# Sex and Song

## Roles and Images of Women in Popular Music at the Turn of the Century

by Patricia Skidmore

The songbooks and sheet music of North America at the turn of the century are a little-used historical resource. Serious studies have brought us the womanof-the-magazine, (1) the woman-of-thenovel(2) and the woman-of-theadvertisement.(3) Our forebearers have themselves documented the existence of "The Girl of Today"(4) in 1913 and the "New Woman."(5) But neither today's historians nor yesterday's commentators suspended their reading to listen.(6) Had they done so, their rewards would have been immense. For in the parlour music of the 1890-1910 era.(7) we can find much information about women--the roles they played and the images they lived among. This paper will seek to extract the roles and images of women in song. Having established what it is the songs have to say, it will explore what they mean.

The historian equipped with the evidence of song is in direct touch with the common people's world. Songs were popular if they reflected, somehow, the experiences of their singers around the parlour piano. So, it is no surprise to find that the popular songs were often grounded on real experiences or grew out of everyday situations. This is something seldom noticed by those who denigrate the tunes of the turn of the century as trite and sentimental. But it is the reason the historian goes to the sheet music-to catch a glimpse of real, daily life. In another way, songs have meaning for the historian because they also reflect the dreams of the singers. They portray the reality of unreality, the strength of myths. In the case of women in history, songs are particularly useful in outlining the "Feminine Mystique"(8)of 1890-1910; and the popularity of these kinds of songs testifies to the ubiquitous nature of the mystique.

After viewing the connections between song and daily realities and ascertaining that the feminine ideal was alive and well at the turn of the century and bevond. it becomes easier for the historian to account for the derailment of feminist hopes in that era. Some have argued that the feminists failed because they did not attack the central enemy, the family. When imagery in the songs of the period is studied, it becomes clear why they did not. And it is equally clear why those who did, such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, met defeat. More than political speeches and written arguments, song lyrics depict what appeals to the population at large.(9) And knowing what lyrics they liked to sing, we know how likely they were to emancipate their "better half."

This paper, then, has four purposes: to extract the roles of women from the songs sung about them; to recognize the images of women and the strength of those images; to see the relationships between songs and realities; and to see evidence in song of the brick wall into which feminist ideology ran. Gather 'round the piano, then, and look through the sheet music.(10) What are the roles played by the women in the songs? Of course, there was the sweetheart, central in countless lyrics. She often went to school with her beau, and she strolls in parks. goes for canoe rides and makes daisy chains. She is, of course, a "looker." wearing daisy chains or decollete. or sparkling eyes. She'll hold hands, give him a kiss or tell him she loves him, provided nobody finds out about it and he marries her. And always, she was sweet--Adeline, Marie, Rosie O'Grady or Katie.

After the sweetheart comes the mother, in biological order. When we see her <u>en</u> role, she is usually giving advice, always sound. We can tell from the advice she gives that she's done some living and thinking:

From temptations, crimes and follies,

Villains, taxi-cabs and trolleys, Oh! Heaven will protect the working

airl.

This 1909 satire is not typical of the sentimental "mother" songs, but the advice-giving is. We find few songs about her daily life, although she does sing a lovely lullaby, and Mother Machree must have laboured to get those worn fingers. When we come to consider imagery in songs, mother will figure largely; but her role is not a subject the songs describe in detail.

Similarly, the wife role, which appears

in a few songs, applies to older women and dead ones. "Silver Threads Among the Gold" is too early for us (1873), but it heads a list of similar songs in which the aged wife is being taken home again or taken out for a gentle good time in an old gray bonnet. And wife appears in the "memory" songs, calling in the night or walking softly as the husband reminisces. A functioning wife in her prime does not appear in lyrics.

In a few songs, there appears a bride who is not a wife. The 1893 "Fatal Wedding" told of an eager watching crowd which was astounded at the following scene in the back of the church in the middle of the wedding:

Speak now, or hold your peace forever," soon the preacher said. "I must object," the woman cried, with voice so meek and mild, "The bridegroom is my husband, Sir, and this our little child." Five years later, another song, "The Moth and the Flame," told a similar tale, sans child.

And finally, in an 1894 song entitled "The Little Lost Child," we see a wife and mother in the role of runaway. She returns to her family by accident, when she discovers the policeman who found her little lost child is the husband she left in a fit of jealousy years before. "All is forgiven, in one fond embrace."

Songs with tales such as the above, with unusual wives and mothers, are a part of the realism depicted in the turn of the century music, as we shall see shortly. Now, let us notice the remaining roles imbedded in the background of several other songs. "Hello, Central, Give Me Heaven" is an obvious sentimental motherchild ballad of 1901; but it reminds the historian that women are working as telephone operators. "Mother Was a Lady" depicts a girl appealing for respect on those grounds; we notice that the girl is a "pretty waitress" in a grand hotel.

The songs give us a view of another kind of working woman, as well--the prostitute. In 1891, an unforgiving father reacted to this role in "The Picture That Is Turned To the Wall." In 1894, a girl in an awkward plight was to be given the benefit of the doubt since, as the lyrics reminded the public, "She May Have Seen Better Days." She had, in fact, for the verse discloses that the pitiful heap in a doorway was a deserted wife.

Just noticeable in the lyrics is yet another role, that of the New Woman. This New Woman is seen dancing madly all through the night while "The Band Played On." And no time does she spend in a canoe: Daisy bicycles, Josephine goes up in a flying machine and Lucile is invited to go automobubbling in a Merry Oldsmobile. By 1905, this New Woman was admitting saucily, "I Don't Care" and My Gal Sal was described approvingly as "an all round good fellow."

Parlour sheet music depicts several roles for women, then. There is the

sweetheart, the mother, the wife, the proud and not so proud working girl, and the New Woman. But roles are only a part of the picture; what of the images? Song lyrics, being based on sentiments, provide ample evidence of the feelings and ideals of turn-of-the-century people. Of course, every sweetheart is beautiful, every mother patient. We find Mother the Inspiration (Mother O' Mine) and Sweetheart the Inspiration (Love Me and the World Is Mine.) Those, we expected to find, for they are prevalent images still. We even find Wife the Inspiration. Again, she is a dead wife; but her loss proves how inspirational she had been in Berlin's "When I Lost You," written in 1912 for his young deceased bride.

There are lyrics that show us another side of the cultural expectations for women: they are gracious martyrs. "After the Ball," which sold five million copies of sheet music at fifty cents per copy in 1892, presents this martyrdom. During the ball, the narrator returned from a foray in search of a glass of water to find a man kissing his sweetheart "as lovers can." He was only her brother, but the narrator did not know that.

- She tried to tell me, tried to explain;
- I would not listen; pleadings were vain.

So he left her, there and then. His example was followed by the man in the 1893 "Two Little Girls in Blue" who eventually confessed:

### My fancy of jealousy wronged a heart,

A heart that was good and true. There are less virtuous martyrs, who are martyrs all the same, such as the Bird in a Gilded Cage. This wealthy fashion queen married for wealth, not for love, and she has never been happy or free from care since. The most obvious of all martyr images comes from "She Is More To Be Pitied Than Censored," which ends with the admonition:

For a moment just stop and consider That a man was the cause of it all. Any of the women's roles found in the songs can become an image of a martyr. Mother is the reason you behave, because "at your downfall her grief is severest." Wife may be martyred, too, as we learn in a modestly successful song called "I Won't Let You Insult Her" about an actress. The man explains that she came to her present low condition because of him:

- When first we wed I thought I could never be untrue,
- But scarce a year had passed away, in shame I tell it now,
- She found the man she loved so well had broken every vow.
- She loved me so, I think her poor heart broke on that sad day;
- She tried hard to forgive me but she wished to go away.

She went on the stage and ended up as the object of insults.

The image of the female's superiority in morals is maintained in lyrics such as

"Gold Will Buy 'Most Anything But a True Girl's Heart." In this song, a rich girl tries to persuade a true girl to relinquish the man they both love, but "All your wealth and jewels rare can never make us part." A similar strength in the face of gold is evidenced by the tearful girl who insists, as her departing fiance offers her monetary compensation:

> Take back your gold, for gold can never buy me; Take back your bribe, and promise you'll be true. Give me the love, the love that you'd deny me; Make me your wife, that's all 1 ask of you.

We also find in the popular songs of this era evidence for the image of the young woman as frivolous, irrational or both. Nellie is waiting patiently for the sun to shine because she wants to go "for a trolley ride, just to show my brand new gown." The mother in 1894 of "The Lost Little Child" had walked out on her policeman husband for no good reason:

Twas all through a quarrel, madly jealous, she Vowed then to leave me, woman-like, you see.

There is one more image affixed to the conventional young woman, that of the playful flirt. It was "a pair of roguish eyes" that started everything while strolling through the park one day. This image includes the Golden Haired girl with "a naughty little twinkle in her eye." It allows a proper girl to spoon during the shining of the harvest moon or by the light of the silvery one. She will Cuddle Up a Little Closer by 1908, and by 1910, "Oh, You Beautiful Doll" is being invited to "Put Your Arms Around Me, Honey; Hold Me Tight."

Of course, there are contradictions in these images.(11) One perfect girl is full of blushes at "What the Daisy Said," while the next delights in a suggestion to "Meet Me Tonight in Dreamland." One woman is a staunch moral pillar while the next succumbs to the wiles of man, becoming a martyr in the process. But surely these lyrics reflect the admixture of images in the minds of those who sang them. Once more we are reminded that inconsistency is one of humanity's more obvious traits.

The roles for women and the images of them in turn-of-the-century music can give historians some useful ideas. Instead of being mere fancies put to music, lyrics reflect to a surprising degree the realities of life. For example, "Daisy Bell (Bicycle Built for Two)" was sung endlessly in 1892; in the previous year, bicycling had caught on. A new frame and tire size, with better tires, had made the bicycle manageable and doctors had made it desirable even for ladies. The song reflects the popularity of the new sport.

In more subtle ways, the songs depict reality. Listen to "In the Baggage Coach Ahead," from 1896: While the train rolled onward, a husband sat in tears,

- Thinking of the happiness of just a few short years,
- For baby's face brings pictures of a cherished hope that's dead, But baby's cries can't waken her,

In the baggage coach ahead. At first we are apt to say with a historian of popular music, "It is hard to believe that they [sentimental ballads] were taken seriously, but obviously they were."(12) It becomes clear, however, that in many cases these songs were taken seriously because they reflected reality. "In the Baggage Coach Ahead" was written by Gus Davis who had been a Pullman porter. On one of his trains had been a sobbing child who explained to Davis that its mother was in a coffin in the car ahead.(13) Listeners of 1896 knew the tale was a realistic one; we learn it with surprise. A similar tale lies behind "A Bird in a Gilded Cage," whose composer realized he had a hit when he saw brothel girls crying as they recognized their own plight in his lyrics.(14) The origin of "Mother Was a Lady" lies in reality, too. Its composer was in a restaurant when the incident related by the song actually occurred as he watched: diners "spoke to her [the waitress] familiarly in a manner rather rude" and "one remark was passed that brought tear drops to her eye." She then turned on her tormentors and defended herself, supplying Ed Marks with his title line, "Mother Was a Lady."(15)

The songs of the 1890-1910 period often

reflect real predicaments when they tell "After the Ball" tales of heartbreak.(16) was written because its composer watched an engaged couple spat at a society ball: later, the young man left with a new girl, and the young lady pretended she did not care a bit (with tears in her eyes.)(17) On a deeper level, the predicaments reflected in lyrics such as "The Lost Little Child." where a married couple have split up at great pain to both, are an adequate mirror of circumstances known to those who sang that song. We can see a bit of the reaction to an irredeemable mistake in lyrics telling how a mother prays and a father refuses to notice "The Picture That Is Turned to the Wall." The same kind of pain visits the "Mansion of Aching Hearts," whose lady has settled for luxury and loneliness:

The smile on her face is only a mask, And many the tear that starts.

These lines, especially the phrase, "only a mask," leads to another element of the realism in song lyrics. When we accept the proposition that listeners could recognize the situations as real and identify with the feelings being expressed, we realize that these lyrics show us a consciousness of injustice, something we seldom see in other manifestations of turn-of-the-century popular culture. (18) Especially in the ballads, it is clear that the double standard in matters of sex is a thing to be condemned and the victim is to be pitied, not censored. The "Fatal Wedding" is a particularly clear example of song exposing and con-



demning sexual injustice, for in the final stanza the wronged wife wins and the erring husband loses:

The parents of the bride then took the outcast [wife] by the arm. "We'll care for you through life," they said, "You've saved our child from harm." The outcast wife, the bride and parents quickly drove away; The husband died by his own hand, before the break of day. We might even go so far as to suggest that these kinds of lyrics reveal a raised consciousness, although it is hardly appropriate to assert that these victims are New Women or that the raised consciousness had reached a truly feminist height.

However, we do get another surprising insight from song lyrics that is relevant to the New Woman role. Here, caution is in order; but it does seem defensible to say that turn-of-the-century songs depict females who are interested in real sex. We can say this <u>if</u> we are willing to accept Sigmund Spaeth's analysis of the lyrics of the l920's and if we are willing to credit the people of 1890-1910 with a mental dexterity equal to that of their descendants. Spaeth insists:

In the language of popular song it is understood that such words as "hug" and "kiss" may represent any stage of procreative activity, that the night time is by no means limited to sleeping, and that illicit relationships can be charmingly discussed by using whimsical titles . . . (19)

It is easy to believe that composer and audience shared a smile over the title, "Gold Will Buy Most Anything But a True Girl's Heart," and the smile was all the more enjoyable because the lyrics turned out to be perfectly innocent. What we are suggesting is that the New Woman of song lyrics was understood to be interested in the real thing, although the songs say only that she is a flirt. This use of song lyrics seems to go against the standard interpretation of 1890's parlour music. One author insists on calling the era "the naive nineties" (20) and another says, "The songs of the nineties were undeniably clean."(21) Clean? Entirely? Hear the final line of "In My Merry Oldsmobile":

You can go as far as you like with me

In my merry Oldsmobile. The very well known parodies of the 1890-1910 period tell us that the public was quite aware of how close sentimentality came to sex. And the platonic nature of some songs is thin, indeed: Gliding through the mazy whirl, I

- spied
- A little black-eyed girl in decollette,

The latest fad in evening dress; I lost my equilibrium; I was dazed; My brain did whirl;

My limbs became unsteady,

Gazing on this lovely girl.

And surely there was something connected with sex in 1910's "Every Little Movement Has a Meaning All Its Own." The songs of the nineties were never vulgar, but they were quite responsive to the Facts of Life, and they noticed what was noticeable about the New Woman:

> But oh, Jane doesn't look the same--When she left the village she was shy:

- But, alas! and alack! she's gone back
- With a naughty little twinkle in her eye.

James McGovern has done a fine job of demonstrating that there was a freedom in manners and morals in the years just before World War I;(22)he could have noticed that freedom in 1894 when people were singing the lyrics just quoted from "Her Golden Hair Was Hanging Down Her Back."

The lyrics with which we have been occupied give light in one final area of women's history. Aileen Kraditor,(23) William O'Neill(24) and others have argued that the feminist movement failed to reach fulfillment in part because it never attacked the family. There was the fortress all of the feminists hoped to change: dependency, social complacency, and over-differentiation of the sexes. Yet leaders of the women's rights movement praised family and home. Song lyrics, especially those of the most

popular songs, help to explain why those feminists held back. The lyrics tell us that the roles of women and the images of them all related to a separate sphere. The public could not conceive of an equality of opportunity, since opportunity related to realities and the realities of woman's world had little or nothing to do with man's. That public did not reject equal opportunity for women; it saw the suggestion as irrelevant to reality--nonsense. This the song lyrics tell us in two ways. The women sung about were recognizable and the songs popular because they fitted the terms of the era's feminine mystique: they were weak and long-suffering, victims of injustice, with a moral superiority and a selflessness which inspired; and they were complete only as sweethearts, wives and mothers functioning in the woman's sphere.(25) In addition. when the songs do touch upon the New Woman, they tell us that she also is seen in the standard cultural prescription. She may gad about in the songs and she may flirt (or perhaps do more) but she is seen as a female in a sphere which has nothing to do with the world the feminists hoped to promote. M. Cary Thomas, Frances Willard and other leaders understood that an attack on the family would be useless. We can see why as we glean from popular music the imagery and circumstances surrounding the common woman and the common man's woman. (26)

NOTES

- F.L. Mott, "The Magazine Revolution . . . ." <u>Proceedings of American Anti-</u> <u>quarian Soclety</u> (April, 1954), 195-214.
- Cf. H.W. Boynton, "Ideas, Sex and the Novel," <u>Dial</u> LX (April 13, 1916); Veneta Colby, <u>Yesterday's Woman</u> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); A.P. Cunningham, "The New Woman Fiction of the 1890's," <u>Victorian Studies</u> XVII (Dec., 1973), 177-86.
- J. McGovern, "American Woman's Pre-World War | Freedom in Manners and Morals," <u>Journal of American History</u> XV (Sept., 1968), 317.
- Elizabeth Janeway (ed.), <u>Women: Their Changing Roles</u> (New York: The New York Times Co., 1973), 11, reprints <u>New York Times</u> articles on this subject.
- H.S. Scott, "The New Woman," <u>Corn Hill Magazine</u> LXX (1894), 365-68; H. Deland, "The Change in the Feminine Ideal," <u>Atlantic Monthly</u> CV (March, 1910), 289-302.
- 6. With the exception of Hughson F. Mooney, "Songs, Singers and Society, 1890-1954," <u>American Quarterly</u> (Fall, 1954), 221-32; and, based on folksongs rather than popular "everyman" music, John Greenway, <u>American Folksongs of Protest</u> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvanla Press, 1953); and, work-ing with a music of "higher brows" than our subject, Joseph A. Mussulman, <u>Music in the Cultured Generation: A Social History of Music in America, 1870-1900</u> (Evanston, 111: Northwestern University Press, 1971). There is much literature similar to the latter which focuses upon music rather than the history lessons within music.
- 7. The decision was taken to set aside several kinds of music in order to focus on parlour sheet music. We will ignore "coon songs," because they do not reflect in a serious manner the dominant culture's attitudes toward women. We omit raytime music because its heyday came after 1910. Finally, we will not consider hit songs with lyrics which derived directly from vaudeville or variety situations and were not intended to reflect anything else, such as 1907 "School Days." For relevant titles, see Appendix 1.
- The phrase is adopted from Dorothy Bass Fraser, "The Feminine Mystique: 1890-1910." <u>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</u>, XXVII, No. 4 (Summer, 1972), 225-39.
- The sheet music industry grew out of Tin Pan Alley; the historical outline of the industry appears in Appendix II.
- 10. The major sheet music standards are listed in David Ewen, Life and Death of Tin Pan Alley (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1964), 335-40. Several additional important songs are described in Sigmund Spaeth, Read 'em and Weep (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927). There are useful books doc-umenting the rise of the sheet music industry ca. 1890: Sigmund Spaeth, A History of Popular Music in America (London: Phoenix House, 1948); Isaac Goldberg, Tin Pan Alley (New York: John Day Co., 1930); Helen L. Kaufmann, From Jehovah to Jazz (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1937); Mussulman, Ch. X. See also Arthur Loesser's Men, Momen and Pianos: A Social History and H. Wiley Hitchcock, Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction.

- The contradictions in lyrics have often been entirely overlooked, as by Ewen, 38.
- 12. Spaeth, <u>A History</u>, 253.
- 13. Ewen, 48.
- 14. Ibid., 140.
- 15. Spaeth, <u>Read 'em</u>, 170.
- 16. Ernest R. Bail, composer of several million-sellers, said of the beginning of his career, "Then and there, I determined I would write honestly and sincerely of the things I knew about and what folks generally knew about and were interested in." Ewen, 158.
- Spaeth, <u>Read 'em</u>, 192, quotes the tale from Charles K. Harris' autobiography, <u>After the Ball</u>: Forty Years of Melody.
- Hooney noticed this "modern social thinking" in the songs of the 1890's, but failed to connect it with feminist attitudes. Mooney, "Songs, Singers and Society," 224-25.
- Sigmund Spaeth, <u>The Facts of Life in Popular Song</u> (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1934), . 4.
- 20. Spaeth, <u>A History</u>, title of Ch. 7.
- 21. Kaufmann, 100.
- "American Woman's Pre-World War 1 Freedom in Manners and Morals," <u>Journal</u> of American History, LV (Sept., 1968), 315-33.
- Aileen Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).
- 24. William L. O'Neill, "Feminism as a Radical Ideology," in A.F. Young (ed.), <u>Dissent: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism</u> (DeKalb, <u>Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press.</u>, 1963), 273-300.
- 25. Fraser, "The Feminine Mystique," 227, 233-35.
- 26. An interesting analysis of current rock music and its message to today's population concerning the role and image of woman appeared in March 14, 1971 New York Times as "Does Rock Degrade Women?" by Marion Meade. The conclusion reached might be taken to indicate another defeat for feminism at the hands of the traditionalist imagery is in the offing, just as the songs of the turn of the century indicate how little the public appreciated feminism then. Meade's article is reprinted in the stimulating anthology adited by R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson, The Sounds of Social Change (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1972), 173-77.

#### APPENDUX I

#### Sheet Music Best Sellers, 1890-1910\*

Annie Rooney The Picture That is Turned to the Wall 1890 1891 1902 After the Ball Daisy Bell ... My Sweetheart's the Man in the Moon 1893 December and May Decolette ... The Fatal Wedding ... Sweet Marie ... Two Little Girls in Blue 1894 And Her Golden Hair Was Hanging Down Her Back The Little Lost Child ... She May Have Seen Better Days .. The Sidewalks of New York ... Sweet Bunch of Daisies 1895 The Band Played On Just Tell Them That You Saw Me ... The Sunshine of Paradise Alley Elsie from Chelsea 1896 In the Baggage Coach Ahead ... Mother Was a Lady, or, if Jack Were Only Here Sweet Rosie O'Grady 1897 Break the News to Mother Just for the Sake of Our Daughter ... Take Back Your Gold 1808 Gold Will Buy Most Anything but a True Girl's Heart Kiss Me, Honey, Do The Moth and the Flame ... ... She Is More to be Pitied than Censored ... When You Were Sweet Sixteen 1899 Always My Wild Irish Rose She Was Happy Till She Met You A Bird in a Gilded Cage 1900 The Blue and the Gray; or, A Mother's Gift to her Country ... I've a Longing in my Heart for You, Louise Hello, Central, Give Me Heaven In the Good Old Summer Time 1901 1902 Jennie Lee ... The Mansion of Aching Hearts н On a Sunday Afternoon Come, Josephine, in my Flying Machine Ida! Sweet as Apple Cider 1903 ... Mother o' Mine ... Sweet Adeline ... That's What the Daisy Said .... Bedelia 1904 She Went to the City Teasing When I'm Away from You, Dear ... 1905 Dad's Little Girl The Day that you Grew Colder 1 Don't Care 1905 •• In My Merry Oldsmobile In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree ... Kiss Me Again My Gal Sal ... ... ... Wait Till the Sun Shines, Nellie Where the Morning Glories Twine Around the Door ... ... Will You Love me in December as you do in May? 1906 I Just Can't Make My Eyes Behave Love You Truly Love Me and the World Is Nine .. ... net Sue I'm Afraid to Come Home in the Dark 1907 School Days Cuddle Up a Little Closer Daisies Won't Tell 1908 Shine on, Harvest Moon Sweet Violets ... .. ... Take Me Out to the Ball Game

\*selections relevant to women taken from Julius Mattfeld, Variety Music Cavalcade 1620-1961 (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1962.)

1909	By the Light of the Silvery Moon
- n-	Heaven Will Protect the Working Girl
	Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now
	Neet Me Tonight in Dreamland
	Put On Your Old Gray Bonnet
1910	Ah! Sweet Mystery of Life
- H	Come, Josephine, in My Flying Machine
	Down By the Old Hill Stream
	Every Little Movement Has a Meaning All Its Own
	Kiss Me, Honey, Kiss Me
11	Let Me Call You Sweetheart
•	Hother Machree
	But Your Arms Around Me Honey

#### Put Your Arms Around Me. Honey

#### 

#### Tin Pan Alley and its Songs

Until 1880 or so, popular songs were derived from serious music, operas or the repertoire of touring European singers. Music publishing focused upon this kind of material, plus instruction books; music was sold in print shops or in musical instrument stores. The purchasers were women, who counted plano playing among their "accomplishments."

About this time, the minstrel show began to lose its appeal and vaudeville rose in its place. It offered clean family shows for the most part, and retained the earlier mode in its "coon songs" done by whites in make-up. By 1900, the revue had appeared, an elaborate, costumed vaudeville. The extravaganza followed quickly with men like Al Jolson to bring it along. Musical comedy had a similar hero in George M. Coban by 1906. Each of these forms offered likeable songs to its audiences, and an industry grew up to feed upon the entertainment world, and provide for it as well.

Beginning in 1880, men operating on shoestring budgets printed, promoted and profited from songs they furnished to a newly responsive public. These publishers invented ways to bring their songs to that public's attention, from planting them in shows to illustrating them in nickelodeon "flickers." Department stores set up sheet music counters. General stores were visited by "pluggers" from publishing houses. Restaurants were staffed by singing waiters and waitresses. And in 1892 it all began to pay off.

Charles K. Harris published his own "After the Ball" in that year. It was to sell five million copies of sheet music and earn him ten million dollars. Admittedly, that was a gigantic success. A song was usually considered a "hit" if it sold 250,000 copies in the 1890's. By the time publishers had figured out how to promote what they had, and how to foster productivity by the composers collecting along Tin Pan Alley (New York's Twenty-eighth Street), the public had developed an insatiable appetite for songs.

The sentimental ballad was the bedrock upon which Tin Pan Alley was built. But alongside it were the little waltz, the Irish ballad, the noisy songs, the nonsense songs and the barbershop songs. Sometimes they were written to formula; sometimes, as one publisher boasted, "to order." Some songs were written for shows or particular stars; but most often, the writer and publisher worked for the parlour pianist and her friends.

By 1910, ragtime was sweeping the country, syncopating everything in its path. in came the turkey trot, the bunny hug and other dances. Dancing caught on. dance halls sprang up and then supper clubs. The song-made-for-singing made way for newer kinds of music, and Tin Pan Alley turned its attention to a bright future without a thought for the parlour plano.