic religion rather than in Americanism and the one, true, chosen religion, Protestantism. The lyrical references to "Mulligan Guards,"[145] "crossing" oneself, "Hail Mary," and "kneeling," are used to reinforce the differences between "real" Americans and the dark forces of evil represented by the Catholic Church. Even the de-capitalization of the word "Pope" seems designed to lessen respect for the Papal office and in turn, Catholicism itself.

[145] *The Mulligan Guard*s were a fictional paramilitary unit created as part of a series of musical stage reviews in 1873 musical review by Ned Harrigan and David Braham. Actors dressed in ornate uniforms and participated in parades, spoke in a heavy Irish brogue and were usually found drinking. Their supposed arch enemies were the Skidmore Guards, an all Black unit. Immigrant audiences loved these stereotypical characters even though by today's standards, they would be considered offensive.

The above example clearly supports the argument that the Klan used the symbol of the public school as a metaphor for American purity. The idea of public education was an important value in American culture and could easily be co-opted to their purpose. Most of these songs were not published for the general public as they are most often found in official Klan song books specifically designed for use at Klan meetings and rallies, and in limited-run, sheet music editions published by Klan sympathizers. As such, their purpose was not to convert individuals to the Klan view, but rather to reinforce Klan values and priorities among members and to sustain enthusiasm for their cause.

4.3 Conclusion

The study of the Klan and its ability to motivate some Americans to violent action is worthy of study. Its ability to mask it true purpose, especially during the second or middle Klan era is at once shocking and instructive. During this period, Klan membership rose to millions including one future Supreme Court Justice.[146] It enjoyed acceptance on a number of college campuses as just another Greek fraternity and even hosted a float in the annual Orange Bowl Parade in Miami. Understand how it conveyed it message to the general public is critical to not only better understanding the Klan, but perhaps more importantly, understanding how these techniques are being used today by individuals and groups to sell false messages. For the Klan, one important technique was its music.

Much has been written about the Klan but little research or analysis has been undertaken regarding this musical legacy. *Ku Klux Klan Sheet Music*, by providing the lyrics to over four hundred Klan-related songs, open opportunities for research into this alternate discursive medium.

[146] Virginia Van Der Veer, "Hugo Black and the K.K.K.," *American Heritage Society Magazine* online, Vol. 19, Issue 3 (April 1968), http://www.americanheritage.com/content/hugo-black-and-kkk.

Chapter 5: Book 4 - *American Political Sheet Music:* Huey P. Long's "Every Man a King"[147]

> No music ever sounded one-half so refreshing as the whines and moans of pie-eaters when shoved away from the pie."
>
> Huey P. Long[148]

5.1 Introduction to Local Political Music

This final work documents the wealth of published music associated with American politicians at all levels of government other than for the presidency. Prior to undertaking the research, I had to define two key concepts. The first was "state and local politician." This I defined as any individual who runs for or is elected to any office at the state or local level. This includes senators and congressmen, governors, state legislators, mayors, city council members, county commissioners, and other local offices including dog catchers, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and so on. The second term I had to define was "music related to." For this, I chose an inclusive definition that defined the term as any published music in any format that was written or composed by or about a politician, or that refers to the individual politician on its cover page or in a printed dedication.

If, as former U.S. Speaker of the House Thomas "Tip" O'Neal was fond of saying – "All politics is local" – then one would expect to find a wealth of sheet music related to local politicians.[149] Using the above definitions, I was able to compile a record of over 7,500 individual pieces of related music, and even that figure is estimated to be only 75% of such music written.[150] The known inventory of local political sheet music includes campaign music (Governor of Alabama George Wallace - "Stand Up for Wallace"); funeral tributes (Chicago mayor Carter Harrison - "Ode to Carter Harrison"); music related to military service of a politician (Governor of Massachusetts Benjamin Butler - "Gen. Butler's Grand

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[147] Danny O. Crew, *American Political Music: A State-by-State Catalog of Printed and Recorded Music Related to Local, State and National Politics, 1756-2004*, Vols. 1 & 2 (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2004).
[148] Richard D. White, Jr. *Kingfish: The Reign of Huey P. Long* (New York: Random House, 2006), 49.
[149] Tip O'Neal and Gary Hymel, *All Politics is Local: and Other Rules of the Game* (Holbrook: Bob Adams, Inc., 1994), xii.
[150] Crew, *American Political Music*.

March"); movie music featuring an actor who is also a politician (California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger - "The Last Action Hero"); music featuring a picture of, or which is dedicated to, a politician and is not associated with an election or campaign ("The Grand Canal March" dedicated to New York Governor Dewitt Clinton), and finally, music actually written by politicians themselves ("You are my Sunshine" by Louisiana governor Jimmy Davis).

The above examples only begin to hint at the breath of local-related political music available to scholars for use as a primary topic or as a supplement to related research in which a sheet music cover or appropriate lyrics can enhance an argument or graphically illustrate a point. The following section will serve, at best, as a preparation for a more serious analysis by others at a later time. It does, however, demonstrate how sheet music can lend a unique perspective on our understanding of history.

5.2 Huey P. Long, Jr.

Of all the "characters" who have populated state and local government throughout American history, a handful stand out as particularly interesting due either to their political significance or to their personal lives: (brothel owner) Sally Stanford, Mayor of Sausalito; (abolitionist) Cassius Clay, Kentucky state representative,[151] and (Tammany Hall boss) William M. Tweed, come to mind. But perhaps the one individual who embodies both political significance and fascinating character was Huey P. Long, Jr., late Governor and U.S. Senator from Louisiana. Like many of the interesting individuals in American politics, Long stirred passion everywhere

[151] "Cassius Clay: Biography," *White Hall*, Kentucky Educational TV Electronic Field Trips, http://www.ket.org/trips/whitehall/clay_1.htm. Clay embodies the word "character" in American politics. The following description of an incident in 1849, attests to this. "On June 15, 1849, Clay traveled to Foxtown, KY to speak out against slavery at a local political gathering. As Clay stepped down from the podium, Cyrus Turner, the son of a pro-slavery candidate, called him a liar and struck him. Clay drew his knife but was surrounded by a crowd, who disarmed him and began clubbing him. Clay was stabbed in the lung, and his breastbone was severed. Wounded deeply, Clay grasped his knife and wrested it away from an attacker, cutting his own fingers to the bone. He then found Turner in the crowd and stabbed him. Another Turner tried to shoot Clay in the head, but the gun misfired. As he passed out, Clay was reported to have said, 'I died in the defense of the liberties of the people.' The statement was a little premature: Clay did not die, although it took him months to recover. Turner, however, died some days later." [Clay lived another 54 years].

he went, pro and con, and it was this passion that spawned an impressive body of published sheet music related to his life and death.

While most of the music written for or about Huey Long can provide the researcher with a unique perspective on his character, his programs, and his impact on people's lives, my particular interest in this commentary will focus on Huey Long as songwriter, and specifically on his authorship of the song "Every Man a King." However, before looking at his musical legacy, a brief look at Long's career, especially as it relates to music, is warranted.

In an article written for Long's induction into the Louisiana Hall of Fame, Louisiana political reporter Jeremy Alford notes Long's interest in music: "He understood how music can inspire and drive an idea."[152] In his book *The Kingfish and His Realm*, William Hair recounts Long's early church going, and his interest in music: "Some church activities he [Long] enjoyed, particularly group singing, because he possessed a fair singing voice."[153] He adds that "Early in his life, he [Long] became impressed with the impact of both spoken and written words on people."[154] Although historian T. Harry Williams disagrees about Long's singing abilities,[155] he does confirm Long's life-long relation to the printed word: "Few American politicians have had as shrewd and as sensitive a regard for the uses of the printed word."[156] Whatever his reason, these two loves - music and words – first came together in Long's personal crusade to remake Louisiana State University (LSU) into a national institution, consuming much of his time and the State's treasure to this transformation during his service both as governor and United States Senator.

Upon his election as Louisiana governor in 1928, Long began using his position to benefit LSU to the point of obsession. In his four years as governor, LSU was

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[152] Jeremy Alford, "LaHistory: Huey the Songwriter," *Lapolitics Online*, http://lapolitics.com/2013/11/louisiana-history-huey-the-songwrioter/.
[153] William Ivy Hair, *The Kingfish and His Realm* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1991), 34.
[154] Hair, *Kingfish*, 35.
[155] T. Harry Williams, *Huey Long* (New York: Bantam, 1970), 456.
[156] T. Harry Williams, "Introduction," in Huey Long, *Every Man a King* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1996), p. vii.

transformed from the eighty-eighth largest state university in the nation to number eleven, from 1,800 students to over 6,000, and from an annual budget of $800,000 to $2.8 million a year.[157]

5.3 Huey Long the Songwriter

Of particular interest to Long were the football team and the band. His involvement in football matters was extensive and very personal. In one instance, for example, he threatened to make Barnum and Bailey Circus "flea dip" their elephants at the Louisiana border if they did not cancel a previously scheduled performance that conflicted with an LSU football game (they cancelled).

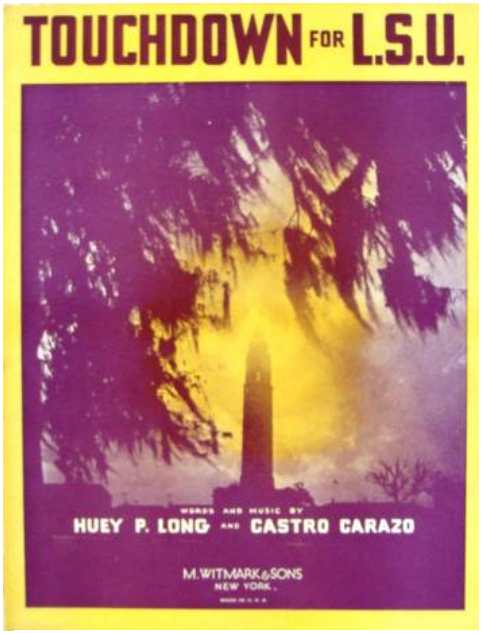

Figure 5.1 "Touchdown for L.S.U." Words and Music by Huey Long and Castro Carazo. Published by M. Witmark & Sons, New York, 1935. Author's collection.

His relationship with the LSU band was similarly broad and personal. Before Huey Long, the band consisted of twenty eight members wearing the standard paramilitary uniforms of the student body. By the time of Long's death in 1935, the band was the largest college band in the nation, boasting 250 members in new, custom designed uniforms.[158] He also built a new Music and Dramatic Arts building. As for his beloved band, along with playing the standard band tunes, they also played songs written by Huey Long himself.[159] These included several LSU fight songs, at least one of which is still in use today [Figure 5.1].

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[157] "Huey Long's Life & Times," *Long Legacy Project*, Louisiana State University, http://www.hueylong.com/life-times/index.php.

[158] Richard D. White, Jr., *Kingfish: The Reign of Huey P. Long* (New York: Random house, 2006), 125.

[159] Glen Jeansonne, "Huey Long: A Political Contradiction," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* Vol. 31, No, 4 (Winter 1990), 380. According to Jeansonne, in one year alone, Long spent more money on the band than on the law and graduate schools together.

Bringing about his musical agenda for LSU required a band director who would implement his vision. To accomplish this, Long joined forces with a local band leader, Castro Carazo who directed the in-house orchestra at New Orleans' Roosevelt Hotel. Like most other events in Long's career, this too had a unique story to go along with it. According to Long's granddaughter, "Carazo was literally recruited right off the bandstand at the Roosevelt Hotel's Blue Room telling him 'You are now the band leader at LSU, come with me, we're returning to LSU.'"[160] Carazo would also serve as Long's partner in his songwriting efforts, spending "countless hours with Carazo, listening to the artist play or discussing music with him."[161] Huey reportedly promised to make Carazo director of the U.S. Marine Corps Band when he became president. [162]

Long's interest in music, however, extended beyond LSU. Lloyd Funchess relates an incident involving Long and his State Superintendant of Education:

> [Long] walked in to the [Superintendent's] office and inquired as to the reason why music was not included in the instructional programs of the Louisiana schools. When the answer was to the effect that the financial structure … would not allow for it, the Senator [Long] replied … "You get the music and I'll get the money.[163]

Long's interest in music also played a direct role in his political agenda with his penning of the theme song for his most important political initiative, a new societal plan called "Share Our Wealth." This initiative was the capstone of Long's political career and the culmination of Long's populist commitment to helping the poor and the working man. According to the Huey Long Legacy Project, the plan consisted of six key elements:[164]

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[160] Kay Long, quoted in Aaron Looney, Ed., "Louisiana Music Hall of Fame Inductions Historic for LSU Marching Band and Songwriters Huey P. Long and Castro Carazo," http://www.lsu.edu/highlights/2009/09/tigerband.html.
[161] Williams, *Huey Long*, 458.
[162] White, *Kingfish*, 125.
[163] Lloyd V. Funchess, "What Does Music Instruction in the Schools Do for People?" *Music Educators Journal* Vol. 39, No. 4 (February-March 1953), 22.
[164] "Huey Long's Life & Times/Share Our Wealth," *Long Legacy Project*, Louisiana State University, http://www.hueylong.com/life-times/index.php.

1. Cap personal fortunes at $50 million each (later reduced to $5-$8 million) or $60-$90 million in today's dollars.
2. Limit annual income to one million each (about $12 million today)
3. Limit inheritances to five million each (about $60 million today)
4. Free college education and vocational education
5. Old Age pensions for all persons over 60
6. Veterans benefits and healthcare
7. A 30 hour work week
8. A four week vacation for every worker
9. Greater regulation of commodity production to stabilize prices

Premiered in a national radio address in 1934, the plan formed the nucleus of Long's potential run for the presidency. "There is doubt that he [Long] meant ever to translate the formula into working legislation. But he certainly believed that as a symbol it would be potent enough to carry him into the highest office [presidency]."[165] His strategy was simple. As Jeansonne describes it:

> It seemed unlikely that the Democratic Party would deny the presidential nomination to President Roosevelt in 1936; therefore Long began to think about a third party ... Long thought he could take enough votes away from the Democrats to cause a Republican victory in 1936 … He thought the Republicans would be thoroughly ineffectual in office and the Depression would worsen. By 1940 the public would be tired of them … This would set the stage for Huey.[166]

In composing the theme song for his Share the Wealth Plan, he again turned to his friend Castro Carazo for help. According to Jeremy Alford, Carazo and Long composed the song in forty five minutes.[167] While many politicians have written books, papers, treatises and other prose espousing their views on political and policy subjects, few politicians have actually written their own theme song. This

[165] Williams, "Introduction," xxiv.
[166] Jeansonne, "Huey Long," 382.
[167] Alford, "LaHistory: Huey the Songwriter."

first-person look into how an individual's own perception of reality is experienced through music is worthy of a closer look.

The motto for Long's Share Our Wealth Plan was "Every Man a King," a title he shared with the movement, his autobiography, and the theme song. The song was written in 1934 with the first edition of the sheet music being published in 1935 by the National Book Company, Inc. of New Orleans [Figure 5.2]. A second edition was published later that year by New York based publisher Rainbow Music Co., Inc. [Figure 5.3]. According to T. Harry Williams, the National Book Company of New Orleans was the property of Long and some of his associates.[168] Long used this publisher earlier when printing the first edition of his autobiography. In a newspaper article titled "Kingfish Long Has New Book" that appeared in the October 19, 1933, edition of the *Spokane Daily Chronicle* and datelined out of New Orleans, it read in part: "Recent dispatches from New York told of the refusal of several eastern publishers to bring out the autobiography and the title page announcement that it was printed by 'The National Book Company, Inc., of New Orleans' was not very informative, as no such firm exists here." [169]

According to Michael Saffle, "Publishers are the person or persons ultimately responsible for deciding that a document will be produced and for what purpose."[170] Long was very familiar with the publishing trade:

> At thirteen, Huey learned to set type and worked after school for the *Baptist Monthly Guardian* … When his typesetting skills improved, he was employed part-time … by the *Southern Sentinel*. Journalism interested Huey all his life and eventually he would establish a newspaper for his political machine.[171]

Long's journalism background, coupled with his need to retain control in virtually all situations, supports the argument that he would want to retain publishing

[168] Williams, "Introduction," xxv.
[169] *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, "Kingfish Long Has New Book," 19 Oct. 1933, 8.
[170] Michael Saffle, "Self-Publishing and Musicology: Historical Perspectives Problems, and Possibilities," *Notes* Vol. 66, No. 4 (June 2010), 726.
[171] Hair, *Kingfish*, 35.

control of his books and music. T. Harry Williams recounts a conversation between Long and his publishing agent, George Allen that confirms Long's suspicion of large publishers. Long told Allen to "Be careful with these people [Eastern publishers] up there … Don't get tied up to where they can back out on you to our disadvantage."[172]

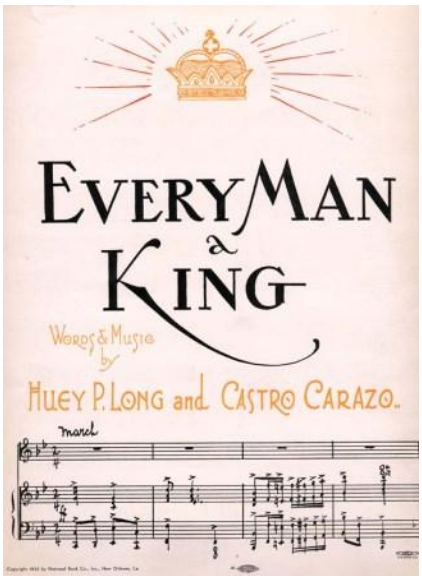

Figure 5.2 First Edition: "Every Man a King." Words and Music by Huey Long and Castro Carazo. Published by National Book Co., New Orleans, Louisiana, 1935. Author's collection.

At the top of the cover page of the first edition of the sheet music for "Every Man a King" [Figure 5.2], there is a small lithographed king's crown reflected in holy light. It is simple and direct, reflecting the level of sophistication of its intended audience. Its overall "look" is that of a piece of handwritten sheet music rather than a slick commercial product set in formal type. Considering the number of copies that are known today, it is likely that only a few hundred copies were printed.[173]

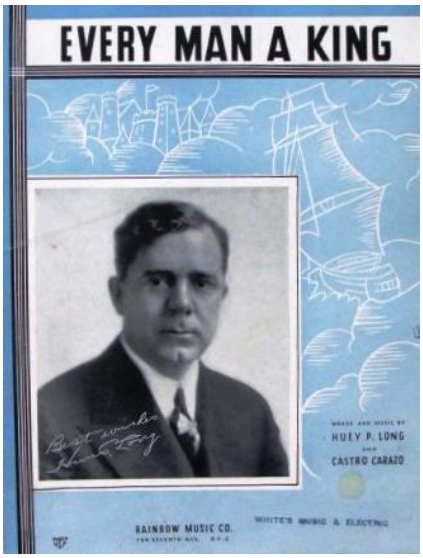

Figure 5.3 "Every Man a King." Words and Music by Huey Long and Castro Carazo. Published by Rainbow Music Co., 799 Seventh Ave., New York, NY, 1935. Author's collection.

Later in 1935, the New York music publisher Rainbow Music Company issued a second edition [Figure 5.3]. Rainbow was located at 799 Seventh Avenue with a group of other music publishers including Robbins Music Corp., Miller Music, and Bourne, Inc. (Bourne held the copyright for "Every Man a King"). The sheet music cover page on this version clearly reflects the influence of the mass publishing industry from its use of a "stock"

[172] Williams, "Introduction," xxv.
[173] In this author's 40+ years of working with political sheet music, less than a half dozen copies have been offered for sale.

background design to the use of Long's formal image. This piece was designed to sell; to exploit the huge popularity of Huey Long and his program.

The market for this edition was national, and Tin Pan Alley publishers rarely printed sheet music in quantities of less than a thousand, and most often, not less that 10,000. Given that there were over 7.5 million members of local Share the Wealth Society clubs,[174] the latter number is not unreasonable to imagine.[175]

Long's lyrics were reflective of his intended audience, working-class folk:

Every Man A King

Why weep or slumber America
Land of brave and true
With castles and clothing and food for all
All belongs to you

Ev'ry man a king ev'ry man a king
For you can be a millionaire
But there's something belonging to others
There's enough for all people to share
When it's sunny June and December too
Or in the winter time or spring
There'll be peace without end
Ev'ry neighbor a friend
With ev'ry man a king

The lyrics are definitely populist in nature. Many critics claimed it was communism. "Conservatives condemned Huey's plan as recklessly confiscatory, labeling it communism in populist garb…"[176] Edward Haas adds that:

> critics … argued that the plan was either socialism or communism … Ruffin G. Pleasant, former Louisiana governor and one of Long's most vitriolic opponents argued that the Kingfish was an

[174] Jeansonne, "Huey P. Long," 381.
[175] However, given that number of published sheet, it is difficult to understand the scarcity of the sheet today. Like the first edition, very few copies have turned up for sale over the past four decades.
[176] White, *Kingfish*, 196.

> "Ultra socialist" whose views outreached 'Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky.[177]

Not everyone agreed with that assessment, especially the real communists. According to Haas, the U.S. Communist Party opposed Long's plan because it was still based on capitalism and not on worker's control of the means of production. Hass also notes that the Communist party feared that Long's program would divert support away from their own party.[178]

Long, however, always denied any tie to socialism, communism or Marxism – "I never read a line of Marx or Henry George or any of them economists … It's all in the law of God."[179] In his national radio address in 1934 proposing his Share Our Wealth program, Long referred to the Bible and its role in his program:

> I refer to the Scriptures, now, my friends, and give you what it says not for the purpose of convincing you of the wisdom of myself, not for the purpose, ladies and gentlemen, of convincing you of the fact that I am quoting the Scriptures means that I am to be more believed than someone else; but I quote you the Scripture, or rather refer you to the Scripture, because whatever you see there you may rely upon will never be disproved so long as you or your children or anyone may live; and you may further depend upon the fact that not one historical fact that the Bible has ever contained has ever yet been disproved by any scientific discovery or by reason of anything that has been disclosed to man through his own individual mind or through the wisdom of the Lord which the Lord has allowed him to have.[180]

Using the Bible seems to have deflected some of the "socialist/communist" criticism. Also, in the heart of the Great Depression, Long's views were certainly

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[177] Edward F. Haas, "Huey Long and the Communists," *Louisiana history: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter 1991), 29.
[178] Haas, "Huey Long and the Communists,"30.
[179] White, *Kingfish*, 197.
[180] "Huey Long's Share Our Wealth Speech," *Long Legacy Project*, Louisiana State University, http://www.hueylong.com/life-times/index.php.

tolerated more than they would have been a few years later in the post World War II McCarthy era. Long's arguments tended to be of a more practical nature than part of some grand philosophical scheme. For example, the line in the lyrics - "With castles and clothing and food for all" - ties directly back to his radio speech describing the Share Our Wealth plan - "We have more food than we can eat. We have more clothes … than we can wear. We have more houses and lands than the whole 120 million can use if they all had good homes."[181] The line in verse two, "There's enough for all people to share," can also be traced back to his basic Share Our Wealth philosophy – "My conception of America is for a land where wealth is not concentrated in the hands of a few, but diffused among the lives of all."[182] Long's populist philosophy is clearly summed up in the lines: "The one percent of the people could not eat more than any other one percent. They could not wear much more than any other one percent. They could not live in any more houses than any other one percent," all reflect his populist image.[183] It is interesting to note that some eighty years later; we are still taking about the "one percent."

5.4 Conclusion

As in many socio-political songs, the lyrics of "Every Man a King" were clearly not designed to influence or change minds. They were, as is the case for many political songs, designed to reinforce and motivate true believers. Huey Pierce Long Jr. was larger than life. The fact that he wrote and published music places him in very exclusive company,[184] and while sheet music certainly did not play a pivotal role in his career, it did add a measure of humanity to a larger-than-life personality. The American political landscape is blessed with many such characters and music has been a part of many of their careers. *American Political Music* provides an opening for further investigation into this unique aspect of our political heritage.

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[181] "Huey Long's Share Our Wealth Speech," *Long Legacy Project.*
[182] Long, *Every Man a King*, 316.
[183] White, *Kingfish*, 196.
[184] William O. Butler, Kentucky congressman and VP candidate (1848); D.W. Crist, Ohio legislature (1901); M.C. Thornton, Indiana legislature (1912); Jimmy Walker, NYC Mayor (1926); W. Lee O' Daniel, Governor of Texas (1939); Jimmy Davis, Louisiana governor (1944); C.W. McCall, Colorado mayor (1986); Clint Eastwood, California mayor (1986); Sonny Bono, California mayor (1988), and Congressman (1995); and John Ashcroft, Governor of Missouri (1985) and U.S. Attorney General (1991).

Chapter 6: Barriers to Using Published Sheet Music for Research and Concluding Thoughts

> How might our history writing be different if all historical evidence were available?
>
> Daniel Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig[185]

6.1 Lost Treasure

One of the primary factors that initially led me to document political sheet music was my desire to discover new pieces that I did not have in my personal collection. After numerous visits to repositories around the country, and additional searches through library data bases, I came to understand that the practice of cataloguing sheet music was based on an outdated paradigm. This paradigm had evolved over the years and like traditional musicology, was characterized by thinking of music as a one-dimensional commodity: music was music, and musicians were the only ones who would use the material.[186] Thus, classification of this resource revolved around categories of interest only to musicians such as "folk songs," "piano music," "vocal music," "ballads," etc.

As discussed earlier, the true value of old sheet music, more often than not, lies in its cover art, its topical relevance, and its lyrical content rather than the music itself. Murray Edelman argues that "art should be recognized as a major and integral part of the transaction that engenders political behavior."[187] If this is so, and I believe it is, then should not cataloguing systems deal with these important aspects of published music in their procedures?

6.2 Understanding Subject Matter

A key failure of traditional sheet music cataloguing is the apparent lack of understanding of the multiple subject matter areas that are often present on illustrated sheet music covers or in the lyrical content, and if it is not a lack of

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[185] Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig, *Digital History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 4.

[186] I would suggest that this is a direct legacy of traditional musicology and its narrow focus.

[187] Murray Edelman, *From Art to Politics: How Artistic Creations Shape Political Conceptions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 2.

understanding, then perhaps it is indifference on their part. In either case, this failure to consider the importance of these aspects of published music robs the music of much of its importance to scholars.

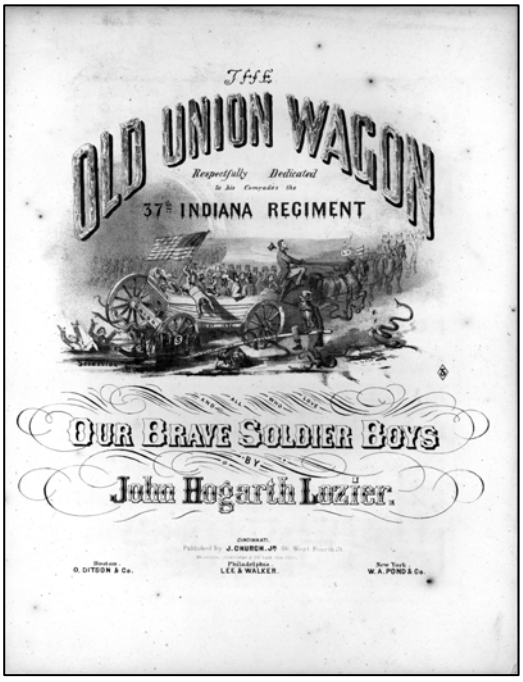



Figure 6.1 "The Old Union Wagon." Words and music by John Hegworth Lozier. Published by J. Church Jr., Cincinnati, OH. 1863. .Author's collection

Figure 6.1 is a piece of sheet music from the American Civil War titled "The Old Union Wagon." This piece features a cover lithograph depicting Abraham Lincoln driving a wagon out of the mire of "Secession." Figure 6.2 is a screen shot from Johns Hopkins University's Lester Levy Collection website for this same piece of sheet music.

While the catalogue record of this item in Figure 6.2 has many positive attributes, the most important being that it reproduces not only the illustrated cover of the sheet music, but each interior page as well, it still lacks in many other important data. These missing data are critical for both music and non-music researchers.

A closer look at the entry reveals that it does document a number of data sets including title, composer, publisher, city of publication, copyright date, lithographer and plate number. Additionally, it documents other identifying features including the form of composition, its instrumentation, the dedicatory information, and the collection call number. Finally, the entry has a section titled "Subjects," which is designed to provide additional "key words" for use in a digital retrieval search. There are seven subject areas listed: crowds, caricatures; carts & wagons; flags; Abraham Lincoln, and horses. Other than "Abraham Lincoln," none are very helpful to the political scholar.

Levy Call Number:

Box 5, Item 70

Composer, Lyricist, Arranger:

By John Hogarth Lozier.

Publisher:

J. Church Jr., 66 West Fourth St.

Location:

cincinnati

Date:

1863

Form of Composition:

strophic with SATB chorus

Instrumentation:

piano and voice

Engraver, Lithographer, Artist:

Middleton, Strobridge & Co. Lith. Cin. Ohio; J.J.L.

Plate Number:

513.3

Dedicatee:

Respectfully Dedicated to his Comrades the 37th Indiana Regiment And All Who Love Our Brave Soldier Boys

Subjects:

Crowds, Caricatures, Carts & wagons, Flags, Civil War, Abraham Lincoln, Horses

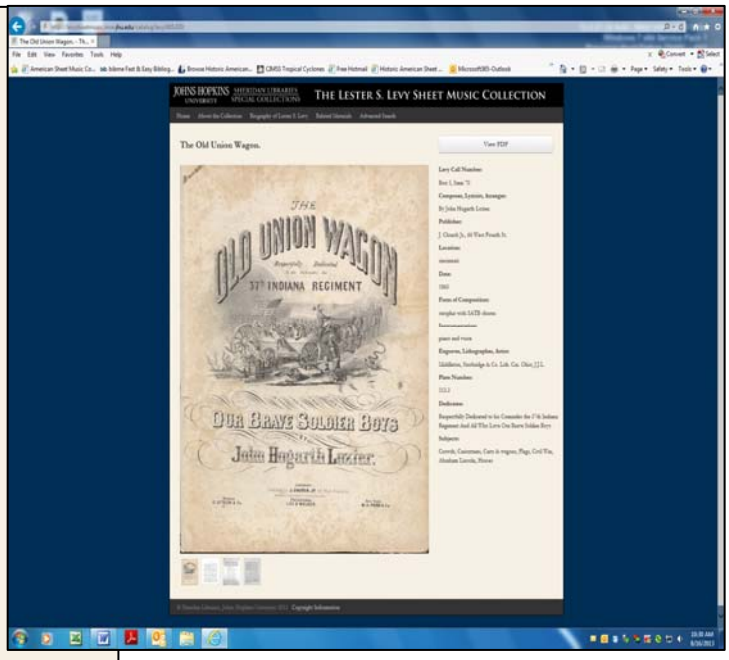


Figure 6.2 Screen shot of the entry for "The Old Union Wagon." Johns Hopkins University.

While the web listing appears to be generous in providing potential information to the user, it is in fact, deficient. I believe this deficiency stems from a failure of the library cataloguer to fully understand the historical context of such objects and images. Cataloguers are trained to be experts in library operations which, while important, is insufficient when tasked to work in subject matter areas foreign to their training or experience. While this deficiency in subject specific expertise is important to individual cataloguing efforts, it is not as troubling as is the larger profession's failure to recognize their own lack of subject knowledge and seek outside help when undertaking the classification of such material. This is especially critical in the digital age where virtually unlimited key words can be used to capture the interest of a wide range of researchers.

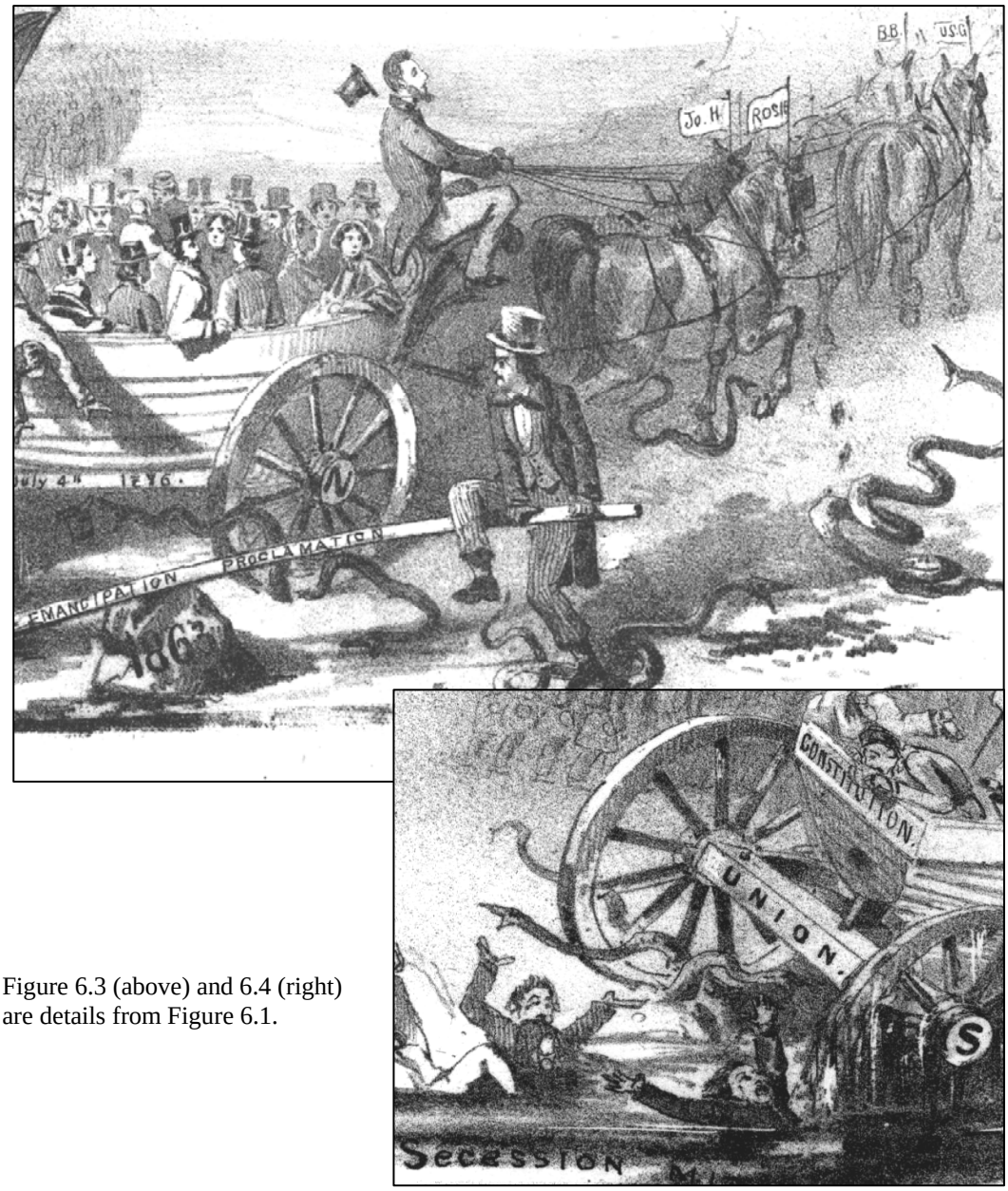


Figure 6.3 (above) and 6.4 (right) are details from Figure 6.1.

For example, take a closer look at the cover image at Figures 6.3 and 6.4 above. At this magnification, it is clear that a number of important symbols are present in the illustration, many of which are not evident in the entry's subject-matter descriptors. We can identify Abraham Lincoln driving a wagon stuck in the mire of "Secession." This latter term is not listed in the search parameters. We also see the words "Union" and "Constitution" written on the wagon, "Emancipation Proclamation 1863" on the pole being used by "Uncle Sam" to pry the wagon out of the mess, and the date "July 4th 1776" imprinted on the wagon -- all of these important descriptors details are missing from the search results.

Next, we see four of the wagon's horses decked out in flags labeled: "Jo. H., Rosie, BB, [and] USG." Any Civil War historian would know immediately that those initials represent Gen. Joseph Hooker, General William Rosecrans, General Benjamin Butler and, of course, Gen Ulysses S. Grant. Under the listed "subjects," however, none of these important personages would be picked up in an electronic data base.

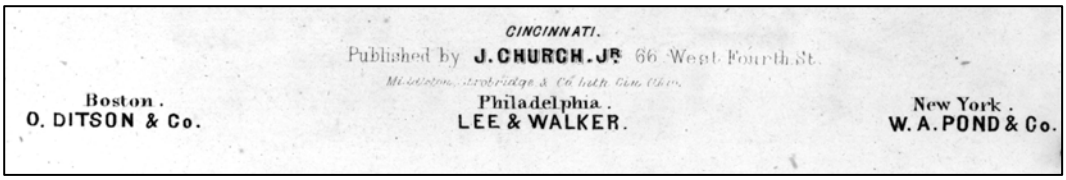


Figure 6.5 Detail from Figure 6.1

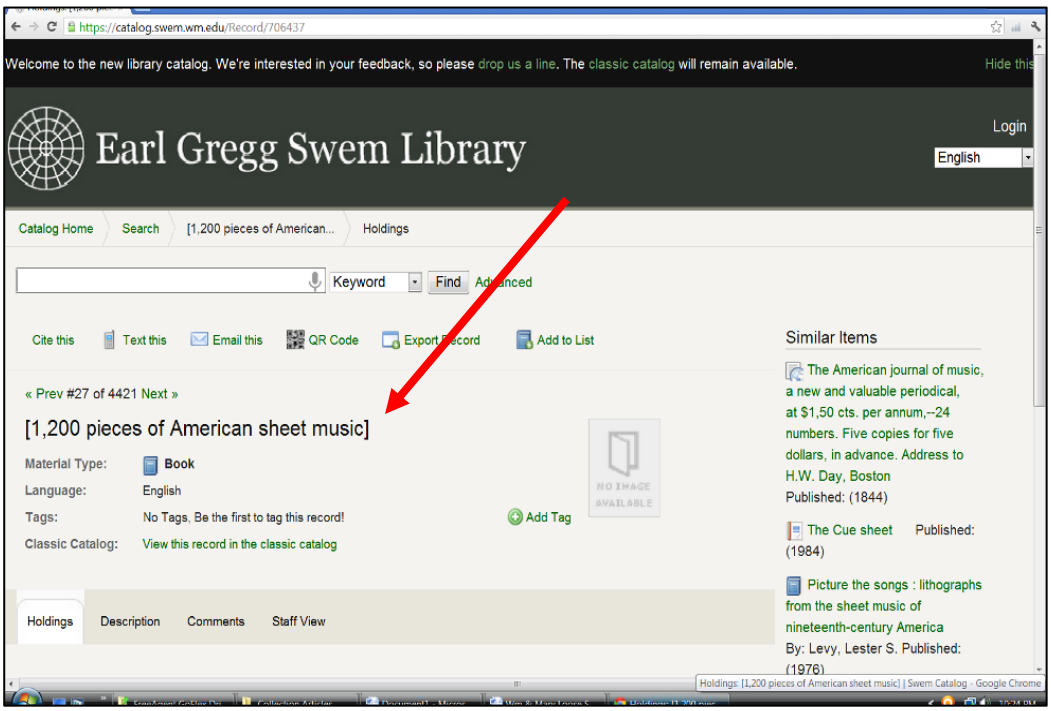
Finally, a closer inspection of the full piece of sheet music reveals another important detail that was left out of the data presented in the record - it did not document the three co-publishers listed below the primary publisher [Figure 6.5]. This is critical data for anyone researching publishing history or trying to ascertain the date of the publication when a date is not present on the music.

6.3 Public Catalogue Unavailability

Another area of concern for the scholar desiring to utilize historical sheet music is the need at least to be made aware of its existence. While my four publications were designed to heighten awareness of this resource, it is critical that repository institutions also ensure their sheet music's availability. For example, the screen shot at Figure 6.6 represents an entry found in the College of William and Mary's library website.[188] The search parameter was "sheet music." Most of the hits returned were for books or articles on the subject of sheet music; however, one result is illustrative of my point - "1,200 pieces of American Sheet Music." Faced with the result, I then attempted to locate a detailed listing of the individual items. No such listing was available; thus, for all practical purposes, this sheet music does not exist. Even if it is the library's policy to make the artifacts available only

[188] "Sheet Music," search parameter, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, https://catalog.swem.wm.edu/Search/Results?lookfor=1200%20pieces%20of%20sheet%20music&type=AllFields.

to its patrons and subscribers, it is still critical for the researcher to know what is, and is not, in a library's holdings.



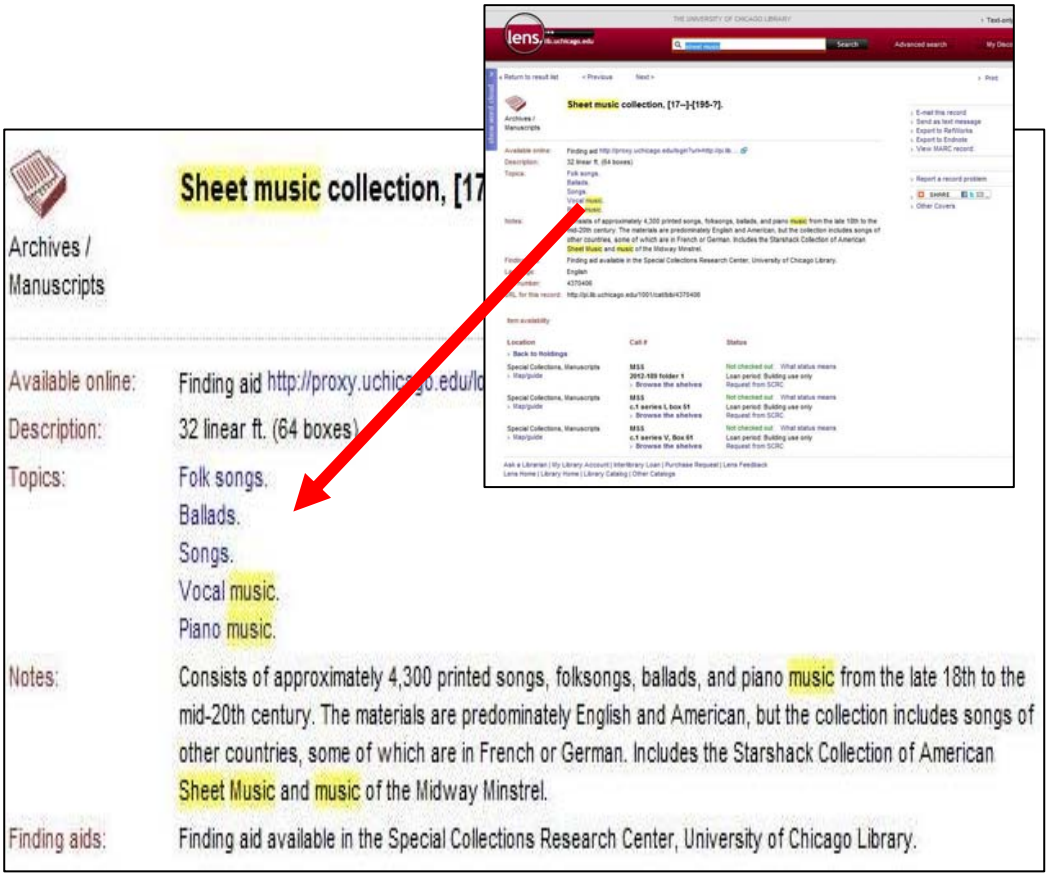
Figures 6.6 Screen shot from the College of William and Mary library web page for the entry "Sheet Music."

With thousands of repositories worldwide, the lack of specificity of their holdings as reflected in their public record data bases hinders the research process.

The documented problem with the William and Mary Library is far from unique, and has little to do with the size of the institution. Figure 6.7 below is a screen shot of a web page from the University of Chicago Library.[189] In this instance, a search for "sheet music" returned "32 linear feet (64 boxes)" of sheet music. It indicates that a "Finding aid [is] available in the Special Collection's Research Center, University of Chicago Library." I am sure this is helpful if one is a student at the University of Chicago; however, research is carried out worldwide. Before traveling to Chicago to search the collection, it is crucial that a researcher has the ability to peruse a list of the holdings.

[189] "Sheet Music Collection," search parameter, University of Chicago Library website, http://lens.lib.uchicago.edu/?q=sheet%20music.

Figure 6.7 also provides another good example of the earlier discussion concerning outdated cataloguing terms. Notice their "subjects" listing at the bottom of the page: "folk songs, ballads, songs, vocal music, piano music." These generic categories render this collection essentially worthless to the subject-specific scholar or researcher.



Figures 6.7 Screen shot with enlargement inset of the University of Chicago library web page for "Sheet Music."

6.4 Changing Paradigm

There is a need to rethink music cataloguing and access. According to Cohen and Rosenzweig, "Online accessibility means … that the documentary record of the past is open to people who rarely had entrée before."[190] They continue: "The instantaneous access to primary and secondary resources - the ability to very quickly make and test out our intellectual connections - will likely alter historical research and writing in ways we haven't imagined."[191] However, this prediction

[190] Cohen and Rosenzweig, *Digital History*, 4.
[191] Cohen and Rosenzweig, *Digital History*, 4.

can only be realized if institutions adopt policies and cataloguing procedures that facilitate such access.

With today's virtually unlimited electronic data bases, generous subject-matter descriptors should be the standard, supplementing the more traditional musicological-based descriptors. Rosensweig states that with this new digital era of the World Wide Web, "Historians, in fact, may be facing a fundamental paradigm shift from a culture of scarcity to a culture of abundance."[192]

It may be naive to think that all institutions will fully open up their archives to anyone who wishes to use them; however, repositories can and should open their resources sufficiently so that the general public and researchers alike can at least see what information is available, and in sufficient detail to warrant efforts to arrange access to the original document.

Academia is well aware of this call for a paradigmatic shift. In 1999, a national library science workshop sponsored by the University of Illinois Graduate School of Library and Information Science was convened to begin discussions on mechanical music information retrieval (MIR):

> The challenge for information retrieval … of sheet music lies in the importance of the material as (1) music (songs, piano, guitar and other instrumental music); (2) art (covers with engravings, woodcuts, lithographs, attached photographs), (3) multicultural texts; (4) sound and video; (5) regional history, and (6) printing and publishing history (engraved plates, hot type, plate processing), each important to a constituency.[193]

The workshop called for the creation of a framework for "fruitful" [research into MIR by] "having participants explore consensus opinion on the establishment of

[192] Roy Rosenzweig, *Clio Wired* (New York: Oxford Press, 2011), 7.
[193] Mary Kay Duggan, "Test Bed: A Virtual Library of 19th Century Sheet Music," in *The Exploratory Workshop on Music Information Retrieval*, J. Stephen Downey et al., (University of Illinois, 1999), 2, http://people.lis.illinois.edu/~jdownie/mir_papers/sigir99_wshop_proc.pdf.

research priorities, interdisciplinary collaborations …"[194] It was stated that this project should involve "musicologists, librarians, industry members … those on the research side" (whom they defined as "IR researchers, computer scientists, etc.").[195]

In 2003, the Music Library Association (MLA) issued its final technical report based on the work of this committee titled "Cataloguing Sheet Music: Guidelines for Use with AACR2 and the MARC Format."[196] The report was primarily designed for use by cataloguers in institutional archives and as a supplement to the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules (AACR2) which is the cataloguing "bible" for libraries in the English-speaking world.

The report provides detailed instructions for the cataloguing of sheet music and includes many examples of how each entry in the data base is to be treated. Key to their recommendations is the establishment of a three-tiered cataloguing typology.[197] Each tier of the typology is intended to provide greater detail to the description and builds on the previous level:

- First (Minimal) Level - This level provides only minimum descriptors of the item including the title, edition, publisher data and publication date, and physical description (i.e. "Vocal score," etc). This reflects the state of most repositories I encountered during my research. It provides virtually no help to the history scholar unless the title of the song just happens to include a key descriptor such as "President," as in "President Wilson's March," or "Suffragette" as in "Jane is a Suffragette."

- Second (Core or Full) Level - This level contains substantially more information than level one though much of the mandatory items are of interest to librarians and cataloguers only. Additional data include such items as

[194] J. Stephen Downie, "Introduction and Objectives," *The Exploratory Workshop*, i.
[195] Downie, "Introduction," i.
[196] Lois Schultz and Sarah Jean Shaw, *Cataloging sheet music: guidelines for use with AACR2 and the MARC format* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press Inc., 2003).
[197] Schultz and Shaw, *Cataloging sheet music*, 55.

printing plate numbers, ISBN numbers, sub-titles, physical dimensions, series titles, one or two subject access fields, and other minor data.

- Third (Enhanced) Level - This final level of cataloguing includes "any and all applicable information." Added are the publisher's addresses, description of any advertisements present on the sheet, description of illustrations including names of artists and engravers, dedication phrases, and price.

The report states that "AACR2 third level of detail … represent[s] the ideal in sheet music cataloguing for institutions with the resources and commitment to permit their application."[198] Commitment being the operative word.

Despite the best of intentions by the authors of these guidelines and their earlier acknowledgement that sheet music is an important resource for research, it is clear that the MLA guidelines missed the larger picture. Popular sheet music is more than just music; and certainly more than a sum of its physical description. Even with the descriptive level of tier three, these guidelines do little to address the semiotic importance of the illustrations and lyrical content. Instead, they continue the traditional pattern of viewing the primary value of all sheet music as music first, and all other considerations as afterthoughts, if at all.

Socio-political popular music is a valuable historic resource. That is why publications such as my four books, and the works of other subject-matter cataloguers, are so important. If historians cannot count on our libraries to make this resource known, then non-librarians must take bibliographic control through independent publications.

6.5 Sheet Music and Political Discourse

> All texts are political: That is, they offer competing ideological significations of the way the world is or should be.[199]
>
> John Storey

[198] Schultz and Shaw, *Cataloging Sheet Music*, 7.
[199] John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: an Introduction,* 5th Ed (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2009), 4.

In his book *American Culture and the Civil War,* Will Kaufman aptly points out "Cultural texts, as the representations of a group, exert immense pressure on the perception of that group, both by its members and by others."[200] Published sheet music constitutes a major source of these cultural texts especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These valuable and insightful artifacts have only begun to receive the scholarly attention they deserve during the past four decades, and even this belated attention has been more as an ad hoc enhancement to more traditional source material rather than as a primary source itself, with its own perspective and its own unique voice.

Ruth Bloch cautions: "Any study based on printed source material cannot avoid over-representing the literate."[201] She suggests that we must also consider literature addressed to the unsophisticated: "Many printed works such as sermons, orations, and songs were initially designed for oral transmission rather than written presentation."[202] Graham Vullamy cautions that "it would be easy to dismiss all political music as a product of "mass culture … products manufactured for the mass market,"[203] when, in fact, political songs were written, not so much as entertainment, but as a common method of the times to educate and indoctrinate. Simon Newman, in a chapter titled "Songs, Signs, and Symbols: The Everyday Discourse of Popular Politics" from his book *Parades and the Politics of the Streets*, reinforces this point: "[Songs] could be learned and sung by almost all Americans, who were thereby enabled to participate in the transmission, the construction of idealized versions of the truth; and the articulation of beliefs,"[204] they also provide "an expressive field and set of symbols through which these attitudes [and beliefs] can be projected."[205]

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[200] Will Kaufman, *The Civil War in American Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2006), 1.
[201] Ruth Bloch, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1856-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xv.
[202] Block, *Visionary Republic,* xv.
[203] Graham Vullamy, "On Music and the Idea of Mass Culture," in *Music, Culture and Society: A Reader*, ed. Derek B. Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 154.
[204] Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 177.
[205] Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture,* 54.

In Chapters 2-5, I provide examples, albeit brief, of how music can be used to enhance our understanding of the socio-political history of America and our continuing cultural legacy. George Lipsitz rightly points out that "The creators of popular culture do not think of themselves as operating within an endeavor called 'popular culture.'"[206] The images shaped both visually and verbally in America's political music "provide access to less articulate … more unconscious levels of awareness in the cultural past…"[207] "Telling stories of all kinds" says Carole Pateman, "is the major way that human beings have endeavored to make sense of themselves and their social world."[208] Music is storytelling and it is in this context that the true importance of the study of published socio-political music can be understood.

In an article on mid-nineteenth century campaigning, Frederick Mofatt relates the story of an anonymous "distraught Democrat" commenting on "getting out the message" to the common voter: "To render campaign oratory more palatable to country folk he recommended that village convocations, modeled on religious inquiry meetings, be convened throughout the country … comprised of cider drinking, corn husking, socializing, and singing."[209] Historians often write about the elite of society, in part because the products of their thinking (diaries, letters, etc.) are numerous; however, most popular campaign songs were designed for the average voter and not the elite. These songs open a window of insight into the thinking of the common man and his quite different world of social communication.

Public speech "is language in social use; language accentuated with its history of domination, subordination, and resistance; language marked by the social conditions of its use and its users…"[210] If this is true, the language of published sheet music - the sounds [tunes]; the lyrics; and the symbols used to decorate

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[206] George Lipsitz, Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 13.
[207] David C. Miller, "Afterword," in *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature,* ed. Davis C. Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 277.
[208] Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 1.
[209] Frederick C. Mofatt, "Barn Burning and Hunkerism: William Sidney Mount's 'Power of Music,'" *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring, 1994), 19, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1181449.
[210] John Fiske, *Media Matters* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 3.

sheet music covers, become important sources of historical insight. These artifacts of past eras tell a tale in our history if we only look and listen. They can often provide a far more insightful understanding of the state of mind of the writer, the listener, and even the larger society into which they were introduced than we find in other more refined literature. Through published music and its relationship to its creator, its contextual use, and the audience for which it was intended, we can come to better understand our past.

6.6 A Voice for the Masses

Alan Merriam states that: "From the standpoint of the relative influence of various musical traditions on American life, popular music is probably the most important. This is because it reaches the largest number of people."[211] He specifically cites "song texts" as important windows into the "kinds of ideas welcomed" in the culture.[212] In the study of America's political history, particularly in the pre-electronic age where forms of mass communications were limited, music was not just entertainment: it played a key role in the dissemination of social and political information. "It was … in their rich array of parades, festivals, civic feasts, badges and songs that most Americans experienced national politics."[213] It was communication that was accessible to all, not just the literate.

The America of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was in many ways, two Americas. On one side were the elites: landowners, business owners and policy makers. They were male, educated, and generally financially successful. On the other side, there was a vast underclass of people who were generally undereducated, landless (thus in many places they could not vote), and manual or unskilled laborers. This class also included slaves, indentured workers, factory and farm workers. Most were functionally illiterate. Dale Cockrel describes them as people who "lived their lives below the horizon of record … [they]…tended not to leave dairies, letters, novels, newspapers, paintings, busts or monuments

[211] Alan P. Merriam, "Music in American Culture," *American Anthropologist* Vol. 57, No. 6 (1955), 1175.
[212] Merriam, "Music in American Culture," 1176.
[213] Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), xii.

…" However, in popular music of the time, we can get a glimpse into their lives through "symbolic … images, sounds, or icons … One can state something about relationships," both receiving and contributing, that these folks had with the prevailing culture.[214]

The power of popular music to shape our culture is well established over the past few decades in academic literature. Ray Pratt makes the point that:

> ordinary people will use whatever cultural means are available to them – especially the diverse and compelling models from American popular musical culture – to express identity and community, to comment on social institutions and the increasing velocity of change, and to critique and resist (however obliquely) perceived injustice and surplus recession.[215]

Pratt argues that music "involves both purposive and effective dimensions of political behavior. Purposive dimensions involve a sense of explicit intention … [while] … effective dimensions of [music] exert an influence, whether intended or not."[216] He further contends that "popular music speaks to wider publics who may experience the information, feelings, and situations in it as their own. Because of this … music may potentially serve significant critical and even radically transformative functions."[217]

This was particularly true in eighteenth and nineteenth century America in which oral traditions, including music, played an important role in the transmission of values, perceptions and customs. As E.P. Thompson says of earlier times "What else did they have but to fall back upon but oral transmission."[218] Karen Cox, in her study of how the image of the South was constructed in the post Civil War era, specifically points to popular music as a key element in the process: "Popular

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[214] Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and their World* (Cambridge: The Cambridge Press, 1997), x.
[215] Pratt, *Rhythm and Resistance*, vii.
[216] Pratt, *Rhythm and Resistance*, 4.
[217] Pratt, *Rhythm and Resistance*, 5.
[218] E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (New York: The New Press, 1993), 3.

music of any era generally offers a reflection on American character and culture at specific points of time..."[219]

It was the intent of my four books on American political sheet music to introduce this rich source of largely unknown historical artifacts to a wider audience in the hope that it would encourage new scholarly research. The possibilities for academic inquiry based on political music are virtually unlimited; certainly far beyond the tangential use generally made of the resource to date.

6.7 Rediscovering Hidden Treasure

"Archives contain the residues of … life, stretched out over time and space, available for all to come and see … [they] offer scholars the opportunity to do things differently, to tell new tales, to make their own path."[220] It is not often in any career that one has the opportunity to discover something new. And while I obviously did not "discover" socio-political sheet music, I did, I believe, play a role in the re-discovery of this unique historic resource: "Without lists and bibliographies our knowledge of the past is woefully inadequate, particularly in regard to such ephemera; and rapidly disappearing expressions as songs … published as sheet music."[221] Once lost in the archives of public and private institutions around the nation, sheet music is taking its rightful place as a legitimate scholarly resource reflecting people and places long forgotten.

The fruits of this research are only now beginning to be harvested. As seen in Appendix #3, my contribution to the awareness of this resource for scholarly inquiry has yielded tangible results that I believe will continue to be reflected in scholarship for decades to come, just as Sonneck and Wolfe's cataloguing efforts continue as a key resource some fifty years after their publication. My volumes on Women's Suffrage and Ku Klux Klan, with the provision of lyrical content and cover iconography, have brought these primary sources to the fingertips of

[219] Karen Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University North Carolina Press, 2011), 10.
[220] Marc J. Ventresca and John W. Mohr, "Archival Research Methods," in *The Blackwell Companion to Organizations*, ed. Joel. A.C. Baum (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 805.
[221] Carleton Sprague Smith, introduction to Wolfe, *Secular Music in America*, ix.

researchers who, before my publications, either did not have knowledge of these resources, or at best, had only limited access.

While my publications are, and will continue to be, the seminal works for their respective genres, much work remains to document the published music of equally interesting and historically significant areas of socio-political discourse of our nation's music: temperance and prohibition; slavery and abolition; taxes and tariffs; social movements such as the Townsend Plan, the Chautauqua movement, and Great Depression, are but a few of the topical themes for which no documentation currently exists. Unfortunately, they are now largely lost to scholarship due to antiquated classification and retrieval systems in our nation's institutions.

6.8 Conclusion: The Role of My Publications in History Scholarship

"Although American music has been receiving increasing attention in recent years, the study of it is frequently hampered by lack of an adequate record of the body of music printed during the three centuries that music publishing has been carried on here."[222] In this commentary, I have demonstrated that historical sheet music is a source of considerable untapped potential in the study of American history. It was, and is, the purpose of my publications to bring an awareness of this resource to the both the general public and to the academic community, and secondly, to provide a usable "body of music" to researchers where no such source previously existed.

Music is not written and published in a vacuum. It is part of the fabric of our collective human and political existence. I have established that, as Wheeler and Venetis state:

> The value of popular songs of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is significant in helping our understanding of the musical, social, and political times in which they were created. It is also

[222] Richard J, Wolfe, *Secular Music in America*, xix.

> clear that music-related imagery played an integral role in helping communicate the intent of music and lyrics of a song.[223]

Viewing printed music as historical documents opens a rich variety of possibilities for scholarly research. The data provided in my books, in particular, have the potential to provide valuable insight into a wide variety of research inquiries by presenting this information in a format that is accessible to scholars everywhere. Data including titles of the compositions, composers, lyricists, arrangers, publishers, copyright dates, printing characteristics, associated personages and political campaigns, and in several of the volumes, iconographic data through illustrations and lyrical content of some or all of the pieces have, and will continue, to prove useful in academic research.

The widespread distribution of my works into research libraries around the world (Appendix #1), ensure that they will continue to be used by scholars and the public alike for the foreseeable future. How they will be used is only now beginning to be revealed. For example, three of my books are now part of the course bibliography for the "Music of America on Paper" at the University of Virginia's Rare Book School.[224]

As further demonstrated in Appendix #2, reviewers found my works to be unique works of scholarship, filling a potentially important and heretofore underappreciated research niche and, as is clear from Appendix #3, scholars have found my works useful in a range of analyses from the study of Tin Pan Alley[225] to studies of Protestantism in twentieth-century America.[226] Even non-American scholars such as Marion Gerards and Freia Hoffman from Germany have found value in my works.[227] Dr. Kenneth Florey, Professor Emeritus, Southern

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[223] Wheeler and Venetis, "Evaluation of Web Access to Historical Sheet Music," 11.
[224] *Rare Book School*, "Course Bibliography, Course 34 (H-55): The Music of America on Paper," Rare Book School (University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 2004), http://www.rarebookschool.org/2005/reading/2004_Krummel_biblio.pdf.
[225] Daniel Goldmark, "Creating Desire on Tin Pan Alley," *Musical Quarterly* Vol. 90, No. 2, (2007), http://www.jstor.org/stable/25172869.
[226] Cyrus A. Hayat, "Billy Sunday and the Masculinization of American Protestantism: 1896-1935." (Masters Thesis, Indiana University - Purdue University Indianapolis, 2009), https://scholarworks.iupui.edu/handle/1805/1860.
[227] Marion Gerards and Freia Hoffman (Hsrg), *Musik – Frauen – Gender* (Schiftenreihe des

Connecticut State University, said in a personal email to me upon the publication of his latest book:[228]

> Your four works are very significant to the study of history. I really appreciated the availability, for example, of your book on suffrage sheet music when I was writing my own book. It was helpful to have access to all kinds of information about individual pieces that I would not have even known about without your book at hand.

Likewise, D.W. Krummel, dean of American published music scholars, referring to my books in a personal email - "Already you've got a compliment: two of them are on Reference [at the University of Illinois], meaning they're in demand. Another one is checked out."[229]

As knowledge of this resource spreads throughout the academic community, I believe that the value of my works will continue to be recognized by scholars studying both American music and American socio-political history.

Sophie Drinker Instituts, Carl von Ossietsky Universität Oldenburg, 2006), http://oops.uni-oldenburg.de/volltexte/2007/532/pdf/germus06.

[228] Kenneth Florey, email to Danny O. Crew, 14 Apr. 2013.

[229] D.W. Krummel, email to Danny O. Crew, 28 Aug. 2013.

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APPENDIX 1:
Sample of Libraries Holding One or More of My Books

United States University Libraries

Brown University
College of William & Mary
Duke University
Harvard University
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Miami University of Ohio
Rutgers University
UCLA
University of Florida
University of Chicago
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
University of Kansas
University of North Carolina
University of Texas
University of Tulsa
Wesleyan University
Yale University

United Kingdom University Libraries

London School of Economics
University of Birmingham
University of Cambridge
University of Essex
University of Leeds
University of London Senate House Library
University of Oxford

Other Libraries

Bavarian State Library (Germany)
British Library (UK)
Canadian Library and Archives (CA)
National Library of Wales (UK)
National Library of Scotland (UK)
New York Public Library (USA)
National Library of Australia (Australia)
Philadelphia Historical Society (USA)
University of Dublin (Ireland)
University of Hong Kong (China)
University of Melbourne (Australia)
University of Oslo (Norway)
University of Toronto (Canada)

APPENDIX 2:
Reviews

PRESIDENTIAL SHEET MUSIC

American Library Association (US)

“Who would have thought there were so many songs written about or dedicated to Grover Cleveland, or George B. McClellan, the man who ran against Lincoln in 1864? On the other hand, there are just two (so far) associated with George H. W. Bush: "President George Bush March" and "Let's Thank Our Great First Lady." How do we know? Because it's all here, arranged by president or candidate, with complete publication details.” Copyright © American Library Association. All rights reserved

Johns Hopkins University Library

“We ordered your book and it arrived two weeks ago, It looks great – an impressive amount of research went into it! It will be added to our reference collection, and I’m sure it will be a great help to our researchers.” Mary Campbell, Personal e-mail, May 15, 2001.

SUFFRAGIST SHEET MUSIC

Library Journal (US)

“Crew (*Presidential Sheet Music*) presents an enthusiastic collector's inventory, documenting American music publishing, the suffragist movement, and 130 years of American music history. Each chronologically arranged entry includes a black-and-white reproduction of the cover of the music (or book of songs), plus lyricist, composer, publisher, copyright date, and other data, including library or other collection location. For all songs, lyrics are given except when the words are in a non-Latin script or the piece was included as a pictorial reference to women's suffrage. "Instrumental" pieces are presumably for piano. A noted collector of political memorabilia, Crew does not claim that the book is comprehensive, but he lists music found in many large libraries (including the Library of Congress) and several private collections (including his own). Indexes are of publishers, titles, composers, and subjects, but there is no index of lyricists. Recommended for libraries serving students of American history and American music.” Bonnie Jo Dopp, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park. Library Journal; 9/1/2002, Vol. 127 Issue 14, p178.

Goodreads.Com

“The standard book on suffrage sheet music. An excellent job with research from the top collector of political sheet music in the country.” Dr. Kenneth Florey, Professor Emeritus, Southern Connecticut State University (US)

Western Journal of Communication (US)

"…locating suffrage lyrics and scores has been described as 'attempting to document the unknown' (Crew, 2001, p. 3). Despite these challenges, Danny Crew has produced 'an exhaustive reference of sheet music published in the United States from the late 18th century to the year after adoption of the 19th amendment.'" July 01, 2006. Sheryl Hurner.

KU KLUX KLAN SHEET MUSIC

ARSC Journal

"This scholarly work might require some explanation … The selections … constitute an historical document of considerable interest … The book is recommended for all who are interested in a deeper understanding of the historical roots of that [KKK] problem." *George F. Paul, ARSC Journal, Vol.34, No.2, Fall 2003.*

Holmes, Holly, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (US)

"…Using Danny O. Crew's stunning 2003 catalogue entitled *Ku Klux Klan Sheet Music* as a primary source…." Paper presented at the Midwest Meeting of American Musicological Society in Chicago, 2009; Paper presented at the American Musicological Society Annual Meeting in Indianapolis, 2010; Presented at the University of Bristol 20th Century Music and Politics Conference, Bristol, UK, 2010.

The History Project, University of California, Davis

"This book is quite interesting…This is an excellent resource for the students as songs are not often used as primary sources."

Classic Images

"…what Danny O. Crew is doing is historically important. Sheet music is a fine document of our past and should be preserved … Libraries seem to be the main target audience, but to me, this is the creepiest book of the year." *Classic Images, No. 338, August 2003.*

AMERICAN POLITICAL SHEET MUSIC

Oxford Journals (UK)

"Danny O. Crew has produced a very useful and comprehensive ... general politically related music. Crew's books are basically catalogs ... [with] detailed introductory essays." Daniel Goldmark, *Musical Quarterly* (2007) 90 (2): 197-229. First published online: September 7, 2008. *Oxford Journals*, Oxford University Press.

Reference Reviews/Bradford Lee Eden, UC Santa Barbara

"The Book (*American Political Music*) provides important information in a niche reference area where few resources are currently available … An excellent resource and guide." *Reference Review, Vol. 21, Issue 2, page 53, 2007.*

American Reference Books Annual/Bradford Lee Eden, UC Santa Barbara

"This work focuses on a unique niche in musical history, and should be included as a reference title in both public and academic libraries, as well as music libraries." *ABRA, Vol. 38, 2007.*

APPENDIX 3:
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