American tunesmiths created surprisingly few original songs that survived the end of World War I. Another George M. Cohan smash, *Over There*, joined Geoffrey O'Hara's *K-K-K-Katy* (billed as "The Sensational Stammering Song Success Sung by the Soldiers and Sailors") as the country's biggest hits. Other popular numbers—*Mademoiselle from Armentieres* (also known as *Hinky Dinky Parlez Vous*), *Keep the Home Fires Burning*, *Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag*, and *It's a Long Way to Tipperary*—derived from British and European sources. During the war years, imagery from *The Star-Spangled Banner* influenced many popular songs. A minor hit, *The Star-Spangled Banner (Is the Song That Reached My Heart)*, acknowledged that "ev'ry nation has its national air of which they boast and brag," yet nothing compared to "Maryland, My Maryland . . . And when the band plays Dixie grand, Way down south I want to be / My country tis for thee Home of the brave and free / But the Star Spangled Banner, from thee I'll never part." *Columbia Is Calling* pledged that "none shall dare to trample Old Glory in the dust, We'll fight once more 'neath the Stars and Stripes in God we place our trust." One modestly successful song, *Let's*

Keep the Glow in Old Glory, quoted "oh say can you see." Daisy M. Erd, who worked at the Boston Navy Yard, wrote the hit songs *We'll Carry the Star Spangled Banner thru the Trenches* and a sequel, *We Carried the Star Spangled Banner thru the Trenches*:

> We'll carry the Star Spangled Banner thru the trenches of good old France
> Then onward Christian soldiers forward we all advance
> Our cause is right our hearts are light we march to victory
> To France we go ever crushing the foe and we'll carry the Star Spangled Banner.[19]

Patriotic Americans continued to submit songs to top federal officials, including Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, and President Wilson. Adam Wackman of St. Louis shared his parody of the Confederate anthem, *The Bonnie Blue Flag*. Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee sent Secretary Baker a copy of *Right Triumphant*, "a National Anthem" dedicated to the "Youth of America." The senator stated that "one of my warmest friends in Memphis" wrote it and asked, "Is there any way this Anthem could be used officially?" Baker replied: "It is not the policy of the War Department to disseminate or approve songs or poetry." Theodore Northrup in Denver sought Wilson's approval for a tune simply called *Star Spangled Banner*: "A New National Anthem, which subject has long been agitated. I feel confident that I have struck the right attitude of the American Public." Like many aspirants to patriotic fame, Northrup wrote that "I believe that it can be made the Nation's hymn of praise to be used in all National institutions, schools, celebrations in the Army and Navy," and at all patriotic events. Northrup's words focused on the flag: "Star Spangled Banner blow, Star Spangled Banner flow, Spread to the air / Thou art the flag we love, Blest by God above / With you a nation moves to do and dare."[20]

Owing to the country's multicultural makeup, including the absorption of millions of immigrants from Germany and its World War I allies, Americans feared potential subterfuge from within. The drive against all things German turned sauerkraut into "liberty cabbage" and the Germania Life Insurance Company into Guardian Life. Many German Americans joined to fight with Uncle Sam, and popular music pushed the great melting pot

ideal—up to a point. The lyrics of *We're All Uncle Sam's Boys Now* referenced a number of countries that contributed to the American populace, including England, Ireland, France, Scotland, Russia, and Italy, but they omitted Germany. In that song, an Englishman, once true to the Union Jack, declared that "the Star Spangled Banner now is good enough for me," and a Russian referred to the United States as "the land of the free, and 'tis the homeski of the brave." The tune *America First* extended a welcome "to those who come across the sea from ev'ry land / She offers them the sacred rights of liberty / Beneath the starry emblem of the brave and free." *For the Honor of the U.S.A.* claimed: "When the Star Spangled Banner is waving . . . we'll be proud of our boys who are fighting."[21]

Along with its ability to unite, Key's song could also divide. Karl Muck, German-born conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, attracted notoriety after he developed an ill-timed program of all-German works for the orchestra's fall 1917 tour. In October, a newspaperman demanded that Muck be put "to the test" and play *The Star-Spangled Banner* at the orchestra's Providence, Rhode Island, engagement. The Rhode Island Council of Defense, the Liberty Loan Committee, and several patriotic women's groups in the city echoed this request and sent a telegram to orchestra officials, but Muck received the message too late. After a disingenuous dispatch detailing the conductor's alleged disrespect and disloyalty circulated nationwide, Muck immediately offered to play the song at every concert, but protestors dogged his tour. Former president Theodore Roosevelt declared that "any man who refuses to play the 'Star-Spangled Banner' in this time of national crisis, should be forced to pack up and return to the country he came from." Baltimoreans took particular offense, and ex-governor Edwin Warfield vowed to riot rather than let the orchestra hold its scheduled concert. "I told the Police Board members that this man would not be allowed to insult the people of the birthplace of 'The Star-Spangled Banner,'" said Warfield. "I told them that mob violence would prevent it, if necessary, and that I would gladly lead the mob to prevent the insult to my country and my flag." Fearing chaos, the police cancelled the performance. Media scrutiny helped ruin the conductor's reputation and immigration authorities eventually deported him.[22]

Negative publicity over improper deference shown toward *The Star-Spangled Banner* also roiled the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. In August

1918, Assistant District Attorney Francis Borelli, suspecting that German-born conductor Frederick Stock tolerated Axis sympathizers, hauled orchestra manager Albert Ulrich and four musicians into his office to investigate "anti-American utterances." The controversy began after cellist Walter Ferner accused his mentor, Bruno Steindel, of singing "obscene words to the air of the national anthem as it was being played by the orchestra." Ferner further recalled a performance of *The Marseillaise* the previous year, when the audience and every orchestra member except Steindel stood up. Afterward, Steindel insulted his protégé in German and called him a traitor. The attorney general told Steindel, "Just think of the situation: Mr. Stock of the same frame of mind as you are, leading an orchestra including such men as you in the playing of the Star Spangled Banner; you know that under such conditions the music doesn't come from the heart." Borelli also questioned kettle drummer Joseph Zettleman, who had allegedly "shown contempt when the national anthem was played." Trumpeter William Hebs claimed to support the American war effort and averred that he always stood when the song aired. When word spread that Stock's naturalization papers had expired, loyal Americans criticized him as an "enemy alien." The celebrated conductor enjoyed the full support of the orchestra's board of trustees, but he resigned his post in October to straighten out his immigration status. He returned in February 1919 to great fanfare and resumed his career without any further taint. The day after Stock resigned, the orchestra dismissed Steindel. The noted cellist joined the Chicago Opera Company and toured as a soloist, though he aroused the ire of the American Legion in 1919 when he performed several concerts to aid German war orphans. In 1921, Steindel's wife, distraught over her husband's sullied reputation, committed suicide.[23]

By 1917, with *Hail, Columbia* "sinking into neglect" and *My Country, 'Tis of Thee* never a serious contender for anthem status, *The Star-Spangled Banner* earned "first place among our national songs." The patriotic compilation *Bugle Calls of Liberty* called Key's creation "the National Anthem" and claimed that every true American who hears its music "stands at 'attention.'"[24] As the conflict continued, militant patriots considered the song to be a convenient litmus test of loyalty. In April 1917, former Socialist newspaper reporter Frederick S. Boyd and two suffragists refused to stand for *The Star-Spangled Banner* while dining at Rector's restaurant in New York City. Patrons attacked Boyd, who protested that, as an Englishman,

he did not have to rise, "but the crowd would listen to no explanation." Waiters stepped in to stop the fracas, and patrons marched the group outside, into the arms of a policeman who brought Boyd to night court. The judge told him that even though no legal obligation existed to stand for the song, "it was neither prudent nor courteous not to do so in these tense times." He found Boyd guilty of disorderly conduct and released him with a suspended sentence. In another instance, on Lincoln's Birthday in 1918, zealous patriots in Staunton, Illinois, tarred and feathered two suspected members of the radical I.W.W. labor union. Rioters dragged other alleged admirers of Germany's kaiser into the streets to undergo impromptu tests of allegiance and to kiss the flag. According to one newspaper account, those "who could play musical instruments were forced to play 'The Star Spangled Banner,'" and anyone who could not received a pummeling.[25]

President Wilson encouraged the musical mayhem. As a Princeton Glee Club member, he had enjoyed impressing audiences by hitting the high notes of *The Star-Spangled Banner*. In 1915, his daughter Margaret recorded the song to raise money for the Red Cross. Wilson remarked: "The man who disparages music as a luxury and non-essential is doing the nation an injury. Music now, more than ever before, is a national need. There is no better way to express patriotism than through music."[26] A week before declaring war on Germany and its allies, Wilson established the Committee on Public Information. This committee administered a wide-reaching propaganda program run by George Creel, a former journalist who served as police commissioner in Denver. Creel used musical groups and parades to drum up support for Liberty Loan bond drives, Loyalty League pep rallies, armed forces recruitment efforts, and other public mobilizations. In September, the committee's ubiquitous traveling speakers, the Four-Minute Men, launched a series of Four-Minute Sings to maintain a "'white-heat' of patriotism." One agency bulletin boasted that "'The Singing Army,' whether it be a fighting army or a working army, cannot be beaten." The executive branch equipped the Four-Minute Men with slides for sing-alongs to topical tunes and patriotic standards, including *The Star-Spangled Banner*.[27] To bring different ethnic groups into the fold, Creel and President Wilson declared July 4, 1918, as a day for foreign-born Americans to pledge loyalty to the United States. Representatives of thirty-three ethnic and national organizations from Washington,

D.C., sailed to Mount Vernon on the *Mayflower*, the presidential yacht, where they laid wreaths and offered prayers at George Washington's grave. It so happened that "a piano was tucked away behind a clump of cedars," Creel reported. After a round of speeches, Irish tenor John McCormack, a popular entertainer, "sang 'The Star-Spangled Banner' as it was never sung before," and the entourage returned to Washington.[28]

Military engagement on the battlefields of Europe elevated the importance and visibility of the flag, *The Star-Spangled Banner*, and other historic national songs. Two months after the United States entered the war, a front-page cartoon in the *Chicago Tribune* satirized Americans' lack of familiarity with Key's lyrics. Beneath a headline reading "Does Your Club Contain One of These?" the panels showed a father patting his boy's head, saying "My son—learn our national anthem and always prove your patriotism by joining in the singing of it on all occasions." The youngster replies, "Yes pop. I know it by heart." Later that evening, "father had a chance to sing the national anthem." After "Oh-ho say—can—you See-ee," he fumbled the next lines, rendering them as "Da De Da Dada D'yah! Hm-m Proudly hm—hm—m—dah de Twi-lights slass glee-ming," followed by more stumbling and bumbling. On the same day, the *Chicago Herald* implored, "If You Can't Fight, Sing! New Appeal to Citizens." The article reported on the efforts of the Civic Music Association, which planned to conduct community sings across the city during summer 1917. The association suggested that patriots "learn the old songs and sing them 'as they used to sing them,'" and that they should know by memory *The Star-Spangled Banner*; *My Country, 'Tis of Thee*; *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*; *Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean*; *Dixie*; *Illinois*; and even *Swanee River* and *Old Folks at Home*.[29]

The Star-Spangled Banner also made repeated appearances at community singing events during the war years. "One of the developments of the war was the wide use of music in interesting and stimulating the men in uniform," reported the Maryland Council of Defense. Indeed, "the government made it a policy, and at every camp there were song leaders and other agencies for the encouragement of the singing of the patriotic airs. It worked so well in the army and navy that it was decided to carry the movement into the civilian population." Volunteer preparedness groups distributed song sheets stamped with the names of local businesses. The sings

derived their popularity from their inclusiveness. In Baltimore, organizers cautioned that "professional musicians are not necessarily the best leaders."[30] Through summer 1918, Americans across the country spontaneously gathered in public parks to sing patriotic songs. In Philadelphia, the site of an active movement, participants received free lyric sheets sponsored by Strawbridge & Clothier and circulated by the Philadelphia League of Women Voters and the Philadelphia Music Bureau. On Sunday afternoons in July and August, singers in Hunting Park ran through around two dozen popular, patriotic, Civil War and Stephen Foster melodies. Community song sheets often began with *The Star-Spangled Banner*, and they circulated at war training camps in Providence, Rhode Island, and Worcester, Massachusetts. One lyric sheet carried the slogan "sing together—think together—act together." Advertised in the *Saturday Evening Post*, a sixty-four-page booklet titled *Songs of Cheer for Camp, Fireside, Liberty, & Community Singing* contained "the national anthems of the Allies, the songs of long ago, the new hits of today."[31]

Activists worked to influence popular practices by codifying etiquette toward the Red, White, and Blue. One poem, a "Eulogy of Our Flag," which appeared in an Indiana songbook, encouraged public displays of patriotic fervor, suggesting that boys stand and take off their hats when they see the flag displayed. Anyone can "blaspheme in the street, and stagger drunken in public places, and the bystanders will not pay much attention to you." But "if you should get down on your knees in the street and pray to Almighty God or if you should stand bareheaded while a company of old soldiers march by with their flags to the breeze, some people will think you are showing off. But don't you mind!" When the flag passes, "salute, and let them think what they please! When you hear the band play 'The Star Spangled Banner,' while you are in a restaurant or hotel dining room, get up, even if you rise alone; stand there, and don't be ashamed of it, either!" The 1917 compilation *Our Flag and Our Songs* venerated the customs of standing at attention and saluting during flag raisings. The compiler suggested that "civilians, when the flag is passing on parade or in review, should, if walking, halt, if sitting, arise, and stand at attention, with hat in right hand held over the heart." Whenever *The Star-Spangled Banner* is played, "all persons within hearing should rise and stand uncovered during its rendition."[32]

Leaders of grassroots movements sought President Wilson's help in instituting the mores of patriotism. Edith Riggs of New York City sent a letter detailing her campaign to "interest the managers of theatres and of other places where it would be appropriate to play the National Anthem at the close of their performances or meetings." She asked: "Can you do anything to help us? Or make suggestions." Edwin L. Turnbull of Baltimore implored the president to "make a personal request that the National Anthem be played at the conclusion of all concerts by orchestras and military bands throughout the Country," calling on the "magic aid of music" to arouse patriotism. Turnbull claimed that the practice of performing *The Star-Spangled Banner* after formal gatherings "is by no means a general one, and Americans are accustomed to hear other patriotic tunes substituted for the National Anthem on public occasions"—including *My Country, 'Tis of Thee*; *Dixie*; *Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean*; *Marching through Georgia*; and *Hail, Columbia*—"at the expense of diminished enthusiasm and respect for the official National Anthem." Justine Collins of Asheville, North Carolina, requested the designation of "a National Anthem that will inspire some patriotism or at least may the public be taught through the schools, theatres, and all public gatherings just what our anthem is." She reported that at a gathering of college students, several in the crowd stood during a rendition of *The Battle Cry of Freedom*. "When the 'Star Spangled Banner' was played only a motley few rose. I have seen this on many occasions and have about decided that our people are devoid of patriotism or do not know our anthem. I think it is the latter."[33]

John Carr, general agent at Victoria Attractions in Dorchester, Massachusetts, asked Wilson to "issue a request to all theatres thru the Press to have our National anthem played at the opening or closing of all performances," to conform with the practice in Europe. New York City resident Charles Issacson, an editor of the theater periodical *Music for Everyone* and "Our Family Music," an insert in the *New York Globe*, sought support for his push to establish an "absolute rule that no audience disperse without singing the 'National Anthem.'" When "they do it—properly—they go out filled with fervor. We want to spread the plan everywhere. May we ask you to say whether you consider it worthwhile?" Issacson claimed to have deployed twenty-five thousand patriots carrying a broadside titled "Giving

the National Anthem a New Meaning." Only when Americans sing the song en masse, the flyer stated, does *The Star-Spangled Banner* become "more than a song—a prayer; more than music—a consecration; more than words—an avowal." Even if audiences are "laughing, joking, careless, being entertained, amused, strike up the first notes of the anthem. People jump to their feet, no longer carelessly obeying a custom, but with the manner of soldiers at attention. And when they sing! The air throbs with the sincerity of their devotion." Afterward, everyone "goes out a better American. . . . Let us start here and now a movement. 'Sing the Anthem Every Day.'"[34]

Helen Fulton of New York City implored her congressman, Thomas F. Smith, to lobby the president on behalf of what she called an attractive "plan of propaganda" to make *The Star-Spangled Banner* into one of America's "household gods." She lamented the "ignorance among Americans as to the words of the NATIONAL ANTHEM," claiming that only one in a thousand knew even the first verse. Promoting the slogan "ONE FLAG, ONE ANTHEM, ONE COUNTRY," she proposed designating one day a week for the duration of the war as National Anthem Day, which would be recognized at "Moving Picture houses, Theatres, restaurants, Churches, Parks, and Business Corporations." To familiarize Americans with the words and music, she suggested recruiting groups of national anthem singers, akin to the Four-Minute Men, to lead public sing-alongs, show a film about the song's history, and display slides of the lyrics. Fulton also recommended that theaters print the words to *The Star-Spangled Banner* in all of their programs, that restaurants place them on each table, that shops put them in "every package bought on that day," that the song be performed in churches, and that universities open each day with the song. She also asked Wilson to designate September 14 as National Anthem Day.[35]

By World War I, just over a century since the song's inception, *The Star-Spangled Banner* experienced so many changes that it evolved like a folk tune, making it mutable to the whims of performers.

Newspapers and educators also stumped for a standard arrangement. Just after President Wilson declared war on Germany and its allies, the publisher of the *New York Sunday American* sent a telegram to Secretary Baker indicating that the newspaper "is preparing to print authorized version of 'Star Spangled Banner' for free distribution. Lieutenant Santelmann has furnished corrected copy as played by Marine Band. We are holding up printing pending confirmation from you that this is correct version." The War Department responded that it had "no information" regarding Santelmann's version and that Sousa's version of *The Star-Spangled Banner* "is the arranged authorized version for Army Bands." Claiming that "nobody seems to know exactly how to sing" the song, the newspaper published the Sousa music score, accompanied by Santelmann's vocal score, under the headline "The Right Way to Sing and Play 'The Star Spangled Banner.'" James O'Shea, director of music for the Boston public schools, urged universal adoption of Sousa's arrangement. The *Boston Globe* suggested that "every American learn this version and none other, so that the expression of

our patriotic sentiments may be accompanied by as much real inspiration and fervor as possible and not be marred by a condition of confusion and uncertainty."[39]