

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:

“LET US SING AS WE GO”: THE ROLE OF
MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES
SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

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Music played a prominent role in the United States women’s suffrage movement (1848–1920). Suffragists left behind hundreds of compositions supporting their cause and historical accounts indicate that musical performances were common at suffrage events. With only a few exceptions, scholars have disregarded the music used in this movement, and have underemphasized its significance. This study examines the use of music in the suffrage movement from three perspectives: music with lyrics, titles, and images that espouse women’s enfranchisement; music performed at national suffrage conventions held by the National American Woman Suffrage Association; and music accompanying suffrage parades. Though the music used varies in each case, it is clear that music played an important role in unifying suffragists and underscoring the ideals and goals of the movement.

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SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

by

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmother, Lois A. McCartney, 1920–2015. Born in the year that suffragists finally celebrated their victory, Lois demonstrated throughout her full life what it means to be a strong, independent woman. She taught me the power of a courageous spirit and a kind heart, and continues to inspire me today.

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Introduction

Let us sing as we go,
Votes for Women!
Let us sing as we go,
Votes for Women.
Though the way may be hard,
Tho' the battle be long;
Yet our triumph is sure
Put your heart into song:
Into cheering and song: Votes for Women!
For the right shall prevail over wrong!
– “Suffrage Song (Let Us Sing as We Go)”

“Suffrage Song (Let Us Sing As We Go)” delivers an unmistakable call to arms, boldly declaring suffragists’ imminent victory. The work, composed by Eleanor Smith with words by James Weber Linn, was published in the collection *Hull House Songs* in 1915. The collection contains five pieces that focus on a variety of social issues, including class struggle, industrialization, and child labor, ending with a prayer for civil discourse and understanding across social classes. Founded by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in 1889, the Hull House was a settlement house intended to provide education in literacy and the arts for struggling residents of Chicago and to help immigrants integrate into American society. The music in this collection may have been performed at the settlement house, where concerts were given frequently by those in the music school, under the direction of Smith.

This music had a purpose far beyond possible Hull House performances, however. Addams, a suffragist and women’s rights advocate who served as vice president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) from 1911 to 1914, explained the songbook’s purpose in her introductory remarks:

Hull-House publishes this group of songs composed by Miss Eleanor Smith, for many years the director of its Music School, considering it a legitimate function of the settlement to phrase in music the wide spread social compunctions of our day We believe that all of the songs in this collection fulfill the highest mission of music, first in giving expression to the type of emotional experience which quickly tends to get beyond words, and second in affording an escape from the unnecessary disorder of actual life into the wider region of the spirit . . . it is perhaps all the more imperative that socialized emotions should also find musical expression, if the manifold movements of our contemporaries are to have the inspiration and solace they so obviously need.¹

Addams and Smith clearly believed that music could rally Americans in support of suffrage and other reforms, and that it was “imperative” that contemporary social issues be expressed musically, rather than just verbally. Indeed, the text of “Suffrage Song” is complemented by music that emphasizes the rousing directive to support the suffrage cause. The music, marked “Tempo di Marcia” is characterized by dotted rhythms, fanfare-like figures, and accents. The song was accessible for musicians with limited skills, who may have been inspired by the music to take action in favor of suffrage.

Addams and Smith were not the only reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who saw music as a means of inspiring Americans to improve society, and “Suffrage Song” was certainly not the first to musically express the tenets of the suffrage movement. Hundreds of songs related to suffrage were circulated between 1848 and 1920, the bookend years of the movement. Some, like Smith’s, were newly composed, while others were contrafacts of popular songs. The surviving songs range

¹ Jane Addams in *Hull House Songs*, ed., Eleanor Smith (Chicago: Clayton F. Summy, 1915), 2.

widely in style and quality, and their sheer number points to the importance of music to suffragists.

Despite extensive use of music in the suffrage movement, this topic is largely unstudied. The few scholars who have written on suffrage music have focused primarily on how the lyrics of these works correspond to the ideals and events of the movement, providing only some discussion of musical elements. Though the literary significance of these songs cannot be ignored, the story of music in the suffrage movement is more complex than a lyrical study of suffrage songs can reveal; as suggested by Addams's note, the music was seen as a means of expression that extended beyond words.

Furthermore, the composition of suffrage music—that is, pieces written specifically for and about suffrage—represents only one way in which music contributed to the movement. Through a careful study of specific suffrage events, I have discovered that suffragists often performed music that was not specifically about their cause. The music that was used in this long social and political movement varied by place, time, and situation, and is diverse in genre, style, and performance medium.

This thesis addresses the question of how music was used in the suffrage movement, outlined in three case studies. The first looks closely at the possible uses of published suffrage music, while the second and third investigate musical performances at conventions of the NAWSA and at the 1913 Woman's Suffrage Procession, respectively. In all three cases, I demonstrate that the music was not solely artistic or aesthetic, but was carefully written or selected for events so that it would contribute to the cause's progress. I argue that suffrage music and performance served a tactical purpose by developing a

sense of unity among suffragists and by underscoring the goals and image of the suffrage community in a given situation.

Chapter Organization

As the details of the suffrage movement in the United States are not well known to most readers, this thesis begins with a brief historical overview of the struggle, which describes how suffragists changed their methods and ideologies over the course of the movement. Chapter 2 begins the exploration of music's role in the movement by examining songs and other pieces composed specifically for the suffrage cause. I show that the songs and other pieces written by suffragists served at least three purposes: they were literary sources that spread the arguments of the suffrage cause through their words, independent from any need to be performed; they were commercial goods which contributed economically to the cause; and finally they were sources of musical expression, meant to be performed in various contexts. Thus, in many ways, suffrage music was a unique method of expression that complemented the arguments and purposes of other suffrage goods and literature.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine performances of music at specific suffrage events. Chapter 3 deals with musical performances at conventions held by the NAWSA, the largest and most enduring national suffrage organization in the United States. The NAWSA, throughout its thirty-one year history, was largely concerned with projecting a conservatively traditional image, which was how this organization attracted its large base of supporters. This image was connected in many ways to the ideals of the Cult of True Womanhood, a nineteenth-century ideology that delineated women's social roles. Using

the convention minutes as evidence of performances, I show that music served to underscore the conservative image of the organization. Additionally, music was used to build a sense of community for individuals in the large, far-reaching organization. Chapter 4 outlines the use of music at suffrage parades, which became popular in the second decade of the twentieth century. Parading, which necessitated that women step outside the confines of their traditional domestic roles, was viewed as a radical action, and these events were initially led by the militant faction of the suffrage community. I demonstrate how loud band music and communal singing complemented the bold, militaristic nature of parades while serving to unify suffragists and present a front of solidarity to spectators.

The suffrage music discussed in this thesis is listed, with publication information, in Appendix 1. Appendix 2 contains a description of all musical performances at NAWSA conventions, as recorded in convention proceedings.

Literature

This study relies on three types of sources: scholarship on suffrage music, the more general secondary literature on the suffrage movement and music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and primary sources. The foundation of this study comes from the admittedly limited sources on suffrage music, including Francie Wolff's 1998 anthology *Give the Ballot to the Mothers: Songs of the Suffragists; A History in Song*; Kenneth Florey's 2013 book *Women's Suffrage Memorabilia: An Illustrated Historical Study*; Danny O. Crew's *Suffragist Sheet Music: An Illustrated Catalogue of Published Music Associated with the Women's Rights and Suffrage Movement in America, 1795–*

1921, with Complete Lyrics; and Sheryl Hurner's "Discursive Identity Formation of Suffrage Women: Reframing the 'Cult of True Womanhood' Through Song."² Given the importance of this scholarship to the argument of my first case study, a more detailed discussion of it is reserved for Chapter 2.

The above sources provide only a window into this study, as they are limited to music composed specifically for the suffrage movement, and do not necessarily address music performed at events. To determine the nature and goals of specific suffrage events and organizations, information which formed the basis of Chapters 3 and 4, I consulted a great deal of scholarship on the United States suffrage movement. A seminal history of the movement is Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*.³ Another particularly useful source on the general history of the suffrage movement was *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage: Selections from the Classic Work of Stanton, Anthony, Gage, and Harper*, edited by Mari Jo Buhle and Paul Buhle, which provides commentary on the selected primary sources, which are used to

² Francie Wolff, *Give the Ballot to the Mothers: Songs of the Suffragists; A History in Song* (Springfield, MO: Delinger's, 1998); Kenneth Florey, *Women's Suffrage Memorabilia: An Illustrated History* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2013); Danny O. Crew, *Suffragist Sheet Music: An Illustrated Catalogue of Published Music Associated with the Women's Rights and Suffrage Movement in America, 1795–1921, with Complete Lyrics* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2002); Sheryl Hurner, "Discursive Identity Formation of Suffrage Women: Reframing the 'Cult of True Womanhood' Through Song," *Western Journal of Communication* 70, no. 3 (July 2006): 234–60.

³ Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1975).

tell the history of the movement.⁴ Several studies on specific aspects of the suffrage movement, such as commercialism, parades, and theatrical works were also important, and are discussed in their appropriate chapters. I also consulted scholarship on American sheet music, musical performance, and musical culture in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America, in order to determine how women were viewed and expected to behave in this time.

The most important resources in this project were primary sources. Suffrage materials are held in museums and archives across the country. I located the majority of songbooks, sheet music, catalogs, and other primary source materials used in this document myself, drawing from the resources of several museums, archives, and libraries. Some particularly important resources are held at the Sewell-Bellmont House, the Ann Lewis Women's Suffrage Collection, the Dobkin Family Collection of Feminism, and in the various suffrage collections at the Library of Congress. Other primary sources, including sheet music, newspaper clippings, and scrapbooks have been digitized and are freely available online.

In addition to consulting suffrage collections, I drew much of the information on specific events, performers, and composers from historical newspapers. Published primary sources also contributed to this project. Foremost were the six-volume *History of Woman Suffrage*, compiled by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Ida B. Husted Harper, and Mathilda Joslyn Gage. These suffrage leaders intended to document the history of their movement in these pages, and hearing from the suffragists themselves

⁴ Mari Joe Buhle and Paul Buhle, eds., *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage: Selections from the Classic Work of Stanton, Anthony, Gage, and Harper* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

was particularly important for their remembrances of musical performances. Related to this history were the twenty-nine proceedings of the NAWSA conventions that I was able to locate, which were the basis of my research for Chapter 3. These proceedings, along with other published primary sources, are also largely digitized and available online.

This study is limited by the lack of scholarship on the suffrage movement and its music, the wide dispersion of suffrage materials, and the small amount of detail recorded by suffragists and other contemporaries regarding musical performances. In many cases, newspaper articles and other accounts merely indicate that music was performed at an event, and it is only the rare cases that give more specific information as to the performers, ensembles, or pieces, that I have been able to report here. Thus, I have selected case studies for which there exists sufficient materials to discuss, and to represent the events as accurately as possible. I can say with certainty that in the events recorded in the following pages, music had a specific purpose: to aid women in their quest for political agency.

Chapter 1: A Brief History of the Suffrage Movement

If perticular care and attention is not paid to the Laidies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.
–Abigail Adams, 1776¹

In July 1848, nearly two hundred women and approximately forty men met at the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York for the first women’s rights convention held in the United States.² Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, two abolitionists who were angered by the gender discrimination they faced during anti-slavery meetings, organized and led the convention. These women made history when they resolved, “it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise,” inaugurating the United States women’s suffrage movement.³ This chapter will outline the development of the national movement, showing how suffragists created and changed tactical approaches, rhetoric, and public image in the seventy-two years between the Seneca Falls Convention and the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

¹ Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March 1776, *Adams Family Correspondence, Vol. 1*, Adams Papers Digital Edition, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

² Much of this historical information comes from Flexner, *Century of Struggle* and Buhle and Buhle, eds., *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*.

³ “Seneca Falls Convention, Seneca Falls, New York, July 19–20, 1848, including the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions” in *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*, ed. Buhle and Buhle, 96.

Early Demands for Suffrage

Though the Seneca Falls Convention sparked the famous nineteenth- and twentieth-century movement for Constitutional female suffrage, Mott and Stanton were not the first American women to demand the ballot. Margaret Brent, a property-owner from Maryland who was denied her appeal to vote by the Maryland Assembly in 1648, is the first woman recorded as demanding franchise in an English colony. Over one hundred years later, Abigail Adams would famously remind her husband to consider women's suffrage, requesting that he "Remember the Ladies" when helping to draft the Declaration of Independence.⁴ Her warning, that women would refuse to obey laws that they could not determine would prove true, though it would take nearly a century for the rebellion Adams predicted to form.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, women saw a gradual increase in public opportunities, particularly in education. Other strides were made with the passage of new laws that expanded women's rights, such as Mississippi's Married Woman's Property Act of 1839. Though suffrage was not yet widely discussed, the women's rights movement, along with several other social movements, was in full swing by the 1840s. American women began to expand their spheres of influence, moving into public life to create positive change for themselves and others as abolitionists, prohibitionists, labor reformers, and other types of activists.

It was the abolitionist movement, a training ground for the women's rights cause, which first forced women to consider issues of democracy and equality. Lucretia Mott,

⁴ Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March 1776.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Julia Ward Howe, and Susan B. Anthony are among the many suffragists whose first fight was abolition. Despite the controversial nature of women's involvement in public affairs, these activists gave speeches, fundraised, and petitioned the government to end slavery, experiences which were necessary for the development and sustenance of the coming suffrage movement. Female abolitionists, however, were limited in their abilities to create change due to prevailing sexism, both socially and politically. They encountered violence and hostility from detractors, which inspired the dissatisfaction and courage they would need for decades to come as they fought for their own rights.

Even some fellow abolitionists questioned the presence of women in their ranks, believing that women's involvement placed them in masculine roles. Such discrimination prompted the Seneca Falls Convention. Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton began to discuss having such a meeting after being forced to sit in the gallery during the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London of 1840. The Seneca Falls Convention, finally occurring in 1848, brought together the growing number of women who were interested in inciting large-scale change for themselves, but who were scattered across the country. The ideals espoused in earlier decades were set forth at this convention, and leaders drew on the Declaration of Independence as a model. At the Convention, the women passed a number of bold motions in their Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, denouncing laws that kept women in inferior positions, asserting women's equality, and demanding that women become more knowledgeable about the laws under which they lived. The only resolution that was not unanimously passed was that which demanded suffrage; the audience hesitated, fearing that this resolution would preclude the success of the others,

“and make the whole movement ridiculous.”⁵ Nevertheless, the resolution passed and the suffrage movement was launched.

The Formation of National Organizations and First Successes

Despite the initial interest in female suffrage incited by the Seneca Falls Convention, the ballot was not a primary goal for women’s rights activists until the late 1860s. The renewed demand for women’s voting rights was sparked by early discussions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, ratified in 1868 and 1870, respectively. Hopeful that the emancipation of slaves would lead to the enfranchisement of women as well as African Americans, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, who had been working together since the early 1850s, formed the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) in 1866, an organization devoted to supporting universal suffrage. The original wording of the Fourteenth Amendment, however, specified that protection under the law belonged to male citizens, obviously excluding women. When the amendment was passed, it protected citizens on a basis of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude” but not gender.

Suffragists were of divided opinions regarding the amendment, and while many women like Stanton and Anthony traveled the country to speak against it, others delivered speeches in its support. Lucy Stone and Frances Harper, for example, were troubled by the wording of the amendment, but viewed it as a stepping-stone for their own enfranchisement, and thus encouraged its ratification.

⁵ “Seneca Falls Convention,” 97.

The controversy surrounding the Fourteenth Amendment, as well as the Fifteenth, which similarly failed to protect women, is often credited as the incitement of the first large-scale divisions in the women's suffrage movement. The immediate cause of the split in the suffrage community, however, was an AERA convention in 1869 at which suffragists debated the wisdom of a women's suffrage amendment. Stanton and Anthony, who believed the large number of men in the AERA was limiting their progress, formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), an organization open only to women and known for its uncompromising, radical attitude. The women in the NWSA refused to support the Fifteenth Amendment and instead fought for their own federal rights, supporting a variety of women's rights causes.

Only months later, a less radical organization, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) was formed under the leadership of Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell. Unlike the NWSA, which fought for many women's rights issues, including the federal suffrage amendment, the AWSA focused solely on the suffrage cause. AWSA leaders sought victories in individual states, believing that success on a state level, which was more feasible, would ultimately lead to the adoption of women's suffrage on a federal level.

For the next two decades, suffragists from both organizations fought for their cause through demonstrations, meetings, and political action. Several proponents of suffrage argued that though the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments did not specifically mention gender, they guaranteed equal protection under the law to all citizens, and thus had effectively extended enfranchisement to women. Using this justification, hundreds of women attempted to vote in the late 1860s and early 1870s;

Susan B. Anthony was famously arrested and tried for successfully casting a presidential ballot in 1872.⁶ In 1874, however, the Supreme Court ruled that suffrage was not coexistent with citizenship, and thus, the Constitution did not guarantee suffrage to female citizens of the United States. This prompted suffragists to advocate for the first Woman Suffrage Amendment, which was introduced to Congress in 1878. The wording of this amendment was identical to that of the Nineteenth Amendment, passed over forty years later.

Despite the national divide in the movement, many victories occurred in the next twenty years. John A. Campbell, governor of the Wyoming Territory, signed a bill giving women the right to vote in 1869. Utah and Washington Territories similarly extended voting rights to women, in 1870 and 1883, respectively, and when Wyoming was admitted to the United States in 1890, it became the first state that granted women full suffrage.⁷

The Formation of the NAWSA and Changes in the Twentieth Century

In 1890, the NWSA and AWSA merged and became the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as its first leader. The NAWSA would remain the most prominent national organization for women's suffrage in the United States until the federal amendment was passed. The NAWSA

⁶ See "The United States of America vs. Susan B. Anthony, Circuit Court, Northern District of New York, June 17–18, 1873" in *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*, ed. Buhle and Buhle, 293–96; Lynn Sherr, *Failure Is Impossible: Susan B. Anthony in Her Own Words* (New York: Times Books, 1995), 107–17.

⁷ Women in Washington later lost the vote in a ruling by the Supreme Court in 1889.

adopted many of the tactics of the AWSA; it was a conservative organization concerned with the creation of a respectable public image and designed to attract as many supporters as possible. Led by white middle- and upper-class women, NAWSA leaders claimed that female suffrage would reinforce, rather than disrupt, existing class, race, and even gender roles.⁸ The organization held national conferences each year, at which representatives from the growing number of local suffrage organizations met to discuss tactics, share ideas, and make plans for the following year, as will be discussed in Chapter 3. Like the AWSA, the NAWSA focused on the state-by-state method and by 1913, when Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party became the first to put women's suffrage on the platform, women had achieved the right to vote in Colorado, Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, and the Alaskan Territory.

The years leading up to 1913, however, represented a slowing of progress and thus the NAWSA shifted their tactic, reinitiating the fight for a federal amendment. In addition, though the NAWSA retained its conservative attitude, some women in the United States became increasingly interested in adopting more militant tactics, such as those used by the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in England, as discussed in Chapter 4. To this end, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns organized the Congressional Union, part of the NAWSA in 1913, the organization that would become the National Women's Party (NWP) in 1916. The NWP was known for picketing the White House, parading, and otherwise publicly espousing suffrage using radical methods, and its members were arrested on many occasions. During their imprisonments, the women proved their

⁸ Buhle and Buhle, eds. *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*, 30–1.

militant commitment to the cause by participating in hunger strikes and endured torturous conditions and forced feeding.

In 1916, in an attempt to reunite the again-divided movement, NAWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt unveiled her “winning plan,” which required coordination by suffrage workers in organizations at all levels. Though suffragists would continue to disagree on tactical approaches, they were united by the ultimate goal of female enfranchisement. Finally, after seventy-two years of official campaigning and centuries of individual activism, the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified on August 26, 1920, giving women the right to vote in all elections. Following the ratification, the NAWSA disbanded, though many members became part of the newly-formed League of Women Voters. The NWP remained active until 1997, moving forward to support the Equal Rights Amendment, which would ensure protection from discrimination on the basis of gender, an amendment that remains unratified today.

Chapter 2: Suffrage Lyrics and Sheet Music

In the seventy-two years following the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, both suffragists and anti-suffragists expressed their arguments in the form of songs, dances, marches, and other types of music. This music took the form of contrafacts of well-known patriotic or hymn tunes and of newly-composed music, generally for solo piano or voice and piano. It was published in books and collections, printed in newspapers, and sold as individual pieces of sheet music. The extent to which suffrage arguments became encapsulated in music not only provides researchers with valuable tools for understanding the rhetoric of the suffrage movement, but also prompts intriguing questions as to why music was so important to suffragists.

The composition, publication, and distribution of music is not unique to the suffrage movement; suffrage was one of many Progressive Era reforms that contributed to the discourse of nineteenth- and twentieth-century song lyrics. Nonetheless, the great volume of suffrage songs and pieces suggests that music had an active role in the movement. This chapter will first explain the previous scholarship on suffrage songs and give an overview of the music, demonstrating how suffrage history and arguments are captured in the lyrics, covers, and titles. The discussion will then expand on previous scholarship by suggesting three ways in which these pieces advanced the goals of the movement: as literature that served to educate readers, as a commodity that supported the movement monetarily, and, most fundamentally, as music that impacted a variety of audiences through its distribution and performance. In doing so, I suggest that suffrage

music was a unique form of expression, the message and purpose of which were similar to the other commodities and literature that the suffragists circulated to garner support.

Previous Scholarship on Suffrage Music

Although suffrage songs have been included in American anthologies, such as Hilde E. Wenner and Elizabeth Freilicher's *Here's to the Women: 100 Songs for and about American Women* and Irwin Silber's *Songs America Voted By*, it is only recently that scholars have begun to examine music from the suffrage movement.¹ The first modern anthology dedicated solely to suffrage songs was compiled by Francie Wolff in 1998, and contains historical commentary on each of the entries, as well as general information about suffrage music.² Wolff's *Give the Ballot to the Mothers: Songs of the Suffragists; A History in Song* includes twenty-six suffrage songs, which she divides into three categories: rally songs, songs of persuasion, and popular songs. Wolff describes how this music changed over time to reflect trends in popular music in America and shifts in the movement's rhetoric. Though informative, her work is intentionally not limited to use by scholars, and uses language and images accessible to the general public. Moreover, this work discusses only a limited number of pieces, and thus cannot fully address the use of music in the suffrage movement.

Several other scholarly studies have built on the information provided in Wolff's book. Kenneth Florey's *Women's Suffrage Memorabilia: An Illustrated Historical Study*,

¹ Hilde E. Wenner and Elizabeth Freilicher, *Here's to the Women: 100 Songs for and about American Women* (New York: Feminist Press, 1991); Irwin Silber, *Songs America Voted By* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1971).

² Wolff, *Give the Ballot to the Mothers*.

contains a chapter on “Sheet Music, Songsters and Records.”³ Unlike Wolff’s book, Florey’s is not an anthology; rather it describes the types of music that survive from the suffrage movement, viewing music as a commercial good like other memorabilia, such as bicycles, clocks, stationary, and umbrellas. Florey uses Wolff’s work as a basis for his own, but also includes several examples of music left out of Wolff’s book and provides more specific information about the suffragists’ use of music. The amount of detail he can give in the scope of a single chapter, however, is necessarily limited.

Another study that expands on Wolff’s work is Sheryl Hurner’s article “Discursive Identity Formation of Suffrage Women: Reframing the ‘Cult of True Womanhood’ Through Song,” which explains how the tenets of the Cult of True Womanhood, the prevailing gender-related ideology in the nineteenth century, were manifested in thirty-one suffrage songs.⁴ Her study, currently the most scholarly work dedicated to suffrage songs, is predominately focused on lyrics, which she argues provide three representations of identity: defiant wife, enslaved patriot, and moral savior. She also suggests that at times, the music itself was used to highlight these identities; for example, hymn tunes were sometimes used for songs promoting the image of moral savior.

Finally, Danny O. Crew’s reference work *Suffrage Sheet Music: An Illustrated Catalogue of Published Music Associated with the Women’s Rights and Suffrage Movement in America, 1795–1921* contains over four hundred entries, including songs

³ Florey, *Women’s Suffrage Memorabilia*.

⁴ Hurner, “Discursive Identity Formation of Suffrage Women: Reframing the ‘Cult of True Womanhood’ Through Song.” The Cult of True Womanhood and its effect on the suffrage movement are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

and instrumental works.⁵ Crew provides the lyrics, reproductions of sheet music covers, publication information, and details on the current location of original versions of all the songs he has identified. He also provides several useful indexes, organizing the music by subject, as well as title, composer, and publisher location.

The previously written material on this subject has focused first on outlining the general history of suffrage music, contextualizing it within the movement, and second on the specific topics addressed in the lyrics, rather than the music's uses and applications. This historiography of the pieces, though necessarily broad, is invaluable to studies of suffrage music and is summarized below.

Music about Suffrage

From its start in Seneca Falls, New York, the suffrage movement inspired music that addressed women's right to vote.⁶ "The Great Convention, or Woman's Rights," arranged "from a celebrated German People's Song" with words by "a Lady" (c. 1852), the "Woman's Rights Convention Waltz" for piano by C. Tompkins and arranged by Julia F. Baker (1853), and "Woman's Rights (A Right Good Ballad Rightly Demonstrating Womans [*sic*] Rights)" by Kate Horn (1853) are three direct musical responses to the Seneca Falls Convention and the many women's rights meetings that immediately followed.⁷

⁵ Crew, *Suffragist Sheet Music*.

⁶ For copyright and publication information for the songs addressed in this chapter, see Appendix 1.

⁷ In his chapter on suffrage music, Florey describes Baker's waltz arrangement as the first allusion to Seneca Falls in music, but the earlier song collected by Bradbury and

A brief comparison of the lyrics and music of the two pieces with text—"The Great Convention" and "Woman's Rights"—illuminates the conflicting opinions on women's suffrage that characterized the movement. Though the focus of the current study is on suffrage music, rather than anti-suffrage songs, this early contrast is worth considering. "The Great Convention" urges women to join the suffrage crusade declaring, "Leave your cutting, shaping, fitting;/ greater work your care demands." The composer specifies that the chorus, shown in Figure 2.1a, should be sung loudly, "as the importance of the subject seems to require," suggesting that the performance of the song is meant to be an impassioned exclamation, not a restrained discussion. The music is repetitive and the rhythms regular, highlighting the bold, declarative nature of the lyrics. Kate Horn's "Woman's Rights," however, is an anti-suffrage song that is the antithesis of "The Great Convention." She argues in her song, "'Tis 'Woman's Right' as Wife to act/ Alone to Legislators, But 'not her right' to mount the stand/ And speak as commentators," clearly speaking against the disruption of traditional gender roles. Unlike the loud, rhythmically-driving music of "The Great Convention," "Woman's Rights," shown in Figure 2.1b, is a parlor ballad, the melody a gentle, lilting tune in 6/8 that corresponds to the restraint demanded of women in the lyrics. Like suffragists, anti-suffragists would produce a large number of pieces during the course of the movement, often in the similar styles and centered on the same topics as the suffrage music.

which predates the waltz, seems to have an equally strong connection with the convention. Neither song mentions Seneca Falls directly but both discuss women's rights conventions. Florey, *Women's Suffrage Memorabilia*, 164.

Though the songs above only alluded to enfranchisement, their immediate successors directly addressed the vote. Suffragist songwriters saw the ballot as inevitable. Joseph D. Payne's "Shall Women Vote," from 1881 boldly declared, "Shall women vote, we answer, yes,/ How could we answer no,/ And boast of freedom in our midst/ Without entailing woe." Another popular song, George Cooper and Edwin Christie's "Daughters of Freedom! The Ballot Be Yours," published in Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia in 1871 promised women the vote encouraging, "Wield it with wisdom, your hopes it secures!"

Still other songs described the potential benefits of women's suffrage, which were often linked to social reform. Suffragists frequently argued that if given the vote, women would use it to improve society. "The Suffrage Flag," from 1884, declared that with women's suffrage, progress would be made toward a more peaceful world: "Bayonets and swords shall rust, we'll use the brain, the pen." Even more common was the connection of women's suffrage to temperance. Women were often the victims of abuse by alcoholic husbands, and many supported alcohol restrictions. The movements became connected as temperance leaders fought for suffrage, hoping women would use the ballot to enact prohibition.⁸ Several songbooks contain a mixture of prohibition and suffrage songs. The 1884 song "Woman's Ballot, Or 'Whosoever Will'," published in L. May Wheeler's *Booklet of Song: A Collection of Suffrage and Temperance Melodies* pronounced, "And the 'Liquor League' must yield to woman's sway;/ Women's vote will

⁸ In many states, the connection between prohibition and women's suffrage made the ballot harder to attain as those against prohibition worked to prevent women's suffrage. See Buhle and Buhle, eds., *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*, 27–9; Sara Hunter Graham, *Woman Suffrage and the New Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 69–71.

save the home.” “Help Us Win the Vote,” a song from 1918 similarly predicted that women would vote against liquor, as soon as they were able: “The license shame we’ll put to rout and all that is untrue;/ For prohibition is our goal, the challenge come to you.”

Additional suffrage arguments are found in suffrage song lyrics. Suffragists declared that women deserved the ballot because of their hard work as mothers in songs like “Give the Ballot to the Mothers” (1888, 1889, and 1897). Lucenia W. Richards’s “Suffrage March-Song,” from 1914, similarly attacked men who deny women the vote, and thereby forget their mothers’ sacrifices: “Man! Your mother is a woman/ More than Dad she’s done for you.” Yet another suffrage argument that is found in song lyrics is the belief that women deserved the vote because they paid taxes and yet were not represented. This argument is found in songs like “The Taxation Tyranny” (1889, 1897) which asserted, “Why woman should not have the ballot,/ She’s taxed just the same as a man.”

Some suffrage songs did not express arguments, but rather documented and celebrated specific events. For example, “November Twenty-Two, 1883,” published in 1884, explained the significance of the title in a note: “With a pen presented him by the ladies of Olympia, Gov. W.A. Newell, signed The Bill, and the women of Washington Territory were thus made voting citizens.”⁹ The chorus celebrated the achievement, even as it looks forward to the continuation of success:

⁹ Washington was the third territory to adopt women’s suffrage, following Utah and Wyoming. The right would be revoked and reenacted in Washington several times before the Nineteenth Amendment was passed.

Hurrah! hurrah! we'll sing the song anew
Hurrah! Hurrah! to the flag we will be true!
So we'll sing our triumph from Maine to ocean blue,
While we are marching to victory.

Another suffrage event, a parade in New York, was documented not in the lyrics, but on the cover of Zena S. Hawn's piano march "Fall in Line." As seen in Figure 2.2, the cover features a photograph of suffragists marching by the Flatiron Building, probably in 1912 or 1913. This was one of many suffrage songs from the twentieth century that seems to have been intended for marching, a response to the new use of parades in the suffrage movement.

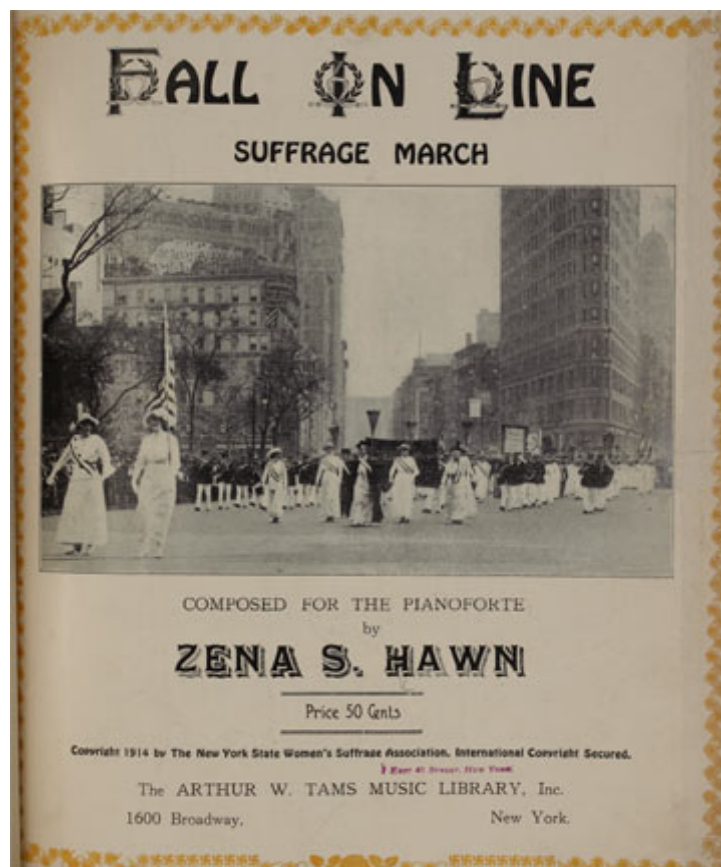


Figure 2.2: Sheet music cover, Zena S. Hawn, "Fall in Line: Suffrage March," 1914

Finally, some suffrage songs outlined neither arguments nor history, but simply provided encouragement through the lyrics. As will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, unification through music was important to suffragists in various contexts. Suffragists promoted group singing of songs that emphasized community, such as Marie Le Baron's 1876 contrafact "The Yellow Ribbon," which encouraged pride in the cause through the suffragist's famous symbol: "Oh we wear a yellow ribbon upon our woman's breast,/ We are prouder of its sunny hue than of a royal crest." The unifying element of the yellow ribbon is evident in the lyrics, which use the pronoun "we" rather than "I," highlighting the communal nature of the movement. As the suffrage movement progressed, songs such as "Carry On!" from the 1916 suffrage play *Melinda and Her Sisters* emphasized perseverance: "Are we downhearted? No! no! no!/ For the beacon light will shine a long, long way; Carry on and fear no foe!" Another song, "Campaign Verses, No. 34" from the Kentucky Women's Christian Temperance Union's *Kentucky Rally Songs*, similarly encouraged women to continue their fights for both suffrage and temperance:

It's been a long way to go Woman's Suffrage,
It's been a long way to go,
It's been a long way to go Woman's Suffrage,
But just see how we grow.
So it's good bye, voteless women
Farewell to Antis dear,
It's been a long, long way to Woman's Suffrage
But it is almost here.

These songs and others undoubtedly boosted morale during the seemingly endless years of struggle for enfranchisement.

It is clear that suffragist songwriters saw music as a means to express arguments, document suffrage history, and share words of encouragement while building a sense of

community. Thus, it is not surprising that until now, the limited research that has been done on suffrage music focuses predominately on the texts of the songs. Indeed, it appears that songwriters, suffragist organizers, and the general public viewed the lyrics as important tools, thereby receiving the songs, not only as musical works, but also as pieces of literature.

Lyrics as Literature

Suffrage songs that took the form of contrafacts were often published as lyrics without music notation. The lyrics, printed in leaflets, song books, and newspaper articles, reified arguments presented by the suffragists in other forms. It is not unreasonable to assert that some Americans consumed the lyrics as literature, much like poetry, and did not perform them to their suggested melodies at all. Though it is also possible that women read the lyrics of songs published as sheet music, and consumed them as literature without actually playing the pieces, contrafacts, in which the printed medium was similar to poetry, were even more likely to be used in this way. Furthermore, it is evident that many suffragists who published and promoted the songs, particularly the contrafacts, also viewed them as literary sources, similar to books and poetry.

Throughout the movement, suffrage organizations published literature related to their cause. This was particularly true of the NAWSA, which published pamphlets, books, convention minutes, handbooks, newspapers, and articles, designed to help local organizations, and to reach readers at home. As Margaret Finnegan observes in her book on consumer culture and the suffrage movement, suffragists were not the first reformers

to use mass-produced literature to explain their beliefs to a wide and diverse audience.¹⁰ Rather, most American activists saw journalism as a means of reaching homebound citizens, and explaining the truth about social problems.

Attracting the attention of women through mass-produced literature was particularly logical during the women's club movement, which spanned from 1890 to 1920. Clubwomen embraced literacy by reading, writing, and circulating texts among clubs and in mainstream newspapers and magazines. During meetings, members discussed literature about important issues, including suffrage, and were able to express their opinions about the literature they had read.¹¹ Thus, the use of literature to convey social and political arguments was in line with the practices held by women in America at the time.

It therefore appears that suffragists intentionally laid out their arguments in a format that they knew would appeal to this audience, particularly in light of the growing relationship between the suffrage and club movements. By the twentieth century, many clubs were devoted to women's rights, such as the Era (Equal Rights Association) Club of New Orleans, which hosted the 1903 NAWSA convention. In 1914, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, a powerful national organization, officially endorsed women's suffrage.¹² In addition, suffrage organizations like the NAWSA intentionally

¹⁰ Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture & Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 56, 196.

¹¹ Anne Ruggles Gere, *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U.S. Clubs, 1880–1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 5, 273.

¹² Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 5, 1900–1920 (New York: Source Book Press, 1970), 56.

modeled themselves after clubs, as is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. On the other hand, an equally large proportion of clubwomen did not support women's voting rights; the communities of suffragists and clubwomen were overlapping, but not identical. Thus, as clubwomen discussed and debated the suffrage literature, the suffrage ideals were heard by a larger community, and suffragists may have secured additional sympathizers through these debates.

In examining the publication and distribution of song texts, it becomes clear that suffragists often considered the lyrics literature independent from musical features. The NAWSA convention minutes from 1906, for example, placed song leaflets under the general heading "Literature," and several journals and newspapers printed the lyrics of suffrage songs in poetry columns or in books with poetry.¹³ One example is W. W.'s "Woman Suffrage Song: The Boston School Board," printed in Boston's *Woman's Journal* in 1874.¹⁴ That the work was a song, as the title suggests, is proven through the indication of a tune, "King and Countryman," as well as the demarcation of choruses. Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Suffrage Songs and Verses* is another example of this phenomenon. Despite the specification of Gilman's title that the booklet included songs, it was not listed in the NAWSA's 1912 catalog under the "Songs" category.¹⁵ Rather, it was categorized as "Poetry" and described as, "A collection of practically all the poetry

¹³ *Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Baltimore . . . 1906* (OH: NAWSA, 1906), 16.

¹⁴ "Woman Suffrage Song," *Woman's Journal* (Boston), October 31, 1874, 352.

¹⁵ Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Suffrage Songs and Verses* (New York: Charlton, 1911).

Mrs. Gilman has written on the suffrage cause. Suitable for readings and recitations.”¹⁶

Only one of the twenty-five entries in Gilman’s volume, “Another Star,” informs readers of the tune to which it should be performed. Another entry, however, is called “Song for Equal Suffrage” and, as shown in Figure 2.3, can reasonably be performed to the tune “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” a popular melody for suffrage contrafacts.¹⁷

Nevertheless, despite the clear musical nature of these entries the inherent purpose of the booklet, from the perspective of the publisher and the suffrage advertisers, was not musical, but literary.



Figure 2.3: Lyrics of Charlotte Perkins Gilman, “Song for Equal Suffrage,” in *Suffrage Songs and Verses*, 1911, shown set to the tune of “Battle Hymn of the Republic”

¹⁶ *Catalog and Price List of Woman Suffrage Literature and Supplies* (New [York]: National American Woman Suffrage Association, [1912]), 5. Women Transitional Networks, Nineteenth Century Collections Online, University of Maryland, College Park.

¹⁷ This particular song is also printed, without a tune, in *Suffrage Songs: Selections from the Songs submitted for the Bishop Prize, February 1, 1909* ([Chicago]: 1909), National American Woman Suffrage Association records, 1839–1961, Box 74, Reel 54, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

A song contest in Chicago forms another case in which lyrics were viewed from a literary perspective. Suffragists often awarded prizes for the best argumentative literature, and in 1909 such a contest of lyric-writing was announced in *The Field*: “A notice of the offer of a hundred dollar prize by Mrs. E. L. Bishop, of the Chicago Beach Hotel, for the best words for a woman suffrage song to be sung to a well-known patriotic air, preferably that of the Battle Hymn of the Republic.”¹⁸ That contestants were asked to write contrafacts, not compose pieces, made the competition one of verbal, not musical, creativity. This reworking of lyrics was a common pastime for Americans, particularly those untrained in music.¹⁹ *Suffrage Songs: Selections from the Songs submitted for the Bishop Prize, February 1, 1909* prints what are clearly the results of this competition.²⁰ The winning song was “The Marching Song” by high school principal Louis J. Block. Its relationship with the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” is made clear in the chorus—“Glory, glory halleluia! Glory, glory halleluia!/ Glory, glory halleluia! For the hope has led them on.”—and it would not have been difficult for readers to perform it as a song.

On the other hand, these particular selections were published as sets of lyrics without music, and like other contrafacts, could easily have been consumed as literature. Newspaper reports of the contest also used language that reviewed the pieces from perspectives of both music and literature. One article described the contest as suffragists’

¹⁸ “Foreign Notes,” *The Field*, clipping, February 1909. Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, Scrapbook 7: 156, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

¹⁹ Nicholas E. Tawa, *High-Minded and Low-Down: Music in the Lives of Americans, 1800–1861* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 150.

²⁰ *Suffrage Songs: Selections from the Songs submitted for the Bishop Prize*.

attempts “to write songs in order to get a chance to make the laws,” and explained that though the tune is musically “adapted to bass more than soprano voices,” it should still be sung “as much by masculine as by feminine voices.”²¹ But the same author’s critique of the song is also based on literary quality: “Mr. Block’s song is not such a triumph of poetical art as to add to the literary laurels of his sex.” Other articles used exclusively literary, rather than musical language, to discuss the contest. One example of this, which appeared in *The Woman’s Journal*, explained that the deadline for the contest was extended because “[Mrs. L. B. Bishop] has been flooded with poetic attempts, not of first-class quality.”²² The author suggested that suffragists who were “real poets” join the contest, and named several, two of whom—Ella Wheeler Wilcox and Charlotte Perkins Gilman—had previously written suffrage lyrics, but none of whom were composers. Another article used entirely non-musical language, describing the work as a poem rather than a song.²³ The article explained: “A prize of \$100 was recently offered by a Chicago woman for the best poem on woman suffrage. The prize was won for the following poem.” In sum, the contest was advertised and described primarily as a literature contest, despite the product’s musical features.

Other song contests did place primary value on the musical, rather than literary qualities. In regards to a song contest contemporary to the one described above, won by Theodora Mills for her song “The Women’s Battle Song,” *The Woman’s Journal*

²¹ “A Suffrage Song,” *The Independent* 66, January–June 1909, 333–34.

²² “Suffrage Prize Song,” *The Woman’s Journal*, January 2, 1909, 1.

²³ “The Marching Song,” clipping, [1909?]. Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, Scrapbook 7: 2.

reported, “A number of songs were sent in for the competition opened for an international hymn of woman’s freedom. . . . The committee making the recommendation said that there were others with more literary value as poems, but none which lent themselves so well to music.”²⁴ The close relationship between the lyrics and poetry texts is obvious. However, the literary value did not replace the musical in suffrage songs, which was clearly also important, as described later in this chapter.

The above examples indicate that suffrage music, particularly contrafacts of popular tunes that were usually printed without music notation, was often promoted and reviewed in newspapers as literature, with a frequent disregard to its association with musical performance. Thus, it is not unlikely that some Americans similarly viewed these works as pieces to be read, not necessarily performed. Such literary consumption, which did not require musical talent or knowledge, made the works more widely accessible.

An Economic Commodity

The widely distributed suffrage songbooks and sheet music were consumed not only as literature, but also as commercial goods. As Margaret Finnegan and Kenneth Florey have shown, the suffrage movement was closely tied to commercialism and consumer culture, particularly in its final decade.²⁵ Suffrage commodities provided a means of visibly publicizing the cause and bringing suffrage colors, images, and slogans into public venues and private homes. During the final decade of the movement, suffrage

²⁴ “The International Suffrage Song,” *The Woman’s Journal* (Boston), June 5, 1909, 92.

²⁵ Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage*; Florey, *Women’s Suffrage Memorabilia*. Much of the information in this paragraph is from Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage*, 111–38.

goods were often used as giveaways and promotions to attract women who were not yet committed to the cause. Moreover, from the suffrage movement's inception, Susan B. Anthony and other leaders asked for donations from convention attendees, delegates, and others.²⁶ Selling consumer products was a way to promote suffrage ideas *and* raise money.

Published with attractive covers and promoting the cause through words and images, as shown in Figure 2.4, suffrage songs were similar to other commercial goods and could be purchased from suffrage organizations and brought into private homes. Thus, this music simultaneously injected suffrage ideals into everyday lives of Americans and, through their purchase, brought in money for the cause.

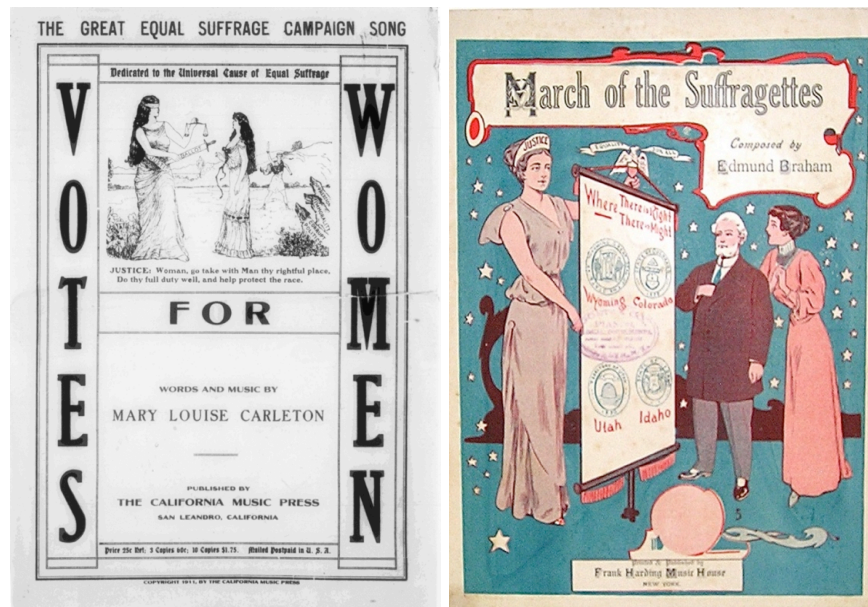


Figure 2.4: Sheet music covers, Mary Louise Carleton, “Votes for Women,” 1911 and Edmund Braham, “March of the Suffragettes,” 1908

²⁶ Sherr, *Failure Is Impossible*, 227.

Evidence of the monetary benefits of suffrage songs is provided by song publication information, in catalogs, and in financial reports for suffrage organizations. Though some suffrage music was produced by professional publishing companies, others pieces were published by suffrage organizations, which controlled the music's sale and distribution, and thus profited from it.²⁷ Early examples of a suffrage organization's music publications, both printed without musical notation, are the 1888 *South Dakota Suffrage Song Book*, published by the South Dakota Suffrage Association and available for purchase at its headquarters for ten cents, and the 1889 *Woman Suffrage Leaflet*, published by the American Woman Suffrage Association, "for woman suffrage, W.C.T.U. [Woman's Christian Temperance Union], and other Reform meetings" and sold for twenty-five cents per annum by subscription. The latter could also be purchased by the hundreds, for fifteen cents per batch. The fact that bulk purchasing was an option proves the music's intention to be distributed to suffrage organizations for use in their meetings.

In addition to collections of lyrics, some suffrage organizations published sheet music. The 1915 "Suffrage Marching Song," with music by Fanny Connable Lancaster and words by Florence Livingston Lent, was published as a handwritten manuscript of the vocal melody. This song was sold by the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association "for the Benefit of the Equal Suffrage Cause" and included a page with the lyrics of "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and a pledge slip for volunteers asking, "What will you do to help Win Victory for Massachusetts in 1915?" The piece was available for twenty-

²⁷ Florey provides a somewhat detailed discussion of publications by suffrage organizations. See Florey, *Women's Suffrage Memorabilia*, 168–71.

five cents individually, \$2.75 per dozen, and \$20.00 per hundred. Unlike this handwritten manuscript, Gregori and Chapman's 1911 "Women's Political Union March" more closely resembles sheet music produced by professional publishing companies. This popular song sold for twenty-five cents, and was available at the Women's Political Union headquarters in New York City. The work was also published in arrangements for band and orchestra.

Suffrage organizations, both national and local, advertised such songs in catalogs with other literature and consumer goods. For example, the NAWSA's "Catalog and Price List of Woman Suffrage Literature and Supplies," dating from around 1912, lists Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Suffrage Songs and Verses* as well as two songs—"The New America" by Althea C. Briggs and "Equality" by Helena Bingham—ranging in price from one to twenty-eight cents per copy and sold by the dozen and the hundred, as well as individually.²⁸ On a local level, San Francisco's Votes-For-Women Publishing Company advertised the song "Raise Your Gladsome Voices, Girls, We'll Sing Our Suffrage Song," a contrafact of "Marching through Georgia" that was composed for the California Campaign of 1911.²⁹

In addition to the published music, advertisements, and catalogs, the discussions at NAWSA conventions, printed in the minutes, provide further evidence of music's monetary contribution to the cause. According to these proceedings, by 1896, music was providing some funding for the NAWSA. That year, Jessie J. Cassidy acted as a personal

²⁸ *Catalog and Price List of Woman Suffrage Literature and Supplies.*

²⁹ "We Sell Votes for women pins, pennants and post cards," San Francisco: Votes-For-Women, advertisement, [1911]. National American Woman Suffrage Association records, 1839–1961, Box 74, Reel 54.

shopper in a Shopping Exchange, for which the NAWSA was given “a small percentage not only on groceries, but on dry goods, music, furniture, etc.”³⁰ The convention minutes do not specify if the music that provided them with funding was suffrage-related. On the other hand, in 1899, the financial report from the previous year does include the song leaflets on a list of suffrage goods for sale, and it can be reasonably assumed that this music, like the other items on the list, was topically relevant. Song leaflets appear in the financial reports for many of the twentieth-century conventions, and in 1906 the minutes indicate that 3,000 additional song leaflets were printed through the donation of plates from the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, the organization that published some of the music discussed above. This suggests that at the time, the NAWSA was increasingly interested in the potential for monetary gain through the production and sale of music.

Musical Performances: Public Outreach, Group Unification, and Private Expression

Actual performance of the music set suffrage lyrics and sheet music apart from other suffrage literature and goods, increasing its significance. The music served several purposes: it reached out to audiences through public performance, it fostered a sense of community and inclusion for suffragists, and it allowed for private expression of suffrage arguments in American homes.³¹

³⁰ Rachel Foster Avery, ed., *Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association* (Washington, D.C.: Association, 1896), 69.

³¹ The following discussion is an overview of the various performance mediums for suffrage music. Specific details about suffrage events and their associated music—suffrage-related and otherwise—are given in Chapters 3 and 4.

Suffrage theatrical works such as plays and pageants have been discussed by a number of scholars, though little attention has been given to the music used in such performances.³² Dramatic works, particularly pageants, allowed the women to use what were traditionally acceptable public performance media to promote more controversial suffrage ideas in a very public way. Though the emphasis of such performances, it seems from contemporary descriptions, was on the staging and narrative, music still played a notable role. The operetta *Melinda and Her Sisters* by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and Elsa Maxwell is one example of a suffrage performance, produced for a large audience at the Waldorf in New York City in 1916. This work, which cast professionals as well as suffragists, attracted many wealthy patrons; several newspaper lines were devoted to the names of important guests who filled the boxes, and who donated over \$6,000 to the Congressional Union.³³ The work was praised by critics, Maxwell's music—which included the previously-mentioned song of encouragement "Carry On!"—said to "do credit to any Broadway production."

As the suffrage movement became a more popularized struggle in the twentieth century, professional songwriters who were not directly involved in the suffrage cause produced topically relevant songs about the vote as well, presenting suffrage music to a still wider audience. This sheet music often contained the name and image of a performer

³² See, for example, Susan Auflitsch, *Staging Separate Spheres: Theatrical Spaces as Sites of Antagonism in One-Act Plays by American Women, 1910–1930* (Frankfort: Peter Lang, 2004); Karen J. Blair, "Pageantry for Women's Rights: The Career of Hazel MacKaye, 1913–1923," *Theater Survey: The Journal of the American Society for Theatre Research* 31, no. 1 (May 1990): 23–46.

³³ Auflitsch, *Staging Separate Spheres*, 139; "Suffrage Opera Scores Immediate Success", *The Suffragist*, February 26, 1916, 6; "Press Comment on the Opera," *The Suffragist*, February 26, 1916, 6.

on the cover, suggesting that this music was performed on the public stage and distributed to the general public, not just suffrage sympathizers. Unlike the songs from suffrage dramas, these were mostly written by professional songwriters and it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the song was intended to support suffrage or mock it. Some, however, clearly incorporated the arguments of suffrage sympathizers. Two covers of “She’s Good Enough to Be Your Baby’s Mother (And She’s Good Enough to Vote with You),” a song by professional songwriters Alfred Bryan and Herman Paley, thought to be the most popular American suffragist song, are shown in Figure 2.5. This song built on suffragist rhetoric that extolled a woman’s role as mother; the lyrics assert that if men trusted their wives with their children, they should similarly trust them with the vote.³⁴



Figure 2.5: Sheet music covers, Herman Paley and Alfred Bryan, “She’s Good Enough to Be Your Baby’s Mother (And She’s Good Enough to Vote with You),” 1916

³⁴ Florey, *Women’s Suffrage Memorabilia*, 171.

Beyond these popular public performances, suffrage music was also used to accompany suffrage events, such as local meetings, national conventions, and parades. As is illustrated in Chapters 3 and 4, not all of the music at such events was topically related to the cause. Nonetheless, suffragist leaders encouraged the use of suffrage songs, particularly contrafacts of well-known songs, at local meetings. A handbook explaining how to run a political equality club, released by the NAWSA in 1896, includes twelve contrafacts and instructs club organizers that “all present should join in the singing.”³⁵

The covers of published songbooks provide further evidence of their intended use at suffrage events. The 1910 *Woman Suffrage Campaign Songs*, with words by Eunice H. Kauffman and Helen Smith, published in Ohio, includes a note that instructs readers to learn the music: “It is requested that every suffragist will commit these verses and will be ready to join in wherever they are sung during the coming campaign. It is especially asked that those who are in the procession that bears the petition to the Secretary of State July 30 to be able to sing them without reference to the text.” Pauline Russell Browne’s *Woman’s Suffrage Songs* (1913) similarly relays instructions for use, suggesting public meetings, conventions, entertainments, and vaudeville as possible performance opportunities. That the songs specified as for use at suffrage events were contrafacts, rather than newly-composed songs points to the inclusive purpose of the music. American men and women knew patriotic and hymn melodies, and could easily join in the singing of these songs if given the new lyrics, which did not rely on the ability to read

³⁵ Harriet May Mills and Isabel Howland, compilers, *Manual for Political Equality Clubs* (Philadelphia: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1896).

music.³⁶ In addition, the insertion of new lyrics in well-known songs allowed those new words to comment on the originals.³⁷ For example, a contrafact of a patriotic tune may have caused suffragists to contemplate the ideals of patriotism and democracy in the traditional lyrics through the lens of the new suffrage text, giving the song multiple layers of meaning.

Unlike contrafacts, newly-composed music, which lacked familiar melodies and was generally written for voice and piano, was probably used mostly for at-home, private performances. Sheet music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was specifically marketed to women, who were expected to take music lessons and to play the piano and sing with proficiency. Colorful covers and tinted or even scented pages and relevant lyrics were meant to appeal to women, for whom it became fashionable to collect the music.³⁸ Though suffragists, to my knowledge, did not go so far as to use scented pages in their music, the colorful covers that featured pictures of women and the lyrics that expressed the trials and triumphs of everyday life made the music a sensible way of communicating to women.

Furthermore, the suffrage pieces resembled stylistically the music played by women at the time, including parlor ballads, waltzes, schottisches, and polkas. Meant for amateur musicians, most parlor music was easy to learn and perform. The songs usually

³⁶ Wolff, *Give the Ballot to the Mothers*, 6.

³⁷ Robert James Branham and Stephen J. Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom's Song: "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and Democracy in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 83.

³⁸ Nicholas E. Tawa, *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans: The Parlor Song in America, 1790–1860* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980), 105.

had unsophisticated lyrics, strophic poetic forms, simple melodies and harmonies, and keyboard accompaniments that were designed to sound virtuosic while actually requiring minimal technique.³⁹ Though suffrage music ranged in difficulty, much of it was also characterized by such accessibility, as is seen in Figure 2.6a which shows an excerpt from Mary Louise Carleton's "Votes for Women." The repetitive accompaniment part, which outlines the chords in the left hand and doubles the voice in the right, would have been manageable for amateur singers and pianists, widening the possible market for the songs. The lack of complexity in this case was also a consequence of the inexperience of the composer. Carleton and many other suffragist composers were not professional songwriters, but imitated the styles of the music with which they were familiar.⁴⁰ Even songs by more accomplished composers, however, such as Eleanor Smith's "Suffrage Song (Let Us Sing as We Go)," shown in Figure 2.6b and discussed in the Introduction, reveal an attempt to appeal to an amateur market of performers. Though certainly more musically sophisticated than Carleton's march, this song still includes a doubling of the voice part in the piano accompaniment. It is homo-rhythmic and the piano is given a thin texture, making it accessible to performers with limited skill.

³⁹ Lori Deter, "The Image of Women in Nineteenth Century Parlor Songs" (Bachelor's thesis, Tulane University, 1981), 8.

⁴⁰ Wolff, *Give the Ballot to the Mothers*, 30.

Votes for Women

By: Mary Louise Carleton

There is no realm in earth's do - main. 'Mongst beasts, nor birds, nor
Twas said not man - y years a - go, By men wise and dis -

bees, creets. Where such un - e - qual code doth reign, As that which Man de -
That wo - men had no souls, you know, But on - ly hands and

creets: Who holds that Wo - man hath no part Nor place in coun - cil
feet. These days we've souls, that's some re - lief, But still the fact re -

Figure 2.6a: Excerpt, Mary Louise Carleton, "Votes for Women," 1911

Suffrage Song

(Let Us Sing As We Go)

Words: James Weber Linn

Music: Eleanor Smith

Tempo di Marcia
con spirito

Let us sing as we go, Votes for Wo-men! Let us sing as we go, Votes for

Wo-men 1.Though the way may be hard, Tho' the bat-tle be long; Yet our tri-umph is sure Put your
2.There's a voice we have heard, And shall hear—till we die; By its word we are stirred And as

heart— in - to song: In - to cheer-ing and song Votes for Wo-men! For the right shall pre-vail o - ver
one— we re - ply: It is nigh, it is nigh, Votes for wo-men!

Figure 2.6b: Excerpt, Eleanor Smith and James Weber Linn, “Suffrage Song (Let Us Sing as We Go),” 1914

Young women were not only expected to cultivate musical talents, but they were also responsible for entertaining adult family members and friends.⁴¹ Unfortunately, no documentation of such private performances of suffrage songs has been uncovered. The close relationship between the suffrage music and other music at the time, however, allows us to reasonably hypothesize that it would have been performed and received in a similar manner. It has been argued that in the early nineteenth century, women in Washington, D.C. used parlor music to influence their audiences and create political and social change.⁴² Indeed, parlor songs often contained morals, and thus audiences listened with the expectation that the music would communicate something educational. Francie Wolff has called suffrage songs in a similar style “songs of persuasion”; they, too, educated their listeners on political and social issues.⁴³ W. M. Brough and J. G. Maeder’s “Let Us All Speak Our Minds if We Die for It” actually labeled a portion of the song as the moral, highlighting the correspondence between this song and other parlor ballads. The moral in this case functioned more as a summation of the song’s declaration for women to stand up for themselves regardless of cost, rather than a new lesson:

⁴¹ Ibid., 22–3; Tawa, *High-Minded and Low-Down*, 158, 161.

⁴² Leah R. Giles, “Entertaining a New Republic: Music and the Women of Washington, 1800–1825” (Master’s thesis, University of Delaware, 2011), 130.

⁴³ Wolff, *Give the Ballot to the Mothers*, 44; Florey, *Women’s Suffrage Memorabilia*, 165.

And all ladies I hope who've with husbands to cope,
With the rights of the sex will not trifle,
We all, if we choose our tongues but to use,
Can all opposition soon stifle;
Let man if he will then bid us be still,
And silent a price he'll pay high for it,
For we won't and we can't, and we don't and we shan't,
Let us all speak our minds if we die for it!

Nevertheless, the printed cue in the music for the performer's benefit makes clear that this is the most important part of the song. Indeed, by performing this song, the musician would have been speaking her mind and demanding equality.

Suffrage Music's Multifaceted Impact

Tracing the publication, distribution, and performance histories of specific suffrage music is challenging, if not impossible. The limited documentation related to the early music industry in the United States, the reality that hundreds of suffrage pieces appear to have existed that were never published or copyrighted or have simply been lost, and the fact that suffragist leaders failed to carefully document the music used at many sponsored events complicates the story of suffrage music. The sheer volume of these works, however, points to their significance. As I have shown above, suffrage music served the movement in much the same way as other products. It espoused the same arguments as literature and was categorized as a source of the written word by many suffragists. The lack of actual music notation in many of the publications made it accessible to a non-musical audience, who could consume the works as poetry, rather than lyrics associated with music. In addition, the music, like other suffrage goods, contributed to the movement monetarily, even if the actual profit was minimal. Viewed

from these perspectives alone, the music is simply another piece of memorabilia, left behind with suffrage pencils, handkerchiefs, and cookbooks.

Thus in addition to the literary and commercial importance of the music, a third perspective, that of musical performance, must be acknowledged in order to fully understand the unique contribution of the music. That suffragists sang, played, and listened to music that espoused their cause is clear. Music was able to reach large, wealthy audiences in the concert halls and theaters as well as small audiences in middle-class homes. In addition, musical performances were beneficial to the performers, who developed an intimate relationship with the suffragist ideals and morals promoted in the sheet music and contrafacts, and could also feel connected to other suffragists by participating in group performances. Therefore, the music can be seen as both agreeing with the purposes of other suffrage products, and significantly supplementing the cause by expressing its values in a new, powerful medium.

Chapter 3: Music at NAWSA Conventions, 1890–1920

The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), founded in 1890, was the largest and most enduring national organization that fought for women's suffrage in the United States, boasting two million members by 1920 when the Nineteenth Amendment was passed. Beginning in 1891, the organization held annual national conferences, "orchestrated affairs" at which members met to celebrate successes, admit losses, and share ideas.¹ At the first NAWSA convention, held in Albaugh's Opera House in Washington, D.C., performances were given by orchestras and vocal soloists, and the audience participated in the singing of hymns and popular songs, including the suffrage songs "O, Sing of Wyoming," "Hark! The Sound of Myriad Voices," and "The New America." The proceedings for this convention provide further evidence of the detailed attention to music; they contain advertising for Metzert & Co., the company that provided the piano used for the occasion.²

The conference proceedings of later NAWSA conventions show that such attention to detail in regards to music was a continuous tradition. At these conventions, there were numerous musical performances that took the form of incidental music, which accompanied a service or event; formal performances by highly trained musicians, during which the conventions became concert settings; and community singing, or singing by

¹ Buhle and Buhle, eds., *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*, xx. Note that the first NAWSA convention is numbered as "twenty-three," continuing the numbering systems of the preceding organizations.

² National American Woman Suffrage Association, *The Twenty-Third Annual Washington Convention* (1891), 1, 4–5, Ann Lewis Women's Suffrage Collection.

the entire audience. In this chapter, I argue that musical performances at NAWSA conventions played an important role in reinforcing the communal and conservative image of the organization, an image that was very much in line with the Cult of True Womanhood. Thus, the music can be seen, not as an insignificant detail of the conventions, but as an important element of one of the greatest organizations in the United States suffrage movement. I will first outline the conservative nature of the NAWSA, and in particular, its relationship to the Cult of True Womanhood and the contemporary women's club movement, and then describe the general proceedings of NAWSA conventions. Finally, I will show how each type of performance given at the conventions—incidental, formal, and community—corresponded with the NAWSA's conservative beliefs and goals.

The NAWSA and Conservatism

As explained in Chapter 1, the NAWSA was formed as a combination of two previously rivaling suffrage organizations: the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). These two organizations formed in the late 1860s and were distinguished by differing tactical styles. The NWSA, led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, aggressively supported various, often controversial women's rights causes, and excluded men from membership. The AWSA was a more moderate group, led by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell. By 1890, however, when the two groups merged, radicalism had diminished in the suffrage movement, and the new NAWSA promoted itself as conservative, although there were still disagreements among leaders. This conservative stance, worked

against the perception that women's suffrage was exclusively for eccentric radicals. Some implications of the adoption of this image meant that suffragists worked with politicians, rather than fighting against them. In addition, suffragists garnered public attention through education; only after explaining the necessity of suffrage and gathering supporters in an area did suffragists hold more public events there.³

Moreover, the NAWSA did not call for large-scale social change. Rather, the organization emphasized the domestic and maternal qualities traditionally associated with women and argued that these qualities would allow women to use the vote to improve conditions in the United States. Well into the twentieth century, literature published by the NAWSA insisted that attaining the vote would not affect the role of women in society as dictated by the Cult of True Womanhood.

The Cult of True Womanhood, a nineteenth-century ideology also known as the cult of domesticity, held that women by nature had four virtues: piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness.⁴ The definition of gender roles in this manner was increasingly important by the mid-nineteenth century, as a result of industrialization; women remained in the home to retain and protect the values that busier working men were forced to leave behind. To suffragists of the NAWSA, the ballot did not require women to step outside their traditional domestic sphere, but allowed women to expand that sphere. The United States became a woman's home, the citizens her children, and its problems her responsibility. These ideas can be seen in the published literature circulated

³ Graham, *Woman Suffrage and the New Democracy*, xv–xvi.

⁴ This ideology was first outlined by Barbara Welter in 1966 and has been fully accepted by women's studies. See Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2, Part 1 (Summer, 1966): 151–74.

by the NAWSA. For example, Alice Stone Blackwell, recording secretary of the NAWSA from 1890 until 1918 and chief editor of the influential *Woman's Journal*, published several writings that explained the coexistence of female suffrage with traditional social roles. One of her arguments is entitled “Men and Women Different”; another assures the reader that the influential qualities women possess—“Beauty, goodness, tact, talent, pleasant manners, money, social position, etc.”—would not be lost with enfranchisement.⁵ The adherence to traditional gender roles is also evident in an account of the 1903 convention, in which the absence of suffragist Dr. Julia Holmes Smith was explained: “She is detained because of illness of her husband and like a good wife she puts him first and the convention second.”⁶

The Cult of True Womanhood, however, sent conflicting messages to nineteenth-century women. While they were expected to work exclusively within the domestic sphere, they were also encouraged to reform society, which necessitated leaving the home. One of the ways women negotiated these contradictions was through the increasingly public performance of music—considered within the feminine sphere in the nineteenth century. Education for women included an emphasis on music, arts, and other crafts that could be practiced within the confines of domesticity. Literature from the

⁵ Alice Stone Blackwell, *Objections Answered* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association), 2, 12 in National American Woman Suffrage Association, *Woman Suffrage: Arguments and Results 1910–1911* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971).

⁶ Harper, ed. *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 5, 1900–1920, 71.

nineteenth century, including the influential *Godey's Lady's Book*, further emphasized the relationship between music and femininity.⁷

By the 1890s, the rise of women's clubs, many of which were music groups, ushered in a social shift and increasingly encouraged women to participate in music in more public arenas. One article from *Etude Magazine* from February 1898 stated, "All is changed now, because custom has ordained that musicales in private houses are proper and quite in keeping with fashionable functions of all kinds."⁸ By May 1898, the magazine published another article declaring, "The Woman's Musical Club is too old a feature of civilization to be termed exclusively a fad," suggesting that this was a movement, rather than a trend.⁹ Eventually, women's music clubs would give public performances that raised money and awareness for various causes, further expanding the scope of the feminine sphere.

Even women's clubs that were not strictly musical incorporated the performance and study of music.¹⁰ Entertainment committees organized "music and recitations suitable to the subjects of the meetings."¹¹ Despite the implications of the term "entertainment," club members were insistent that the meetings "are in no sense social

⁷ See Julia Eklund Koza, "Music and the Feminine Sphere: Images of Women as Musicians in 'Godey's Lady's Book', 1830–1877," *The Musical Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (Summer, 1991): 103–29.

⁸ Woman's Work in Music, "The Metronome," *Etude Magazine*, February, 1898.

⁹ From a paper by Mrs. Charles S. Virgil, Woman's Work in Music, "The Woman's Club a Factor in General Music Culture," *Etude Magazine*, May, 1898.

¹⁰ See Jane Cunningham Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (New York: Henry G. Allen, 1898) for several examples.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 212.

gatherings, but are strictly devoted to the work on hand.” Musical and artistic study occurred in addition to speeches and readings. Even as some clubwomen moved away from arts and literature to focus on political and social reform, many others, such as suffragist and clubwoman Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Hull House founder Jane Addams, saw art as a means of achieving these goals. Gradually, the use of the arts to create social change developed a strong contingent in the women’s club movement.¹²

As discussed in Chapter 2, the suffrage and club movements were far from identical, but they were related. The new idea of female empowerment and a conscious attention to self-improvement is seen in both movements. As clubwoman Jane Cunningham Croly put it, “In no place in the world can a woman so easily come to the front as in a large woman’s club.”¹³ In addition, clubs, like suffrage organizations, focused on creating change. The New England Club, founded by suffragist Julia Ward Howe and other Boston women in 1868 was intended to be “an organized social center for united thought and action.”¹⁴ Thus, the generation of suffragists who joined the movement when the NAWSA was forming had grown up in this atmosphere, and developed leadership skills through their experience in clubs, as well as a strong desire to create change. They also adopted the elitist principles of women’s clubs, which by the 1890s were increasingly controlled by upper-class white women.¹⁵

¹² Karen J. Blair, *The Torchbearers: Women and their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890–1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 33–5.

¹³ Croly, *The History of the Woman’s Club Movement in America*, x.

¹⁴ Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 183.

¹⁵ Ibid., 225; Buhle and Buhle, eds. *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*, 30.

The influence of women's clubs can be seen in the NAWSA conventions. These were staged to give the appearance of being hosted in a parlor or living room, decorated with rugs, sofas and armchairs, portraits, and plants.¹⁶ Moreover, they were organized discussions that included the emphasis on arts and literature found in early clubs through readings and musical performance. Clearly, suffragist leaders were in agreement with those clubwomen who saw the arts as a vehicle for change, and for increased women's political rights in particular. Music was not inferior to political speeches and debate at these meetings, but rather complemented the ideals of the NAWSA and the suffrage movement.

NAWSA Conventions

In describing the NAWSA conventions, Lynn Sherr writes, "The annual meetings of the suffrage association were not ladies' tea parties. Nor were they rowdy political conventions. Think instead of a more stylish hybrid: a dedicated, polite, yet wildly rebellious organization whose sole purpose was to overturn one of society's most entrenched constraints."¹⁷ The description "wildly rebellious" may be a bit of an exaggeration. Though the NAWSA's ultimate goal, enfranchisement, was radical, the convention minutes illustrate that the annual meetings were formal and orderly, much like the club meetings on which they were modeled. Suffragist Ida Husted Harper explained the nature of the conventions and their delegates more clearly: "These are trained and disciplined women. There is nothing hysterical, nothing fanatical about them.

¹⁶ Sherr, *Failure Is Impossible*, 83.

¹⁷ Ibid., 80.

... Even where people disapprove of [the NAWSA's] purposes they cannot fail to respect its dignified, orderly methods."¹⁸

NAWSA conventions occurred over the course of several days and were planned during the months before the convention. Attendees purchased tickets to the meetings, which were held in music halls, auditoriums, suffrage headquarters, churches, and other venues. The events included a mix of business meetings, with reports from committees and executive leaders, propositions, and elections; speeches and addresses; reports from auxiliary state societies; religious services; and receptions. Some meetings were limited to specific committees, while others were mass meetings. An example of a typical day's program is shown in Figure 3.1.

<p>Women have full suffrage in New Zealand and South Australia. "The mass of the citizens should not be without a voice in making the laws which they are to obey."—James Madison. "There is not a doubt that women have the constitutional right to vote." —Charles Sumner.</p>	
<p>TUESDAY, MAY 2nd. MORNING, 10 O'CLOCK.</p>	
<p>Resolutions. Election of Officers.</p>	
<p>AFTERNOON, 1:30 O'CLOCK. WORK CONFERENCE.</p>	
<p>PRESS WORK.</p>	
A New Opportunity.	MARY G. HAY.
The Value of Plates.	ELNORA M. BABCOCK.
Our Syndicate Articles:	
The Most Useful Kind.	ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.
How to Secure Their Publication.	IDA PORTER BOYER.
Discussion of General Subject.	
<p>3 O'CLOCK. PUBLIC SESSION.</p>	
<p>Addresses by State Presidents—</p>	
California,	WARREN C. KIMBALL, <i>Poetry</i> .
Alabama,	FRANCES GRIFFIN, <i>Poetry</i> .
Colorado,	MISSELYA C. WELCH.
Louisiana,	CAROLINE E. MERRICK.
District of Columbia,	HELEN RAND TINDALL.
Oklahoma,	CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.
Kansas,	ABBIE A. WELCH.
New York,	MARIANA W. CHAPMAN.
<p>EVENING, 8 O'CLOCK.</p>	
Piano—Silhouette, Opr. 8, No. 1— <i>Deceit</i> ,	MISS ELENORA BUSHNELL.
How to Win the Ballot,	ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY, Oregon.
War and Women,	EVELYN H. BELDEN, Iowa.
Song—Summer— <i>Cheminade</i> ,	MISS STELLA WHITE.
A Plea for the Ballot,	JOSEPHINE K. HENRY, Kentucky.
<p>"Taxation without representation is tyranny."—Declaration of Independence.</p>	
<p>In Louisiana and Montana tax-paying women have the right to vote upon all questions submitted to tax-payers.</p>	
<p>"I have not been able to see any good reason for denying the ballot to women."—John G. Whittier.</p>	
<p>10</p>	

Figure 3.1: Program for Tuesday, May 2, 1899, Rachel Foster Avery, *Proceedings of the Thirty-First Annual Convention [of the National American Woman Suffrage Association]*, 1899

¹⁸ Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, vol. 3 (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1908), 1246.

The performance of incidental music, which served to accompany an event that was not primarily musical, such as a church service, was common. Additionally, formal performances and community singing were spread throughout the convention programs. These latter types of musical events generally occurred during the speeches and addresses portions of the conventions, which also featured prayers, plays, and poetry.¹⁹ It is these performances, which existed independently rather than as accompaniments to ceremonies, that are of most interest here. They both highlighted the conservative nature of the organization, and fostered a sense of community among attendees.

Incidental Music

The purpose of a specific piece of incidental music is not difficult to determine, nor does it truly aid in understanding the NAWSA conventions; the music was secondary, an accompaniment to another event. Nevertheless, when viewed as a whole, the significant number of these performances, which required considerable planning and forethought, indicates the extent to which suffragists valued music at their conventions. Most frequently, incidental music was heard at religious services. Though the NAWSA resolved in 1896 that it would have no association with any theological publications, the convention proceedings indicate that there was still an emphasis on Christianity, one of the tenets of the Cult of True Womanhood.²⁰ The religious services, which were held each Sunday during a convention, emphasized women's rights in their sermons, many of which are printed in the convention minutes. These services featured the singing of

¹⁹ For a complete list of performances at the conventions, see Appendix 2.

²⁰ Occasionally, Jewish religious services also took place, which also featured music. See Harper, ed. *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 5, 1900–1920, 69.

hymns, as well as chamber music and organ performances. The music was often more extensive than would be expected at most church services. In 1906, for example, the Sunday service began with a thirty-minute recital, before continuing with prayers, sermons, and hymn-singing.²¹

NAWSA conventions also included memorial services, to honor the deaths of members that occurred during the previous year. These services included mostly prayers and remembrances, but were sometimes enhanced with music as well. At the 1907 convention, the memorial service included songs and performances on organ and harp, and was particularly “beautiful and impressive,” as suffragists mourned the death of Susan B. Anthony which had occurred in March 1906.²²

A more unusual performance of incidental music was at the 1915 convention, in which a band accompanied a procession:

Before the motion was put, the band, which had taken its position at one end of the hall, began to play and the delegates, each with a handful of roses, rose and stood while the anteroom proceeded the Official Board, followed by the Chairmen of Standing Committees and the Presidents of State Delegations....

The procession so formed marched around the entire hall and on to the platform, the members of the Board standing behind President Shaw, and the State Presidents grouping themselves at the back. The Laurel Crown was presented to Miss Shaw. Mrs. Laidlaw threw the flower garland around her, “to bind her forever to the Association,” and the whole audience showered her with the roses while those on the platform banked their flowers on her desk and at her feet. While the flowers were being showered upon her, the band played Scotch airs and the demonstration was closed with the playing of the “Star Spangled Banner,” the audience all singing.²³

²¹ Ibid., 179.

²² Ibid., 203.

²³ Susan W. Fitzgerald, ed., *The Hand Book of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Proceedings of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1915), 40.

The community singing of the “Star Spangled Banner” is not unusual, and will be addressed later in this chapter. The accompanying band, however, is more surprising. The “uniformed brass band” was brought in to honor Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who had announced her resignation as NAWSA president earlier in the convention.²⁴ The presence of a band at a NAWSA convention is rare and is outside traditional musical practices for women. Because of the scarcity of female wind players, it can be said with near certainty that this band was not comprised of women. Moreover, though brought in for this particularly special occasion, the band itself was not highlighted; its importance was only in its service to this procession. The band is not listed in the formal program of the convention, and is mentioned only in a footnote of the convention’s minutes, deemphasizing its presence.

Formal Performances

Formal performances at the NAWSA conventions, in which a soloist or an ensemble performed for an audience as in a recital, are carefully noted in the proceedings of twenty-one of the thirty programs surveyed. These were concert-like performances, to which audiences responded appropriately with applause and encouragement of encores.²⁵ Such formal performances demonstrate the influence of the club model, and also highlight the conservative femininity of the organization. Though not all performers were women, all performances were, in contemporary views, appropriately feminine. A vast

²⁴ Harper, ed. *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 5, 1900–1920, 457.

²⁵ See, for example, Harriet Taylor Upton, ed., *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association*. (Washington, D. C.: Stormont & Jackson, 1893), 69, 88, 125.

majority of the types of ensembles at these meetings were similar to those women participated in at home or in clubs, and are also found in the programs of other social or activist organizations' meetings.²⁶ Performances included mostly songs, violin works, and piano solos, but vocal quartets, orchestras, and even mandolin ensembles also performed at these meetings.

Domestic keyboard and vocal music had been an important part of the feminine sphere since the seventeenth century. By the nineteenth century, even public performances by women of such works were not unusual; playing the piano in particular was considered a sign of accomplishment for young ladies.²⁷ At the NAWSA conventions, the performance of piano and vocal solos reinforced the conservative image of the organization, as these were performances expected to be given by and for women.

In 1899 Henry Lahee reported that violin-playing had also become popular among women "who are obliged to earn a living."²⁸ Young violin prodigies who toured America and proved to audiences that women could publicly perform on the violin without altering their graceful appearances aided the gradual acceptance of female violinists.²⁹ When Julius Eichberg, founder of the Boston Conservatory, accepted female, as well as

²⁶ See, for example, *Proceedings at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting and Nineteenth Annual Festival of the New England Society in the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: 1899); *Official Program of the National Educational Association Forty-First Annual Convention Minneapolis, Minn.*, (Minneapolis: 1902).

²⁷ Christine Ammer, *Unsung: A History of Women in American Music* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 2001), 62.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

²⁹ Beth Abelsod Macleod, "'Whence Comes the Lady Tympanist?' Gender and Instrumental Musicians in 1853–1990," *Journal of Social History* 27, no. 2 (Winter, 1993): 293–294.

male violin students, the American public became even more accustomed to the idea of women playing the instrument. In addition, the light weight of the instrument, its high range, and the fact that it could be held and performed with graceful posture, unlike wind instruments which required facial contortion, encouraged increasingly positive reviews of female violinists. Violin solos were listed in the convention minutes from 1898–1903, and from 1906–1909. Though both men and women performed these solos, they were the types of performances that women may have appropriately given within their homes or in clubs.

The other instrumental ensembles further indicate the NAWSA's adherence to traditional feminine music practices. Women's music clubs of the late nineteenth century were particularly interested in women's choral music, which is represented in the programs of the conventions.³⁰ In 1899, for example, the Schumann Quartette performed Dorn-Platte's "Snowdrops." The Lakme Quartette, listed in the 1905 convention proceedings, was another vocal ensemble. It is also likely that the Elko Quartette (1905), the Philharmonic Quartet (1906), and the Schubert Quartette (1909) were vocal quartets, given the popularity of women's vocal groups in the late nineteenth century. Alternatively, these ensembles may have been string quartets, which were also gaining popularity among women during this time.³¹ In the case of the Philharmonic Quartet, the convention minutes indicate that it was accompanied by the harp, an instrument that was

³⁰ Adrienne Fried Block, *Amy Beach: Passionate Victorian; The Life and Work of an American Composer 1867–1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 164.

³¹ Ammer, *Unsung*, 37.

played almost exclusively by women.³² Even the mandolin, found at the conventions of 1893 and 1902, was an instrument frequently played by women. According to Paul Sparks, the mandolin was popular in the late nineteenth century amongst fashionable society.³³ In fact, some nineteenth-century women's clubs offered mandolin lessons, and Utah boasted a Young Ladies' Mandolin Club.³⁴

Yet, while mandolins, harps, violins, and pianos could be held and played gracefully, wind instruments required a woman to reshape her face in order to play them. Wind instruments were not universally accepted as appropriate for women to play until the mid-twentieth century, as discussed in Chapter 4.³⁵ Not surprisingly, there are no wind solos listed in the proceedings, and performances by bands, such as that in honor of Dr. Shaw, were notably uncommon.

Though in the nineteenth century all white middle- and upper-class women were expected to perform at an amateur level, the solo performers at these conventions were professional musicians. Reports of the conventions compliment the "excellent program[s] by the best musical talent" and the music at some conventions was furnished by famous activist musicians. John Hutchinson sang at the 1900 convention in celebration of Susan B. Anthony's birthday, and led community singing at the 1902 convention. Hutchinson and his siblings were known for their activist singing in the United States, particularly in

³² Ibid., 118.

³³ Paul Sparks, *The Classical Mandolin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 48.

³⁴ Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America*, 398, 1115.

³⁵ Macleod, "'Whence Comes the Lady Tympanist?'" 293; Margaret Hindle Hazen and Robert M. Hazen, *The Music Men: An Illustrated History of Brass Bands in America, 1800–1920* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), 55.

support of the abolitionist movement, and toured the country as the Hutchinson Family Singers. The Hutchinsons were famous for mitigating tension at antislavery meetings through music; Elizabeth Cady Stanton believed that “perhaps, after one of their ballads, the mob would listen five minutes.”³⁶ Suffrage, after abolition and temperance, has been considered their “third crusade.”³⁷ John Hutchinson, who also sang at the 1874 National Convention of Woman Suffrage Association (of the NWSA), wrote several songs, including the widely distributed “Vote It Right Along!” in support of women’s rights and enfranchisement.³⁸ Though the convention proceedings do not specify what he sang at the 1900 convention, it may have been one of his own suffrage songs.

Another such performance was given by the Fisk Jubilee Singers at the 1914 convention, which served to relieve “the tension of the week.”³⁹ Like the Hutchinson Family Singers, this singing group was well known for their involvement in another cause. The Fisk Jubilee Singers were a group of African American students from Fisk University, founded in 1871. When first established, the group raised money for their school, the first all-black higher education institution in the United States, by performing African American spirituals. Though the ensemble that performed at the convention was likely the Fisk Jubilee Quartet, a reduced ensemble rather than the original group, this

³⁶ Scott Gac, *Singing for Freedom: The Hutchinson Family Singers and the Nineteenth-Century Culture of Reform* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 46.

³⁷ Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), 153–4. For more on the Hutchinson Family Singers, see Gac, *Singing for Freedom*.

³⁸ See Crew, *Suffragist Sheet Music*, 1867-2, 1868-1, 1868-2, 1869-4, 1876-1, 1882-1(P), 1889-1(J), 1892-2(C).

³⁹ Harper, ed. *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 5, 1900–1920, 425.

men's quartet made and marketed recordings on the Victor label, and performed for educated audiences in the North. It is not difficult to imagine why the suffragists would have welcomed such a performance; like NAWSA, the Fisk Jubilee Singers used music to prove their educability and respectability, promoting a greater cause.

Most performances, however, were given not by famous activists, but by suffragists from the community in which the convention was held. For example, at the 1905 convention in Portland, Oregon, at least seven of the ten performers in the program were from Portland. Thus, these pieces contributed both to the NAWSA's desired image of femininity and also to its desire to make all of the suffragists in a community feel involved. Musical performance allowed community members to participate in ways in which the rigorous schedules of the conventions would not have otherwise allowed, and showcased the musical gifts of suffragists who may have been less talented orators or writers.

In searching through historical newspapers, it became apparent that though the names of these suffragist musicians are not generally recognized today, they were active performers, composers, and music educators in their communities.⁴⁰ For example, Sophia Hall Church, who performed Frank Lynes's "When Love is Done" and A. H. Behrend's "The Gift" at the 1898 convention, was a member of the Schubert Club, an organization in New York "devoted to the singing of part songs for female voices."⁴¹ Hall lived in New York and later Baltimore, where she was recognized for her singing and was head of

⁴⁰ Ibid., 21.

⁴¹ W. J. Henderson, "New York as a Musical Centre," *Cosmopolitan*, May 1891–October 1891, 57.

the voice department of the Woman's College in Baltimore in 1900.⁴² Henry Wehrman, who gave a violin solo at the 1903 convention in New Orleans was another active musician; he has been described as “one of the most distinguished violinists and composers in New Orleans at the end of the nineteenth century.”⁴³ The performing ensembles featured at conventions were also often pre-established groups, many of which were club-organizations. The Mandolin Club of Washington, which performed at the 1893 convention held in Metzerott's Music Hall, for example, had performed in the same venue at least once before, along with other banjo and mandolin clubs.⁴⁴ Liley's Orchestra, which provided the music at the Atlanta convention in 1895, was similarly an established ensemble from the area, under the direction of Charles A. Liley since 1893.

The music performed at the conventions was mostly by nineteenth-century and contemporary composers. For example, the 1899 convention featured music by Engelbert Humperdinck (1854–1921), A. W. Platte (active c. 1900), Edvard Grieg (1843–1907), Moritz Moszkowski (1854–1925), William R. Chapman (active c. 1900), Eduard Lassen (1830–1904), Ethelbert Nevin (1862–1901), Frederic Hymen Cowen (1852–1935), Pablo de Sarasate (1844–1908), Pyotr Tchaikovsky (1840–1893), Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904), Cécile Chaminade (1857–1944), and Franco Leoni (1864–1949). Though not all of these composers remain popular today, all but Tchaikovsky were alive at the time of the convention, and the majority of them were writing in the classical style. The

⁴² “Music in Baltimore,” *The Musical Courier*, May 27, 1900, 29.

⁴³ John H. Baron, *Concert Life in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: A Comprehensive Reference* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 249.

⁴⁴ “‘The Senators’ at Washington,” *The Cornell Daily Sun*, January 5, 1893, 2.

prevalence of art music is not surprising. It shows not only that the musicians at the conventions were well trained, but also reflects a growing perceived correspondence between classical music and social activism, particularly for women. This stemmed in part from clubwomen, many of whom saw the arts as a means of self-improvement and as a way to create large-scale social reform.⁴⁵ By the turn of the century, women's ensembles and women's music clubs were playing a "higher class of compositions" by composers of art music, rather than popular music.⁴⁶

A convention's musical program was not always exclusively pieces in the art music tradition, however. In 1901, at the same convention where Mrs. E. W. French performed two art songs, "Love Me if I Live" by Arthur Foote and "The Rosary" by Ethelbert Nevin, Elizabeth Ferguson sang "The Link Divine," a composition by Piccolomini with words by Alfred H. Hyatt.⁴⁷ That the latter is considerably less complex than an art song like Foote's can be seen in Figure 3.2. Moreover, the cover of "The Link Divine," advertising performers, indicates that this song was published and distributed as popular music.

⁴⁵ Blair, *The Torchbearers*, 33–5.

⁴⁶ Judith Tick, "Passed Away Is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Musical Life, 1870–1900," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 331; Anna-Lise P. Santella, "Modeling Music: Early Organizational Structures of American Women's Orchestras," in *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century* ed. John Spitzer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 66.

⁴⁷ This is probably the same Mrs. E. W. French who performed vocal solos at the 1902 National Educational Association in Minneapolis, Minnesota. See *Official Program of the National Educational Association Forty-First Annual Convention Minneapolis, Minn.*



Figure 3.2a: Excerpt, Arthur Foote, *11 Songs*, Op. 26, no. 2, 1892

Sung by
MISS IDA OSBORNE, MISS MAGGIE STIRLING
AND
MISS KITTY GRINDLAY.

THE LINK DIVINE

Song.

WORDS BY
ALFRED H. HYATT.

Music by
PICCOLOMINI.

THIS SONG MAY BE SUNG ANYWHERE WITHOUT PAYMENT OF ANY FEE.

ALLAN & CO.
PROPRIETARY LIMITED
Melbourne, Bendigo, Geelong.
Printed by WOODWARD & CO. (LONDON) and by the Copyright.
PRINTED IN ENGLAND.

THRELL'S BOOK SHOP
322 PACIFIC HIGHWAY
CHERRY HILL NSW

THE LINK DIVINE.

Words by
ALFRED H. HYATT.

Music by
PICCOLOMINI.

Andante cantabile.

VOICE.

PIANO.

Andante, dolce con espressione.

cross the moor-land bleak and bare, I watch the sun-set sky; Tho'

Violin or Piano ad lib.

cantabile

Figure 3.2b: Sheet music cover and excerpt, Piccolomini and Alfred H. Hyatt, “The Link Divine,” 1893

Piccolomini's music would have been familiar to women, as it is similar to the music played in the parlor in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as discussed in Chapter 2. Parlor music, written for and marketed to young women, often expressed social values and encouraged the pure nature of women, as dictated by the Cult of True Womanhood. Though the parlor songs performed at NAWSA conventions were not directly related to suffrage, some of the works communicated values that were in line with those of the organization.

One particularly interesting parlor song performed at a suffrage convention was A. H. Behrend and F. E. Weatherly's "The Gift," performed by Sophia Church Hall in 1899. Like most parlor music, both the melody and the accompaniment are accessible to those with amateur skills. More importantly, the text of this song emphasizes the tenets of the Cult of True Womanhood. The mother is seen as pious, as she is graced by a visit from Christ. The mother is also selfless and compassionate, as she hopes for the best for her child while never asking for anything of personal benefit. And, most obviously, she wishes for her child, who the listener learns is a girl, to have qualities that a nineteenth-century woman was meant to possess, according to the Cult: purity, truth, love, and the presence of Christ:

A mother was watching on Christmas night,
Rocking her babe by the candle light,
And she lifted her eyes in the gath'ring gloom,
For the Christ-child stood in her lowly room.
"What shall I give to thy child?" he said,
Softly caressing the sleeper's head,
"Nay!" said the mother "O Angel Guest,
Give her what ever Thou deemest best!"

"What shall I give her, O mother mild?
["]Ask what thou wilt for thy little child.

[“]Shall I kiss her brow that her eyes may shine
[“]With a beauty that men will call divine?
[“]Shall I touch her lips that they may flow
[“]With songs the sweetest the world may know?”
“Nay” said the mother, “that will not stay,
[“]Songs are forgotten and hair turns gray!”

“But what shall I give her?” He said again,
“Ask, and thou shalt not ask in vain”;
And the mother lifted her eyes above
[“]Give her purity, truth and love!”
And the Christ-child turn’d to her soft and mild,
“Thou hast chosen the best for thy little child;
[“]Be not afraid tho’ life be sore
[“]I shall be with her forevermore!”

Hall was, as discussed above, no amateur musician; she could have performed more complicated art music. Thus, the parlor genre was not used to make performance easier, but rather to complement the kinds of music performed by the majority of suffragists, and perhaps, as in this example, to send a specific message.

That music complemented the organization’s image of conservatism by highlighting the continued adherence to feminine roles and relying on clubs and parlor performance as models, does not mean that music was exclusive to meetings by the NAWSA, or even to meetings by women’s organizations. However, for the NAWSA, the use of music, and in particular, music that was considered within the feminine sphere, highlighted their conservative stance. It may be no coincidence that one of the few twentieth-century conventions without music was held in 1913. This convention was hosted by the Congressional Union, later the National Woman’s Party (NWP)—a group unconcerned with femininity and known for embracing militant tactics, as will be described in Chapter 4.

Community Singing

In planning the 1898 convention, Susan B. Anthony wrote, “Can you get up some kind of spectacular affair that will make everybody from everywhere feel they are included—that *they are in it*.”⁴⁸ It is clear that building a community was important to Anthony and to the other NAWSA leaders, as they looked for ways to help all members feel involved. As discussed above, music was often furnished by members of the local community. In several of the proceedings, the musicians are thanked for their “charming vocal and instrumental music” along with the other local contributors, such as the press, government officials, local suffrage associations, ministers, church congregations, and ushers.⁴⁹ A more significant means of fostering community in these conventions was through group singing, listed in the programs as “congregational singing” or “community singing.”

A tradition firmly established in 1902, singing by the entire audience became a feature at nearly every convention thereafter. Often, a suffragist was listed as the leader of this activity, giving an accomplished musician of the local community an active role. The minutes of the 1904 convention, held in Washington, D.C., stated, “Miss Etta V. Maddox, of Maryland, led the congregational singing at all the day meetings.”⁵⁰ The NAWSA leaders’ *History of Suffrage: 1900–1920* adds that Maddox not only led the

⁴⁸ Sherr, *Failure Is Impossible*, 82.

⁴⁹ Alice Stone Blackwell, ed. *Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association* (Warren, OH: Frank W. Perry, 1901), 57. See also proceedings from 1899, 1902, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1911.

⁵⁰ Upton, ed., *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention*, 11.

community singing, but also prepared the arrangements.⁵¹ Furthermore, Maddox was a performer at the convention as well; she sang the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” at the Sunday church service, the audience joining in for the chorus.⁵² Like many of the other musicians at the conventions, Maddox had an active musical life outside suffrage conventions, as she is listed as a member of the chorus of the Music Festival in the Seventh Regiment Armory, under the direction of Theodore Thomas.⁵³

The primary emphasis of the group singing, however, was not a single leader, but the entire community. This is the type of musical involvement scholars have pointed to in their statements that music was used at suffrage meetings. In the same letter in which Susan B. Anthony requested a “spectacular affair that will make everybody from everywhere feel they are included,” she suggested the youngest generation at the convention sing to demonstrate that music and art, along with ideas about women’s rights, were transmitted to younger generations.⁵⁴ Thus, music was seen as a way of connecting suffragists across generations and across the nation.

The two most commonly performed songs were “America” and “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.” In fact, these were often sung by the audience multiple times in a single convention; the audience at the 1905 convention sang “America” seven times, and “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” twice.

⁵¹ Harper, ed. *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 5, 1900–1920, 98.

⁵² Upton, ed., *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention*, 179.

⁵³ H. E. Krehbiel, ed., *Official Programme of the Music Festival to be Held in the Seventh Regiment Armory, New-York, May 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1882* (Music Festival Association, 1882), 134.

⁵⁴ Sherr, *Failure Is Impossible*, 82–3.

“America (My Country ’Tis of Thee),” written by Samuel Francis Smith, was a popular melody with the suffragists. Several songwriters used the melody for their suffrage songs, supporting the idea proposed by Francie Wolff, that familiarity allowed people to join in easily during the performance of a new song, as they already knew the melody and simply needed to read a new text.⁵⁵ As explained in Chapter 2, using a patriotic melody as the basis of suffrage contrafacts also allowed songwriters to create a musical commentary that questioned the extent to which freedom was part of American life.⁵⁶ In the proceedings, however, there is no indication that the women were singing any text other than the original. The choice of a patriotic song, and particularly “America,” is peculiar. The text to this song declares the United States a “sweet Land of Liberty,” a sentiment that does not coincide with statements from the NAWSA such as “So long as the men alone are the source of power of the government, it is not a government OF the people, FOR the people and BY the people, IT IS NOT A DEMOCRACY.”⁵⁷ On the other hand, several lines in the song may be interpreted as a prayer for freedom, rather than an acknowledgement, such as “From every mountain side *Let Freedom ring,*” and “*Let music swell the breeze, and ring from all the trees/ Sweet Freedom’s song.*” The suffragists were not fighting against America, they were fighting to change America. This idea is supported by the fact that the NAWSA was a largely patriotic organization, as they demonstrated during World War I. Unlike the NWP, which

⁵⁵ Wolff, *Give the Ballot to the Mothers*, 6.

⁵⁶ Branham and Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom’s Song*, 83.

⁵⁷ Susan W. Fitzgerald, *What Is a Democracy* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1910), in National American Woman Suffrage Association, *Woman Suffrage*.

protested the fight for democracy overseas, the NAWSA saw the war as an opportunity to prove that women deserved the ballot because of their patriotism.⁵⁸

“The Battle Hymn of the Republic” was a more obvious song choice for community singing at the conventions. This song has a long history in the suffrage movement; before the NAWSA was even formed, an account of the 1880 NWSA convention describes “the immense audience of 3,000 people joining in the chorus” of the song.⁵⁹ The song had a historical relationship with the Civil War and the abolitionist movement, in which many suffragists were involved, and like “America,” “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” served as the basis of many suffrage songs.

The text highlights the glory of God, rather than the glory of the United States. This emphasis on religion is consistent with the principles of the Cult of True Womanhood, which held that women were pious by nature. The message, to follow God to victory, for He will judge those who wrong others, clearly resonated with many of the suffragists, who perceived themselves as wronged. Additionally, the song includes a clear reminder that Jesus, the Hero, is “born of woman,” empowering Mary and other women.

Perhaps most significant is the fact that Julia Ward Howe, the author of the lyrics, was an active suffragist leader. Howe was a leader of the AWSA, as well as an abolitionist, social activist, and club leader, and was a symbol of respectability for the

⁵⁸ Christine A. Lunardini and Thomas J. Knock, “Woodrow Wilson and Woman Suffrage: A New Look,” *Political Science Quarterly* 95 no. 4 (Winter, 1980–1981): 664.

⁵⁹ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 3, 1876–1885 (New York: Source Book Press, 1970), 180.

suffrage movement.⁶⁰ Thus, the community singing of “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” complemented the conservative image of the NAWSA while building on the importance of an individual in the suffrage community. That the suffragists adopted Howe’s song as their own is indicated in a report from Fannie J. Fernald, President of Maine’s organization, in which Fernald states, “Mrs. deGrys, accompanied by her little daughter, sang ‘The Battle Hymn of the Republic’ and other Suffrage songs.”⁶¹ Not only is this an example of inter-generational music-making at suffrage events, the reference to Howe’s song as a suffrage song, rather than a hymn or patriotic tune, is telling.

Community singing is perhaps the most significant type of performance at the meetings, as it allowed every member to become involved in the busy conference schedule and fostered a sense of belonging. The NAWSA conventions were not designed to recruit members, but needed to unite suffragists from across the country. Music, it seems, was instrumental in this mission.

Music for the Elite

Musical performances occurred at a majority of the annual conventions of the NAWSA held between 1891 and 1921. Given the large repertoire of suffrage songs, it is somewhat understandable that scholars have assumed that this was the repertoire performed at conventions.⁶² However with the exception of the 1891 convention, there is

⁶⁰ Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 222.

⁶¹ *Proceedings of the Forty-Third Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association* (New York: Association, 1911), 121.

⁶² See, for example, Wolff, *Give the Ballot to the Mothers*, 6 and Sherr, *Failure Is Impossible*, 83.

no indication that the NAWSA used suffrage songs at their meetings.⁶³ Though the NAWSA endorsed the publication of suffrage sheet music and used its proceeds toward the organization's campaign, the members recognized that not all of the music was of high quality.⁶⁴ Thus, the selection of non-suffrage music is also in line with the elitist values of the organization.

As I have shown, musical performances at NAWSA conventions can be understood as complements to the tenets of the organization, including community building, and the conservative image. This is seen in the repertoire, which fell mainly within the art music tradition or was similar to that performed by women in their homes; the types of ensembles, which complemented those in which women increasingly performed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and the performers themselves, highly trained musicians who were active in their musical communities. Aided by music, the leaders of the NAWSA incorporated elements of the women's club movement and adhered to the social values of the Cult of True Womanhood in an attempt to appeal to a wider, more traditional audience, and to project an image of elite femininity.

⁶³ National American Woman Suffrage Association, *The Twenty-Third Annual Washington Convention*, 4–5. Newspaper articles and accounts of small local meetings suggest that this music was frequently performed at these meetings, and further study of the way music was used at these meetings is needed.

⁶⁴ See *Forty-Third Annual Report of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association Given at the Convention*, 22; Nettie Rogers Schuler, ed., *The Hand Book of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Proceedings of the Forty-Ninth Annual Convention* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1917), 150.

Chapter 4: Music of the 1913 Woman Suffrage Procession

On March 3, 1913, between 5,000 and 8,000 men and women paraded on foot, in floats, and on horseback down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. The Official Program for the 1913 Woman Suffrage Procession stated, “We march in a spirit of protest against the present political organization of society, from which women are excluded.”¹ The Woman Suffrage Procession was not the first suffrage parade to take place in the United States, but it was one of the most significant. This parade was a truly national event, and the first to occur in Washington, D.C. Taking place on the eve of Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration, the event was documented in newspapers across the country, captivating the nation.

A new emphasis on parades in the second decade of the twentieth century arose as American suffragists began to adopt what they called “spectacular” methods. These new tactics, which included lobbying, petitioning, parades, pageants, street speeches, and demonstrations were aggressive and public. Parades were certainly not the most radical events planned by suffragists in the twentieth century, but they represented a step away from traditional feminine restraint by placing women directly in the public eye. Originally organized by progressive suffragists, the parades were underscored with militaristic, spectacular elements, some of which would later be adopted by even the most conservative organizations like the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

¹ Harriet Connor Brown, ed., *Official Program of the Woman Suffrage Procession* (Washington, D.C.: 1913), 3.

It is not surprising that music, provided by singers and bands, was used to accompany the 1913 Procession and other suffrage parades. The music used in parades highlighted the events' militant roots and was reinforced with musical imagery that was similarly militaristic. Unlike the music at meetings such as the NAWSA conventions, the music in a parade was necessarily loud, powerful, and martial. Rather than adhering to traditional feminine musical roles, which limited women to performances in the home or in front of small audiences, the parades allowed women to participate publicly in dramatic musical events from which they were traditionally barred. In addition, the music in parades, as in conventions, appears to have fostered a sense of community and solidarity among participants.

In this chapter, I will outline the history of spectacular suffrage and parades. Then, I will describe how music and musical imagery were used to underscore the militaristic nature of the parades and how music was used to create unity. The focus of this chapter is on the 1913 Procession and Hazel MacKaye's *Allegory*, a pageant associated with the Procession. Due to the limited amount of information that survives about music at these events, I will also draw details from newspaper articles and accounts of other large-scale parades to describe how music was used in similar events throughout the United States. Following the 1913 Procession, suffragists paraded to a greater extent, and many events surpassed this first national parade in both size and militancy.

Spectacular Suffrage

By the turn of the century, the NAWSA was fully established as the leading suffrage organization, and its organizers were firmly conservative in their image and

methods. Remaining conservative was particularly important to twentieth-century American suffrage leaders because of the contemporaneous militant movement in England. The English “suffragettes” worked under the slogan “Deeds, Not Words.” Led by Emmeline Pankhurst, the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) waged a radical and public war on the government by disrupting political meetings, vandalizing public and private property, and attacking politicians, believing that such publicity would embarrass the government and force officials to enfranchise women.

Music played a part in the British militant activities, particularly with the involvement of composer Ethel Smyth from 1911 to 1913, who wrote several pieces in support of suffrage. Smyth’s political activism and her music, most notably the “March of the Women,” were consequential to England’s suffragists, the march becoming the activists’ “Marseillaise.”² Originally a unison song with piano accompaniment, “March of the Women” was used at political meetings and shouted in the streets and prisons of London. It was later arranged for piano solo and for military band and performed in a parade in Washington, D.C., in 1914.³ Though not a march in form, it is a march in character, with its dotted, rhythms, emphasis on beats one and three, and empowering lyrics.

² Kathleen A. Abromeit, “Ethel Smyth, ‘The Wreckers,’ and Sir Thomas Beecham,” *The Musical Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (1989): 205. See also Elizabeth Wood, “Performing Rights: A Sonography of Women’s Suffrage,” *The Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (Winter 1995): 616–20.

³ Abromeit, “Ethel Smyth, ‘The Wreckers,’ and Sir Thomas Beecham,” 206; Jory Bennett, “List of Works” in Ethel Smyth, *The Memoirs of Ethel Smyth*. Abridged and introduced by Ronald Chrichton (New York: Viking, 1987), 378; Maggie Amelia Rehm, “The Art of Citizenship: Suffrage Literature as Social Pedagogy” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2011), 45.

Many American suffragists, particularly the leaders of the NAWSA, were vehemently opposed to the militancy of the British movement, fearing that they would lose the support of the large number of Americans who had been attracted by the organization's conservatism.⁴ Even as they moved toward other, traditionally male-dominated political tactics, focusing on education and advertising, these conservative suffragists refrained from outright militancy and extreme publicity.⁵ Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson was one of many suffragists who insisted that the members of her organization "are not militant, nor do we employ spectacular methods."⁶ Instead, they planned mass meetings with music and other social events, adhering to the traditional conservative style of the NAWSA.

Other suffragists, such as Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, and Harriot Stanton Blatch, had spent time in England, and felt that the radical, public methods and civil disobedience being used there could re-stimulate the American movement, which had seen a decrease in momentum between 1896 and 1910, and could secure the federal amendment.⁷

Newspapers reported that when Pankhurst arrived in America, her speeches attracted

⁴ Frances Diodato Bzowski, "Spectacular Suffrage; Or, How Women Came Out of the Home and into the Streets and Theaters of New York City to Win the Vote," *New York History* 76, no. 1 (January 1995): 63.

⁵ Michael McGerr, "Political Style and Women's Power, 1830–1930," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 3 (December 1990): 869–70.

⁶ "Columbia School for Woman Suffragists," *The State* clipping, February 9, 1917. The Ideal Scrapbook, National American Woman Suffrage Association records, 1839–1961, Box 74 Reel 53–54.

⁷ Scholars often refer to this time as the "doldrums," a term which is said to have been used by prominent suffragists, though they include no citation. See, for example, Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 256. I have found no use of this term in primary sources from the time, and thus avoid using it.

thousands of listeners, indicating the growing interest in the English leader in the United States.⁸ Alice Paul, leader of the Congressional Union (CU), then part of the NAWSA, was one of the most vocal about her desires to incorporate radical methods into the American movement, and would eventually break away from the NAWSA and form the rival National Woman's Party (NWP) in 1917 to carry out this shift in methodology. One of the first steps Paul would take towards militancy was in organizing the 1913 Woman Suffrage Procession in Washington, D.C.

Parades: Stepping Outside Tradition

Suffrage parades were first introduced in England in 1907, and were almost immediately adopted by suffragists in New York City's Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, under the leadership of Harriot Stanton Blatch. Throughout American history, women were excluded from parades. Though they were encouraged to observe as spectators, they rarely participated except in symbolic roles, such as those of virtue or beauty.⁹ Thus, when parades were first introduced into the movement, conservative suffragist leaders like Carrie Chapman Catt refused to participate in these events, which they considered unfeminine. By 1912, however, when Lucy Burns and Alice Paul proposed to hold a parade in Washington, D.C., middle-class women were

⁸ "Great Throng Hears Emmeline Pankhurst," clipping, October 25, 1909. Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, Scrapbook 8: 140–41.

⁹ McGerr, "Political Style and Women's Power, 1830–1930," 867. Also see Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 24–37.

beginning to consider parading within the scope of appropriate feminine behavior.¹⁰ Still, the parade was far more radical than any previous event endorsed by the NAWSA, and betrayed the influence of the more militant methods used in England. American suffragists were ready for battle, and this new tactic was controversial. Many women refused to march or were prevented from doing so by their husbands.

The 1913 Procession in Washington, D.C., appears to have been a compromise, with Paul and Burns on one side and the conservative NAWSA leaders on the other. The more radical suffragists had recently returned from a trip to London where they were “caught up in the maelstrom of the ‘militant’ suffrage movement.”¹¹ The parade was not only designed to draw more public attention to suffrage, but also to promote the shift of focus from attaining voting rights state by state to securing a national amendment. The first line of the Official Program states, “The purpose of this National procession is to give expression to the nation-wide demand for an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women.”¹²

Even before the parade began, it was a public event. Rosalie Gardiner Jones, an activist from New York City, organized a pilgrimage over sixteen days, from New York to Washington, D.C. The 295-mile march not only publicized the upcoming parade, but

¹⁰ Bzowski, “Spectacular Suffrage,” 72–3.

¹¹ Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 5, 1900–1920, 377; *Proceedings of the Forty-Fourth Annual Convention of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association* (New York: Headquarters, 1912), 91. Scholars credit Paul and Burns with the plan, but the idea may also be traced to Florence Ethridge, of Washington, D.C. See “Activities of the W. C. L. Aid Suffrage Cause,” *The College Grit*, Washington, D.C., November 12, 1920, 2.

¹² Brown, ed., *Official Program of the Woman Suffrage Procession*.

also established its militaristic nature; Jones's "Army of the Hudson" was entering the public, traditionally masculine sphere in a bold way. Political cartoons responding to the march portrayed the women in historically male events, such as George Washington's Crossing of the Delaware, publicity that was heralded by suffragists as far better than any previous media attention they had received.¹³ The photograph in Figure 4.1 of Jones, walking behind the first car, and other hikers, probably taken in Newark, shows a man with a trumpet under his arm (left of Jones), suggesting that music accompanied the hike as well as the culminating parade.



Figure 4.1: Photograph, Suffrage Hikers on Way to Washington, 1913 (from George Grantham Bain Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

¹³ Robert P. J. Cooney, Jr., *Winning the Vote: The Triumph of the American Woman Suffrage Movement* (Santa Cruz: American Graphic Press, 2005), 187.

The suffragists selected the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration for the parade, ensuring that Washington, D.C., would be filled with visitors and spectators, increasing the dramatic character of the event. Thousands of men and women marched, and the parade was carefully planned and highly organized. There were seven sections, with marchers arranged to represent specific states, countries, or occupations, as shown in Figure 4.2. According to the Program, "The story told in the Procession shows what woman is striving to achieve, as well as what she has so far attained."¹⁴

To counteract the militant associations Americans had with suffrage parades, planners carefully incorporated elements of beauty and dignity through the use of costumes, banners, and floats. This was done in an attempt attempt to attract more marchers and appease conservative spectators, who still considered marching outside a woman's sphere.¹⁵ One newspaper article from February 1913 promised readers, "This will be no parade, its organizers assert, of women who want to elbow men out of the way and themselves become the masculine element of society, but a beautiful pageant made up of women who for the most part long for the betterment of the home, the protection of the children, and the guardianship of the young girls."¹⁶

Despite such reports, Paul, Burns, and other marchers *were* entering masculine society. In addition, these articles did not prevent spectators from protesting what they considered a radical, unfeminine event. Despite the careful planning, incorporation of

¹⁴ Brown, ed., *Official Program of the Woman Suffrage Procession*, 15.

¹⁵ Lucy G. Barber, *Marching on Washington: The Forging of an American Political Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 55–6.

¹⁶ "The Suffragist Invasion of Washington, D.C.," *Morning Oregonian*, February 2, 1913, 2.

How Thousands of Women Parade To-day at Capital.
SUFFRAGE MARCH LINE

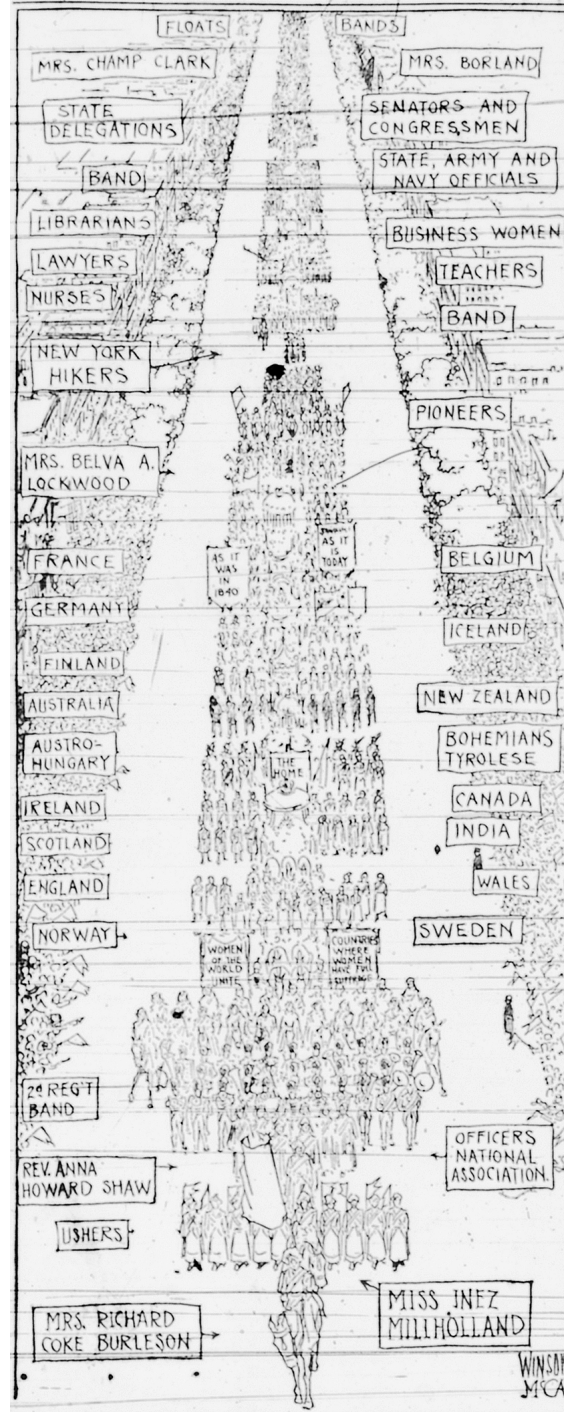


Figure 4.2: Drawing, Windsor McCay, Suffrage March Line, in *New York Evening Journal*, March 4, 1913 (from Newspaper Microfilm, Newspaper and Periodicals Reading Room, Library of Congress)

traditional beauty, and the fact that Paul had secured a police permit for a parade with music, onlookers insulted the marchers and crowded them, forcing many to fall out of line, and causing delays in the parade.¹⁷ Some crowd members, probably intoxicated, became violent and assaulted the marchers, tearing at the women's clothing and ripping banners away from them, without any intercession from the police.¹⁸ This reaction was not only against the suffrage movement, but against the bold nature of the event, which demanded change loudly and radically.

Militant Music and Music as Solidarity

The types of ensembles and the music performed at parades, as well as the musical symbolism that was incorporated into advertisements, programs, and the events, corresponded with the processions' bold publicity, and their roots in radicalism. Just as parading required women to step outside the boundaries of traditional female roles, women disregarded the restriction of traditional musical roles by playing in bands, shouting songs in the streets, and participating in a type of public performance that was not within the scope of traditional womanhood.

The musical iconography and symbolism that preceded the events contributed to the parades' non-feminine, militaristic image. Two advertisements, shown in Figure 4.3, for a parade in New York in 1911 use the icon of a trumpeter to underscore the call to arms. The first includes an image titled "The Trumpeter Awakening New York," in which a

¹⁷ For permit, see *Suffrage Parade: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia United States Senate* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 749.

¹⁸ Cooney, Jr., *Winning the Vote*, 197.

woman, armed with a sword, “calls in bugle notes upon the women of New York to march,” the associated article boldly declaring, “THOSE WHO ARE NOT WITH US, WILL BE COUNTED AGAINST US,” a sentiment that emphasizes the shift in the suffrage movement, from quiet protest to a declaration of war.¹⁹ The second advertisement is a postcard, on which a female trumpeter calls for others to march to the “beat of martial music” and join the parade.²⁰

Similar imagery was used during the 1913 Procession, as seen through the cover of the Official Program, shown in Figure 4.4. This image of a trumpeter was also used during the event; each section of the parade was led by a herald on horseback, wielding a horn or trumpet, as shown in Figure 4.5 and the Procession itself began with a trumpet call. The herald represents a messenger that tells of new beginnings, and a time when women would have the right to vote.

¹⁹ “The Trumpeter Awakening New York” and “Marching On!” *Broadside* (New York: Women’s Political Union), April 1911, Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, Scrapbook 9: 67.

²⁰ “Woman Suffrage Parade” (New York: Women’s Political Union), c. May 6, 1911, Postcard, Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, Scrapbook 9: 66.



Figure 4.3a: Drawing, “The Trumpeter Awakening New York,” *Women’s Political Union Broadside*, April 1911 (from Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

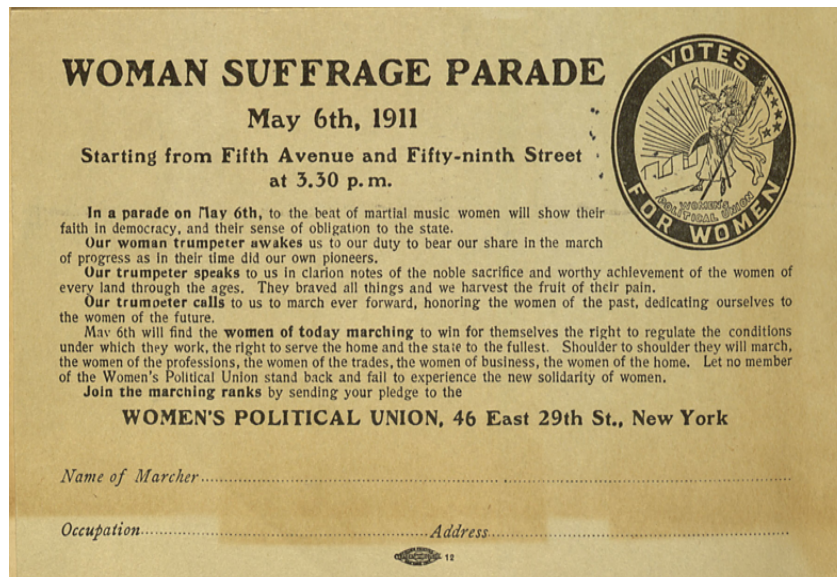


Figure 4.3b: Postcard, “Woman Suffrage Parade,” c. May 6, 1911 (from Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks.)



Figure 4.4: Cover, *Official Program of the Woman Suffrage Procession*, 1913

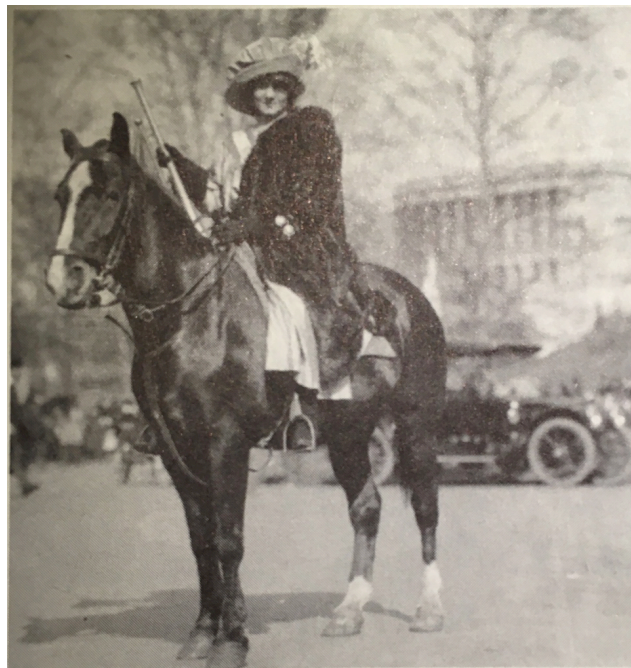


Figure 4.5: Photograph, Mounted marshal with horn, 1913 (from James Glen Stovall, *Seeing Suffrage: The Washington Suffrage Parade of 1913, Its Pictures, and Its Effect on the American Political Landscape*)

The most dramatic use of music, however, was not solely visual. Marching bands played a significant role in suffrage parades in both England and the United States, underscoring the events' radical qualities. Like the symbol of the trumpeter, the association between military-style bands and war highlighted the change in the suffrage movement that was being emphasized in parades; suffragists like Alice Paul were willing to make their battle against the government more public and more visible.

Numerous bands participated in each suffrage parade. Nine bands performed at the 1913 Woman Suffrage Procession, leading different sections of the parade, and a parade in England was reported to have included "scores of bands."²¹ In 1912, an article promised that the upcoming suffrage parade in New York would feature "nearly every band in the five boroughs."²² The article explained that the bands "will be fortified by a score of fife and drum corps," instruments associated with the military. Another parade, with a reported 20,000 marchers, was estimated to have included forty bands with 571 instrumentalists, and was similarly reported as playing "martial music."²³

The military history of marching bands not only complemented the increasingly combative nature of the suffragists that initiated parades, but also was responsible for the traditional view of bands as men's ensembles. In addition, it was considered unladylike

²¹ Some sources put the number of bands in the 1913 Procession at ten, but there are nine listed in the Official Program. See Brown, ed., *Official Program of the Woman Suffrage Procession*; "5,000 Suffragettes in London Parade," clipping, [June 17, 1911], Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, Scrapbook 9: 98.

²² "5,000 Men to March with Women in Suffrage Parade," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, November 3, 1912, 28.

²³ "Suffrage Banners Wave Over 20,000," *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), May 4, 1913, 1.

for women to play wind instruments, as it affected their physical appearance, forcing them to position their bodies in ungraceful ways. Upper-class women were particularly discouraged from playing wind instruments and many Americans even questioned the character of female wind players.²⁴ These concerns lasted well into the twentieth century; in 1935, a reviewer for the *New York Sun* asked, “What is the outlook for the female bassoonist? . . . Does anyone wish to see a woman playing a bass drum or an E flat tuba? . . . And forgiving heaven has often looked down on the puffings of the lady cornet soloist.”²⁵ Women’s concert bands were becoming increasingly popular in the nineteenth century, particularly through the efforts of Helen May Butler’s Ladies Brass Band, which toured the United States from 1898 until 1913.²⁶ Women’s marching bands, however, which performed in a more public setting and required movement that further affected graceful posture, were still a rarity.

Suffrage parades, which already represented a denouncement of traditional gender roles, also provided the opportunity for women’s bands to defy tradition and make their debut as marching ensembles. One such band, which marched in the 1913 Procession, was the Missouri Ladies Military Band, the first women’s band to march in the nation’s

²⁴ Jill M. Sullivan, *Bands of Sisters: U.S. Women’s Military Bands during World War II* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 5.

²⁵ W. J. Henderson, “Music and Musicians,” *New York Sun*, November 16, 1935, quoted in Macleod, ““Whence Comes the Lady Tympanist?”,” 297.

²⁶ See Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men*, 55–6; Jill M. Sullivan, “A Century of Women’s Bands in America,” *Music Educators Journal* 95, no. 1 (September 2008): 33–5.

capital.²⁷ The ensemble was led by Alma Nash, a suffragist and music educator from Maryville, Missouri. Though Elizabeth Kent, chairman of the committee on bands for the event, reached out to a number of women's bands, the ensemble from Missouri is the only such women's group on record as participating in the parade.²⁸ Kent responded to Nash's request to play for the event, stating, "We should be delighted to have a ladies band in our parade, and I have heard of several to whom I have been writing. Your band is the only one which professes an interest in suffrage, and is willing to come for expenses to Washington."

The Missouri Ladies Military Band was not a marching band at the beginning of 1913, but in the few weeks between Kent's response and the parade, they became one. In the end, twenty-two of the thirty-five members traveled with Nash to Washington, D.C. to perform in the parade and give a concert at the Continental Memorial Hall. Expectations for the inexperienced group's playing ability were low, but the large amount of publicity the ensemble received attests to the novelty of the women's marching band, which was thought "sufficient to overcome any deficiency they might have in rendering

²⁷ The following information about the Missouri Ladies Military Band is from Martha L. Cooper, *Suffrage Comes to the Women of Nodaway County, Missouri* (Maryville, MO: Accent Printing, 1997), 50–6.

²⁸ Accounts of the parade, stating that Nash's band marched near the head of the parade, conflict with the *Official Program* which specifically lists a women's band in the Seventh Section, near the close of the parade. As this is the only band specified as a women's band in the Program, it is unclear as to whether this was an additional women's band, or the order of the bands was adjusted from that listed in the program. One Maryville band member wrote, "Maryville's band was the only one composed of ladies," but she also erroneously reported the total number of bands for ten, and thus the validity of her report is questionable. See Brown, ed., *Official Program of the Woman Suffrage Procession*, 15; Cooper, *Suffrage Comes to the Women of Nodaway County, Missouri*, 54.

music.”²⁹ Thus, the band’s significance was in its demonstration of women’s abilities to carry out non-traditional roles in a public way. This was, after all, one of the overarching purposes of the parade itself.

According to reports, the ladies band was well received. Most accounts suggest that the band, loud and militaristic in character and marching “right at the head of the parade except for eight women and a float,” was instrumental in allowing the parade to progress through the unconstrained crowd of spectators.³⁰ Thus, the band became a symbol of resistance and strength, complementing the powerful image of the parade. In addition, this ensemble, which was described in newspapers across the country, may have paved the way for the increased participation of women’s bands in suffrage parades following the Procession. A 1914 article in *Belleville News-Democrat* describes the all-women’s brass band that would head the parade and perform in a concert at a future suffrage event.³¹

It is difficult to know exactly what repertoire these suffrage bands performed. Newspaper articles indicate that bands played patriotic melodies and hymns, similar to those sung at meetings and conventions, as well as suffrage songs, written specifically for the parades. Reports of the repertoire performed by the Missouri Ladies Military Band are vague; many provide no more detail than to say that the band played “various national

²⁹ Cooper, *Suffrage Comes to the Women of Nodaway County, Missouri*, 54.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ “Float in Parade Will Depict Woman Suffrage,” *Belleville News-Democrat*, April 20, 1914, 1.

airs.”³² An article in *The Evening Star* is more specific than most, promising that the bands would not play any ragtime music, and listing instead “America,” “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” and “Onward, Christian Soldiers” as the patriotic songs and hymns to be performed at the parade.³³ This was the same music performed by entire audiences at the NAWSA conventions and the lyrics of “America” and “Battle Hymn of the Republic” can easily be interpreted as the suffragists’ demands for a more democratic America, as discussed in Chapter 3. “Onward, Christian Soldiers” similarly corresponds with suffrage principles. In particular “Onward, Christian soldiers,/ Marching as to war,” highlights the suffragist’s militaristic march against inequality in the form of the Procession.

Beyond band performances, there is evidence that paraders sang as they marched. Though some spectators may also have viewed this large-scale public performance as outside the bounds of propriety, it would have been far less shocking than the women’s bands. Still, singing while marching also had roots in military music, and such public demonstrations of solidarity would have had a dramatic effect on spectators. Singing at parades was also important because it created a sense of community participation, an important goal for suffragists, as described in Chapter 3. A marcher from a New York parade in 1915 recalled, “Embarrassment is left at the street corner, and one is just a part, a singing, swinging part of a great stream, all flowing in the same direction toward the

³² Cooper, *Suffrage Comes to the Women of Nodaway County, Missouri*, 52, 54.

³³ “Plan a Big Meeting,” *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), February 18, 1913, 2.

same goal.”³⁴ Much like community singing at conventions, singing while marching became a form of empowerment for those who participated.

Marchers in the 1913 Procession perhaps sang along with the “national airs” played by the Missouri Ladies Military Band and other ensembles. The choice of well-known songs, such as “America,” “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” and “Onward Christian Soldiers” would have ensured that this participation was possible. In addition they likely sang Eliza Tonks’s suffrage song, “Come Forth, Ye Women of the Land (A Women’s Marseillaise),” which was printed in the Official Program for the parade.³⁵ The subtitle, Marseillaise, suggested the anthemic, militant purpose of the song, and the lyrics emphasized the importance of community: “Together stand, a faithful band,/ And justice shall resistless grow.” Other suffrage works were also composed for the parades, many of which included vocal parts. Helena Bingham composed a march called “Equality” to be used in the 1913 Procession.

Though this particular march seems not to have survived, it may have been similar to Elsa Gregori and Henry Grafton Chapman’s “Women’s Political Union March,” composed for a parade in New York in 1911 and taught to marchers several days prior.³⁶ The Women’s Political Union was the new name for New York City’s Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, the organization responsible for introducing suffrage

³⁴ M.D., Special Correspondence: “How It Seemed to March in the Suffrage Parade: By One of the Marchers,” *The Outlook*, November 3, 1915, 554.

³⁵ Brown, ed., *Official Program of the Woman Suffrage Procession*, 13.

³⁶ “Marching On!” *Broadside* (New York: Women’s Political Union), April 1911 Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, Scrapbook 9: 67; “Suffragists Sing New March Song,” clipping, [May 6, 1911]. Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, Scrapbook 9: 74.

parades to the United States. This piece, an excerpt of which is shown in Figure 4.6, is stylistically characteristic of a march. It is in quadruple meter, and its rhythms are heavily dotted, with an emphasis on beats one and three. Indications to play staccato emphasize the rhythmic, percussive character of the music while the octave doubling also suggests that the piece was intended for band scoring. In fact, the cover of the work shows that both band and orchestra parts were available in addition to the vocal-piano arrangement. The lyrics begin with a call to arms, and frequently draw on the symbol of the trumpeter, further highlighting the militaristic theme of the music. The second verse not only continues with the battle theme, but also emphasizes the theme of unity:

Come ev'ry matron and ev'ry maid
That in this fair land of ours doth dwell,
Hear the clarion call Bidding us one and all
Tarry no more but haste the ranks to swell!
Our purple banner flutters in the air!
Hear our trumpets blowing far and near!
Let your voice resound All the earth around
Till the whole world at least shall hear!

Marching, marching onward hand in hand,
Ever united true and brave we stand!
Pleading for the right, ready for the fight,
Only for justice and for all that is noble
We are Marching, marching onward hand in hand,
Ever united true and brave we stand!
Come then with us, Let your hearts never fail!
Hail to our Cause, all hail!

whole world at last shall hear! — whole world at last shall hear! —

pp. Staccato.

March - ing, march - ing on - ward hand in hand, Ev - er u - nit - ed

true and brave we stand! Plead - ing for the right, rea - dy for the fight,

Women's Political etc. 4

Figure 4.6: Excerpt, Elsa Gregori and Henry Grafton Chapman, “Women’s Political Union March,” 1911

Hazel McKaye's Allegory

As suffragists paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue in the 1913 Procession, claiming public space in a radical and militant manner, an associated, but different suffrage event occurred on the steps of the Treasury Building. A pageant, *Allegory*, written by radical suffragist and theatrical professional Hazel MacKaye involved approximately one hundred women and children, and according to the Official Program, illustrated “those ideals toward which both men and women have been struggling through the ages and toward which, in co-operation and equality, they will continue to strive.”³⁷

In an article for *National Magazine*, Joe Mitchell Chapple recalled several examples of music, played by a small orchestra, including selections by Wagner and Verdi:

First came “Columbia,” with a blare of trumpets and unfolding her mantle of rich blue revealed the stars and stripes as a lining. Followed “Justice,” personified by Miss Sarah Albert, with her retinue, in purple robes with uplifted swords to the strains of “Tannhauser [*sic*].” Gracefully they came as if groping to find the truth, and when they saw “Columbia,” they took their positions in line. When the heroic strains of “Aida” were played Miss F. F. Noyes, the noted Greek dancer, appeared, a veritable Greek goddess with diaphanous robes of cerise. She swooped down with flying feet and with a freedom and abandon of movement expressed the spirit of “Liberty.” Each received in turn the favor of “Columbia.” “Peace,” represented by Miss Lawson, appeared in pure white, as the tinkling of a bell gave the cue to the bandmaster below the step.³⁸

Despite the many examples given, Chapple recounted only a portion of the music featured in the *Allegory*, which was under the direction of composer-violinist Sol

³⁷ Brown, ed., *Official Program of the Woman Suffrage Procession*, 15.

³⁸ Joe Mitchell Chapple, “Inauguration of President Wilson,” *National Magazine* (April 1913), 20.

Minister.³⁹ The pageant featured the “Star Spangled Banner” and “America” as well as music by classical composers: Prelude and “Elsa’s Dream” from Wagner’s *Lohengrin* and “Pilgrim’s Chorus” from Wagner’s *Tannhäuser*, Largo from Handel’s *Xerxes*, “Triumphal March” from Verdi’s *Aida*, Dvorak’s *Humoresques*, and “Spring Song” from Mendelssohn’s *Songs without Words*. In addition, the pageant featured several trumpet calls, the first of which was played in response to the call that began the parade, connecting the two events.

The pageant was a medium in which women traditionally participated, and, with its reliance on virtuous symbols, its lack of dialogue, and its concentration on the female body, appears overly conservative in comparison to the parade itself.⁴⁰ Reviewers were relieved to see such an “impressively beautiful spectacle” in the midst of the chaotic Procession. The *Woman’s Journal* used the pageant to relieve worries of conservative suffragists, thus ensuring that the large suffrage community would remain intact:

To those who feared that equal suffrage would make women less womanly, to those who feared that in becoming politically free woman will become coarse and mannish looking, to those who fear the loss of beauty and grace, art and poetry, with the advent of universal suffrage, the pageant offered the final word, the most convincing argument that human ingenuity can devise.⁴¹

³⁹ The following information is taken from Brown, ed., *Official Program of the Woman Suffrage Procession*, 15, 17.

⁴⁰ Mary Chapman argues that the parade and the pageant portray two contrasting versions of femininity. However, she ignores several elements of image that can be found in both the parade and the pageant, such as the militant herald, and the emphasis on beauty. See Mary Chapman, “Woman and Masquerade in the 1913 Suffrage Demonstration in Washington,” *Amerikastudien* 44, no. 3 (1999): 343–55.

⁴¹ “Parade Struggles to Victory Despite Disgraceful Scenes,” *Woman’s Journal*, March 8, 1913, 77.

Some scholars have pointed out that MacKaye used the pageant to appeal to a wider audience, by demonstrating to spectators that the changes in the suffrage movement, and the changes they were asking for, could still have mass appeal. MacKaye was attempting to manipulate this mass appeal to cause audiences to reconsider tradition.⁴²

On the other hand, the *Allegory* was certainly not the antithesis to the Procession. The pageant was laced with the same trumpet calls that reinforced the martial character of the parade, even featuring maiden trumpeters as part of the performance and the use of the Treasury Building steps as a stage clearly symbolized suffragists' desires to have a presence in the United States government.⁴³ Furthermore, the event was planned so that the parade would reach the Treasury Building at the culmination of the pageant.⁴⁴ At the end of the parade, the pageant characters were to join the Procession, headed by the musicians, and thus, the stationary pageant musicians became marching musicians. Just as the parade combined beauty with a martial, militant image, the pageant inserted militancy into its picture of beauty, and the line that originally divided the pageant from the parade became blurred.

The music reinforces this multifaceted view of the *Allegory*. A selection of largely classical pieces, under the direction of a man, and probably accompanied by male musicians, seems conservative in contrast with the music that accompanied the parade. On the other hand, many of the selections, such as Verdi's "Triumphal March" and

⁴² Blair, "Pageantry for Women's Rights," 36; Rehm, "The Art of Citizenship," 77.

⁴³ Blair, "Pageantry for Women's Rights," 34.

⁴⁴ The parade was delayed due to overcrowding, and was over an hour late.

Wagner's "Pilgrim's Chorus," are strikingly powerful, highlighting the triumph of the women, even as their beauty was reinforced. It may be no coincidence that these are the selections that reporter Chapple documented.

The Influence of Parade Music

The rise of suffrage parades corresponded with the changing face of the suffrage movement, and music played a key role in this transition. As this chapter has shown, the aural and visual cues used in parades that were associated with military music, including marching bands and mounted heralds with trumpets, supported this shift, from conservative petitioning to militant protesting. Thus as the parades allowed women to participate in a spectacular event that was outside the traditional realm of respectability, the music supported this shift. In addition, the creation of unity through music, associated with the use of music to rally troops, was similar to the purpose of music in other suffrage events. In the case of the more public and dramatic parades, such solidarity was displayed to spectators.

While music served an obvious purpose, to accompany the marchers and help them step in time, it also served to reinforce the new, more public and powerful tactics adopted by suffragists. Some observers hoped the suffrage musicians could "charm [men] through music into granting women the ballot," but most accounts of the parades described the music as "martial," asserting that the music was anything but charming.⁴⁵ Undoubtedly, the music used in parades underwent necessary change from the refined chamber music

⁴⁵ "Suffs Try New Plan," *Emporia Gazette*, August 22, 1913, 2; "Women to Win with Music," *Kansas City Star*, August 22, 1913, 1; "[Woman Suffrage Banner] Parade: Thirty Thousand Suffragists March in New York City," *Broad Axe* (Chicago), November 6, 1915, 3.

that had occurred within the confines of private meetings or fundraising concerts. Parades allowed women to step out of their traditional roles as musicians. A number of women performed in marching bands for the first time in these parades, breaking barriers that had previously restricted them to indoor performances on traditional instruments.

Suffrage parades became such common features in major cities like New York and Washington, D.C. in the 1910s that they appeared as the settings of several fictional stories, which describe the music as loud, bold, and militant.⁴⁶ In fact, a young Girl Scout, Thelma Fought of Washington, D.C., in her fictional contest-winning essay, went as far as to blame the noise of the band in a suffrage parade for an accident between a horse and another Girl Scout.⁴⁷

Without a doubt, the music of suffrage parades had an impact on spectators and participants. The loud, militant music captured the attention of other suffragists, who also incorporated it into their parades, as well as writers, who saw the music as a significant component of these events. Alma Nash, director of the Missouri Ladies Military Band, told one reporter, “We are more confident that music will help our cause. I believe it is a powerful weapon that can be utilized in the cause of woman suffrage. Men will be brought to realize the justness of our cause. It will be effective.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Olive Higgins Prouty, “The Fifth Wheel,” *Kansas City Star*, May 30, 1917, 13; Edna Ferber, “Fanny Herself,” *Kansas City Times*, July 19, 1920, 15.

⁴⁷ “Girl Scouts: Leaf IV—September 12, 1916,” *The Sunday Star* (Washington, D.C.), June 18, 1916, 23.

⁴⁸ “Women to Win with Music.”

Conclusion

In 1891, *The Woman's Tribune* printed the following appeal:

We need more suffrage songs. Help us to sing our righteous cause into the hearts of the people and thus help to secure other stars for our glorious flag. Send for copies to distribute among your friends, and thus spread the gospel of liberty in song as well as aid us in unfurling to the world, the flag of justice and equal rights.¹

Such a request points to the significance of music in the suffrage movement. Hundreds of pieces were written between 1848 and 1920 that contain in their lyrics, covers, and titles, ideas directly connected to American women's struggle for the ballot. This music remains spread throughout the United States in archives, museums, and personal collections, but increased recent interest has begun to help today's scholars understand an important facet of the history of the suffrage movement. As I have shown, music contributed to the movement in much the same ways as literature and other goods, but also provided a new means of expressing suffrage principles. Performances of suffrage music in American homes and at suffrage events spread the ideals of suffrage in ways that the written word could not.

Moreover, music's role in the movement extends beyond the influence of suffrage-related lyrics and sheet music. Suffragists carefully chose the music used for an event, whether it was a conservative NAWSA convention or a militant parade, selecting repertoire that reinforced the principles of the organization and its tactics. Perhaps most importantly, music at suffrage events also served to unify the growing suffrage

¹ Emma Smith DeVoe, "The New Suffrage Song," *The Woman's Tribune* (Beatrice, NE), August 15, 1891, 259.

community. Thus, it is clear that music did not simply accompany the suffrage movement, but helped to generate it, ultimately progressing it towards its goal.

The information presented here represents only a portion of the data to be uncovered regarding music's role in the suffrage movement. The significant number of suffrage events that incorporated music, as well as the immense number of related pieces provides an expansive field for future research on the subject. To truly understand the story of music in the suffrage movement requires scholars to look through the lens of suffrage events held by specific organizations, as I have done here, rather than assuming that one explanation suffices for all cases. As many scholars of women's suffrage have recently begun to focus on local factions of the movement, it would be interesting to examine music in these contexts, and compare the use of music at local events in addition to the national events presented above. Recent scholarship has also turned to the anti-suffrage movement, which was similarly supported through music. This music has never truly been examined. In addition, contextualizing suffrage and anti-suffrage music with the repertoire of contemporary political and social movements, including temperance, abolitionism, and labor reform, further widens the possibilities for understanding its role. Suffragists and other activists clearly believed in the power of music. I am hopeful that this study will encourage further attention to a means of expression that was so important.

Appendices

*Appendix 1: Publication information for suffrage pieces discussed in this study*¹

Years Published	Title	Collection	Music	Words	Publisher
1852	The Great Convention, or Woman's Rights	<i>The Metropolitan Glee Book: Or, Alpine Glee Singer, Volume Second</i> (Bradbury, William B.)	"Music arranged from a celebrated German People's Song"	"Words written for this Work by a Lady"	Newman & Ivison (New York), S. C. Griggs & Co. (Chicago), Moore, Anderson & Co. (Cincinnati), J. C. Ivison (Auburn), A. McFarren (Detroit)
1853	Womans Rights (A Right Good Ballad Rightly Illustrating Womans Rights)		Horn, Kate	Horn, Kate	George P. Reed & Company (Boston), Horace Waters (New York), Kleber (Pittsburgh), Colburn & Field (Cincinnati)
1853	Woman's Rights Convention Waltz		Tompkins, C., arr. by Miss Julia F. Baker		William Hall & Son (New York)
1863	Let Us All Speak Our Minds If We Die for It		Maeder, J. Gaspard (arr.)	Brough, William	Wm. A. Pond & Co. (New York), O. Ditson (Boston), J.H. Hidley (Albany), T. Hough (Syracuse), H. Kleber & Bro. (Pittsburgh)
1869, 1882, 1892	Vote It Right Along! (Song and Chorus)	<i>Woman Suffrage Campaign Song Book</i> (Bittenbender, Ada M., 1882), <i>Woman Suffrage Songs</i> (1892)	Hutchinson, John W., arr. by Mrs. E. H. Jackson (1869), "Air-Good News" (1882)	Hutchinson, John W.	S. Brainard's Sons (Cleveland), Tribune Printing Company (Lincoln)

¹ The information in this table is from Crew, *Suffragist Sheet Music*. Songs not included in Crew's work are marked [*]. The information for these songs is taken from the scores or newspaper articles, cited when applicable.

1871	Daughters of Freedom! The Ballot Be Yours (Solo or Quartet)		Christie, Edwin	Cooper, George	Oliver Ditson & Co. (Boston), Lyon & Healy (Chicago), J. Church & Co. (Cincinnati), J. C. Haynes & Co. (Boston), Lee & Walker (Philadelphia)
c. 1874*	Woman Suffrage Song: The Boston School Board		"Air. King and Countryman"	W. W.	Printed in <i>The Women's Journal</i> ²
1876	The Yellow Ribbon		Tune: <i>Wearing of the Green</i>	Le Baron, Marie	
1881	Shall Women Vote (Song and Chorus)		Boylen, Frank	Payne, John D.	
1884	Hark! The Sound of Myriad Voices	<i>Booklet of Song: A Collection of Suffrage and Temperance Melodies (No. 1)</i> (Wheeler, L. May)	"Air— <i>Hold the Fort</i> "	Robinson, Harriet H.	Cooperative Printing Company (Minneapolis)
1884	The New America	<i>Booklet of Song: A Collection of Suffrage and Temperance Melodies (No. 1)</i> (Wheeler, L. May)	"Tune— <i>America</i> "	Harbert, Elizabeth Boynton	Cooperative Printing Company (Minneapolis)
1884	November Twenty-Two, 1883	<i>Booklet of Song: A Collection of Suffrage and Temperance Melodies (No. 1)</i> (Wheeler, L. May)	"Air— <i>Marching Thro' Georgia</i> "	Wheeler, L. May	Cooperative Printing Company (Minneapolis)
1884	The Suffrage Flag	<i>Booklet of Song: A Collection of Suffrage and Temperance Melodies (No. 1)</i> (Wheeler, L. May)	"Air— <i>Bonnie Blue Flag</i> "	Adkinson, William P.	Cooperative Printing Company (Minneapolis)

² "Woman Suffrage Song."

1884	Woman's Ballot, Or "Whosoever Will"	<i>Booklet of Song: A Collection of Suffrage and Temperance Melodies (No. 1)</i> (Wheeler, L. May)	"Air—Whosoever Will"	Balch, Mrs. M. E.	Cooperative Printing Company (Minneapolis)
1888		<i>South Dakota Equal Suffrage Song Book</i>	"Various"	"Various"	South Dakota Suffrage Association (Huron)
1888, 1889, 1897	Give the Ballot to the Mothers	<i>South Dakota Equal Suffrage Song Book</i> (1888), <i>Woman Suffrage Leaflet</i> (1889), <i>Woman Suffrage Songs</i> (1897)	"Tune— <i>Marching through Georgia</i> "	"Arranged from the words by Rebecca N. Hazard"	South Dakota Suffrage Association (Huron), American Woman Suffrage Association (Boston), "Bi-Monthly at the Office of the Woman's Journal" (Boston)
1889		<i>Woman Suffrage Leaflet</i>	"Popular tunes"	"Various"	American Woman Suffrage Association (Boston)
1889, 1897	The Taxation Tyranny	<i>Woman Suffrage Leaflet</i> (1889), <i>Woman Suffrage Songs</i> (1897)	"Tune— <i>The Red, White, and Blue</i> "	"Arranged from words by Gen. E. Estabrook"	American Woman Suffrage Association (Boston), "Bi-Monthly at the Office of the Woman's Journal" (Boston)
c. 1890*	O[h], Sing of Wyoming ³		DeVoe, Emma Smith and John Henry DeVoe		
1908	March of the Suffragettes		Braham, Edmund		Frank Harding Music House (New York)
1909*	The Marching Song	<i>Suffrage Songs: Selections from the Songs submitted for the Bishop Prize, February 1, 1909</i>	"Battle Hymn of the Republic"	Block, Louis J.	Chicago

³ Jennifer M. Ross-Nazzari, *Winning the West for Women: The Life of Suffragist Emma Smith DeVoe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 65.

c. 1909*	The Women's Battle Song		"Tune: Onward, Christian Soldiers"	Mills, Theodora	Printed in <i>The Woman's Journal</i> ⁴
1910		<i>Woman Suffrage Campaign Songs</i>	Popular Tunes	Kauffman, Mrs. Eunice H. and Miss Helen Smith	([Dayton?], Ohio)
1911	Another Star (Suffrage Campaign Song for California)	<i>Suffrage Songs and Verses</i> (Gilman, Charlotte Perkins)	"Tune: <i>By A Broom</i> "	Gilman, Charlotte Perkins	The Charlton Company (New York)
1911	The March of the Women		Smyth, Ethel, Mus. Doc.	Smyth, Ethel, Mus. Doc.	The Woman's Press (London), Breitkopf & Hartel (London)
1911*	Song for Equal Suffrage	<i>Suffrage Songs and Verses</i> (Gilman, Charlotte Perkins)		Gilman, Charlotte Perkins	The Charlton Company (New York)
1911	Votes for Women		Carleton, Mary Louise	Carleton, Mary Louise	California Music Press (San Leandro)
1911	Women's Political Union March		Gregori, Elsa	Chapman, Henry Grafton	The Women's Political Union (New York)
1911, 1912	Raise Your Gladsome Voices, Girls [Suffrage Campaign Song for California]		"Sung to the tune of <i>Marching Through Georgia</i> "	S. S. [Miss S. Solomons]	Votes-for-Women Publishing Co. (San Francisco)
c. 1912*	Equality ⁵		Bingham, Helena		

⁴ "The International Suffrage Song"; Joyce Marlow, ed., *Suffragettes: The Fight for Votes for Women* (London: Virago Press, 2000).

⁵ Ibid.

c. 1912*	The New America ⁶		Briggs, Althea C.		
1913		<i>Woman's Suffrage Songs</i>	Browne, Pauline Russell	Browne, Pauline Russell	Pauline Russell Browne (Indianapolis)
1914	Fall in Line (Suffrage March)		Hawn, Zena S.		The Arthur W. Tams Music Library, Inc. (New York)
1914	Suffrage Song (Let Us Sing as We Go)	<i>Hull House Songs</i> (Smith, Eleanor)	Smith, Eleanor	Linn, James Weber	Clayton F. Summy Co. (Chicago), Weeks & Co. (London)
1914	Suffrage March-Song		Richards, Lucenia W.	Richards, Lucenia W.	Richards & Richards (Chicago)
1915	Suffrage Marching Song		Lancaster, Fanny Connable	Lent, Florence Livingston	"For sale by the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association" (Boston)
1916	Carry On! (A Marching Song)	<i>Melinda and Her Sisters</i>	Maxwell, Elsa	Maxwell, Elsa	G. Schirmer (New York)
1916	She's Good Enough to Be Your Baby's Mother (And She's Good Enough to Vote with You)		Paley, Herman	Bryan, Alfred	Jerome H. Remick & Co. (New York, Detroit)
1918	Campaign Verses	<i>Kentucky Rally Songs</i>	"Chorus of Tipperary"		Kentucky Women's Christian Temperance Union (Lexington)
1918	Help Us Win the Vote	<i>Kentucky Rally Songs</i>	"Tune—Battle Hymn of the Republic"		Kentucky Women's Christian Temperance Union (Lexington)

⁶ Listed in *Catalog and Price List of Woman Suffrage Literature and Supplies*.

Appendix 2: Musical Performances at NAWSA Conventions, based on published conference proceedings

Year	Types of Performances	Featured ensembles/instruments	Pieces	Performers
1891	Incidental, Formal Performances, Community Singing, Unspecified	Voice, orchestra, voice/violin/cello	“In Old Madrid” (H. Trotère), “Hark! The Sound of Myriad Voices,” “O, Sing of Wyoming,” <i>Serenade</i> (Schubert), “Margery” (Bischoff), “The New America”	M. Elizabeth Johnson, Eulalie Domer Rheem, Miss Meads, Rev. Ada C. Hultin, Rev. Myla F. Tupper
1893	Incidental, Formal Performances, Unspecified	Mandolin, mandolin/piano, violin, voice/piano	“God’s Hymn Is a Wondrous Thing”	Mandolin Club of Washington, Miss Blasland, Miss Bailey, Miss Alice Marble (and brother), Mr. Fred Marble, Mrs. Fred Marble, Mr. Joseph May Douglass
1894	Incidental			Professor Henry Wheaton Howard
1895	Incidental, Formal Performances	Orchestra, choir	Overture: <i>Etelka</i> (Bordean), <i>Signal March</i> (Clauder), Waltz: <i>Inamorata</i> (Florence Fare), March: <i>Philadelphus</i> (Weigand), <i>Northern Lights</i> (Schlepgrill), Overture: <i>Silver Bell</i> , <i>Norma</i> Selection (Bellini), <i>Tobasco March</i> , March: <i>Victor</i> (Flockton), Overture: <i>King of Gnomes</i> (Rollinson), March: <i>Hunters</i> (Eilenberg), <i>Pilgrim Chorus</i> (Verdi), “Praise Ye Jehovah’s Name,” “The Lord Is My Shepherd,” “Nearer My God to Thee,” <i>Intermezzo</i> (Mascagnia), Gavotte: <i>Friendship</i> (DeSoule)	Liley’s Orchestra
1896				
1897	Formal Performances	Voice		Mrs. H. R. Reynolds, Mr. W. B. Rice, High School Glee Club
1898	Incidental, Formal Performances, Community Singing	Violin, voice	<i>Fantasia Caprice</i> (Vieuxtemps), <i>Gypsy Melodies</i> [<i>Zigeunerweisen</i>](Sarasate), “The Gift” (Behrend), “When Love Is Done” (Lynes), “Before Daybreak” (Nevin), “Summer” (Chaminade)	Sophia Church Hall, Guelma McLean Baker, Laura A. Gregg, Hannah J. Bailey, Joseph H. Douglass
1899	Formal Performances	Violin, vocal quartet, piano, voice, piano	“Romance” <i>from Hansel and Gretel</i> (Humperdinck), <i>Papillion</i> (Grieg), <i>Gondeleira</i>	Mrs. Mary Palmer, Schumann Quartette (Miss White, Mrs. Gray, Mrs.

		quartet	(Moszkowski), "This Would I Do" (Chapman), "Spring Song" (Lassen), "My Rosarie (Nevin), "Spinning" (Cowen), <i>Spanish Tanze</i> (Sarasate), "The Snowdrop" (Dorn-Platte), <i>Dornroschen Waltz</i> (Tchaikovsky), <i>Silhouette</i> Op. 8, No. 1 (Dvorak), "Summer" (Chaminade), "The Swallows" (Cowen), "The Wild Flower" (Leoni)	Aldworth, Mrs. Patton), Miss Uhl, Mrs. F. M. Davis, Miss Lena Brown, Miss Mabel Warner, Miss McCoy, Miss Daar, Miss Beckwith, Miss Burch, Miss Loomis, Miss Elenora Bushnell, Miss Stella White, Miss Elizabeth Bell
1900	Formal Performances	Voice, violin	<i>Hungarian Rhapsodie</i> (Hanson), "Love's Rosary"	John Hutchinson, Joseph H. Douglass, Lydia Avery Coonley Ward
1901	Incidental, Formal Performances	Voice, organ, vocal quartet, violin/ piano	<i>Tuscan Folk Songs, Largo</i> (Handel), "Fear Not, O Israel," "Battle Hymn of the Republic," "The Link Divine" (Piccolomini), "Love Me if I Live" (Fotle), "The Rosary" (Nevin), "The Souvenir" (Hood)	Cleone D. Bergren, Harriet Wales, Miss Bertha Brandish, Rev. Kate Hughes, Mrs. A. A. Pratt, Mrs. E. W. French, Mr. O. T. Morris, Mr. James Singer, Rev. Celia Parker Woolley, Mrs. Lincoln Lane, Elizabeth Ferguson, George Walker, Miss Verna Golden, Mr. Carlyle Scott, Miss Clara Williams
1902	Formal Performances, Community Singing, Unspecified	Violin, mandolin, voice, voice/ violin, violin/ piano	"Legrende" (Weiniawski), "Battle Hymn of the Republic," "Florodora," "Burgonmaster," "When the Heart Is Young" (Dudley Buck), "Auld Lang Syne," "Angel's Trio" from <i>Elijah</i> (Mendelssohn), <i>Ave Maria</i> (Bach-Gounod), "Sunrise" (Wekerlin)	Miss Bertha Lucas, Miss Etta L. Maddox, YMCA Mandolin Club, John Hutchinson, Mrs. B. H. Smart, Miss La Barre, Miss Leavitt, Elizabeth F. Pierce, Miss Minna Heinrich, Mr. Edward Droop
1903	Formal Performances, Community Singing	Voice, piano, violin, violin/ piano	"America"	Miss Celeste Kayser, Mrs. Ida Reiman[n] Kaiser, Miss Bertha Wille, Mr. Robert Pitard, Miss Mamie Maloney, Mr. Henry Wehrman[n], Miss Leah Bannister
1904	Formal Performances, Community Singing, Unspecified	Voice	"Bedouin Love Song" (Pinsuit), "Sunset" (Dudley Buck), "Only Once More" (Moir)	Mr. Herndon Morsell, Miss Mabel Owen, Mr. John H. Nolan, Miss Etta V. Maddox

1905	Formal Performances, Community Singing, Unspecified	Voice, piano, [string quartet?], band	"America," "Star Spangled Banner," "Battle Hymn of the Republic"	Mrs. Susie Gambell Whitehurst, Mr. Stuart McGuire, Master Wayne Coe, Master Earl Coe, Mrs. Walter Reed, Lakme Quartette, Innes' Band, Lady von Rydingsvard, Mrs. Susie Gambell Whitehurst, Elko Quartette, Mrs. W. A. Wetzel, Mrs. S. A. Lockart, Miss Flynn, Mrs. Barnett
1906	Incidental, Formal Performances, Community Singing	Voice, piano, quartet (unspecified)/ harp, violin, chorus	"Battle Hymn of the Republic," "America," "Star Spangled Banner"	Mrs. Cox, William R. Hall, Rev. Jeanette O. Ferris, Rev. Olympia Brown, Etta H. Maddox, Carolyn A. Hamilton, Philharmonic Quartet
1907	Incidental, Formal Performances	Voice, organ, harp, violin	<i>Grand Chorus</i> (Guilmant), <i>Cantilene</i> (Wheeldon), <i>Marche Militaire</i> (Schubert), "Crossing the Bar"	Rose Lutiger Gannon, Mason Slade, Marie Ludwig, Jennie F. W. Johnson, Ruby C. Ledward, Tina Mae Haines, Alice Livingston, Mrs. F. I. Kent
1908	Formal Performances, Community Singing	Voice, violin, choir	"America"	Miss Julia Battelle Fenton, Mrs. Spire, Choir of the First Unitarian Church (Mrs. Walter J. Hawke, Miss Daisy A. Tollock, Mr. Joseph F. Stinmann, Mr. John N. Deen, Miss May M. Howard), Mr. Frank Reilly, Mrs. Carlton White
1909	Incidental, Formal Performances, Community Singing	Violin, voice, quartet (unspecified), band	"America"	Miss Marie Bishop, Alexius Bass, Mrs. George A. Smith, Exposition Band, Mr. Albert Averschoug, Schubert Quartette
1910				
1911	Formal Performances, Community Singing	Voice	National Air, "The Lost Arrow" from <i>The Legends of Yosemite</i> (Stewart), "Charity" (McDermid), "Lullaby" (Stewart), "The Starling in the Steeple" (Liza Lehmann), "Frau Nachtigall" (Taubert)	Mrs. Ellis, Mrs. Davenport
1912	Incidental, Formal Performance, Community	Instrumental (unspecified), chorus	"My Country 'Tis of Thee," "Holy Holy Holy Lord God Almighty," "O! Lord, How Manifold Are Thy Works"	Mr. Samuel J. Riegel

	Singing			
1913				
1914	Formal Performances	Vocal quartet		Fisk Jubilee Singers
1915	Incidental, Community Singing	Band	"Star Spangled Banner," Scotch Airs	
1916	Incidental			
1917	Formal Performances, Community Singing	Orchestra, voice/ piano, voice	"America," "The Star Spangled Banner"	Meyer Davis Orchestra, Mrs. Newton D. Baker, Mrs. Morgan Lewis Brett, Mrs. Fairfax, Mr. Paul Bleydon
1919	Community Singing			Ms. W. D. Steele
1920	Incidental, Formal Performances, Community Singing, Unspecified	Organ, piano, [choir/ orchestra?], choir	"My Country 'Tis of Thee," Cantata, "Crossing the Bar," Hymn (Witter Bynner and A. Madely Richardson)	Miss Florence Cooper, Wallace Hyde Perce
1921				

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