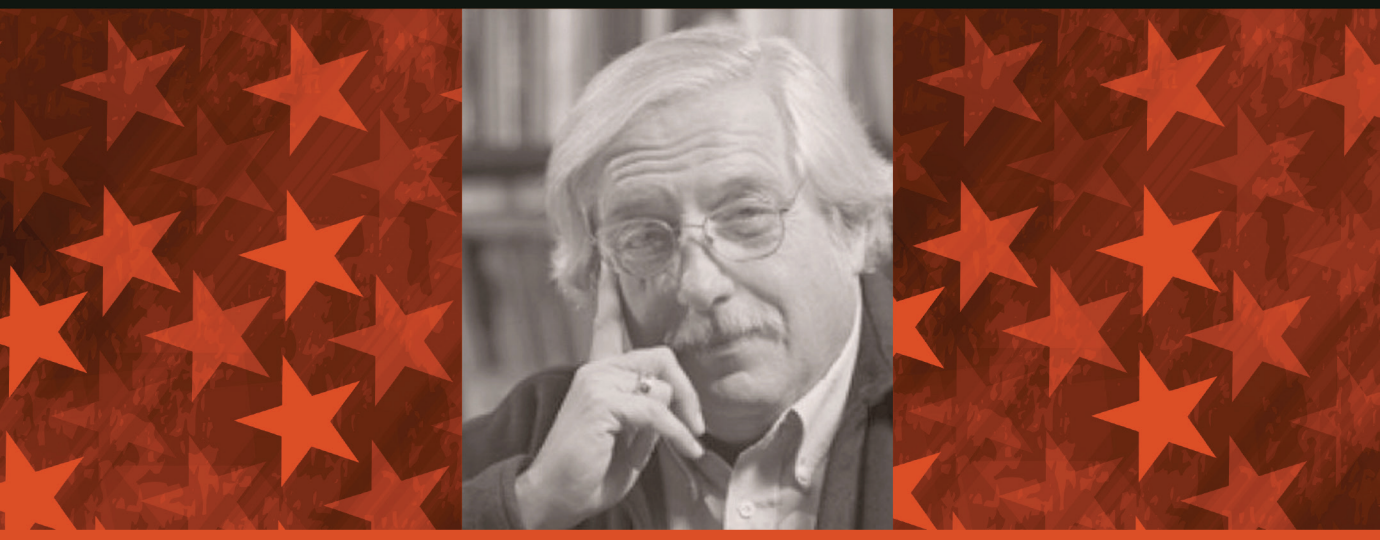
THE COLLEGE MUSIC SOCIETY

ROUTLEDGE

LEGACIES OF POWER IN AMERICAN MUSIC

ESSAYS IN HONOR OF MICHAEL J. BUDDS

Edited by JUDITH A. MABARY



CMS MONOGRAPHS AND SOURCEBOOKS IN AMERICAN MUSIC

Legacies of Power in American Music

This volume honors and extends the contributions of educator and scholar Dr. Michael J. Budds to the field of musicology, particularly the study of American music. As the longtime editor of two book series for the College Music Society, Budds nurtured a wide range of scholarship in American music and had a lasting impact on the field. This book brings together scholars who worked with Budds as a colleague, editor, or mentor to carry on his legacy of passionate engagement with America's rich and varied musical heritage. Ranging through jazz, gospel, Americana, and film music to American classical, and addressing music's social contexts and analytical structure, the research gathered here attests to the diversity of the mosaic that is American music and the numerous scholarly approaches that have been taken to the subject.

Judith A. Mabary is Associate Professor of Musicology in the School of Music at the University of Missouri (Columbia).

CMS Monographs and Sourcebooks in American Music

Series Editor
Todd E. Sullivan (pro tempore),
Northern Arizona University, USA

The CMS Monographs & Sourcebooks in American Music series celebrates a wide range of scholarship on American music through studies devoted to significant American composers and repertories (monographs) and exhaustive investigations of landmark compositions, recordings, and events that reflect the compelling spectrum of musical expression in the United States (sourcebooks).

Legacies of Power in American Music
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Cover image: Michael J. Budds (1947–2020). Photo courtesy of the Curators of the University of Missouri

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CONTRIBUTORS

Gene Anderson is currently Professor Emeritus at the University of Richmond, Virginia. After graduating from Luther College in Decorah, Iowa and the University of Iowa, he taught at Winona State University in Winona, Minnesota and Monmouth College in Monmouth, Illinois before moving to the University of Richmond in Richmond, Virginia in 1982 as the Director of Bands and instructor of music theory. At the University of Richmond, he served for many years as department chair until his retirement in 2017. He has published numerous articles on early jazz and music analysis and is the author of *The Original Hot Five Recordings of Louis Armstrong* (Pendragon Press, 2007).

Linda L. Banister, retired, received her BS degree from Valley City State College in North Dakota and her MA degree from the University of Missouri, where she took several music history courses from Michael Budds. She subsequently earned a DM degree from Florida State University and has taught at Jamestown University in North Dakota and at Augusta University in Georgia, where her assignments included classroom instruction, private voice, and directing choral ensembles and opera workshop. She was also Artistic Director of the Harry Jacobs Chamber Music Society. An active performer, she has presented solo and ensemble recitals and roles in regional opera productions.

Jeremy Scott Brown is Professor of Music at the University of Calgary, where he directs the saxophone studio and the Jazz Orchestra. He performs as a jazz, classical, and free improviser primarily on the saxophone. Dr. Brown is also a woodwind doubler and performs as a flautist, clarinetist, in jazz, classical, and free styles. His playing has been described as "a dazzling display of classical discipline and agility combined with a jazz artist's freedom and sense of exploration" (*Ottawa Citizen*, 2015). He is the author of *The Wind Band Music of Henry Cowell*, edited by Michael Budds (Routledge, 2018), and contributing editor to the journal *Canadian Winds*. He is currently writing a book titled *New Perspectives on Jazz Patronage* (Routledge, 2023) and a book chapter for the *Routledge Companion to Jazz and Gender* (2022). Dr. Brown was the lead compiler and editor of the inaugural multi-book *Royal Conservatory of Music Saxophone Series* (Frederick Harris, 2013). He has also served as both an artist-in-residence and lecturer at the Banff Centre for Arts and Creativity.

Matthew J. Cooper is Professor Emeritus at Eastern Oregon University, where he was named Distinguished Teaching Faculty in 2019. He is the author of *Duke Ellington as Pianist: A Study in Styles* (College Music Society, 2013) and a past president of Oregon Music Teachers Association. He has been a speaker and performer at conferences on Ellington's work in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the United States. His undergraduate work was at the University of Oregon and he earned graduate degrees at the University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music. He has previously been published in the *Oregon Musician* and in the *Blue Light* (journal of the Duke Ellington Society of the United Kingdom). A prizewinner in both the Thelonious Monk International and Great American Jazz Piano competitions (1988), he has toured with the Woody Herman Big Band and performed or recorded with Eddie Harris, Nancy King, Glen Moore, and many other jazz artists. In addition to his jazz credentials, Dr. Cooper has performed as a classical pianist throughout the United States and in the Russian Far East, including concerto, solo, and chamber recitals. He resides in Northeast Oregon where, in addition to performing, teaching, and writing, he enjoys hiking, cycling, and skiing.

Thomas DeLio is an internationally renowned composer and theorist (affiliated with the University of Maryland College Park) and is especially noted for his work in computer music. His compositions have been performed worldwide and are recorded on numerous labels, including Wergo (Germany), 3D Classics (France), Neuma, Centaur, Capstone, ERM*Media*, and Spectrum. He has published over thirty essays in such journals as *The Journal of Music Theory*, *Perspectives of New Music*, *Artforum*, *Contemporary Music Review* (London), *Revue d'Esthetique* (Paris), and *MusikText* (Cologne). His books include *Circumscribing the Open Universe, The Music of Morton Feldman*, and *The* Amores *of John Cage*. A book about his work, *Essays on the Music and Theoretical Writings of Thomas DeLio*, was published by The Edwin Mellen Press in 2008. The first volume of his collected essays, drawn from the first twenty years of his career (1980–2000), was published by The Mellen Press in 2017. A second volume was published in 2020. In 2011 the Special Collections Division of the University of Maryland Library established an archive, The Thomas DeLio Papers. This archive holds DeLio's sketches and manuscripts; master tapes from recording sessions; books, CDs and DVDs; and correspondence with composers, poets, and artists, including Xenakis, Cage, Lucier, Feldman, and Carter.

Bill F. Faucett, independent scholar, is an experienced arts administrator and fundraiser. He has held programming and development positions at the Kravis Center for the Performing Arts, the Straz Center for the Performing Arts, and the Florida Orchestra. He is currently an advancement professional at the University of South Florida (Tampa Bay). Faucett's research focuses principally on nineteenth-century Boston. He is the author of *George Whitefield Chadwick: The*

Life and Music of the Pride of New England (Northeastern University Press, 2012), *Music in Boston: Composers, Events, and Ideas* (Lexington Books, 2016), and several other volumes. He is currently writing a biography of John Sullivan Dwight.

J. Quentin Kuyper, retired, received his BA degree from Central College in Pella, Iowa, and his MA and PhD degrees from the University of Iowa. He has taught in both high schools and college and has held administrative positions in Music Departments at the University of Missouri and Augusta University in Georgia. Most recently, he was the Executive Director of the Harry Jacobs Chamber Music Society in Augusta, Georgia. He first met Michael Budds in their graduate student days at the University of Iowa and was subsequently his colleague at the University of Missouri.

Peter Lea is an Associate Teaching Professor of Music Theory at the University of Missouri. He holds a PhD in music theory from the University of Western Ontario and MM and BM degrees in piano performance from Brandon University. His research and teaching interests include music theory pedagogy, performance and analysis, popular music, video game music, and the music of George Crumb.

Petra Meyer-Frazier, Lamont School of Music, University of Denver, specializes in nineteenth-century popular music in the United States. Frazier holds a BA in music and international studies (Rhodes College) as well as an MA (Claremont Graduate School) and a PhD in musicology (University of Colorado-Boulder). Her publication *Bound Music, Unbound Women* (College Music Society, 2015) delves into women's collections of popular parlor songs from a sociological, musicological, and biographical perspective. With active research interests in the intersections of cultural politics and music, Frazier regularly presents papers both nationally and internationally and has published in a variety of places including the *Grove Dictionary of American Music* and *Women and Music*. She also serves on the board of the American Music Research Center at the University of Colorado-Boulder.

Neil Minturn, from the University of Missouri (MU), Columbia, has taught music theory at MU as well as at the Eastman School of Music. He is the author of two books, *The Last Waltz of the Band* (2015) and *The Music of Sergei Prokofiev* (1997). Analytic chapters on the Prokofiev String Quartets and sonata form in Mozart's K. 311 are contained in *Intimate Voices: Aspects of Construction and Character in the Twentieth-Century String Quartet* (2009) and *Keys to the Drama* (2009), respectively. Minturn currently teaches in the MU Honors College Humanities Sequence.

Lance D. Morrison is from Pittsburg, Kansas and completed an MA in Musicology at the University of Missouri under Judith Mabary and Michael Budds. He is currently pursuing his PhD at Boston University. While he has studied the

style, structure, and religiousity of Clemens non Papa's sacred music, Boston's character has inspired him to turn historical musicology's tools upon the city's hardcore punk tradition.

Kay Norton, Professor of Musicology at Arizona State University, presents and publishes on US sacred music and is currently at work on a monograph about Black gospel pioneer Sallie Martin for the University of Illinois Press. She has published articles in *Journal of the Society for American Music*, *American Music*, and the *Hymn*, among others, and has written monographs on an 1810 Georgia hymnal (2002) and composer Normand Lockwood (1993). Norton is an editorial board member of the *Sounding Spirit* publication and digitization of Southern sacred music initiative at Emory University. Her book, *Singing and Wellbeing: Ancient Wisdom, Modern Proof* (Routledge, 2016), draws together musicology, anthropology, philosophy, medical history, the psychology of music, and neuroscience to argue the centrality of the melodious voice in human experience. Her 2011 article in the *Journal of Medical Humanities* ("How Music-Inspired Weeping Can Help Terminally Ill Patients") has been cited in venues such as the *Journal of Clinical Nursing, Health*, and *Psychological Studies*. Her co-edited volume with Esther Morgan-Ellis, *The Oxford Handbook of Community Singing*, is forthcoming in 2023 from Oxford University Press.

Morgan Smith Owen, performer and educator, first had the pleasure of encountering Dr. Michael J. Budds as a graduate student at the University of Missouri, where he encouraged her to develop her voice as a writer and her intuition as both a scholar and researcher. She received her bachelor's degree in music education from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and spent several years teaching orchestra, chorus, and film history in public schools before embarking full-time on a career as a symphonic musician. Her diverse experiences include teaching music in Spanish, English, and Miskito to the Indigenous populations of Costa Rica as well as working as a hymnal salesperson for the religious branch of Hal Leonard. Having completed her master's degree in both viola and voice performance at the University of Missouri, she is currently pursuing her DMA in viola performance with a minor in music education at the University of South Carolina. She intends to continue her research, writing, and exploration into the life of Amy Beach as part of her academic and personal journey.

James Parsons is Distinguished Professor of Music at Missouri State University in Springfield, where he has taught since 1995. He has presented scholarly papers at conferences in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England, Belgium, Germany, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. He was the volume editor of *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), to which he contributed an introduction and two chapter essays on the German art song in the eighteenth

and twentieth centuries. His publications have appeared in *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, *Austrian Studies, Beethoven Forum*, *Music & Letters*, *Early Music*, *Edinburgh German Yearbook*, *Music Analysis*, and *Notes*.

David Rayl is Director of Choral Programs and Senior Associate Dean for Graduate Studies and Research at the Michigan State University College of Music. At MSU he has mentored and served as principal conducting teacher to well over one hundred graduate students in choral conducting. Under his baton, MSU's University Chorale appeared at the Central Division and National conferences of the American Choral Directors Association (2006, 2007) and the national meeting of the College Music Society (2002). His international engagements include the National Center for the Performing Arts and the China Conservatory in Beijing; Maggio Musicale in Florence; the Busan International Choral Festival in South Korea; the VII Festival Internaçional de Música de Camera do Pará in Belem, Brazil; the II Festival de Corais in Brasilia, Brazil; the Painel Unicanto de Regencia Coral in Londrina, Brazil; and the national conference of the Associação Brasileira de Regentes de Coros in Goiania, Brazil.

He is the author of *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Litanies de la Vierge* (A-R Editions, 1994) and ten articles on various choral literature topics published in the *Choral Journal*. Rayl has received MSU's University Distinguished Faculty Award (2013), the Simmons-Chivukula Award for Academic Leadership (2019), and the College of Music's Withrow Award for Excellence in Teaching (2009). At the University of Missouri-Columbia, he received the Provost's Outstanding Junior Faculty award (1993) and was named one of ten recipients of the Kemper Fellowship for Teaching Excellence (1996).

Annett C. Richter, musicologist, teaches at Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota, where she has offered courses in music history, iconography, bibliography, and writing about music. In her research, she explores topics of music iconography and interrelationships among American and European music, art, gender, society, culture, and place. She has delivered papers at national and international cross-disciplinary conferences, and her scholarship has appeared in *Musicological Explorations, Grove Music Online*, and the *Proceedings of the Hawaii International Conference on Arts and Humanities*. Richter is the recipient of research fellowships from the Sinfonia Foundation and the American Music Research Center at the University of Colorado, Boulder. She holds master's degrees in British and American Studies from Martin-Luther-Universität Halle/Wittenberg, Germany, and in musicology and guitar from the University of Minnesota. Her PhD, also from the University of Minnesota, resulted in a dissertation that is the first sustained discussion of Missouri artist Thomas Hart Benton as musical folklorist. As Vice President of the Minnesota Guitar Society, she has published interviews in *Classical Guitar Magazine* with globally renowned women guitarists. She is also active as a visual artist and performer of early music on lute.

Wayne C. Wentzel is Professor Emeritus and former Professor of Music History at Butler University, where he taught for thirty-four years. He has a Bachelor of Music degree from Denison University (1964), a Master of Arts degree from Kent State University (1966), a master's degree from Harvard University (1968), and a PhD from the University of Pittsburgh (1974). His reference work, *Samuel Barber: A Guide to Research* was published by Routledge in 2001 and a second edition, retitled *Samuel Barber: A Research and Information Guide,* in 2010. His major work, *The Adagio of Samuel Barber,* vol. 8 in the CMS Sourcebooks in American Music, was edited by Michael Budds.

PREFACE

Judith A. Mabary, Editor

Several aspects of a *Festschrift* written in his honor would have pleased Dr. Michael J. Budds (1947–2020). I will start with some of the minor points. First, it is a German word and Budds is a German name. This type of volume arose in the nineteenth century; Michael Budds could always be taken to a different place by a good performance of a Chopin work. The term literally means "celebration writing." He was a tireless advocate for good writing, and he always loved a good celebration—especially a royal one.

While he contributed to original scholarship and has a healthy number of publications to prove it, he was most fulfilled, I believe, when he was in the classroom. He often said to me, "My life *is* my teaching." In fact, you could place the emphasis on any word in that short statement and it would be equally true. Dr. Budds truly cared about each of his students, but he had a special reward for those who failed to meet the potential of which he knew they were capable—he "bled green." Those who studied with him, as well as many of his friends and colleagues, will know this refers to the famous, or perhaps infamous, green pen with which he always marked assignments.

Another of his ambitious goals in life was to ensure a supply of scholarly publications at an affordable price. The conduit for achieving this mission was the College Music Society and the series for which he served as editor for many years. As those who worked with him to bring a book to the public market can attest, he did not just edit, he EDITED in the fullest sense of the term! His was not a mindless foraging for mechanical errors; he wanted each sentence to be accurate, well written, and clearly understood. The results are in the publications of many of the scholars represented in this volume.

With his colleagues at the University of Missouri School of Music, where he served for more than three decades, he could be a bit prickly, yet such a quality should not be regarded as combative for the sake of it. At the root of his heated comebacks was a desire to preserve what he believed was necessary, to strive to maintain accountability, and to plan in a way that would maintain a high standard for the future. With all his being, he aimed to leave the state of knowledge and a commitment to learning better than he found them.

For a person whose passion for the art of music touched so many, whether students, colleagues, community members, or friends, it is appropriate that this volume should come into existence, an act of respect and acknowledgment for sharing his enthusiasm, knowledge, and dedication with each of the scholars whose work lies within these pages. Even his imagined title for this volume

(*Music, My Rampart*) confirms the central place such "sweet sounds" in all their forms occupied in his life.

In my countless hours of communication with Michael, talking through problems, solving those we could, and railing against those we couldn't, it became immediately clear to me that he was an extraordinary human being whose actions generated from a central and unambiguous core. He was also a lover of certain poems, one of them the following by Edna St. Vincent Millay. Let her words conclude these opening remarks.

"On Hearing a Symphony of Beethoven"[1]
Sweet sounds, oh, beautiful music, do not cease!
Reject me not into the world again.
With you alone is excellence and peace,
Mankind made plausible, his purpose plain.
Enchanted in your air benign and shrewd,
With limbs a-sprawl and empty faces pale,
The spiteful and the stingy and the rude
Sleep like the scullions in the fairy-tale.
This moment is the best the world can give:
The tranquil blossom on the tortured stem.
Reject me not, sweet sounds; oh, let me live,
Till Doom espy my towers and scatter them,
A city spell-bound under the aging sun.
Music my rampart, and my only one.

Note

1 Permission to reprint "On Hearing a Symphony of Beethoven" by Edna St. Vincent Millay courtesy of Holly Peppe, Literary Executor, The Millay Society (millay.org).

WORDS OF APPRECIATION

Michael Budds was a force of intellect and a good-natured personality when I first met him at the University of Iowa where he was completing his PhD studies and I was working as Circulation Director in the Music Library. His interests were wide ranging but thorough, whether researching Medieval and Renaissance music, Victorian music and culture, or his extensive and remarkable work on American jazz, focusing at first on Earl "Fatha" Hines. It was a pleasure to get to know him and follow his varied research explorations.

It was a distinct pleasure and surprise when, a few years later, I discovered that Michael, having completed his degree and joined the faculty of the University of Missouri, was an enthusiastic participant in the College Music Society. As both of our careers expanded, I later accepted leadership positions within the Society, and watched Michael lead, critique, encourage, and support numerous scholars in his position as editor of the CMS Bibliographies & Monographs in American Music series for twenty-seven years, adding later the CMS Sourcebooks in American Music series. His positive and precise approach to editing the several authors with whom he worked is manifested in the extensive list of works published in these series. The College Music Society was indeed fortunate to have Michael's expertise in shepherding these valuable works from ideas to publication. Michael was also an active presence at both CMS and AMS conferences.

Especially memorable was his participation in a panel on Victorian music, which was dominated by three scholars from England, who seemed perplexed that an authority on American jazz was invited as a participant. Much to their surprise, Michael presented such carefully thought-out and deeply researched materials in a quiet and deferential manner (not his normal presentation!) that they quickly responded with an abiding respect for this engaging American.

We will all miss Michael Budds's keen intellect, cheerful demeanor, and lively conversations. More than that, however, I will miss Michael Budds as a dear friend.

Kathleen J. Lamkin
Professor Emerita of Music
University of LaVerne, California
Past President, College Music Society

In Appreciation of the Life and Scholarly Work of Michael J. Budds

11 June 1947 to 19 November 2020

Michael J. Budds, through his passion for music, his devotion to teaching and research, and his dedication to editing the College Music Society's Monographs & Bibliographies in American Music and Sourcebooks in American Music, changed the scholarly trajectory of music learning and research in higher education during the last two decades of the twentieth century and the first two decades of the twenty-first. During his thirty-seven years as a music history professor at the University of Missouri, he touched the lives of more than 10,000 students who took his jazz, pop, and rock classes, and worked with him on their musical research and writing.

For twenty years, I was the General Editor of the College Music Society's *Symposium* and worked closely with Michael Budds. I remember the first time I met him in the 1990s when he arrived at a CMS editorial meeting with a huge canvas bag of books and a stack of papers. I asked him to report on the activities and editorial vision of the Monographs & Bibliographies in American Music. He immediately took books out of the canvas bag and began going through the stack of papers that he had carried into the meeting. It was clear from this beginning that Michael had high-level expectations for the series and for the subsequent Sourcebooks in American Music, published by the College Music Society.

Michael had an editorial vision that included a broad range of musical genres. He was comprehensive in his approach and embraced music of all time periods and cultures. He was always exacting in his editing and required the very best of the authors who submitted manuscripts to him. His vision for the CMS publications always included new and interesting approaches to research and interpretation. During the almost twenty years of our work together on the College Music Society's editorial board, I developed a deep appreciation for Michael's scholarly abilities and his keen sense of finding the very best research in the field of musicology.

I learned much from Michael, and I will always have a deep gratitude for his scholarly standards and his scholarly productivity. Michael helped to create the highest criteria for the CMS publications. He was a tireless and devoted editor and scholar. His work with the CMS Monographs & Bibliographies in American Music and the CMS Sourcebooks in American Music will always be regarded as an exceptional contribution to the long history of the College Music Society publications.

We will all miss Michael's intellectual curiosity and his low-key demeanor. We will miss him as a dear friend and professional colleague. Thank you, Michael!

David G. Woods
Dean Emeritus, University of Connecticut
Past Editor, College Music Society *Symposium*

My hands, my feet. I throw my whole body to say all that is within me.[1]

—Mahalia Jackson

Michael J. Budds served as editor of the College Music Society's flagship book publication series—the CMS Monographs & Bibliographies in American Music (MBAM) and the CMS Sourcebooks in American Music (SAM)—from the 1990s until he stepped down in December 2017. To state that Michael furnished the very heart and soul of these series would undervalue his contributions. He applied a craftsman's skilled hands to each volume, carefully editing and laying out every paragraph, musical example, and footnote with a scholar's precision. Michael took to his feet when promoting the scholarship of CMS authors who shared his passion for American music. And it was his brilliant mind that envisioned and shaped the entire enterprise.

Michael shepherded eleven monographs and bibliographies into print, culminating in Petra Meyer-Frazier's fascinating *Bound Music, Unbound Women: The Search for an Identity in the Nineteenth Century*. The MBAM series encompassed an impressive array of American musical topics, ranging from Michael's own *Jazz & The Germans: Essays on the Influence of "Hot" American Idioms on 20th-Century German Music* to James R. Briscoe's *Vitalizing Music History Teaching*, which provided a scholarly framework for the emerging field of music history pedagogy.

Recognizing a void in the publishing industry, Michael founded a second series in 2002, CMS Sourcebooks in American Music, which was designed to celebrate "the remarkable diversity in our nation's musical expression." The ten volumes produced under his editorship exhaustively researched landmark American musical works such as Aaron Copland's *Emily Dickinson Songs*, Leonard Bernstein's *Chichester Psalms*, Samuel Barber's *Adagio*, Miles Davis's *Birth of the Cool*, and Henry Cowell's wind band music, to cite a few.

An editor toils in solitude, the enormous devotion of time and effort unknown by most people and rarely, if ever, recognized. Michael entered his "editorial retirement" with assurance that the College Music Society treasured and celebrated his more than two decades of dedicated work. On 11 October 2018, the membership passed a resolution at the annual meeting expressing its gratitude to Michael for "promoting scholarship within the Society to the wider musical world."

Todd E. Sullivan, PhD
General Editor, College Music Society Books & Monographs
Professor of Musicology, Northern Arizona University

Note

1 Studs Terkel, "The Gospel of Mahalia Jackson," *DownBeat* 25, no. 25 (11 December 1958): 13–15. Reprinted as "A Profile of Mahalia" in *DownBeat—The Great Jazz Interviews: A 75th Anniversary Anthology*, ed. and comp. Frank Alkyer et al. (New York: Hal Leonard, 2009), 62–4. Also available online as "Mahalia Jackson Finds Her Way," *DownBeat Archives*, https://downbeat.com/archives/detail/mahalia-jackson-finds-her-way.

THE PERFORMANCE OF BLACK AMERICA

PART I

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CHAPTER 1

SPHERES, PROGRESSIVES, AND SLAVERY: THE LONG-LINGERING EFFECT OF MUSIC AND CULTURE POLITICS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Petra Meyer-Frazier

> Depend upon it Lucretia, that woman can never be developed in her present drapery. She is a slave to her rags …[1]
>
> Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Lucretia Mott, 22 October 1852

Separate Spheres: Towards a Female Identity

In the mid-nineteenth century, Elizabeth Cady Stanton was cultivating the language of slavery to explain the plight of women in the United States. By 1859, this analogy was commonplace in the progressive movement, but it was also a strong point of division.[2] At the Friends of Human Progress Meeting in July of that year, Dr. O.A. Wellington pointedly noted that the "slavery of woman is greater than African slavery."[3] Stanton must have been proud.[4] Her desire to have the suffrage of women ranked as a higher priority than abolition was well known among those who worked tirelessly in the name of nineteenth-century liberal causes, primarily female suffrage and abolition. Some women felt a sense of strangulating fear and gall from the perception that White, upper-class women were to be forced into further subjugation as reams of uneducated Black men from the South lined up at the polls. At this same meeting, Lucy N. Colman reflected on the animosity and divisiveness within the political movement of progressivism. She passionately queried:

> Is there a wife present that would change her place with the slave on the plantation? If so, let her stand up, that I may look upon her. Is there no difference in being a slave of one man or the lust of a thousand men. I am sensitive on this women's rights question. I know that she suffers. I know how hard it is to be shut out from all lucrative employment. But I know my master cannot sell my children for lust.[5]

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Dr. Wellington in turn replied that the "enslavement of woman most affected the human family, for the reason that she is mother to us all … we all, white and black—receive at our birth the effect of our mother's enslavement."[6] Upping the ante, Wellington's retort places the onus of slavery (of women, in his opinion) onto every male, as all humans must be born of a mother.

This exchange reveals a maelstrom of rhetoric outlining the contentious and vehement debate taking place in the United States at the time. For women, this meant an impassioned plea for place and space in the fabric of the new republic. Lucy Colman, rightly and righteously, noted that no White woman, particularly the wealthy women who had the leisure to attend the Friends of Human Progress Meetings, could or would trade places with female slaves—women who were legally subjected to rape, whose children could legally be sold away from them, and were non-citizen property. Colman's use of the phrase "no wife here" is illustrative, however, for it was as wives that these women were given status and voice. White, married women had no right to speak or act as individuals. Dr. Wellington's argument centered on the idea that women must be revered as mothers. He invoked the consummate ideology of Republican motherhood frequently found behind mainstream discussions of women's empowerment in the nascent nation-state.[7]

The language of women, motherhood, suffering, and bodily rights was inextricably tied together. The above exchange during the Friends of Human Progress Meeting struggles with questions of both agency and prioritization. While common ground existed, both abolition and female suffrage were seen as questions of decency and moral corruption; the lines were drawn. How DARE women compare themselves to men of darker complexion who were in literal chains? How DARE uneducated men of color suddenly have the possibility of leap-frogging over women, who had been working patiently within the system to find empowerment, to have political voice and economic opportunity? By borrowing each other's language, ultimately, both sides weakened themselves.

This language included the theory of "separate spheres," espoused by women throughout the nineteenth century, wherein a woman's source of power lay in her quiet, domestic arena, from which she could educate her children and gently sway her husband towards morally correct positions, which would in turn be reflected in political votes around social and economic issues. Whether conservative or liberal, women consoled themselves that their voices were heard in the home and transmitted into the outer world of trade, commerce, and politics. The self-ascribed sphere theory was found in the writings of both emerging feminists—Margaret Fuller's essay "Woman in the Nineteenth Century" was published posthumously in 1855 with the subtitle "Kindred Papers Relating to the Sphere, Condition, and Duties of Woman"[8]—and harbingers of the patriarchy—William Andrus Alcott, the child-rearing expert of the nineteenth century, lobbied men to "render woman, and the sphere in which she moves, properly understood and appreciated, especially by herself."[9] Within the construct of this separate sphere, female influence was a kind of capital, billed as infinite and integral and significant to the success of the new democracy, already

known for its low rates of illiteracy and strong sense of piety. Women consoled themselves that, separate from the commercial world, their role was of equal significance as they were the custodians of education—moral, religious, and academic (including music)—for both young men and women. Nonetheless, this tenuous form of power felt increasingly insufficient.

Slavery and Abolition

History would prove, however, that the primary issue of the time was slavery. From the very beginning of the country's new status of independence, people were struggling with ideas of "equality." A lauded ideology, questions immediately arose about equality for whom. As early as 1787, Prince Hall, a Revolutionary War hero and African American, called for equitable schools for Black children in Boston, noting that "we have the right to enjoy the privileges of free men. But that we do not will appear in many instances … one out of many … the education of our children, which now receive no benefit from the free schools in the town of Boston."[10] In the early years of the new republic, free Black men expected equality. Yet the increasing slave trade and the lack of both political and legal support moved equality further and further away. As the century turned, calls for everything from abolition to colonization—for the purpose of relocating free Black people—became common. The language used grew increasingly bitter. By 1862, Abraham Lincoln openly admitted that, "There is an unwillingness on the part of our [White] people, harsh as it may be, for you free colored people to remain among us."[11] Advocating for government-sponsored colonization projects, Lincoln justified this stance as a political pathway to peace, following the advice of practiced diplomats such as Henry Clay.[12]

Nicholas Guyatt argues that this concept of colonization was a liberal-backed version of "separate but equal" (the roots of segregation), citing both Clay and Lincoln as part of his argument.[13] It was not until 1896 that the language of segregation was intentionally and legally indicated in *Plessy v. Ferguson*'s upholding of the laws of separation common in the South. The term "separate" appears nowhere in the Supreme Court decision. It was, however, common parlance throughout the nineteenth century and is found frequently in the rhetoric of both antebellum sphere theory and post-bellum "Jim Crow" laws. The actual roots of the term "separate but equal" as a stand-in for the formal name *Plessy v. Ferguson* are found in the 1890 Louisiana Separate Car Act (according to which separate railway car accommodations were required for Whites and for African Americans).

The lines for abolition—pro and con—were deeply sown in the language and imagery of Jim Crow, a T.D. Rice character from the early American blackface minstrel stage and the dance and musical piece *Jim Crow*. Interestingly, the beginnings of minstrelsy can be traced to around the same time as the colonization movements.[14] The image of Jim Crow (see Image 1.1) created the shamefully durable stereotype of the uneducated and incapable Black male; it also strongly reinforced the idea, clearly articulated by Dale Cockrell, that

Image 1.1.
Circa 1834. Courtesy Lester S. Levy Collection, The Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University.

"toward all common people, black and white, there is patronization at best and disgust at worse."[15]

This attitude circles the context directly back to Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the desire, first articulated clearly in 1848, to liberate *educated* White women either before or simultaneous with all [educated and uneducated] Black men.[16] In 1860, Stanton again created a furor, this time at the 8 May meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society, where she proposed a resolution claiming that "while our first care is the emancipation of the Southern slave, we women are … at the same time working out our own salvation."[17] The idea that education, so much a part of "separate spheres,"[18] was inherent to political voice soon blended into Southern segregation. When the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery, was passed in 1865, the moral question of overt subjugation in the form of slavery

was, in some sense, settled. In the absence of this fundamental legal barrier to equality, however, other barriers proliferated, taking on new meanings and power. The gradual creation of the so-called Jim Crow laws indicates a not-so-subtle shift to laws of segregation, designed to marginalize and minimize African-American agency and influence by decreasing educational and employment opportunities while simultaneously increasing social anxiety and decreasing mobility. The negative impact of Jim Crow—the term and the caricature—can easily be found throughout civil rights sites and histories.[19] As a character, Jim Crow's beginnings in minstrel theater, as a dance and a piece of sheet music, quickly lost relevancy to space and place and became a commonly recognized slang term derived from popular culture. All indications are that minstrel shows were considered "slumming it" for a carousing audience of White men.[20] Upper-class White women of the nineteenth century, while certainly aware of these shows, were not typically attending them.

How, then, does a philosophy of separate power spheres often designed by and for upper-to-middle-class White women eventually become mirrored into a "separate but equal" philosophy that then became institutionalized as segregation and racial inequality? Why did supposedly progressive women, so continuously aware of the inequity of the above philosophy, support the same idea when it was applied racially? To understand the complexity of ideologies, one must look beyond the rhetoric of politics into cultural identity. Sheet music of the time reflected and cemented any number of cultural ideologies, notably sentimentality, Christian piety, death and loss, and love (familial and romantic), alongside equality, regionality, classism, and racism.

Scholarship on popular genres—including minstrelsy, English-language opera, and "plantation" songs (as seen in the work of Dale Cockrell, Katherine Preston, and William Austen)[21]—make it clear that classism is central to any understanding of nineteenth-century American culture. Indicators of inherent classism can be found in several places. For example, Preston notes that while English-language opera (considered less elite) abounded, it was only Italian opera that was raved about in the press. Cockrell revolutionized scholarship by looking at court cases and police files versus archived special collections to understand the complexities of minstrelsy.[22] Austen revealed Stephen Foster (the darling of the canon of American music) as having fought long and hard against his background in minstrel music to be accepted as a "valid" musician.[23] Understanding the culture and realm of women in nineteenth-century America meanwhile relies on family letters, diaries, printed ephemera, and the personal bound collections of sheet music.[24]

Sheet Music

Purveyors of such music were clearly aware of gender and racial biases. Sampling sheet music covers[25] solidifies an awareness of the language and images found during the antebellum and post-bellum periods at the same time that ideas around "separation" were becoming ingrained. In the following four sample

categories, evidence emerges of how the ideology of the nineteenth century was codified and propagated via lithographic imagery.

Male Professionalism: Charles and Jakob Kunkel's Compositions

This lithograph (see Image 1.2) is one of the most overt and revealing images about appropriate White masculinity and music.[26] When shown this cover in classes, students regularly comment on the size of the piano, the brand recognition of Steinway, the obvious reference to Beethoven on the music stand, the grandiosity of the space (including a "classical" artwork in the alcove with a Grecian lyre), and the formality of the dress of the presumed Kunkel brothers.

While the lithograph is from 1875, all these aspects point to well-indoctrinated tropes about "serious" music, which are still recognized today, and who this music was being marketed to in the nineteenth century. The Germanic, solo piano repertory (i.e., serious music) was designated for men of prestige and ability. Harkening back to a "classical" understanding of the music of the spheres emphasizes what is already the dominant idea in the image:[27] music, good and proper music, can influence beyond the home to society at large when presented in a serious and solemn manner.

Sheet Music at Home: "Kiss Waltz"[28]

Standard sheets found in domestic volumes range from the simple to the ornate and rarely deviate from lithographs upholding the standard tropes of nineteenth-century sentimentality. Such imagery routinely includes a courting couple in a boat, replete with a romanticized ideal in the background (requisite castle included), a gravestone for a dearly departed, or fetishized depictions of young girls at the piano, clearly placed within their domestic arena. The "Kiss Waltz" (see Image 1.3) from 1869 incorporates many such tropes. There is the requisite Classical imagery (note the Parthenon-like gazebo on the hillside), the patriotic array of instruments (expected Grecian lyre now sitting atop a variety of strings, fifes, and drums, all surrounding the stars and stripes). Add in the iconography of Republican motherhood (in which patriotism, literacy, and etiquette were the three legs of stability within separate spheres) and the marketability of this piece is heightened.

The young girl and boy (her shorter skirts denote her age as a student) standing appropriately side by side singing from one music sheet in the bottom left corner and the interior courtship ritual or lesson at the piano with the square (domestic) piano, the hair put up to depict both age and proper etiquette, and the hidden male (at least presumably as there do not appear to be two "buns" or sets of skirts), squarely places this work within the domestic arena. Humorously, the owner of the sheet has a tongue-in-cheek inscription at the top "My Favorite Waltz … No One"; whether this is contemporaneous commentary on the music itself or a later addition, the piece was deliberately included in a bound volume and provides telltale clues about musical expectations.

Image 1.2.
Charles and Jacob Kunkel, circa 1875. Courtesy Library of Congress—Music Division, M1A15, Vol. 31.

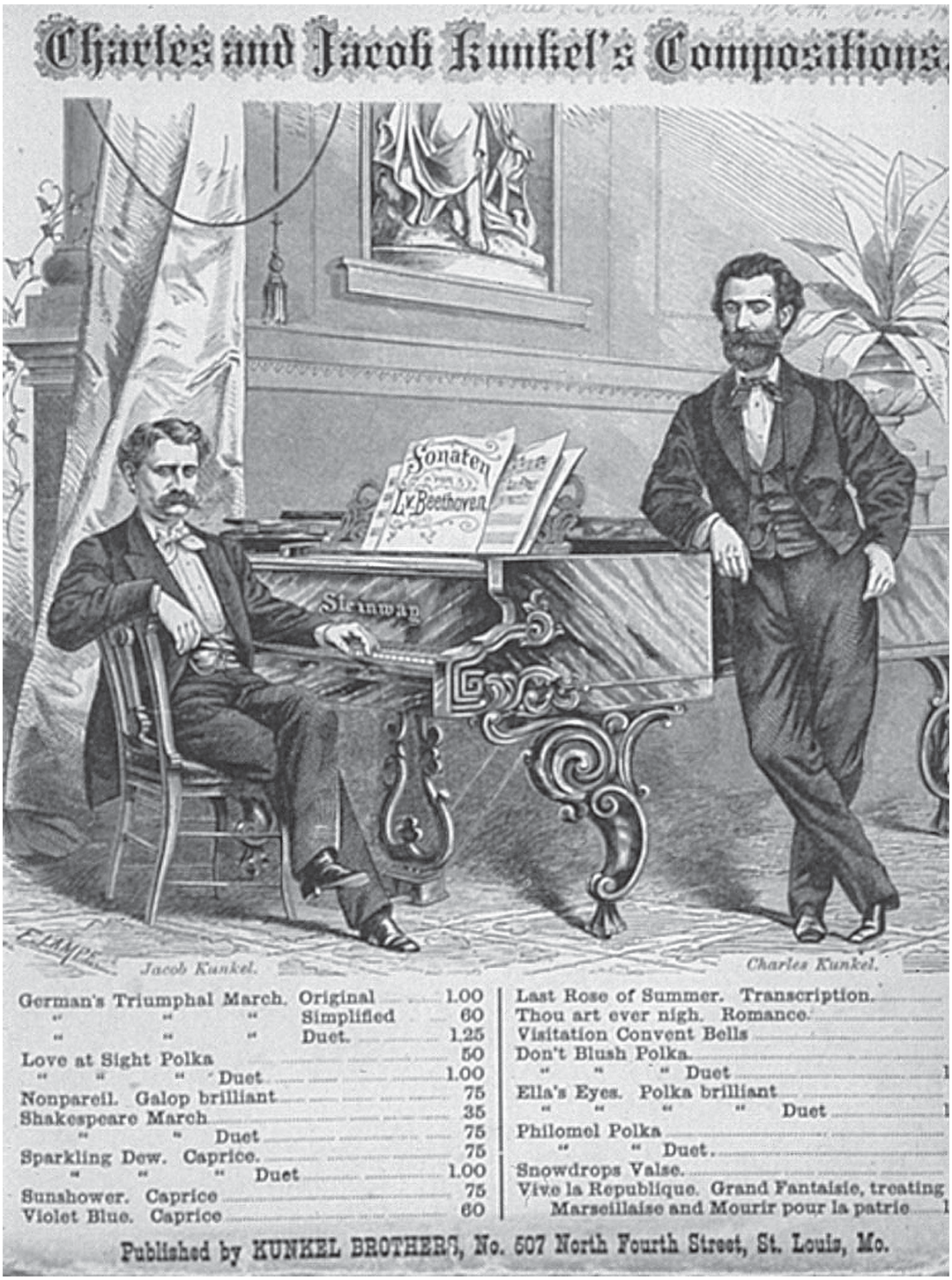
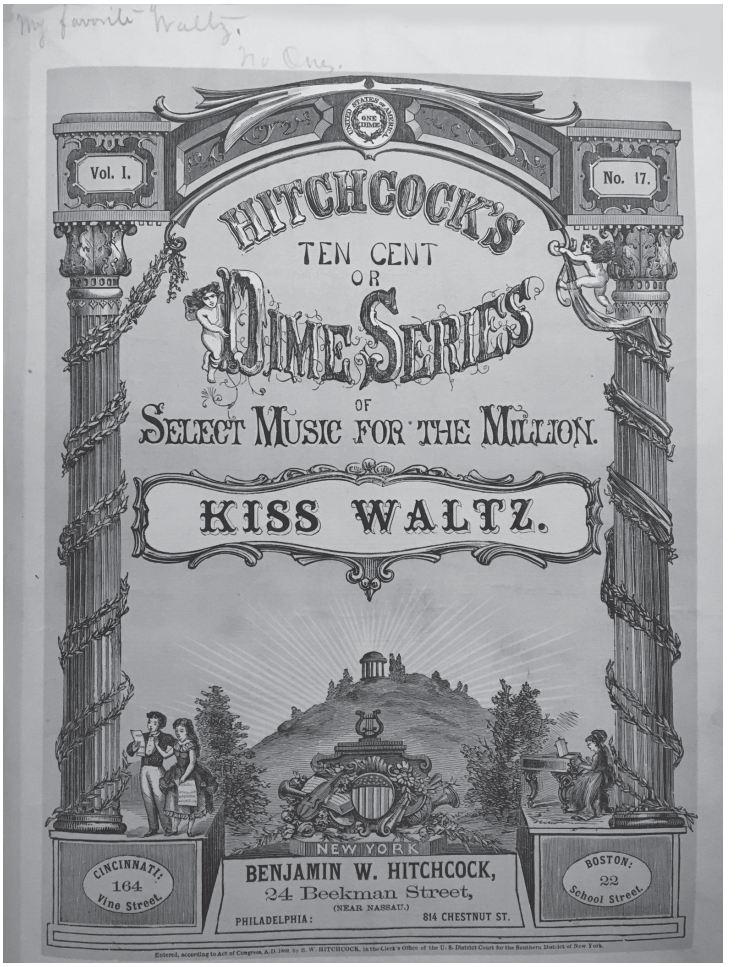


Image 1.3.
"Kiss Waltz," 1869, Volume of Anna Sleece. Courtesy of Michael Murdock, Private Collection, Denver, Colorado.



Sheet Music for Minstrelsy: "Jim Crow," "Christy's Minstrels," "Airs Americains," and "Old Uncle Ned"

While domestic music is often multivalent and subtle, music about African-American life (or rather the White depiction of Black men) is offensively clear. While the Jim Crow character was created by T.D. Rice, who engaged in cutting social and political satire, the all-too-prevalent image took on a life of its own throughout the century. Here (see Image 1.1) the caricatured features of the Black man (the prominent forehead and chin), the ratty and tattered clothes (patchwork pants and holey shoes), and the jester-like angularity of the pose all point to a man who is comically and tragically incapable of thought beyond bodily agency. The Rabelaisian aspect of the actual music and lyrics of the

piece are rarely focused on today, nor were they during the nineteenth century. The fact that "Jim Crow" as a piece of music was bound into "the spirit of the burlesque, political action, charivari, and Carnival … from the outset" may explain why it held agency within both the Black and White social realms, but it also complicates the history of the image.[29]

Other covers, such as the referenced version of "Oh Susanna" by Christy's Minstrels (see Image 1.4), make clear the White connection to blackface minstrelsy. Often this was done to promote the piece by marketing minstrel music as somehow acceptable beyond lower-class theater and demarking the troupes and composers as educated, serious musicians.

Here, the very White Edwin Christy is shown at the top with vignettes from the minstrel show underneath, including the ever-present minstrel line at the bottom. Significantly, this cover is not from a bound, domestic volume of sheet music. Such images are almost never found within domestic collections—which denotes, in and of itself, the fact that minstrelsy was not seen as acceptable middle-class entertainment for the female and the difficulty such images represented for both bridging the class gap for the performers and the consumer. This music was well known, often referred to in street parlance, but was not to be performed in the parlor.

During the rare times when minstrel music appeared in the White, female world (surmised by its inclusion in such bound volumes), it was almost always muted. In one version of the Christy tunes, the differences are distinct. A solo piano arrangement, by the respectable Henri Herz and published by Horace Walters in 1848, was marketed as "Airs Americains."[30] While this cover (image not provided) is much plainer overall, nods to the work's minstrel origins exist in three small insets: at the bottom a male in top hat (formal wear), clearly blacked up, and a younger boy appear in a boat. The dancer in the upper left corner is a young Black female, with Anglicized features and a ballet stance, emphasizing a European tradition of "highbrow" art. Adjacent to her is a "blackface" cherub.

More prevalent in the domestic arena was Stephen Foster, who bridged the gap to acceptability in large part due to his progressive, humanitarian depiction of the Black slave. His work "Old Uncle Ned" ends with the following stanza:

> When Old Ned die Massa take it mighty hard,
> De tears run down like de rain;
> Old Missus turn pale and she gets berry sad,
> Cayse she nebber see Old Ned again.

While the song's lyrics (including the incredibly offensive "n-word" repeated several times in earlier stanzas) are difficult for modern readers due to the odious dialect, it is significant that in the nineteenth century such a text was viewed as humanizing the slave and progressive in intent.[31] The impact of Foster, as both musician and pivotal figure in the fight for equality, was such that his hometown of Pittsburgh erected a statue to him (see Image 1.5).[32] The difficulties this statue represents in the modern era are both superficially obvious

Image 1.4.
"Oh Susanna," Music of the Christy Minstrels 1848, Hartke Collection, Box 50. Courtesy of American Music Research Center, University of Colorado-Boulder.

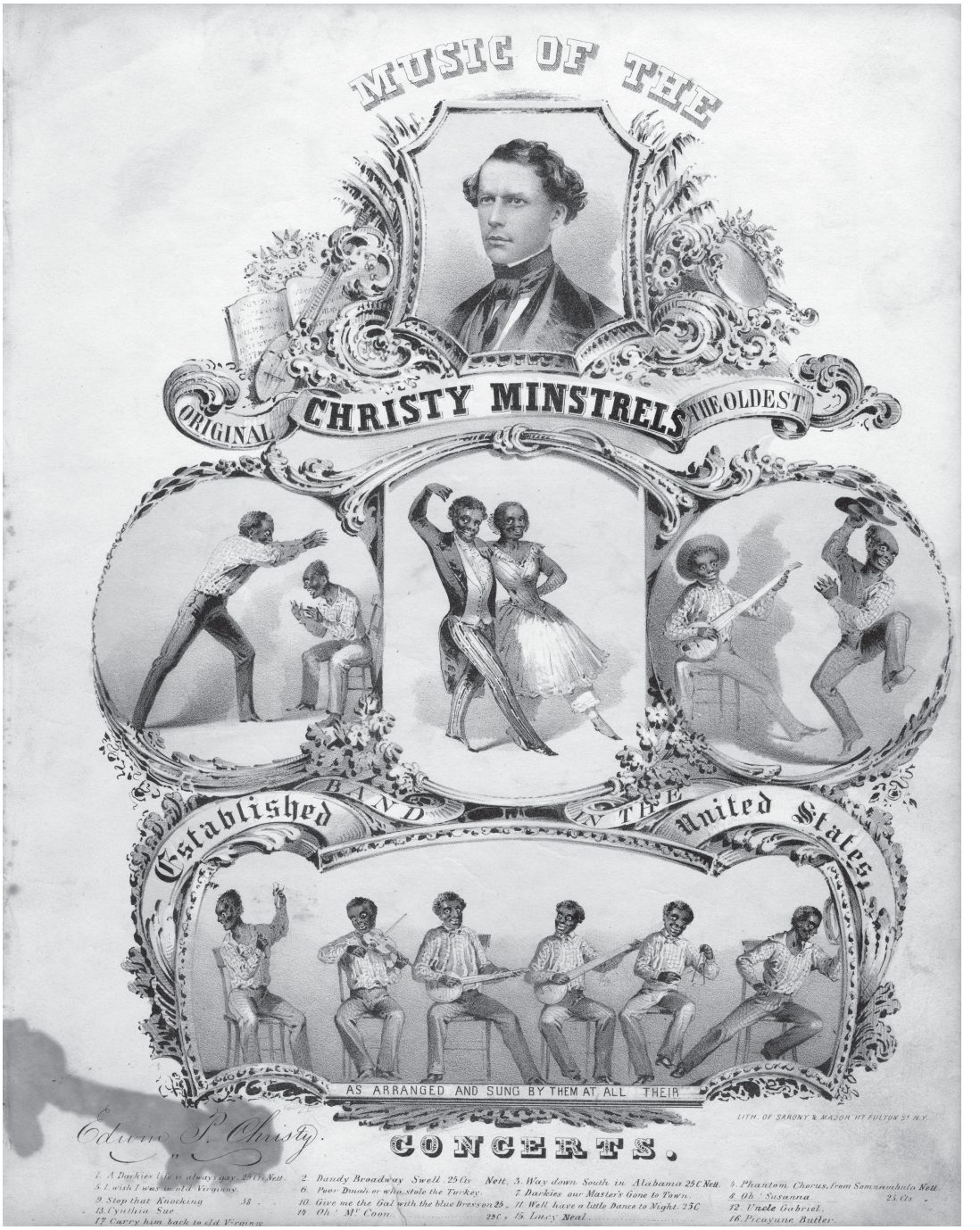


Image 1.5.
Statue of Stephen Foster, Courtesy Foster Hall Collection, Center for American Music, University of Pittsburgh Library System.

and multilayered. Ned is depicted sitting at the feet of Foster in a subjugated position.

That the lyrics leading to this image were viewed as progressive is difficult for modern listeners to perceive, reflecting the contradictory and antagonistic aspects of the abolitionist and suffragette causes.

"Progressive" Music: "Henry Clay's Grand March"

A final progressive piece, "Henry Clay's Grand March, Waltz & Quickstep" (see Image 1.6) has been looked at in depth by Candace Bailey and brings this discussion full circle. Clay's progressive politics included colonization

Image 1.6.
"Henry Clay's Grand March," 1844, New Series 2, Mary Stedman Volume, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 19th-century Sheet Music Collection. Courtesy Music Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

in support of the rights of African Americans and abolition, as well as economic protectionism and avid support of the merchant class. Bailey noted contradictions on this lithograph, which she found in the collection of Mary Stedman (who she described as "a lady of quality" but not of wealth).[33] The mere fact that Stedman owned this piece suggests progressive leanings. At the same time, Bailey concluded that the image

> sends mixed messages. The scantily clad women who serve as somewhat "classical" statues lending tradition to Clay's political efforts vividly contrast

with the demure and modestly dressed young woman who is reading in front of a landscape. It shows what appears to be a home, signifying that the woman's place was at home.[34]

Bailey continues that "the proper young woman also might have served to sell the music to conservative buyers, just as the draped nymphs might have attracted other types of consumers."[35] Thus the image skirts the edge of propriety just enough to be attractive and acceptable in the progressive home.

Tangling of messages abounds in the lithography of nineteenth-century sheet music. However, coding and lines of propriety were clear. White and Black rarely mix. White women are appropriately attired and most often appear in the home.[36] While there were pieces composed that specifically addressed the progressive platform, they were not common. Abolitionist songs (including "Right over Wrong" and "Topsy's Song")[37] were more prevalent; however, the popularity of minstrelsy, and its use in mainstream imagery, more than offset any inroads made in popular culture by abolitionist songs. Women's rights songs included Kate Horn's "Woman's Right: A Right Ballad Rightly Illustrating Woman's Rights," actually a satire of the movement, and Fanny Fern's "Woman's Rights," which can be read as either progressive or conservative.[38]

Women may have felt stifled, and music most frequently reiterated the restrictions on their place and station. Although a passionate dialogue had begun, women's suffrage was still decades away.[39] Stanton's frustration about women's singular path must be conceded, even as her analogy to slavery represented a leap that most Americans were uncomfortable taking. It is, then, a conundrum that the same language used to subjugate women (separate but equal) became the language of American-based segregation and apartheid. At its core, the very desire for separation suggests a systemic, inherent, and seemingly insurmountable inequality. Things are separated when something is perceived to be either dangerous or preferable for ourselves when compared with what another selection contains. At its core, ideas of class and propriety out-influenced American opinions of race, so much so that the terminology bled into all areas of subjugation and the coding of popular culture upheld the dominant concepts of culture politics.

Notes

1 Letter from Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Lucretia Mott, Seneca Falls, 22 October 1852. Elizabeth Cady Stanton Archives, Seneca Falls Historical Society (written upon the birth of her daughter).

2 Such provocative use of language to advance a cause is not exclusive to the nineteenth century. Actress and activist Bette Midler made a similar "error" quoting a John Lennon and Yoko Ono 1972 song when she tweeted "women are the n-word of the world." Place and space of such commentary can drastically alter the reception. Whereas Midler insisted that the quote was meant to highlight the disrespect of women in general, Black women were incensed at the parallels with atrocities enacted against African Americans. Cydney Henderson, "Bette Midler Apologizes for Controversial 'Women are the n-word of the World' Tweet," *USA Today*, 4 October 2018, usatoday.com.

3 Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress held at Waterloo, Seneca County, NY on June 3, 4 and 5, 1859 (Rochester, NY: C.W. Hebard, 1859), 7–8. Ann Braude has noted that this organization was one of several splinter groups that originated out of the Quaker (Society of Friends) denomination. Ann Braude, *Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), 64–8.

4 While Stanton did not attend this particular meeting herself, she was definitely part of the circle of many of its participants, which included Frederick Douglass among others.

5 Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting, 7–8.

6 Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting, 7–8.

7 While this term, "Republican motherhood," is a modern descriptor coined by Nancy Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England 1780–1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977), it is illustrative of a common ideological stance of the separate spheres theories in the United States in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Cott asserted that, "Women could conclude that their sex shared not simply a biological but a social purpose. They were entrusted with the morals and faith of the next generation. According to the prevailing conceptions of republican virtue, this was a task having political impact." Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood*, 148. One of Cott's primary examples of the ideology and appropriateness of the term is in the work of Ward Cotton. In his 1816 address to the women of Boylston, Massachusetts, "Causes and Effects of Female Regard to Christ," Cotton told them clearly that their mission was to work not only for the "salvation of … souls but also the political salvation of our country" (Ward Cotton, "Causes and Effects of Female Regard to Christ," Boylston, Massachusetts, 1816, quoted in Dorothy C. Bass, " 'The Prodigious Influence': Religion and Reform in Antebellum America," in *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, eds. Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979; Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1998), 285.

8 Margaret Fuller Ossoli, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century and Kindred Papers Relating to the Sphere, Condition, and Duties of Woman*, ed. Arthur Fuller (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1855).

9 William Andrus Alcott, *The Young House-keeper or Thoughts on Food and Cookery* (Boston, 1838; Kansas City, MO: Andrews McMeel Publishing, 2013), 2. Alcott wrote innumerable books, including *The Young Mother, The Young Man's Guide*, and *The Young Woman's Guide*. Other examples of sphere language in the nineteenth century abound, including but not limited to those in the writings of Catharine Beecher and Julia Tevis. For a fuller explanation of this theory and its reception, see Petra Meyer-Frazier, *Bound Music, Unbound Women: The Search for an Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, Monographs & Bibliographies in American Music, College Music Society Series (Missoula, MT: College Music Society, 2015).

10 Letter from Prince Hall to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Bay, 17 October 1787, reprinted in Charles M. Christian, *Black Saga: The African American Experience* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995), 61.

11 Christian, *Black Saga*, 189. Frederick Douglass was incensed by the request. All attempts at colonization ultimately failed, including both the American Colonization Society founded in 1816 and an 1863 colony near Haiti. For more on

the Colonization movement, see Celeste Michelle Condit and John Louis Lucaites, *Crafting Equality: America's Anglo-African Word* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 63–6.

12 The significance of Henry Clay is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

13 Guyatt draws a parallel between the desire for colonization and the policy of removal of Native Americans from their lands. Others, including Eric Foner, have noted that part and parcel of the issue separating these policies from racial equality was that "white Americans needed Indian land and black labor. That is why Indian removal took place but black colonization … never did." Nicholas Guyatt, *Bind Us Apart: How Enlightened Americans Invented Racial Segregation* (New York: Basic Books, 2016) and Eric Foner, review of *Bind Us Apart: How Enlightened Americans Invented Racial Segregation*, by Nicholas Guyatt, *The New York Times,* 29 April 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/05/01/books/review/nicholas-guyatts-bind-us-apart.html.

14 Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xi. While Cockrell did not point out this equivalency, the dates of 1815–25 are certainly parallel.

15 Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 84. Here Cockrell is referring specifically to the language used by the attorneys and the judge in an 1840 case during which the circumstantial use of the music of "Jim Crow" played a part.

16 The use of the word "liberate" is deliberate. One of Stanton's most radical publications was "The Declaration of Sentiments," a document created out of the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention. This rewriting of the Declaration of Independence reads, in part, "The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world." "Declaration of Sentiments," Women's Rights, National Park Service, last updated 26 February 2015, www.nps.gov/wori/learn/historyculture/declaration-of-sentiments.htm. The education of women was a hot topic in the nineteenth century, with many young women attending female seminaries and colleges (a collection of schools that align with today's high schools and the common curriculum of the early years in college). Women at these schools routinely took a wide variety of classes, including mathematics, English grammar and Latin, philosophy, chemistry, geology, botany, astronomy, political science, fine arts, and music. Advice books at the time regularly decried the sheer amount of work expected for women at these schools. For more information, see Thomas Woody's seminal outline of many different institutions: Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: The Science Press, 1929).

17 Theodore Stanton and Harriet Stanton Blatch, eds., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary, and Reminiscences* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 2:78.

18 To understand separate spheres, one must understand that early education took place in the home and was entrusted to young mothers. Catharine Beecher, among others, frequently upheld the need for education. Beecher implored mothers not to send their children outside the home before they were ready. For more on women's education (or over-education for home-keeping and the necessity therein), see "The Educational Milieu" in Meyer-Frazier, *Bound Music, Unbound Women*, 95–116. For Stanton, her class and education were clear indicators of her superior mental readiness to enact the vote.

19 See, for example, "Jim Crow, Caricature of an African American," *Shaping the Constitution* (Richmond: Education @ Library of Virginia), online classroom.

20 A jaunty allegretto piece in D Major, "Jim Crow" is characterized by dotted rhythms and an Alberti bass line. The rhythm and the term "jump Jim Crow" situate the work primarily as a dance. Within that, there were up to twenty-one verses, often filled with political satire.

21 See Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*; Katherine Preston, *Opera for the People: English-Language Opera & Women Managers in Late 19th-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); William Austen, "*Susannah," "Jeannie," and the "Old Folks at Home": The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987). Carol Oja has also noted that it is only due to the recent push to archive traditionally Black newspapers that her scholarship on Leonard Bernstein and the racial significance of *On the Town* has been fulfilled. She observed that while Black newspapers were aware of the significance of integration of the Broadway stage in this show, White papers studiously ignored what were certainly revolutionary decisions to integrate the cast. Carol Oja, Festival Keynote Address for *Bernstein at 100*, University of Colorado School of Music, 24 September 2018, Boulder, CO.

22 Cockrell has continued this research in *Everybody's Doin' It: Sex, Music, and Dance in New York, 1840–1917* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2019).

23 One could reasonably argue that Austen made a parallel case for the validity in his own scholarship when he was able to separate minstrel sheets from Foster's kinder, gentler "plantation" songs, which displayed a biography of compassion and progress as opposed to the distastefully racial and biased coarseness found in Christy's Minstrelsy or the characters of Thomas Rice. Stephen Foster's legacy has long been revered in the music world. His works were undoubtedly popular during his lifetime (as evidenced by the sheer number of extant copies in bound collections, among other markers). He is currently the only popular music composer of the nineteenth century in America included in the *Norton Anthology of Western Music*. There he is lauded for his melody and nostalgia. J. Peter Burkholder and Claude Palisca, *Norton Anthology of Western Music*, Vol. 2 "Classic to Romantic," 8th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2019), 418-22.

24 My own initial fieldwork often involved taking photos of bound volumes of music into university special collections (infrequently into a music library), noting that "what I am looking for is anything that looks like this." More often than not I received a shocked "oh … yes … we have plenty of those." Catalogue efforts that maintain the integrity of the "collection" are still rare—an exemplary and path-breaking example is the Nineteenth-Century Sheet Music Project at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. To ignore music due to a class-based perspective of bias against popularity or venue of performance, however, is to ignore an entire sector of cultural history—a sector that can only broaden our understanding of the path of history.

25 Research for this section began as an in-class lecture discussion at the University of Denver. Students were asked to view images and contemplate differences in class structure as well as the role of lithography in music perception.

26 Earlier discussion of this work can be found in Meyer-Frazier, *Bound Music, Unbound Women*, 184–5. The cover is the frontispiece for a collection of German solo piano works.

27 Romantic era understanding of "music of the spheres" was similar to that of the Renaissance, wherein human-made music had the ability to be in harmony with the

celestial, God-made frequencies ruling the laws of planetary motion as well as the humors of the body. This harkens back to Platonic ideas that certain modes can influence humans to good or bad courses of behavior. While this concept is complex, a brief description of Platonic thought as found in Timaues is provided in Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Western World*, 2nd ed. (Belmont, CA: Schirmer Cengage Learning, 2008), 8.

28 Anna Sleece volume, private collection of Michael Murdock, Denver, CO. The work is a straightforward eight-bar theme (presented initially in scalar quarter notes in contrary motion in D major) with changing rhythmic schemes and with variations moving from the original key of D to the closely related keys of G and C before returning to D.

29 Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 75. For more information on Black culture and the prevalence of Jim Crow, see Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 82–4.

30 Anna Sleece volume. This work is a medley of tunes with florid piano writing, replete with extensive pedaling, some cadenza-esque moments, virtuosic figurations, driving rhythms, and dense chords designed to highlight the dance background of the music as well as the skill of the performer.

31 This is reminiscent of an event described by Carol Oja during which her students were horrified, upon watching an episode of the *Young People's Concerts* (Leonard Bernstein, *Young People's Concerts,* Vol. 2, Young Performers #4, DVD), when Leonard Bernstein introduced a young Andre Watts as a "Persian prince." Her students interviewed Mr. Watts and were astonished to discover that he barely remembered the introduction and contextualized it as Bernstein's manner of being inclusive and giving him a foreign flair, making him more easily accepted on the stage, as opposed to being castigated as a biracial child in 1960s America (Carol Oja, *Bernstein at 100*). Solidifying the perception of "Old Uncle Ned" as progressive is the fact that Elizabeth Cady Stanton mentioned the piece fondly in her autobiography. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences 1815–1897* (New York: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), 5–6.

32 The statue was recently removed. See Chris Potter, "What to Do with a Stephen Foster Statue with a Black Man at His Feet," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 18 August 2017, www.post-gazette.com/local/city/2017/08/18/Stephen-Foster-statue-Pittsburgh-racist-offensive-american-songwriter-african-american-charlottesville/stories/201708180140, and Laurence Glasco, "The Stephen Foster Statue is Different from Confederate Symbols," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Opinion Page, 20 August 2017, www.post-gazette.com/opinion/letters/2017/08/21/The-Stephen-Foster-statue-is-different-from-Confederate-symbols/stories/201708210017.

33 See Candace Bailey, "Binder's Volumes as Musical Commonplace Books: The Transmission of Cultural Codes in the Antebellum South," *Journal of the Society of American Music* 10, no. 4 (November 2016): 446–69.

34 Bailey, "Binder's Volumes," 458.

35 Bailey, "Binder's Volumes," 458.

36 There are a few exceptions that include shop girls or dancers. These images are either exceedingly prim or exoticized (while maintaining Anglicized features) and include "Buy a Broom" and "Go Warrior Go." See Meyer-Frazier, *Bound Music, Unbound Women*, 16–18, 198–200.

37 Both were sung by the popular Hutchinson Family.

38 Kate Horn's work was published by Horace Waters, circa 1853. The lyrics include: "is 'Woman's right' if needs must be The ocean's storm to brave, But 'not her right'

the Barque to guide Across the ocean wave; 'Tis 'Woman's right' to freely speak And Honestly advise, But 'not her right' to gain her ends By pouting—sulks—or sighs." The text merely enforces the idea of separate spheres. For information on Kate Horn, see Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: The New York Music Scene in the Days of George Templeton Strong, vol. 2: Reverberations 1850-1856* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 123. Fern was the pen name of sentimental novelist Sara Payson Willis and her popular novel, *Ruth Hall*, was a runaway bestseller. She was derided during her lifetime, however, because she was a single mother. Willis's words can also be read as enforcing spheres with slightly less rancor. The G major, four-bar phrased piece has a lilting accompaniment of triplets and reads "Tis women's right to take the field in virtue's holy cause. Her right to claim on such a ground society's applause … She has the will and pow'r to fill Man's heart with pure delight. She rules his soul with sweet control, And this is woman's right." More pointed songs include "I'll be No Submissive Wife," which uses comedy to make the more feminist point.

39 Women achieved the vote with the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1920; Stanton died in 1902.

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