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A survey of American songs of peace from the colonial era to the present

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A SURVEY OF AMERICAN SONGS OF PEACE FROM THE COLONIAL ERA TO THE PRESENT

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PREFACE

This exploratory study of the history of American anti-war and peace songs would have been impossible without the help which has been received from many sources. Special thanks belongs to Dr. Donald Grubbs for his encouragement and help to see that the original idea was carried to this final form. The thesis has benefited greatly from the scholarship and the patient assistance of Professors Malcolm Moule and Robert Blaney. My thanks to Ruth Harris, Madeline Bunning, and Edward Almaas for the many valuable suggestions which they have contributed during the year.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the generous assistance given to me by numerous people connected with the University of the Pacific Library, the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, the Zilphia Horton Folk Music Collection of the Tennessee State Library, and other libraries across the country. In most footnote references to song sheets and song books, I have listed the library where the reference may be found. It is my hope that this will assist anyone who is interested in further research into a fascinating and significant area of America's past.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

America's Singing Past. The American people have always been a singing people. The fiddle, the guitar, and the harmonica arrived early in the new nation and accompanied the pioneers in their westward movement. Because music was their primary source of entertainment, most of the songs were happy songs. Many reflected the heritage of the migrants. "The Girl I Left Behind" was derived from the British marching song "Brighton Camp," and "Rye Whiskey" also had an English origin. Others like "Cripple Creek," a favorite dance tune of the Southern Appalachians, and "Frankie and Johnny" had a distinctly American origin. Some like "Down in the Valley" were topical songs which dealt with the hardships and loneliness of life in the United States.

Singing has resulted from an overflow of energy and enthusiasm. Many of America's traditional ballads were sung from a feeling of joy and contentment. However, it would be incorrect to conclude simply, as is often done, that singing people are happy people. All too frequently singing people have not been happy people. Discontent has also been a significant source for much of America's singing.

As the country expanded, growing pains were experienced in conflicts between the frontier and the developed Eastern

seaboard, between the farmer and the industrialists, and between the urban workers and their employers. Such conflicts were often reflected in the music of the hour and gave rise to the protest song. Because these were the spontaneous struggle songs of the people, one can actually trace much of America's history in the songs.

The Significance of Songs for the Historian. In his endeavor to approach that impossibility, a truly complete understanding of the past, the student of history should be sensitive to all avenues of investigation. A neglected field of study has been America's rich heritage of songs. Because songs are an integral part of the life and nature of a people, they can offer valuable insights for historical comprehension. John Steinbeck discussed their significance when he wrote:

> Songs are the statement of a people. You can learn more about people by listening to their songs than any other way, for into the songs go all the hopes and hurts, the angers, fears, the wants and aspirations.[1]

George Stuyvesant Jackson is one of the few historians to share Steinbeck's opinion. In his study, Early Songs of Uncle Sam, he stated:

> The value in these poems is like the value in pic-

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[1]John Greenway, American Folksongs of Protest (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), p. vii.

> tures snapped from hiding places: they catch the subjects unawares. The songs of a people may indicate, more clearly than the records which they have left behind, what they really thought and felt about life.[2]

Many of the songs sung during the 1930's could support Jackson's hypothesis and serve as an example of their value. The depression folk songs were songs of sorrow and of protest, and they accurately mirrored the great sociological and economic unrest of that troubled decade. In their songs the Negro sharecroppers questioned their poverty, the Okies resolved to endure their misfortunes, and the coal miners explained their determination to fight for a better life. By neglecting the depression songs, one loses the flavor of the intense bitterness, fear, and hopelessness characteristic of the "Forgotten Man."

Throughout history many have been aware that songs often exert a powerful influence. As early as 1367, an English law made the encouragement or harboring of Irish minstrels a criminal offense.[3] Napoleon is reported to have said: "If I could but write a nation's songs, I would not care who wrote its laws."[4] In twentieth-century America, the Industrial

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[2]George Stuyvesant Jackson, Early Songs of Uncle Sam (Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1933), p. 16.

[3]Malvina Reynolds, "A Ribbon Bow," Sing Out!, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (Summer, 1963), p. 16.

[4]Bill Jefferson (ed.), "Songs for Peace" (Chicago: Chicago Repertory Group, 1940), Introduction. Music Library, Harvard University.

Workers of the World, or Wobblies, warned their bosses with the slogan, "Beware of a Movement that Sings."[5] During the troubled 1930's, various militant and often Marxist oriented labor organizations considered songs as a significant weapon in the "class struggle." The force of a singing but discontented people has terrified many in the past.

Aims of the Thesis. This thesis will attempt to trace the evolution and historical development of American anti-war and peace songs. Researching the study has been an adventure into an unknown aspect of American history. No published account of a similar or related study was discovered. The Library of Congress has no catalogue classification for pacifist songs. The Swarthmore College Peace Collection contains perhaps the only specific collection of peace songs in the country. Nevertheless, this study can draw upon a collection of over two hundred songs gathered from public and university libraries and interested individuals across the country.

Because of many complications -- chief among them is the absence of bibliographical material for many songs -- this exploratory study has been greatly limited. It is well beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt to link the many

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[5]Edith Fowke and Joe Glazer (ed.s.), "Songs of Work and Freedom" (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), p. 7.

songs with an analysis of their respective social movements or to disclose concrete evidence of each song's influence within and without the American peace movement. The primary purpose of the thesis is to survey two centuries of anti-war and peace songs in order to discover certain significant trends which may reflect the evolution of the American peace movement toward greater maturity and influence.

CHAPTER II

THE BIRTH OF THE AMERICAN PEACE CONSCIENCE

Background of the Revolution. The early migrants to the New World were sturdy people whose existence was a struggle for the basic necessities of life. The Puritan ethic reflected this by embracing hard work and self-denial as the highest virtues. There was little time to waste on the non-functional luxuries of life.

The early song writers wrote many ballads which sang high praise for the accomplishments of their respective colonies. They also perpetuated the oral tradition: songs were the newspapers and the histories of the day. Many of the early ballads told of battles between the colonists and the Indians. One such pro-war song was "Lovewell's Fight," which paid tribute to a colonial victory of 8 May 1725. The following verse applauded the brave chaplain of the expedition who was a most admirable soldier:

> They killed Lieutenant Robbins, and wounded
> good young Frye,
> Who was our English chaplain; he many
> Indians slew,
> And some of them he scalped when bullets
> round him flew.[1]

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[1]George Cary Eggleston (ed.), American War Ballads and Lyrics (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1889), p. 18.

Songs of the Revolution. The generation which produced the founding fathers of America matured in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, a period of considerable disagreement between the generations. The younger generation examined the stringent Puritan ethic and concluded that all work made for a rather dull life. They decided in favor of freedom from the rigid standards of the moralists in the colonies and in England and argued for greater economic and political freedom. They did not object to the luxuries offered by the prosperity of an urban commercial life. To achieve this goal, the rebels declared that England either had to relax many of the limiting economic and political restrictions or grant independence to the colonies. Neither side found it possible to compromise and this ignited the great American Revolution.

The songs of this disquieting period often reflected the new radicalism of the younger generation. The rebels organized symbolic demonstrations and protests which were often accompanied by melodies of revolution. Liberty trees were planted to the singing of liberty songs. One such militant song writer was Thomas Paine who wrote "Liberty Tree" in 1765. Its stirring message spread rapidly throughout the thirteen colonies to become the most popular song of the period. The fourth verse was especially forceful:

But hear, O ye swains, 'tis a tale most profane,
How all the tyrannical powers,
Kings, Commons and Lords, are uniting amain,
To cut down this guardian of ours;

From the east to the west blow the trumpet to arms,
Thro' the land let the sound of it flee,
Let the far and the near, all unite with a cheer,
In defense of our liberty tree.[2]

As war fever spread, the lines of communication between the colonies and mother England dissolved with increasing speed. Eventually both sides zealously sought a military solution to what was essentially an economic and political problem. Jonathan Mitchell Sewall of New Hampshire boldly addressed his fellow citizens in his song "War and Washington."

Vain Britons, boast no longer with proud
indignity
Of all your conquering legions, or of your
strength at sea,
As we, your brave sons, incensed, our
arms have girded one;
Huzza! huzza! huzza! huzza!
for war and Washington![3]

There was a certain element in the colonies who refused to "huzza!" for war and Washington. The loyalists found it impossible to understand the rebels and had been singing their objections throughout the decade preceding the Revolution. A parody on "The Liberty Song" was published in the 26 September 1768 issue of the Boston Gazette. Similar to many songs written by status quo seekers to protest protest songs, its

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[2]Frank Moore, Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855), p. 18.

[3]Lydia Bolles Newcomb, "Songs and Ballads of the Revolution," The New England Magazine, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (December, 1895), p. 504.

mood was one of angry contempt for the rebels and their ideals. Of the original eleven verses of this lengthy ballad, the opening two verses and the concluding four are quoted below:

> Come shake your dull noddles, ye pumpkins, and bawl,
> And own that you're mad at fair Liberty's call;
> No scandalous conduct can add to your shame,
> Condemn'd to dishonor, inherit the flame.
>
> In folly you're born, and folly you'll live,
> To madness still ready,
> And stupidly steady,
> Not as men, but as monkeys, the tokens you give.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Then plunder, my lads, for when red coats appear,
> You'll melt like the locust when winter is near!
> Gold vainly will glow, silver vainly will shine,
> But, faith, you must skulk, you no more shall purloin.
>
> Then nod your poor numskulls, ye pumpkins, and bawl,
> The de'il take such rascals, fools, whoresons, and all;
> Your cursed old trade of purloining must cease,
> The dred and the curse of all order and peace.
>
> All ages shall speak with contempt and amaze,
> Of the vilest banditti that swarm'd in these days;
> In defiance of halters, of whips and of chains,
> The rogues would run riot -- fools for their pains.
>
> Gulp down your last dram, for the gallows now groans,
> And, over depress'd, her lost empire bemoans;
> While we quite transported and happy shall be,
> From mobs, knaves and villains, protected and free.[4]

Because the Loyalists did not base their opposition to the rebellion on pacifist principles, such songs indicated that the American Revolution was also a civil war.

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[4]Moore, op. cit., p. 41.

Peace Songs of the Revolution. In comparison with the anti-war songs of the Loyalists and the pro-war songs of the radical patriots, a few genuine peace songs did appear. One such song was "The World Turned Upside Down, or, The Old Woman Taught Wisdom," which first appeared in 1767 in the Gentleman's Magazine. The anonymous author wrote it as "an humble attempt to reconcile the parent and her children, made by a peacemaker to Great Britain and her Colonies."[5] The author believed that the conflict originated because each party involved was selfishly inconsiderate of the other.

Goody Bull and her daughter together fell out,
Both squabbled, and wrangled, and made a ---- rout,
But the cause of the quarrel remains to be told,
Then lend both your ears, and a tale I'll unfold.

The old lady, it seems, took a freak in her head,
That her daughter, grown woman, might earn her own bread:
Self-applauding her scheme, she was ready to dance;
But we're often too sanguine in what we advance.

For mark the event; thus by fortune we're crossed,
Nor should people reckon without their good host;
The daughter was sulky, and wouldn't come to,
And pray, what in this case could the old woman do?

In vain did the matron hold forth in the cause,
That the young one was able; her duty, the laws;
Ingratitude vile, disobedience for worse;
But she might e'en as well sung psalms to a horse.

Young, forward, and sullen, and vain of her beauty,
She tartly replied, that she knew well her duty,
That other folks' children were kept by their friends,
And that some folks loved people but for their own ends.

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[5]Ibid., p. 33.

Zounds, neighbor! quoth Pitt, what the devil's the matter?
A man cannot rest in his house for your clatter;
Alas! cries the daughter, here's dainty fine work,
The old woman grown harder than Jew or than Turk.

Thus arguing that pride was the source of the conflict, the song concluded by offering the clue for a solution to such a stubborn practical problem:

She be ----, says the farmer, and to her he goes,
First roars in her ears, then tweaks her old nose,
Hallo, Goody, what ails you? Wake! woman, I say;
I am come to make peace, in this desperate fray.

Adzooks, ope thine eyes, what a pother is here!
You've no right to compel her, you have not, I swear;
Be ruled by your friends, kneel down and ask pardon,
You'd be sorry, I'm sure, should she walk Covent Garden.

Alas! cries the old woman, and must I comply?
But I'd rather submit than the huzzy should die;
Pooh, prithee be quiet, be friends and agree,
You must surely be right, <u>if you're guided by me.</u>

Unwillingly awkward, the mother knelt down,
While the absolute farmer went on with a frown,
Come, kiss the poor child, there come, kiss and be friends!
There, kiss your poor daughter, and make her amends.

No thanks to you, mother; the daughter replied:
But thanks to my friend here, I've humbled your pride.[6]

However, neither the colonists nor the British were willing to compromise in the spirit of forgiving love.

As late as 1776, peace songs such as "Common Prayer for the Times" attracted singers. This ballad of unknown origin condemned the uncompromising advocates of both sides

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[6]<u>Ibid.</u>

as "rebels to God, and to the kings, and rebels to the people." Its message was pointed: for the best interests of both Britain and America, the conflict must end and harmony must be sought.

Since we are taught in Scripture word
To pray for friends and foes;
Then let us pray for George the Third,
Who must be one of those.

Heaven bless America, and Britain,
May folly past suffice,
Wherein they have each other smitten,
Who ought to harmonize.

Allied by blood, and interest too
Soon let them re-unite,
May Heaven tyrannic minds subdue,
Haste, haste the pleasing sight.

May ev'ry morn and ev'ning prayer
Repeat this just petition,
What thinking Christian can forbear,
Appris'd of our condition.

Britannia's sins are our worst foes,
Let this be Britain's creed,
For those who God and man oppose,
Must rebels be indeed.

This rebel-host how num'rous grown!
This growth kind Heaven forbid!
'Tis fear'd some are too near the throne,
And seem securely hid.

Just Heaven, to light all rebels bring,
Who hate or love the steeple.
Rebels to God, and to the king,
And rebels to the people.[7]

Implicit in the preceding peace songs was the belief that economic and political problems were ultimately human

[7] Ibid., p. 126.

problems which should not be ignored by turning to war for a solution. The peace advocates also believed that a war would be costly both for England and for the colonies. But the "doves" found themselves between two "hawks" and had scant support indeed. A few Quaker pacifists denounced force as a means of achieving independence. John Dickinson, writing in his "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania," warned that "the calamities attending on war outweigh those preceding it."[8] Benjamin Franklin believed that economic arguments were poor reasons for waging war.[9] However, when war broke out, divided loyalties ceased and most peace supporters assisted the rebels. Perhaps they joined in the enthusiastic singing of such patriotic songs as "The Ballad of Nathan Hale," "The Battle of Trenton," and "Paul Jones' Victory."

After the Treaty of Paris, many of the patriots changed. Franklin sympathized with Tom Paine's hope for an alliance of the nations which would penalize aggressors.[10] Writing in 1785, Washington longed "to see this plague of mankind war banished from off the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements, than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind."[11] Writing in "The Federalist,"

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[8]Merle Curti, Peace or War - The American Struggle, 1636 - 1936 (Boston: J.S. Canner & Company, 1959), p. 20.

[9]Ibid. [10]Ibid., p. 24. [11]Ibid.

Hamilton, Madison and Jay expressed concern for peace when they urged the adoption of the Constitution because it was believed that a strong gederal government could guarantee peace and discourage war between the states. America desired peace to work for prosperity.

The creation of the United States simultaneously gave birth to a concern for peace. The slow early growth of this peace conscience is the concern of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

SONGS OF THE PEACE PIONEERS

Background to the Nineteenth Century. The eighteenth century produced a great surge of intellectual activity which sought to relieve the chaos of man's social, political, and economic life. The authors of the Constitution were deeply impressed and influenced by such thought, especially the philosophies of Locke and Rousseau. Man, they concluded, was on a level somewhere below the angels but above the animals. Human nature could not be trusted to choose the good over the evil, and this guiding principle was reflected in the many checks and balances incorporated into the Constitution to protect man from himself.

The nineteenth century showed a gradual trend away from this concept of the nature of man. This was an age of idealism, romanticism, and unlimited hope in the ability of man to overcome the ills of society. The United States experienced a surge of nationalism which extended its borders to the Pacific. Military force powered this expansion, making the United States one of the most warring nations of the century. Because America was preoccupied with nation building, little time remained to consider the relationship of human values to this material progress.

The pioneering American peace movement grew slowly in

this environment. Because many of the peace pioneers were Christian pacifists, peace hymns were characteristic of the nineteenth century peace movement. Although the anti-war motif has been emphasized in secular songs, during this period the problem of war was rarely considered as an appropriate subject for popular music. However, the gradual trend of the popular song was toward an increasing awareness of war's chaos.

The War of 1812. Twenty-five years after the Constitutional Convention, a younger generation, unconcerned with keeping the young republic out of war, advocated a second war with England. The country was deeply divided over the War of 1812. It is reported that one newspaperman of the time summarized the situation when he wrote: " ...thus the War may be said to have been a measure of the South and West to take care of the Interests of the North, much against the will of the latter."[1] The politicians, the clergy, and the manufacturers of the North were united in their protest. Merchants remembered with bitterness the disruption of commerce caused by Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807. Even after war was declared many New England states refused to loan their militia for offensive campaigns against the British in Canada. The clergy condemned the war on grounds

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[1]Wallace House, "Ballads of the Revolution," Folkways Records, FP 50001, 1953, Song Insert Pamphlet.

that it was not a "just war." Because England and Russia were the only European states who remained to stop the tyranny of Napoleon, they argued that for the United States to declarewar on England rather than despotic France was morally suspect.

Nevertheless, the main stream of American thought was nationalistic and supported the war. As a result the conflict produced numerous pro-war nationalistic melodies. The War of 1812 is best remembered for inspiring the National Anthem. Francis Scott Key was so impressed by the failure of the British assault upon Fort McHenry that he wrote "The Star Spangled Banner." "The Battle of New Orleans," commemorating General Jackson's phenomenal victory, was well received throughout the land. In most songs, the war was glorified and romanticized.

Because the New England war protest was not a singing movement, it is doubtful if any peace songs were written. Traditional ballads sung during the period only superficially dealt with personal tragedies inflicted by war. One such romantic ballad was "Sally Roy" which bemoaned broken hearted lovers of soldiers killed in battle.

Fair Sally, once the village pride
Lies low and wan in yonder valley;
She lost her lover and she died,
Grief broke the heart of gentle Sally,
Young Valliant was the hero's name,
For early valour fir'd the boy.

Who barter'd all her love for fame,
And kill'd the hopes of Sally Roy,
And kill'd the hopes of Sally Roy.

. . . . . .

Swift from the arms of tender love,
As rag'd the war in yonder valley,
He rush'd his martial pow'r to prove,
While, faint with fear, sunk lovely Sally,
At noon she saw the youth depart;
At eve she lost her darling joy;
Ere night the last throb of her heart
Declar'd the fate of Sally Roy.

The virgin train in tears are seen,
When yellow moonlight fills the valley,
Slow stealing o'er the dewy green,
Towards the grave of gentle Sally;
And while remembrance wakes the sigh,
Which weans each feeling heart from joy;
The mournful dirge, ascending high,
Bewails the fate of Sally Roy.[2]

Negro and White Peace Spirituals. In comparison with the romantic ballads, the Negro spirituals of the nineteenth century often contained a more specific pacifist message. Some expressed the belief that if man loved his neighbor, war would be abolished. Perhaps the most famous spiritual with over-tones of anti-war sentiments was "Going to Study War No More." It was based on Micah 4:3 from the Old Testament: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword

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[2]Boston Musical Miscellany - "A Selection of Modern Songs, Sentimental, Amatory, Humorous, Anacrontick, - Adapted for the Voice, Violin, and German Flute" (Boston: J.T. Buchingham, 1811), p. 188.

against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Goin' to lay down my sword and shield,
Down by the riverside, down by the riverside,
down by the riverside,
Goin' to lay down my sword and shield,
Down by the riverside, and study war no more.

Chorus:

I ain't goin' to study war no more,
I ain't goin' to study war no more,
I ain't goin' to study war no more.[3]

The great religious revival which swept the land was often expressed in the folk ballads of the day. Folklorist Malcolm Laws has observed: "Much of the tenderness of American balladry may be traced to the strong religious feeling of the folk, who seem to have an unshakable faith in the nearness of God."[4] The religious beliefs of the people were most often expressed in the Southern white spirituals of the nineteenth century. The authors of a few of the spirituals advocated peace when they expressed the conviction that, if all men truly lived by the "good news" of the New Testament, war would be replaced by genuine peace. "War Department," written after one of the numerous Indian wars, was originally published in William Walker's Southern Harmony, a song book printed in 1835. Perhaps the ballad

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[3]Fowke and Glazer, op. cit., p. 202.

[4]G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., Native American Balladry (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1964), p. 109.

was based on the same Biblical passage as the preceding Negro spiritual.

> No more shall the sound of the war whoop be heard,
> The ambush and slaughter no longer be fear'd,
> The tomahawk buried shall rest in the ground,
> And peace and good will to the nations abound.
>
> All spirit of war to the gospel shall bow,
> The bow lie unstrung at the foot of the plow;
> To prune the young orchard the spear shall be bent,
> And love greet the world with a smile of content.[5]

The message of this song was decidedly one sided; the unknown author showed little concern for the white man's musket.

Early Peace Hymns. There are several reasons for the absence of peace hymns in the period before the Civil War. Because the singing of hymns during the Sunday service is a recent innovation in most denominations, there are relatively few hymns to examine. Perhaps the religious themes expressed in traditional folk music and Negro spirituals resulted from this lack of organized church singing. The message of the hymns sung in the churches emphasized individual salvation and the rescue of wandering sheep. The early hymn writers wrote songs of peace for a troubled soul and not peace for a troubled war torn world.

A notable exception was the popular "It Came Upon The Midnight Clear," written in 1849 following the conclusion of

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[5]George Pullen Jackson, Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), p. 138.

the Mexican War. The author was a village pastor, a nominal Unitarian who believed in the Divinity of Christ: Edmund Hamilton Sears. Because this genuine peace hymn made its appearance long before the social gospel movement, it is quoted below in its entirety.

It came upon the midnight clear,
That glorious song of old,
From angels bending near the earth,
To touch their harps of gold;
"Peace on the earth, good-will to men,
From heaven's all-gracious King:"
The world in solemn stillness lay,
To hear the angels sing.

Still through the cloven skies they come,
With peaceful wings unfurled;
And still their heavenly music floats
O'er all the weary world;
Above its sad and lowly plains
They bend on heavenly wing,
And ever o'er its Babel sounds
The blessed angels sing.

Yet with the woes of sin and strife
The world hath suffered long;
Beneath the angel-strain have rolled
Two thousand years of wrong;
And man, at war with man, hears not
The love song which they bring:
O hush the noise, ye men of strife,
And hear the angels sing.

And ye, beneath life's crushing load,
Whose forms are bending low,
Who toil along the climbing way
With painful steps and slow,
Look now! for glad and golden hours
Come swiftly on the wing;
O rest beside the weary road,
And hear the angels sing.

For lo! the days are hastening on,
By prophet-bards foretold,
Comes round the age of gold;

When peace shall over all the earth
Its ancient splendors fling,
And the whole world give back the song
Which now the angels sing.[6]

Songs of the Reformers. The nineteenth century was an age of social reform. Temperance, abolitionist, woman's rights, and other social movements often supported early peace efforts. One such reformer was the zealous Francis D. Gage. "Aunt Fanny," as she was fondly named, was typical of the idealistic reformer so characteristic of the age. She wrote "A Hundred Years Hence" about 1850 and boldly looked into the future to make an optimistic prediction. In six short stanzas, she listed numerous flaws of society and human nature; and then concluded confidently that, after one century of continuous reform, man would live in a society guided by the principle of universal brotherfood.

One hundred years hence what a change will be made,
In politics, morals, religion and trade;
In Statesmen who wrangle or ride on the fence.
These things will be altered a hundred years hence.

Our Laws then will be non-compulsory rules,
Our prisons converted to National schools,
The pleasure of sinning 'tis all a pretence,
And the people will see it a hundred years hence.

Lying, cheating, and fraud will be laid on the shelf,
Men will neither get drunk nor be bound up in self;
The pleasure of sinning 'tis all a pretence,
The people will see it a hundred years hence.

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[6]Augustine Smith, Lyric Religion - The Romance of Immortal Hymns (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1931), p. 182.

Then woman, man's partner, man's equal shall stand,
While beauty and harmony govern the land,
And to think for one's self will be no offence,
The world will be thinking, a hundred years hence.

Oppression and War will be heard of no more,
Nor the blood of a slave have its print on our shore;
Conventions will then be a useless expense.
The world will be thinking, a hundred years hence.

Instead of speech making to satisfy wrong,
All will join the glad chorus to sing Freedom's song.
And if the millennium is not a pretence,
We'll all be good Brothers a hundred years hence.[7]

The idealism expressed in the song enjoyed a long vogue. As late as 1934, "A Hundred Years Hence" was sung at the Ninth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War.

America in the first half of the nineteenth century was dominated by patriotic nationalism. George Stuyvesant Jackson summarized the mood of the period when he wrote: "The country was weak, and the people knew it; but, in their minds, the way to improve its status was to praise it as constantly and as loudly as possible."[8] America loudly sang its own praise in such ballads as "Hail America," "America -- The Anchor and Hope of the World," "The American Star," and "The Star Spangled Banner." In such an atmosphere, the early peace movement had a difficult beginning because it was considered

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[7]Francis D. Gage, "A Hundred Years Hence" ([n.p.] : Ninth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, 1934), (Mimeographed). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

[8]George Stuyvesant Jackson, op. cit., p. 76.

subversive, especially in the cultural and historical sense. It was criticized as subversive in the political realm, as Lincoln and Thoreau discovered during the Mexican War when they questioned the wisdom of America's military involvement. But the trial of the Civil War, as it ravaged the land, was a most significant stimulant to the evolution of the American peace movement. It is this tragic episode which will be considered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

SONGS OF THE CIVIL WAR

Preface to the Civil War. The Civil War period has been named the "singing sixties." Two stirring melodies from the war have remained popular: Julia Ward Howe's "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" inspired the Union forces, and "Dixie," originally a Northern show tune borrowed by the South, was the popular rally song of the Confederacy. However, many of the songs sung on the battlefields and now forgotten told of the war's human suffering rather than the glory of the struggle.

Ballads of the Civil War. The Civil War was unique in American history for stimulating such a great quantity and variety of songs. Folklorist Irwin Silber estimated that at least ten thousand songs legitimately belong to the era.[1] Because the years preceding the conflict were electrified with tension, both sides took up arms with great enthusiasm and ceremony which was captured in the songs. While the majority of the ballads were written by Northerners, the South also had a singing army. "The Yellow Rose of Texas,"

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[1]Irwin Silber (ed.), "Soldier Songs and Home-Front Ballads of the Civil War" (New York: Oak Publications, 1964), p. 9.

"Roll, Alabama, Roll," and "Oh, I'm A Good Old Rebel" are three of the many songs which comforted Johnny Reb. The Union Army had numerous songs to sing: "John Brown's Body," "We Are Coming, Father Abr'am," and "Lincoln and Liberty" were but a few. George F. Root, the most famous of the Northern song writers, produced many stirring melodies such as "The Battle Cry of Freedom" and "Tramp! Tramp! Tramp!"

Many civilians wrote songs to encourage the troops. Southern women were singing "Comet of Satan" which identified Lincoln as Satan while they were brave "Joans of Arc." Perhaps Caroline A. Mason of Fitchburgh, Massachusetts, answered the song with "God Bless Abraham Lincoln." If the topic of peace was ever discussed, it was rarely based on pacifist sentiments. Daniel S. Dickenson's "Am I For Peace?--Yes," with its self-righteous and avenging message, was representative of this minority opinion. The song reflected an opinion which considered any peace efforts to avoid an armed conflict subversive.

> For the peace which rings out from the cannon's throat,
> And the suasion of shot and shell,
> Till rebellion's spirit is trampled down
> To the depths of its kindred hell.
>
> For the peace that shall wash out the leprous strain
> Of our slavery -- foul and grim;
> And shall sunder the fetters which creak and clank
> On the down-trodden dark man's limb.
>
> . . . . . .

I will curse him as traitor, and false of heart,
Who would shrink from the conflict now;
And will stamp it, with blistering, burning brand,
On his hideous Cain-line brow.[2]

Although many of the songs were descriptive of injustices caused by the government's war effort, of the difficult and often dull living conditions of the common soldier, and of the war's human waste, no songs were found that opposed the war on pacifist principles. Generally the Civil War was accepted as an unfortunate necessity. Within this framework, the war had its dissenters. The draft rioters were often recent immigrants who had fled Europe following the unsuccessful democratic revolutions of 1848. They had their slogans: "It's a rich man's war and poor man's fight." "Grafted Into The Army" indicated that dissatisfaction with the draft was not limited to draft rioters alone.

Our Jimmy has gone for to live in a tent,
They have grafted him into the army;
He finally puckered up courage and went,
When they grafted him into the army.
I told them the child was too young, alas!
At the captain's forequarters, they said he would pass,
They'd train him up well in the infantry class,
So they grafted him into the army.

Chorus:

Oh, Jimmy, farewell! Your brothers fell
Way down in Alabarmy;
I though they would spare a lone widder's heir,
But they grafted him into the army.[3]

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[2]Frank Moore (ed.), Personal and Political Ballads (New York: George P. Putnam, 1864), p. 357.

[3]Silber, op. cit., p. 68.

During the war, the people who fed, clothed, and armed the soldiers made a substantial profit from the nation's war effort. Frequently this transaction was clouded by dishonesty, waste, and corruption as government bureaucrats and their associates manipulated government contracts for personal gains. The author of "Treasury Rats," one of the most bitter and extreme protesters of the period, questioned this dilemma and his song was sung by a group called The Minstrels in 1864.

> Treasury Rats now rule the land!
> Everything moves by their command;
> They cut out the work, and handle the pay,
> And a charming song they sing today:
> "Traitors and Copperheads, penniless knaves,
> You are the stuff to fill soldiers' graves!
> The country's great and only need
> Is that we shall make money, while you shall bleed!
> This is true 'loyalty!' -- on with the war!
> And this is what you are fighting it for!
> Go on killing each other--gloriously --
> Till we are as rich as we'd like to be!"[4]

The message of a number of songs disputed the unreasonable inequity between the enlisted men and the officers. The memorable "All Quiet Along the Potomac" was based on an announcement from the War Department in September of 1861: "All quiet along the Potomac. A picket shot." The ballad was written by Mrs. Ethel Lynn Beers and mourned the War Department's opinion that the death of a sentry was insignifi-

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[4]"Treasury Rats" ([n.p.] : [n.n.], 1864). Boston Public Library, Song Sheet.

cant when compared to the death of an officer.

"All quiet along the Potomac," they say,
Except now and then a stray picket
Is shot as he walks on his beat to and fro,
By a rifleman hid in the thicket.
'Tis nothing, a private or two now and then
Will not count in the news of the battle;
Not an officer lost, only one of the men,
Moaning out all alone the death rattle.

. . . . . .

All quiet along the Potomac tonight,
No sound save the rush of the river;
While soft falls the dew on the face of the dead --
The picket's off duty forever.[5]

The anonymous author of "The Brass-Mounted Army" was more frank when he challenged military life. Of the original ten verses of this humorous ballad, the first three are quoted below.

Oh, soldiers I've concluded to make a little song,
And if I tell no falsehood there can be nothing wrong;
If any be offended at what I have to sing,
Then surely his own conscience applies the bitter sting.

Chorus:

Oh, how do you like the army,
The brass mounted army,
The high falutin' army,
Where eagle buttons rule?

Whiskey is a monster, and ruins great and small,
But in our noble army, Headquarters gets it all;
They drink it when there's danger, although it
seems too hard,
But if a private touches it they put him "under
guard,"
(Chorus)

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[5]Silber, op. cit., p. 66.

And when we meet the ladies we're bound to go it
sly,
Headquarters are the pudding, and the privates are
the pie!
They issue Standing Orders to keep us all in line,
For if we had a showing, the brass would fail to shine.
(Chorus)[6]

The enlisted man's disenchantment with army life was not limited to Union troops; such sentiments were often shared by Southern soldiers. The Civil War was fought almost entirely in the cotton fields and corn patches of the Confederacy. As the war lengthened, farm lands were not planted which resulted in poorly clothed and poorly fed Rebel troops. "A Life on the Vicksburg Bluff" was a soldier's protest against being served mule's meat, or "Logan's beef" as it was called. As the Union Army sang "Hard Crackers Come Again No More," the Confederate soldiers sang "Goober Peas." This popular ballad reflected the plight of the ragged Southern army. The army life described was not a life of glory but a life of deprivation and boredom.

Sitting by the roadside on a summer's day,
Chatting with my messmates, passing time away,
Lying in the shadow underneath the trees,
Goodness how delicious, eating goober peas!

Chorus:

Peas! Peas! Peas! Peas!
Eating goober peas!
Goodness how delicious,
Eating goober peas!

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[6]Ibid., p. 20.

When a horseman passes, the soldiers have a rule,
To cry out at their loudest, "Mister, here's your mule!"
But another pleasure enchantinger than these,
Is wearing out your grinders, eating goober peas!
(Chorus)

. . . . . .

I think my song has lasted almost long enough,
The subject's interesting, but rhymes are might rough,
I wish this war was over, when free from rags and fleas,
We'd kiss our wives and sweethearts and gobble goober peas!
(Chorus)[7]

The humorous aspects of the war were occasionally expressed in many of the ballads of the period. "Farewell Mother," author unknown, was a satirical parody upon the well-known ballad by George F. Root, "Just Before the Battle, Mother."

Just before the battle, mother,
I was drinking mountain dew,
When I saw the "Rebels" marching,
To the rear I quickly flew;
Where the stragglers were flying,
Thinking of their homes and wives;
'Twas not the "Reb" we feared,
dear mother,
But our own dear precious lives.

Chorus:

Farewell, mother! for you'll never
See my name among the slain.
For if I only can skedaddle,
Dear mother, I'll come home again.

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[7]Ibid., p. 54.

I hear the bugle sounding, mother,
My soul is eager for the fray,
I guess I'll hide behind some cover,
And then I shall be O.K.
Discretion's the better part of valor,
At least I've often heard you say;
And he who loves his life, dear mother,
Won't fight if he can run away.
(Chorus)[8]

Popular Sentimental Ballads. Popular sentimental ballads were written by the hundreds and were widely sung by soldiers and civilians. Although the songs were romantic and sentimental, they accurately described the suffering inflicted by the war's chaos. But the peace conscience expressed in the songs was not sufficiently mature to question the wisdom of resorting to war to achieve political ends.

By far the most popular ballad was Charles C. Sawyer's "Weeping Sad and Lonely, or, When This Cruel War Is Over." It sold nearly a million copies in sheet music and was popular with both armies. Although its message considered the war as a tragedy, it accepted the struggle as a justified necessity.

Dearest love, do you remember,
When we last did meet,
How you told me that you loved me,
Kneeling at my feet?
Oh! how proud you stood before me.
In your suit of blue,[9]
When you vowed to me and country
Ever to be true.

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[8]Ibid., p. 14.

[9]Sung in the South as, "In your suit of gray..."

Chorus:

Weeping sad and lonely,
Hopes and fears how vain!
When this cruel war is over,
Praying that we meet again!

When the summer breeze is sighing
Mournfully alone;
Or when autumn leaves are falling,
Sadly breathes the song.
Oft in dreams I see they lying
On the battle plain,
Lonely, wounded, even dying,
Calling but in vain.
(Chorus)

If amid the din of battle,
Nobly you should fall,
Far away from those who love you,
None to hear you call,
Who would whisper words of comfort,
Who would soothe your pain?
Ah! the many cruel fancies
Ever in my brain.
(Chorus)

But our country called you darling,
Angels cheer your way;
While our nation's sons are fighting,
We can only pray.
Nobly strike for God and liberty,
Let all nations see,
How we love the starry banner,
Emblem of the free.
(Chorus)[10]

George Cary Eggleston, writing in 1889 in his book, American War Ballads and Lyrics, could not understand the song's popularity:

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[10]Paul Glass, The Spirit of the Sixties - A History of the Civil War in Song (St. Louis: Educational Publishers, Inc., 1964), p. 264.

> There is nothing in this sentimental song that enables one to read the riddle of its remarkable popularity during the Civil War. It has no poetic merit; its rhythm is commonplace, and the tune to which it was sung was of the flimsiest musical structure, without even a trick of melody to commend it. Yet the song was more frequently sung, on both sides, than any other...A song which so strongly appealed to two great armies and to an entire people is worthy of a place in all collections of war poetry, even though criticism is baffled in the attempt to discover the reason of its popularity.[11]

Regardless of the quality, the spirit of American balladry expresses compassion for human tragedy and suffering. Although "Weeping Sad and Lonely" was poetically and musically inept, it successfully captured the human waste caused by the Civil War. Soldiers in both armies responded to the accuracy of its description by singing it often. When Eggleston limited his criticism to the poetic and musical structure of the ballad he failed to consider its humanistic message which was the primary reason for its popularity.

There were many replies to the song, each expressing similar sentiments. M. A. Geuville wrote "When This War Is Over I Will Come Back to Thee" and Alice Hawthorne wrote the following impatient plea for an end to the conflict, "Yes, I Would The War Were Over."

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[11] Eggleston, op. cit., p. 249.

Yes, I would the war were over,
Would the cruel work were done,
With our country re-united
And the many states in one.[12]

The sentimental ballads were in great variety and their authors commented upon many facets of military and civilian life which were disrupted by the war. Henry S. Washburn expresses grief for a fallen comrade in his ballad entitled "The Vacant Chair." In the last verse, he asserted that the glory of war was unable to compensate for the death of a friend.

We shall meet but we shall miss him,
There will be one vacant chair;
We shall linger to caress him,
While we breathe our ev'ning pray'r;
When a year ago we gathered,
Joy was in his mild blue eye,
But a golden chord is severed,
And our hopes in ruin lie.

Chorus:

We shall meet but we shall miss him,
There will be one vacant chair,
We shall linger to caress him
When we breathe our ev'ning pray'r.

. . . . . .

True, they tell us wreaths of glory
Ever more will deck his brow,
But this soothes the anguish only,
Sweeping o'er our heartstrings now.

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[12]Willard A. Heaps, The Singing Sixties - The Spirit of the Civil War Days Drawn from the Music of the Times (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 227.

Sleep today, Oh early fallen,
In thy green and narrow bed,
Dirges from the pine and cypress
Mingle with the tears we shed.
(Chorus)[13]

"Who Will Care for Mother Now?" another popular ballad by Charles C. Sawyer and nearly as poignant as his "Weeping Sad and Lonely," was supposedly based on an actual battle incident. Sawyer made no attempt to answer the question raised.

Why am I so weak and weary?
See how faint my heated breath
All around to me seems darkness,
Tell me, comrades, is this death?
Ah! how well I know your answer;
To my fate I meekly bow,
If you'll only tell me truly,
Who will care for mother now?

Chorus:

Soon with angels I'll be marching,
With bright laurels on my brow,
I have for my country fallen,
Who will care for mother now?[14]

"Tenting On the Old Camp Ground" was Walter Kittredge's popular contribution to the songs of the Civil War. Similar to the other ballads, its simple but frank description of the war was intense. The final chorus expressed a ceaseless longing for peace.

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[13]Silber, op. cit., p. 30.

[14]Ibid., p. 76.

We're tenting tonight on the old camp ground,
Give us a song to cheer
Our weary hearts, a song of home
And friends we love so dear.

Chorus:

Many are the hearts that are weary tonight,
Wishing for the war to cease;
Many are the hearts that are looking for
the right
To see the dawn of peace.
Tenting tonight, Tenting tonight
Tenting on the old camp ground.

. . . . . .

We are tired of war on the old camp ground,
Many are dead and gone,
Of the brave and true who've left their homes,
Others been wounded long.
(Chorus)

We've been fighting today on the old camp ground,
Many are lying near;
Some are dear and some are dying,
Many are in tears.

Final Chorus:

Many are the hearts that are weary tonight,
Wishing for the war to cease;
Many are the hearts that are looking for
the right
To see the dawn of peace.
Dying tonight, dying tonight,
Dying on the old camp ground.[15]

Popular ballads often sang of the disruption inflicted upon families by the Civil War. A sister who moaned the absence of her brother was the theme of "Brother, When Will You Come Back?" "The Peace of the Valley Is Fled, written

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[15]Ibid., p. 50.

in 1864 by E. Fitsball, indicated that the war permeated into the remotest settlement to cause suffering. The following ballad, "Somebody's Darling," told of a mother's grief for her slain son, counted as an "unknown soldier."

Into the ward of the clean whitewashed halls,
Where the dead slept and the dying lay;
Wounded by bayonets, sabres and balls,
Somebody's darling was borne one day.
Somebody's darling, so young and so brave,
Wearing still on his sweet yet pale face
Soon to be hid in the dust of the grave,
The lingering light of his boyhood's grace.

Chorus:

Somebody's darling, Somebody's pride,
Who'll tell his mother where her boy died?

. . . . . .

Somebody's watching and waiting for him,
Yearning to hold him again to her breast;
Yet, there he lies with his blue eyes so dim,
And purple, child-like lips half apart.
Tenderly bury the fair, unknown dead,
Pausing to drop on his grave a tear;
Carve on the wooden slab over his head,
"Somebody's darling is slumbering here."
(Chorus)[16]

Civil War Peace Hymns. Although no anti-war or peace hymns were found which objected to the Civil War on pacifist principles, peace hymns were written during the period. The lack of pacifist songs resulted from the conviction that it was a just war which required the defeat of the Rebels to restore the Union and free the slaves.

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[16]Ibid., p. 84.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the memorable poet and occasional hymn-writer, wrote "I Heard The Bells" during the dismal Christmas of 1863. During those dark days, the two great armies had a total of 1,340,000 men in uniform. It was six months after the battle of Gettysburg where the combined casualty list of dead, wounded, and missing numbered over 40,000. "I Heard The Bells" reflected the poet's despair of the present but his hope for the future.

I hear the bells on Christmas day
Their old familiar carols play,
And wild and sweet the words repeat
O peace on earth, good-will to men.

And thought how, as the day had come,
The belfries of all Christendom
Had rolled along the unbroken song
Of peace on earth, good-will to men.

And in despair I bowed my head:
"There is no peace on earth," I said;
"For hate is strong, and mocks the song
Of peace on earth, good-will to men."

Then pealed the bells more loud and deep
"God is not dead, nor doth he sleep;
The wrong shall fail, the right prevail,
With peace on earth, good-will to men."

Till, ringing, singing on its way,
The world revolved from night to day,
A voice, a chime, a chant sublime,
Of peace on earth, good-will to men.[17]

John Chadwick, member of the Class of 1864 at the Harvard Divinity School, wrote "Eternal Ruler of the Ceaseless Round" for the graduation ceremony. His plea for

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[17]Smith, op. cit., p. 150.

brotherhood was a lesson learned from the Civil War by sensitive clergymen. This was but one step away from the social gospel movement and the attempt to apply Christianity to the problem of war and other concerns. However, the hymn was ahead of its time and received a better reception in England than in the United States.

> Eternal Ruler of the ceaseless round
> Of circling planets singing on their way,
> Guide of the nations from the night profound,
> Into the glory of the perfect day,
> Rule in our hearts, that we may ever be
> Guided and strengthened and upheld by thee.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> We would be one in hatred of all wrong,
> One in our love of all things sweet and fair,
> One with the joy that breaketh into song,
> One with the grief that trembles into prayer,
> One in the power that makes thy children free
> To follow truth, and thus to follow thee.[18]

America's peace conscience, as it was reflected in the ballads of the period, experienced tremendous growth during the Civil War years. The nation was completely preoccupied with the war, and for the first and only time during the nineteenth century, the problem of war became an acceptable subject for popular music. The majority of the songs expressed the conviction that, although it was a sad necessity, the war was a terrible calamity. The authors of

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[18]Henry Wilder Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody (Hamden, Connecticut: The Shoe String Press, Inc., 1961), p. 289.

the songs resented the bureaucrats and their associates who profited illegally from the war, they questioned the conscripted army which displayed a lack of concern for the death of a private, and they longed for peace which would end the dreadful waste of the nation's young men. Most of the songs were romantic, sentimental, and melodramatic; but their concern for the value of human life was most effective. The feeling of "Weeping Sad and Lonely" was so depressing that officers ordered that it could not be sung. Even the singing of such songs as "The Old Folks at Home" was occasionally forbidden by the Army of Virginia because it often resulted in recruits deserting.

Even though an American peace conscience became acutely aware of the horror of war during the crisis, it did not question waging war as a reasonable policy for achieving political ends. But this transition was made during the last quarter of the nineteenth century when a small but active pacifist movement began to form. Its development is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE REVIVAL OF THE STRUGGLE

The Philosophy of Hope. During the years between the Civil War and the First World War, Western Civilization realized considerable technical progress which reduced man's awareness of the chanciness inherent in human existence. This was especially true in America. The rich western farm lands produced more than enough food for a growing population and this advantage greatly reduced the problem of hunger. The products of the developing industries in the East greatly improved man's material life and reduced his exposure to the whims of the elements. Such conditions and developments encouraged a philosophy which believed that the ability of man to rationally solve all his problems was infinite. The social reformers of the era accepted the idealism as fact and conceived human nature to be essentially good. They argued that, because man could choose the good rather than the evil, man would eliminate such plagues as poverty, alcoholism, and war by rebuilding society.[1]

The precedents for the social reformers was firmly established in the preceding period by the abolitionists who firmly believed that the slavery problem would be solved

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[1]Herbert Butterfield, Christianity and History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), p. 69.

by an edict freeing the slaves. But this was not a satisfactory solution because the American racial problem could not be reduced to the slavery issue. Although the Negro was no longer legally a slave, economically, politically, socially, culturally, and psychologically, he remained a slave. The abolitionists failed to anticipate the consequences of an act freeing the slaves and they failed to appreciate the magnitude of the problem. The reformers in the pre-World War I period tended to make similar errors of judgment when they attempted to reform society.

Following the Civil War, the religiously motivated peace movement improved its organization and evolved into a singing movement. But it too fell victim to the idealism of the day. Throughout the long history of Christianity, different generations have often emphasized one aspect of Christian thought which has detracted from the total view of man and life offered by Christian theology. During the late nineteenth century, religious leaders of the social reform and peace movements, in an attempt to apply Christian ethics to social problems, tended to over emphasize the Kingdom of God doctrine. They concentrated on defining in broad terms what was included in the Kingdom and then concluded that the Kingdom should be instated without further delay. Similar to other social reformers, they assumed that because human nature was essentially good, man would

choose the social good rather than the social evil when he understood the good. The peace hymns of the period often reflected their secure belief in the nearness of the arriving Kingdom of God when man would cease to wage war.[2]

Peace Hymns of the Late Nineteenth Century. Edward Rowland Sill, a New Englander who was to become a professor of English at the University of California, wrote "Send Down Thy Truth, O God" in 1867. H. Augustine Smith believed that Sill's hymn "pleads for the spirit of religion and love, contemplating what those gifts will do for nations and remembering what their opposites, bitterness and hate, have brought upon a country, broken by civil strife."[3] "Send Down Thy Truth, O God" was an example of an early attempt to define peace as an alternative to war.

Send down thy truth, O God;
Too long the shadows frown,
Too long the darkened way we've trod,
Thy truth, O Lord, send down.

Send down thy spirit free,
Till wilderness and town
One temple for thy worship be,
Thy spirit, O send down.

Send down thy love, thy life,
Our lesser lives to crown,

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[2]For an exception to this tendency see Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1912).

[3]Smith, op. cit., p. 358, italics added.

And cleanse them of their hate and strife,
Thy living love send down.

Send down thy peace, O Lord;
Earth's bitter voices drown
In one deep ocean of accord,
Thy peace, O God, send down.[4]

Oliver Wendell Holmes, a professor of anatomy and the father of the Supreme Court Justice, often authored hymns and the following peace hymn was written in 1869. "Angel of Peace" was immediately applauded and was sung at peace rallies throughout the period including the World's Peace Jubilee and International Music Festival held in Boston in June of 1872. In the hymn, Holmes expressed his strong conviction that peace was an alternative to war and made the request that peace be granted to a war troubled world.

Angel of Peace, thou hast wander'd too long;
Spread thy white wings to the sunshine of love!
Come while our voices are blended in song,
Fly to our ark like the storm beaten dove.
Fly to our ark on the wings of a dove,
Speed o'er the far sounding billows of song,
Crowned with thine olive leaf garland of love,
Angel of Peace, thou hast waited too long.

Angel of Peace, wilt thou answer the strain?
Hark! a new birth song is filling the sky!
Loud as the storm wind that tumbles the main,
Bid the full breath of the organ reply.
Let the loud tempest of voices reply,
Roll its long surge like the earth shaking main!
Swell the vast song till it mounts to the sky!
Angel of Peace, wilt thou echo the strain.[5]

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[4]Ibid., p. 357.

[5]Peace Song Committee, National Choral Peace Jubilee Committee, "The Ten Peace Songs" ([n.p.] : [n.n.], 1915), p. 4. Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

Frederick Lucian Hosmer authored "Thy Kingdom Come, O Lord" in 1891 and made a strong appeal to God to fulfill His promise of peace. The song recognized the lack of peace, truth, righteousness, love, and equity in the world and hoped that such goodness would soon come to the world.

Thy kingdom come, O Lord,
Wide circling as the sun;
Fulfill of old thy word,
And make the nations one.

One in the bond of peace,
The service glad and free
Of truth and righteousness,
Of love and equity.

Speed, speed the longed for time
Foretold by raptured seers,
The prophecy sublime,
The hope of all the years.

Till rise at last, to span
Its firm foundations broad,
The commonwealth of man,
The city of our God.[6]

Because Julia Ward Howe believed the Franco-Prussian War to be unnecessary, she decided to dedicate herself to world peace. She contributed significantly to the formation of a Woman's International Peace Association and a World's Congress of Women in behalf of International Peace. In her appeal to women, she wrote: "Our husbands shall not come to us reeking with carnage, for caresses and applause...Our

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[6]E. Harold Geer (ed.), Hymnal for Colleges and Schools, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1956), Hymn Number 255.

sons shall not be taken from us to unlearn all that we have been able to teach them of charity, mercy, and patience."[7] In America she inaugurated Mother's Peace Day which was respected annually for a number of years. In 1889, at the age of eighty, Julia Ward Howe wrote "Bid the Din of Battle Cease," but it never achieved the success of her earlier "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

> Bid the din of battle cease!
> Folded be the wings of fire!
> Let your courage conquer peace,
> Ev'ry gentle heart's desire.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Blinding passion is subdued,
> Men discern their common birth,
> God hath made of kindred blood
> All the peoples of the earth.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> For the glory that we saw
> In the battle flag unfurled,
> Let us read Christ's better law,
> Fellowship for all the world.[8]

Early Twentieth-Century Peace Hymns. More peace hymns were written in the fifteen years preceding the First World War than in the thirty-five years following the Civil War. Although many of the hymns continued to ask God to grant peace to His world, several advocated specific policies

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[7]Curti, op. cit., p. 115.

[8]Charles H. Levermore, "Songs of Loyalty and Fraternity" (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1917), p. 223.

which the authors believed would bring peace to the world. In "Disarm!," Hezekiah Butterworth argued that disarmament by the great powers would result in peace. The song was sung by school children and played by the Boston Municipal Band at the raising of a peace flag by the Floral Emblem Society on Boston Common, 4 July 1907, and sung at a "Grand Meeting held in the interest of Human Education as a Peace-Method, 14 April 1907, Tremont Temple, Boston, under the auspices of the Emerson Union for Ideal Culture."[9] The following is the emotional and dramatic introductory verse of "Disarm."

> Loud cries the Past,
> Loud cries the Past from her dead fields of blood;
> Disarm! Disarm! Disarm!
> The world of Christ,
> The world of Christ obedient to her Lord:
> Disarm! Disarm! Disarm![10]

The Pennsylvania Peace Society published numerous peace hymns and urged their singing in public schools as a way of teaching pacifist principles. One such hymn was "The Dawn of Peace," written by Ellwood Roberts in 1909, and expressed a firm belief in the nearing day of peace.

> The blessed day is dawning,
> When war and strife shall end;
> When all mankind together
> Shall swell, as friend with friend.

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[9]Hezekiah Butterworth, "Disarm!" (Boston: Emerson Union, 1907), Front Cover of Song Sheet. Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

[10]Ibid.

Chorus:

That happy day, O nations,
Pray God He soon may send,
When all mankind together
Shall dwell, as friend with friend.

. . . . . .

The blessed light is dawning,
Oh, may it e'er increase!
And bring that day's glad coming,
When war and strife shall cease.[11]

Jeannie E. Hussey wrote "Peace Hymn of Nations" in 1905 and dedicated it to President Theodore Roosevelt in an attempt to gain his sympathy for the cause of peace. The song contemplated the "dawn of peace" when "nations shall be free." Six years later "Let Us Have Peace" was written by George Graff who dedicated it to President William H. Taft. This hymn was widely sung at peace rallies held in the years immediately preceding World War I. On 7 July 1911, it was sung at Atlantic City before a crowd of 10,000 attending the Christian Endeavor Convention to hear President Taft's address on "International Peace." In 1914 it was sung at a rally where William Jennings Bryan delivered an address, at the Great Peace Demonstration before 15,000 at the Greek Theatre, University of California, Berkeley, and at the National Convention of W. C. T. U. held in Atlanta. In the

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[11]Ellwood Roberts, "The Dawn of Peace" (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania Peace Society, 1909). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

song Graff expressed concern for God's delay in granting peace to the world.

> Lord God of Love, let us have peace,
> From war's vain sacrifice give us release,
> Grant peace the victories war cannot know,
> God of the Ages, Thy mercy show.
>
> Hast Thou not seen Thy fields and meadows green
> Red with the blood of men, where war hath been?
> Dost Thou not know war's fearful endless roll,
> The countless graves of those who paid the toll?
>
> Teach us to learn to build, O Gentle Lord,
> Not to destroy; but bend each wielded sword
> Into a ploughshare, Thy fields to increase,
> Lord of the lives to be, let us have peace!
>
> God of the fatherless, we pray to Thee,
> Father of all of us, hear Thou our plea,
> "Peace and good-will," Thine own world increase
> Lord God of Love, let us have peace![12]

The theme of many of the hymns of the period implied that it was primarily God's responsibility to grant peace to man. A few hymns expressed a different view when the authors asserted that man also had a responsibility to bring peace to the world. Walter Russel Bowie, a distinguished Episcopal clergyman who was the rector of Grace Church in New York City, wrote "O Holy City, Seen of John" in 1910. Bowie believed that God's message "bids us seize the whole of life" to build a world in the glory of God. John Haynes Holmes was for forty-two years the Unitarian minister of New York City's

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[12]George Graff, "Let Us Have Peace" (New York: M. Witmark and Sons, 1911). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

Community Church and was an active leader in many social reform movements. In his "God of the Nations, Near and Far," written in 1911, he asked God to "Bless thou thy peoples as they strive / The paths of peace to find," which implied that man had a responsibility to bring peace to the world.

God of the nations, near and far,
Ruler of all mankind,
Bless thou thy peoples as they strive
The paths of peace to find.
The clash of arms still shakes the sky,
King battles still with king;
Wild through the frighted air of night
The bloody tocsins ring.

. . . . . .

From shore to shore the peoples call
In loud and sweet acclaim;
The gloom of land and sea is lit
With Pentecostal flame.
O Father, from the curse of war
We pray thee give release;
And speed, O speed thy blessed day
Of justice, love, and peace.[13]

Socialist Peace Songs. The Socialist movement was addressed to the working classes in its attempt to reconstruct society. Songs were considered important to the movement because it was believed they would educate and unite the masses for effective action. Although most of the socialist songs considered poverty, unsafe working condition, low pay, and other problems common to the laboring class, several

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[13]Geer, op. cit., Hymn Number 273.

songs did attempt to apply the principle of brotherhood to international relations and the problem of war. The fifth stanza of "If All Were Brothers True," written by Harvey P. Moyer and sung to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne," expressed the belief that it was foolish for men to kill each other when they could live peacefully as brothers. The second stanza of "Universal Good," also written by Harvey P. Moyer, contemplated a world lived under the principles of socialism.

> In the happy Socialist days we'll all be neighbors,
> Happy neighbors, all shall feel each neighbor's need;
> Ended wars, their murd'rous guns and bloody sabers,
> Selfish wrongs give place to help and noble deed.
> Earth's rich bountries all disposed for all earth's children,
> From the fertile Western plains to old Japan,
> Not a needy one, nor Heathen Jew, nor Christian,
> Happy neighbors, happy Brotherhood of Man.[14]

Popular Peace Ballads. A few popular ballads during the period were addressed to the problem of war. In 1908 Philip S. Moxom wrote "The Palace of Peace at the Hague" which praised the Permanent Court of Arbitration. In 1909 Mrs. A. J. Britten wrote "The International Flag" which expressed her opinion that all the nations were bound by ties of love. The author asked the nations to "Say to war,

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[14]Harvey P. Moyer, "Song of Socialism - for Local Branch and Campaign Work, and Religious Organizations, Social Gatherings, and the Home" (Chicago: The Brotherhood Publishing Co., 1907), Song Number 14. Music Library, University of California, Berkeley.

'Be still,'/ And crown with peace the earth."[15] In the second stanza of "World Peace Song," James E. Campion advocated that the nations of the world should arbitrate their differences.

> Let arbitration be our song,
> And justice be our plea,
> Let arbitration be our song,
> We'll sing o'er land and sea,
> We'll sing o'er land and sea, to all,
> We'll sing o'er land and sea,
> Let arbitration be our song,
> We'll sing o'er land and sea.[16]

In the half century following the Civil War, the peace movement became better organized and evolved into a singing movement. The main emphasis of the peace hymns and songs was to inform the people that peace was an alternative to war and that all men would greatly benefit when they were freed from war's destruction. The songs reflected the conviction that the problem of war would soon be solved by outlawing war. The failure of the peace movement is the concern of the next chapter.

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[15]A. J. Britton, "The International Flag" (Los Angeles: M.M. Daley, 1909). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

[16]James E. Campion, "World Peace Song" (Boston: James E. Campion, 1912). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

CHAPTER VI

WORLD WAR I AND THE TWENTIES

Failure of the Peace Movement. The peace movement of the preceding period made a strong attempt to capture the public's attention when it asserted that peace was an alternative to war. The various peace songs played an important part in the effort to educate and rally public support for peace. However, the peace movement over estimated man's willingness to act rationally to achieve the social good. By limiting its activities to uniting public opinion as the means of abolishing war, the peace movement overlooked powerful political and economic forces which contribute to war. And because it was primarily a middle class movement, it failed to work with the evolving labor movement. Although it advocated arbitration as a means for settling international disputes, it failed to appreciate that a significant precedent for international arbitration could have been the collective bargaining of labor and management disputes. Following the outbreak of war, disillusionment did not prevent the peace movement from writing peace songs throughout the war years.

World War I Peace Hymns. The secure belief that war was soon to be abolished did not immediately dissolve after

war was declared in 1914. Because there was a strong conviction that the war would end in a few months, the National Choral Peace Jubilee Committee was quickly formed to prepare Peace Jubilees throughout the nation to celebrate the expected early end to the conflict. The Committee included, among others, William Hale Thompson, Mayor of Chicago, Kate Waller Barrett, President of the National Council of Women, and Leopold Stokowsky, Conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra. The Committee also joined the effort to unite the United States for peace and to discourage American involvement in the war.

One song was found which was contrary to the traditional emphasis of the peace movement. The message of "Peace," written in 1915 by George E. Woodberry, did not contain the belief that the abolition of war was imminent. Rather, the song was a personal testimony to the author's courage in accepting a world disrupted by the war and affirmed the religious faith which enabled him to view the future with hope. "Peace" appeared in the North American Review.

I pray for peace; yet peace is but a prayer.
  How many wars have been in my brief years!
  All races and all faith, both hemispheres
My eyes have seen embattled everywhere
The wide earth through: yet do I not despair
  Of Peace that slowly through far ages nears,
  Though not to me the golden morn appears;
My faith is perfect in times' issue fair.

For man doth build on an eternal scale,
And his ideals are framed of hope deferred;
The millennium came not; yet Christ did not fail,
Though ever unaccomplished is His word;
Him, Prince of Peace, though unenthroned, we hail,
Supreme, when in all bosoms He be heard.[1]

But other hymns continued to advocate traditional peace themes. As late as 1916, The Pennsylvania Peace Society persisted in publishing songs which expressed the view that man would soon cease to wage war. Daniel Batchellor's "Young Crusaders For Peace" was such a rally song.

We children are gath'ring from far and near
And gladly we meet our comrades here,
To join in a chorus of lofty cheer,
Of peace and good will to all men.

Chorus:

Lift up the standard! Lift up the standard!
Rally now around our banner bright,
The day is advancing when war shall cease;
"We follow Jesus, and we work for peace."

. . . . . .

Too long, with cruel passions rife,
Nation with nation has been at strife;
But now dawns the day of a glad new life,
With peace and good will to all men.
(Chorus)[2]

Anti-War Peace Songs. Before the First World War

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[1]George F. Woodberry, "Peace" (Chicago: Clayton F. Summy Company, 1915). Boston Public Library, Song Sheet.

[2]Daniel Batchellor, "Young Crusaders For Peace" (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Peace Society, 1916). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

nearly all of America's songs dealing with the problem of war optimistically emphasized peace. During the war, however, the majority of the songs became more negative in outlook and shifted the emphasis of the message from peace to an anti-war argument. Katherine Devereux Blake wrote a peace verse for the "Star Spangled Banner" in 1914 which expressed her strong belief that it was America's responsibility and duty to lead the world to peace. Such an opinion was widely held by many in the American peace movement.

O say can you see, you who glory in war,
All the wounded and dead of the red battle's reaping?
Can you listen unmoved to their agonized groans,
Hear the children who starve, and the pale widows weeping?
Henceforth let us swear
Bombs shall not burst in air,
Nor war's desolation wreck all that is fair,
But the star spangled banner by workers unfurled
Shall give hope to the nations and peace to the world.[3]

The President of the Board of Education allowed the stanza to be sung in the New York City school system. It was widely used in schools across the nation until the United States entered the war in 1917.

Such an anti-war peace sentiment was popular in the early years of the conflict and was encouraged by President Woodrow Wilson's policy of "watchful waiting." Alfred Bryan, a pacifist song writer whose "Peg O' My Heart" had brought

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[3]Katherine Devereux Blake, "Star Spangled Banner" ([n.p.] : [n.n.] , 1914). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

popular success, appealed to that apprehension when he wrote "I Didn't Raise My Boy To Be A Soldier." The song immediately became popular and was one of the biggest hits of 1915. Historically peace had been considered primarily a woman's concern and this reasoning was reflected in Bryan's appeal to women to promote the cause of peace. Such an argument was introducedas early as 1836 when William Ladd made a similar appeal in his pamphlet "The Duty of Females to Promote the Cause of Peace." Historian Merle Curti critically summarized this strategy when he wrote:

> By training their children to dislike war and to love peace, by keeping away from their sons toy soldiers and guns, by refusing to grace military balls with their presence, and by discountenancing the martial spirit in every possible way, women, the argument ran, might not only wean men away from their desire or willingness to fight; they might virtually make war impossible. In the light of modern psychology these arguments, of course, appear somewhat fantastic.[4]

"I Didn't Raise My Boy To Be A Soldier" reflected such an argument.

> Ten million soldiers to the war have gone,
> Who may never return again.
> Ten million mothers' hearts must break
> For the ones who died in vain.
> Head bowed down in sorrow
> In her lonely years,
> I heard a mother murmur thro' her tears:

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[4]Curti, op. cit., p. 113.

Chorus:

"I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier,
I brought him up to be my pride and joy,
Who dares to place a musket on his shoulder,
To shoot some other mother's darling boy?
Let nations arbitrate their future troubles,
It's time to lay the sword and gun away,
There'd be no war today,
If mothers all would say,
'I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier.'"

What victory can cheer a mother's heart,
When she looks at her blighted home.
What victory can bring her back
All she cared to call her own?
Let each mother answer
In the year to be,
Remember that my boy belongs to me!
(Chorus)[5]

"Song of Peace," written by Margaret Alice Donaldson in 1916, was one of the most militant anti-war peace songs of the period. Donaldson anticipated many of the anti-war songs of the 1930's with her urgent appeal to the "masses." It was her belief that wars would cease if the people refused to wage war.

O, awake ye crumbling nations,
Loud sounds the death knell far and near,
To future peace of all creations
Thereign of tyrants will be fear,
Oh the tramping of vast armies
Marching to the bloody fields
Halt, oh halt, the gruesome murder,
Stand firmly, fear not, never yield.

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[5]"Show Biz Song Folio" (New York: Robbins Music Corp., 1953), p. 14.

Refrain:

Hark the treach'rous bugle echo
Hiring honest men to war
Luring honest men to war.

Chorus:

Nations arise in might protest
Calling host from shore to shore
Deny the right to slaughter millions
That peace may reign forever more!

Refuse to wield the keen edged sabre
Or strew the fields with human gore;
Refuse to wear the garb of battle
Restoring savage days of yore;
Hurl the mur'rous hid'ous weapons
Made a lone for slaught'ring men
Deep into the briny ocean
Replace them with the stroke of pen.
(Refrain and Chorus)

Shall we breed a war like people
Rear sons, in battle doomed to fall;
Shall we lower all creation
Heeding naught but war lords call?
Harken to the roaring cannon
Harken to the shrieks of pain
Blasting future hopes of progress
Rend'ring peace on earth in vain.
(Refrain and Chorus)

Oh, arise, ye slumbering masses,
'Tis time to stay the tyrants' will,
Trusting sons of men are slaughtered,
And taught the brutal art to kill
Tarry not, too long you've lingered,
Danger lurks in every land;
Be up and sound your protest loudly,
Unfalteringly make your demand.
(Refrain and Chorus)[6]

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[6]Margaret Alice Donaldson, "Song of Peace" (New York: Alice Cassidy, 1916). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

"Strike for Peace" and "The Battle-Song of Peace" were nearly as forceful in tone and expressed the anxiety and frustration experienced by many pacifists when the war continued. In "The Battle-Song of Peace," Charlotte Porter made a strong appeal to people everywhere to refuse to wage war. The song's introduction appeared to have an anti-German bias, an opinion which became increasingly more popular.

> Beat the battle swords to plowshares,
> Bury all the bullets deep!
> Wage the righteous war against war,
> Let no lonely mother weep!
> Halt the Submarine fiend sneaking
> Through free seas his prey to thrall!
> Halt the Zeppelin ruin wreaking
> Out of heaven whence good should fall!
>
> Let the people say!
> I am sick to my soul of wounds and war,
> I am done forever with cannon and shell.
> A fatherless child is more dear to me far
> Than markets he pays for to buy in or sell.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Let the people say!
> You shall heed my command! I abolish arms!
> A great force grows in our human hearts
> To right all the wronged and abate their harms
> And conquer the might of inhuman arts.[6]

However, when America entered the war, popular sentiment shifted completely and the songs that were sung were "Over There," "Lorraine -- My Beautiful Alsace Lorraine," "Goodbye Broadway, Hello France!" and other pro-war ballads.

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[6]Charlotte Porter, "The Battle-Song of Peace" (Boston: C. W. Thompson and Company, 1916). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

World War I Soldier Songs. America declared war upon the Central Powers on 6 April 1917 and peace was declared on 3 October 1918. Although many soldier songs were written, they did not express the distaste for war common to many ballads written during the Civil War. "Bombed" and "I Wanna Go Home" were two of many humorous songs written about the trials of army life. "Just Behind the Battle, Mother" was World War I's satirical parody on the Civil War sentimental ballad, "Just Before the Battle, Mother."

Just behind the Battle, Mother,
I am slinking back to you,
For the cannon's rattle, Mother,
Makes me feel uncommon blue.
I am not so fond of dying
As my comrades seem to be,
So from missiles round me flying,
I am mizzling back to thee.

Chorus:

Mother don't you hear the hissing
Of the bulletses so plain?
I may be counted with the missing,
But never never with the slain.

. . . . . .

I regret that I resisted
Your entreaties long ago;
I was foolish when I 'listed,
But I'm much more flighty now.
When I'm safely back, dear Mother,
From thy side I'll never roam,
I'll stay and whack my younger brother
In tranquility at home.
(Chorus)[7]

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[7]Henry Mayers, "Ye A.E.F. Hymnal - A Collection of the Doughboy Lyrics that Smoothed the Road from Hoboken to the Rhine" (Brooklyn: H. Mayers, 1919), p. 13.

Perhaps because America's involvement in the war was so short, no soldier songs were found which seriously questioned the war. But humorous songs like the preceding ballad failed to conceal entirely the terrible reality of the war.

Peace Hymns and Songs of the 1920's. The disillusionment which followed World War I produced a "Back to Normalcy" or conservative orientation in the United States during the 1920's. A similar parallel development was reflected in the orientation of the peace movement during the decade. The peace songs did not continue the anti-war argument initiated by the First World War. Rather, most of the songs emphasized the traditional peace message. However, unlike the songs of the pre-1914 era which stressed God's role in granting peace to His children, the peace hymns and songs of the 1920's emphasized that man would achieve peace if he were obedient to the New Testament ethics of love. "O Happy World!," published by the National Council for Prevention of War, was the only song found which optimistically predicted the dawn of peace to be near. Although most of the songs did not hold such a traditional conviction, they did express hope for the future.

"My Country Is the Whole Wide World!" and "Anthem of Nations" were typical of the songs which advocated the brotherhood of man. In the former, Sarah Edith Ames made a

sensitive plea for love and peace which was best proclaimed in the song's first stanza.

> My country is the whole wide world,
> My countrymen, mankind!
> I long for Justice, Freedom, Peace
> To bless each soul and mind.
> O, let Love conquer selfish strife,
> Be right not Might the choice
> Of all of every race and creed!
> O, heed the "still small voice!"[8]

"The Call to Peace," written by Eva B. Deming in 1923, expressed the belief that God called man to choose peace, not war. Because a nation's valuable resources were wasted in a war, Deming argued that they would be better utilized in such areas as education.

> Awake, ye all, And here the call
> Of the world for lasting peace;
> Let us learn to live And freely give
> Of the good that brings release.
> There is room for all, Nations great and small,
> And we all each other need.
> With an active peace We shall all increase
> And o'ercome the lust of greed.

Chorus:

> O let us pray God's hand will stay
> The error by His might!
> The good will live, And glory give
> To those who seek the right.
> With war's sure cease We learn that peace
> Makes art and beauty grow,
> Instead of arms 'Tis love that charms
> The soul to rise and know.

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[8]Sarah Edith Ames, "My Country Is the Whole Wide World!" (New York: Carl Fisher, 1921). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

If all the world o'er The cost of war
Were used to educate;
With knowledge true the point of view
Would change in ev'ry state.
May the watch word be "Let the truth make free,"
To resound through ev'ry land.
Then the slaves' release Will love increase,
And men as one will stand.[9]

The song was "Dedicated to the Nations of the World by a Daughter of America."

"Our National Peace Anthem," sung to the melody of the "Star Spangled Banner," was comparable to several peace songs written since 1901 which expressed the conviction that the United States should obey God's higher laws in order to lead the world to peace. The following song was less nationalistic than many of the earlier hymns of this variety. John C. Hull wrote it by "inspiration, July 4th, 1924, in the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, on the occasion of the peaceful visit of the British Fleet."[10]

To the flag that we love, glorious Red, White and Blue,
Flag of patriots who died, that our Sons might have freedom,
We unitedly sing and most solemnly vow
To honor and love all thy favored dominion.
Thou inspired us to die, now inspire us to live,
Thou has led us through strife, lead us now to forgive.
Great God, Thou who gavest our Emblem so true,
Lead us on, lead us on, by the Red, White and Blue.

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[9]Eva B. Deming, "The Call to Peace" (New York: Belton Moore Publishing Company, 1923). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

[10]John C. Hull, "Our National Peace Anthem" ([n.p.]: [n.n], 1924). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

From old glories of War, to new glories of Peace,
Let us now turn our thought in united endeavor,
That the great Brotherhood of mankind may prevail
O'er all of the earth to secure peace forever.
God of all, whom we love, now to Thee prayers ascend,
Lead us on, lead us on, by Thy love to the end,
And the Star Spangled Banner, forever shall wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.[11]

"Peace Is Marching On," written by Avery Abbott of Omaha, Nebraska, in 1929, expressed the traditional belief that women have a significant role to play in the abolition of war. On the song sheet sent to the Jane Addams Peace Society, she inscribed: "May I enclose 'my bit for Peace,' which has been used many times by the women of Nebraska. If it could be of use elsewhere in women's organizations, I shall be glad."[12]

Do you hear the women coming?
They are coming round the world,
From the blackness of the ruin
Where the bolts of war were hurled.
They are bearing on a banner,
By no battle cry unfurled,
For peace is marching on.
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
For peace is marching on!

. . . . . .

Do you hear the mothers calling,
Heart to heart across the sea?
Mothers praying for the vision
Of a glory that shall be?

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Avery Abbott, "Peace Is Marching On" ([n.p.] : [n.n.] 1929), (Mimeographed). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

Mothers who have borne in travail,
Sons who never will be free,
Till peace comes marching on.
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
For peace is marching on![13]

Perhaps because prosperity made the people indifferent to social concerns, the problem of war attracted little interest during the 1920's. But when the Great Depression overwhelmed the nation, social concerns again dominated the thinking of the people. During the 1930's, more peace and anti-war songs were written than in the previous one hundred and fifty years of American history. They will be the study of the next chapter.

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[13] Ibid.

CHAPTER VII

SONGS OF THE THIRTIES

Introduction to the Depression Decade. The disillusionment which followed the First World War produced a conservative and isolationist mood in America during "the roaring twenties." Although it was responsible for America's refusal to join the League of Nations, it did not prevent the United States from taking an interest, and occasionally the initiative, in encouraging world peace. Official representatives were sent to the League after 1924 and America often complied with international agreements sponsored by the League. The various Presidents were concerned with naval disarmament during the 1920's and initiated the Washington Conference of 1921, the Geneva Conference of 1927, and the London Conference of 1930. The Kellogg-Briand Pack of 1928, which outlawed war, was primarily the result of American influence. Faith in the eventual success of the peace movement was so secure that in 1930 M. E. Tracy of the New York Telegram could observe:

> The peace movement gains, because it is rooted in common sense. Twenty-five or thirty years ago people regarded it as based on pure idealism, as righteous in theory but hopeless in practice. Now they realize that it was shaped by the necessities of modern civilization, that the twentieth century world could not afford to ignore it and that instead of being a romantic dream it was rooted in the fundamental needs

of hard-headed progress.[1]

The decade of the Great Depression produced a surge of peace activity by a multitude of peace pressure groups. Such efforts varied from World Peaceways' attempt to sell peace to the public by sponsoring advertisements against war to the militant agitation of radicals advocating the overthrow of the government. Many of the organizations were singing movements. The religious segment of the peace movement continued to write peace hymns. As progressive education made inroads on American schools, children's peace songs appeared. Because an isolationist mood continued to dominate international relations, many songs were written which argued that the United States should not become involved should another European war break out. The rise of unions was accompanied by anti-war and anti-fascist songs which reflected a Marxist orientation. However, the peace movement again failed. Although it achieved widespread influence, it could not gain sufficient political and economic power. As war became a specific instrument of German, Italian, and Japanese foreign policies, the peace movement lost effectiveness.

Peace Hymns for the Thirties. Harry Emerson Fosdick,

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[1] "Potpourri - the Opinions of Our Contemporaries," Catholic World, Vol. CXXX, No. 778 (January, 1930), p. 451.

a Baptist minister and for over thirty years a professor at Union Theological Seminary, was perhaps the most distinguished and influential churchman of the interwar period. He also authored stirring hymns of Christian social concern. "God of Grace and God of Glory" was first sung on 5 October 1930 at the opening of the Riverside Church in New York City, a church built for Fosdick. In the forceful third stanza, Fosdick asked God to "cure thy children's warring madness" and emphasized that man must build the peace.

> Cure thy children's warring madness,
> Bend our pride to thy control;
> Shame our wanton, selfish gladness,
> Rich in things and poor in soul.
> Grant us wisdom, grant us courage,
> Lest we miss thy kingdom's goal.[2]

In "The Prince of Peace His Banner Spreads," also written in 1930, Fosdick asked God to lead man so that he will use his freedom creatively to initiate peace. Only the first stanza is quoted below.

> The Prince of Peace his banner spreads,
> His wayward folk to lead
> From war's embattled hates and dreads,
> Its bulwarked ire and greed.
> O marshal us, the sons of sires
> Who braved the cannon's road,
> To venture all that peace required
> As they dared death for war.[3]

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[2]Geer, op. cit., Hymn Number 319.

[3]Ibid., Hymn Number 274.

"A Clarion Cry" was written in 1931 by Alida Dickerman Hodges in a Quaker church in Washington when President and Mrs. Hoover were present. It was inspired by the words of Field Marshall Lord Hays: "It is the business of the churches to make my business impossible."

When every Church in this broad land,
Which for Love has ever stood,
Shall choose for its watchword this great theme--
Universal Brotherhood,
When Wars no more shall belch their wrath,
Nor shells their flame release
For hand in hand were we encircled
In the world wide arms of Peace.
Yes, our martyred host Celestial Suppliant Pleads,
World Wide blood bought Peace.[4]

This brotherhood theme often dominated the hymns of the period. "International Anthem," by Glenna M. Podmore in 1933, asserted that "there is but one race, the race of humanity."[5] A. G. Littel wrote "Song For Peace" in 1937 and stressed man's common humanity. Because the author emphasized enduring Christian ideals, it has remained popular to the present.

When war erupted again in Europe, the peace movement was again disillusioned. "Bring Peace We Pray," written in 1941 by Flora Cathcart, was a poignant plea for peace.

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[4]Alida Dickerman, "A Clarion Cry" ([n.p.] : [n.n.], 1931). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

[5]Glenna M. Podmore, "International Anthem" (Honolulu: Glenna M. Podmore, 1933). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

Great God, bring peace we pray
To men in war's array,
   Hear us this hour...
May they with one accord,
Now fill their hearts,
O, Lord with thoughts from...
Thine own Word,
   And feel its pow'r.

. . . . . .

Pardon what we have done
To wound Thy bruised Son.
   Grant us Thy peace!
Guard us from day to day,
Walk with us all the way,
Till, from this earthly clay,
   We find release.[6]

Children Peace Songs. Educational values which emphasized children's participation in learning soon had their impact on peace songs. Roxie D. White, for example, wrote, "Arbitration," a motion song which physically involved the children in acting out the peace message.

War[1] is woeful[2]
War[3] is wasteful[4]
Work[5] on
Pray[6] on
Work on
Pray[7] on
Everybody[8]
Altogether[9]
War[10] no more[11]
Have arbitration[12]

[1]Fists thrust forward.
[2]Open hands pleadingly, faces and eyes upturned.

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[6]Flora Cathcart, "Bring Peace We Pray" (New York: Press Publishing Company, 1941). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

3Fists thrust forward.
4Hands stretched wide, downward as if spilling something.
5Stamp right foot.
6Hands uplifted.
7Hands uplifted.
8Arms and hands outstretched.
9Circling back to chest.
10Fists front.
11Sweep fists back to chest.
12Children face each other and take hands.[7]

Helen S. Evans was perhaps the most prolific of the children's peace song writers. Her songs expressed a deep sensitivity to human values and were urgent pleas for peace. "Peace Round," sung to the tune of "Row, Row, Row Your Boat," reflected her hope for the future.

Peace, Peace, Peace will come
Peace will come to stay,
Happily, earnestly, earnestly, happily,
We will work that way.[8]

"Kindness Pays" was written to the tune of "Jingle Bells" and contained a thoughtful peace message.

Kindness pays, kindness pays,
Wherever we may go.
Europe, Asia, United States,
Canada, Mexico.
Kindness pays, kindness pays,
We may not ever know
The harvest which our seed has sown,
But we reap what we sow.[9]

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[7]May Bell Harper (ed.), "Songs of Peace" (New Haven, Connecticut: May Bell Harper, 1933), Song Number 19. Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

[8]Helen Schliemann Evans and Sa Leal G. Howenstein, "World Friendship Songs" (Brawley, California: n.n., 1931). Song Number 10. Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

[9]Ibid., Song Number 12.

"Work -- Lift -- Trust -- Smile" was a rally song praising the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, the great hope of many peace advocates. Again, the theme of human brotherhood appeared, as it did in many Evans songs. It was sung to the tune of "Smile, Smile, Smile."

Every one a worker in the cause of peace,
And lift, lift, lift.
Don't be a slacker while there's need of each
O do not drift and drift.
There's a call for heroes now,
Greater than e'er before,
To help all the people rise to keep The Pact,
And prevent war.

Every one enlisted in the cause of peace;
For all the world.
No nation can be yet immune from war
Till battle flags are furled.
Think not of yourself alone,
But work for near and far;
Then toil, toil for multitudes of helpless ones,
And save from war.[10]

Popular Peace and Anti-War Ballads. Many of the peace and anti-war songs published during the period can be classified as popular ballads but none of them achieved popular success. Most of these unsuccessful attempts had an anti-war bias rather than a peace emphasis. "Old Man (War) Propaganda," written in 1933 by Laura L. Berah, warned the listener to be leary of pro-war propaganda but failed to disclose who sponsored it.

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[10] Ibid., Song Number 27.

Old Man Propaganda He can lie, lie, lie,
He wants cannon fodder plenty
That is why, why, why,
If you're rather silly,
He will get you willy nilly
If you listen to Old Man Propaganda.

. . . . . .

Old Man Propaganda Get thee, gone, gone, gone,
You've been stalking here among us
Much too long, long, long.
Your tongue is coated yellow
You're a rather ghastly fellow
So good-bye for ever more Propaganda.[11]

Another Beran song, written the same year and entitled "Humanity's Plea," was "dedicated to that most inspiring of all human traits: Moral Courage."

Oh, brothers, sisters, comrades,
Ignore the call of War,
Beware of Hatred's knavery,
He's tricked us oft before.

. . . . . .

Ignore the taunts of murderers,
Their arrogance and scorn
We all must have the right to live,
For this, we all were born.[12]

When the rise of fascism was accompanied by an increase in the likelihood of war, many peace supporters worked to prevent American involvement if war should occur. Frequently

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[11]Laura L. Beran, "Old Man (War) Propaganda" ([n.p.]: [n.n.] 1933). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

[12]Laura L. Beran, "Humanity's Plea" (New York: Carl Fischer, 1933). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

they based their opposition on isolationism and not pacifism. "Not Over There -- Over Here!" and "Neutrality Song" were two such songs. The latter, written in 1939 by C. Brate, took aim at American business interests.

Across the water it is hot, Hurray, Hurray!
They need the guns and things we've got, Hurray, Hurray!

Chorus:

Keep our goods at home, boys, Keep our goods at home.
Keep away from their foolishness, Keep our goods at home.

The Queen she came and ate the dog so hot, Hurray!
So we would send the guns and things we've got, Hurray!
(Chorus)

Don't be fooled by politics, Hurray -- or what?
Stop the foolish war abroad! REFUSE THE THINGS WE'VE GOT!
(Chorus)[13]

Only months before the terrible disaster at Pearl Harbor, Elisabeth Johnson wrote "Song of the Unknown Soldier" and expressed her opposition to American involvement in the war.

You sent me off to Flanders field in nineteen seventeen,
To fight and die that battlefields might never more be seen!
And now you've got to hear me as I call you from on high,
Where ev'ry single Unknown Soldier joins me in the cry.

. . . . . .

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[13]C. Brate, "Neutrality Song" (New York: [n.n.], 1939). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

Your foolish faith in armaments has proven all in vain,
They lead you to destruction, sickness, poverty and pain;
And even to the tyranny you seek to overthrow,
For freedom by the hand of war is dealt a deadly blow!

The foes of human life itself are hard enough to beat,
And fighting one another leads you all to sure defeat!
Lay down your arms, I beg of you, and with each other vie,
In marching on to peace, the light of love uplifted high![14]

Militant Anti-War Songs. In 1933 the Roosevelt Congress passed the National Industrial Recovery Act. Section 7a gave labor "the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing." But the federal government's uncertain enforcement of labor's newly granted rights crippled attempts to organize the workers. The consequences were violent and bloody clashes between labor and large corporations.

The resulting militance of the American labor movement in the 1930's was as characteristic of its songs as its politics. This was especially true for the Workers' Music League, the USA Section of the International Music Bureau, which emphasized the importance of songs as a weapon in the class struggle. "War Is Murder," written by Barney Conal in 1935 for the League, was an appeal to the masses to violently overthrow the capitalists, the men who are cited for causing wars.

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[14]Elisabeth Johnson, "Song of the Unknown Soldier" (Philadelphia: Elisabeth Johnson, 1941). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

War is murder of the masses.
Fascists feed it, give it birth.
War's the deathwage of the bosses,
Devastating life and earth.

Chorus:

Wake! Men and women workers.
Break! War and Fascism down.
Stop munition shipments, shoremen!
Close the deathshops, workers free!
Soldiers, turn against madmen,
The workers' world our victory!

. . . . . .

Fascists are the bosses' henchmen,
Traitor scabs to all mankind.
Rise, you plundered men and women!
Steel the heart and free the mind!
(Chorus)[15]

Although the Industrial Workers of the World were purged during the Red Scare of the 1920's, the Wobblies continued to support violent labor movements. "Christians At War," written by John F. Kendick and published in their 1936 song book, was like many Wobbly songs, a parody of a Protestant hymn--- this one "Onward, Christian Soldiers." Three of the original five stanzas are quoted below.

Onward, Christian soldiers! Duty's way is plain;
Slay your Christian neighbors, or by them be slain.
Pulpiteers are spouting effervescent swill,
God above is calling you to rob and rape and kill;
If you love the Holy Ghost, go murder, pray and die.

. . . . . .

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[15]"Workers Song Book #2" (New York: Workers Music League, 1935), p. 4. Music Library, Harvard University.

Onward, Christian soldiers! Eat and drink your fill;
Rob with bloody fingers, Christ O.K.'s the bill.
Steal the farmer's savings, take their grain and meat;
Even though the children starve, the Saviour's bums
must eat.
Burn the peasant's cottages, orphans leave bereft;
In Jehovah's holy name, wreak ruin right and left.

. . . . . .

Onward, Christian soldiers! Slighting all you meet,
Trampling human freedom under pious feet.
Praise the Lord whose dollar sign dupes his favored race!
Make the foreign trash respect your bullion brand of grace!
Trust in mock salvation, serve as pirate's tools;
History will say of you: "That pack of G...d...fools."[16]

The American Music League was a communist front organization with main offices in New York City. Its stated purpose was "to work for the defense of musical culture against the dangers of fascism, censorship and war."[17] However, frequently the songs published by the League urged workers to overthrow the government rather than to protect musical culture. Such a song was "May First," written by Madge Kay.

Leave your tools
Leave your desk,
Leave your farm!

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[16]"I.W.W. Songs - Songs of the Workers" (Chicago: International Workers of the World, 1936), p. 13. The Zilphia Horton Folk Music Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee, hereafter known as Tennessee Collection.

[17]"March and Sing!" (New York: American Music League, 1937), p. 1, Music Library, Harvard University.

This is May First,
The day we must show
That we stand side by side,
Strong as steel -- Strong
In resisting the fascist advance.

From the shop,
From the field,
From the School,
Like a torrent
United we come
Down with war--
Fight for bread!
Strike for peace -- Strike!
We are mighty advancing as one.[18]

Agnes Cunningham, daughter of an Oklahoma farmer, frequently wrote the music for revolutionary songs while she was a student at Arkansas' Commonwealth College, a radical training center for the labor movement. She and Harry Kemp wrote the music and words for "I Sing the Battle," a song which urged the listeners to consider a war's human waste.

I sing the song of the great clean guns that belch
forth death at will
Ah, but the wailing mothers, the lifeless forms and
still.
I sing the skeletons flapping rags, the lips that
speak no more.
I sing the clash of bayonets, and sabres that flash
and cleave.
And wilt thou sing the maimed ones, too, that go with
pinned up sleeve?
I sing acclaimed generals that bring the victory home.
Ah, but the broken bodies that drip like honeycomb.
I sing of hearts triumphant, long ranks of marching men.
And wilt thou sing the shadowy hosts that never march
again?[19]

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[18] Ibid., p. 6.

[19] "Six Labor Songs" (Mena, Arkansas: Commonwealth College, [n.d.]), Tennessee Collection.

Even non-communist elements of the American union movement of the 1930's frequently included a class struggle motif in their songs. Members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union frequently sang "No More War," which was inherited from communist movements in pre-Hitler Germany. "They're Talking War," by Jessie Loyd, expressed a similar no more war message.

They're talking war; who's talking war?
The yellow press; we know what for.
They sent us to wallow in gas and mud,
While the rich stayed home, making cash from blood.
Try it again (Oh just)*
Try it again (just once)
We'll not do your fighting then, (do it yourselves!)

They said to fight (boy, how they lied!)
To save our homes, country and pride.
Well we fought and we won, as they said to do,
But the banks got our homes and our country too;
Told us to give, (yes, give)
Give till it hurts, (we know)
While they grabbed our very shirts. (they would!)

They say it's fine; who says it's fine?
War brings a boom; (yeah) we know the kind.
All the prices hit the roof and the wages lag,
And the poor working goof stands and holds the bag;
Take it away, (no thanks) take it away, (thanks a lot!)
For you can't fool us today. (we're through!)
*Note: The words in italics should be shouted.[20]

During the years immediately preceding America's involvement in World War II, many anti-war songs were not as revolutionary as those previously quoted. Many of these

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[20]"Songs of the People" (New York: Workers' Library Publishers, January, 1937), p. 52. Music Library, University of California, Berkeley.

later radical songs of the left frequently agreed with the radical conservatives; both based their opposition to the war on isolationism and not on pacifism. Bill Jefferson, a leader in the peace organization called the Chicago Repertory Group, composed the music for anti-war songs written during this troubled period when the nation was bewildered about America's role in the war. "Johnny Wants A Job," words and music written in 1940, by Dick Knoll and Bill Jefferson, listed numerous reasons in the second stanza why "Johnny" did not want to be a soldier.

> Johnny wants a job, not a war!
> Life for him has so much in store,
> Johnny wants to live
> For he has so much to give,
> But Johnny cannot live in a war!
> Johnny is now just twenty-four,
> Johnny wants his life--and what's more--
> Johnny wants a wife,
> And some kids to fill his life,
> What's why Johnny wants a job -- Not a war![21]

The Almanacs and Woody Guthrie wrote anti-war songs which were published by the American Peace Mobilization, a radical leftist attempt to discourage American entry into the war. The Almanacs' "Ballad of October 16th" was one of several songs which attacked Roosevelt as a traitor to the people.

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[21]Bill Jefferson, "Songs For Peace" (Chicago: Chicago Repertory Group, 1940), p. 15. Music Library, Harvard University.

It was on a Saturday night,
And the moon was shining bright
They passed the conscription bill,
And the people they did say,
For many miles away,
'Twas the president and his boys on capital hill.

Chorus:

Oh, Franklin Roosevelt told the people how he felt,
We damn near believed what he said.
He said "I hate war" and so does Eleanor,
But we won't be safe till everybody's dead.

. . . . . .

Oh, nothing can be wrong
If it makes our country strong;
We gotta get tough to save democracy.
And though it may mean war
We must defend Singapore--
This don't hurt you half as much as it hurts me.
(Chorus)[22]

In the twelve years preceding the Second World War there was a great surge of anti-war and peace activity, and this chapter has offered only a sampling of the numerous songs which dealt with the problem of war. Most of the left-wing songs blamed war on economic exploitation and urged workers to fight "the bosses" rather than each other, while church and children's songs tended to emphasize kindness and brotherhood. World War II stimulated a shift in emphasis as the songs tended to emphasize the political causes of war, the study of the following chapter.

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[22]"America Sings For American People's Meeting, April 5-6, New York City" (New York: American Peace Mobilization, 1941), p. 10. Music Library, Harvard University.

CHAPTER VIII

WORLD WAR II AND THE AFTERMATH

Songs Sung By G.I. Joe. The mood of the songs sung during the Second World War was unique in the long history of American war songs. There were no rally songs similar to "Over There," "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," or "Yankee Doodle." World War II was accepted as a grim necessity: after Pearl Harbor, most Americans understood that national interests were effected by conditions in the international community. They believed that the United States could not neglect its responsibilities to the larger community when the security of the world as well as the security of America, was seriously threatened by the combined armies of Germany, Japan, and Italy. But the songs expressed the opinion, often disguised in humor, that the war was a terrible waste; life was for living and not death. "G.I. Blues" was one of the many songs which complained of the deprivations of army life. Only two stanzas are quoted from this multi-versed ballad.

I like G.I. coffee, like it mighty fine:
Good for cuts and bruises, just like iodine.

Chorus:

Gee, Ma, I wanna go, Gee, Ma, I wanna go,
Gee, Ma, I wanna go home!

I like G.I. spaghetti, like it mighty fine:
Good to lace your shoes with and to use as twine.
(Chorus)[1]

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[1]Eric Posselt (ed.) Give Out! Songs Of, By, And For The Man In Service (New York: Arrowhead Press, 1943), p. 69.

The anonymous author of "When This Bloody War Is Over," a song sung to the tune of Charles C. Sawyer's Civil War Ballad "When This Cruel War Is Over," expressed the frustration caused by the war and the bitterness it often produced. It showed a definite preference for civilian life and a strong distaste for the rigid military life.

> When this bloody war is over,
> Oh how happy I will be,
> When I leave this god damn outfit
> For my home across the sea.
> No more dress parades on Sunday,
> No more asking for a pass,
> We will tell our lousy topkick
> He can kiss our bloody ...[2]

Peace Hymns. The religiously motivated segment of the peace movement continued to write peace hymns, but with less frequency as the peace movement continued to broaden its base to include those advocates who were not Christian pacifists. During the war years, a few pacifist hymns were published. In "Prayer For Peace, No. 2," Helene Almie asked God for repentance and forgiveness because of the war.

> Lord, with a contrite heart,
> We come to Thee apart,
> Our homage give.
> Repentant now we come through
> Thy beloved Son,
> Hear us Thou Holy One,
> O Lord, forgive!

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[2] Ibid., p. 126.

Lord, make all wars to cease,
Bring to all nations peace,
This is our plea,
With all our brothers share
Thy love and tender care,
Hear Thou our suppliant pray'r
Set all men free![3]

When the world was finally freed from the war in 1945, hymns were written to celebrate the peace. In "Thank God For Peace," Robert Harkness offered high praise for the end to the conflict and America's righteous victory.

Thank God for peace!
The Nations conflict o'er--
The vict'ry won, may war be
known no more.
We hail the light of this
Triumphant dawn--
Of Thy new day, of Thy
resplendant morn.

Refrain:

Thank God for peace,
Thank God for peace
Thank God, thank God for peace.

Thank God for peace! The wonderous
power we own
Hath wrought for right, Our praise
to Thee be known.
Now may the Nations bow
beneath Thy sway,
Thy Will to do, the great
commands obey.
(Refrain)[4]

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[3]Margaret W. Thomforde and Jessie W. Woods (ed.s), "World Fellowship Songs" (Kennett Square, Pennsylvania: World Fellowship Songs, 1948), Song Number 39. Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

[4]Robert Harkness, "Thank God For Peace" (South Pasadena, California: Harkness Music Company, 1945). Library of Congress.

But the Christian pacifists did not just celebrate the end of the war; they made a great effort to encourage the United States to organize the United Nations. They used every means available to educate the American public on the advantages of America joining the UN, a forum where nations could avoid future wars by arbitrating their differences. "Day Is Here -- Peace-Builders' Hymn," written by Lura Huxtable Porter in 1945, made a strong plea to peace advocates requesting that they begin immediately to build a lasting peace. Of the original four stanzas, the first and fourth are quoted below.

> Builders, begin! Each to his willing share!
> This world is ours to make -- or grim or fair;
> All its tomorrows now must be begun;
> Builders, eternity and this small hour are one!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Sleepers, awake! Awake to greet the dawn!
> Night's heavy veil of darkness is withdrawn;
> Fresh vistas wait to meet our op'ning eyes;
> Sleepers, the day is here! Hail its light, arise![5]

Topical Peace and Anti-War Songs. The idea of a United Nations made its appearance early in the war and was perhaps a result of an emphasis on brotherhood advocated by the peace movement as a whole. "The United Nations," written

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[5]Lura Huxtable Porter, "Day Is Here -- Peace-Builders' Hymn" (Boston: L. H. Porter, 1945). Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Song Sheet.

by Harold Rome, was a popular rally song sung by such groups as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee. It was the author's hope that the nations who had fought for victory would continue to work together for peace.

The sun and the stars all are ringing,
With the song rising strong from the earth,
The hope of humanity singing,
A hymn to a new world in birth.

Chorus:

United Nations on the march with flags unfurl'd
Together fight for Victory, A Free New World,
Together fight for Victory, A Free New World.

. . . . . .

As sure as the sun meets the morning,
And the rivers go down to the sea,
A new day for mankind is dawning,
Our children shall live proud and free.
(Chorus)[6]

Following World War II, protest song writers and singers were filled with hope when the nations of the world created the United Nations. Men like Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Lee Hays, and others active in folk protest music organized a society called the People's Songs and published a bulletin, which for four years was the mouthpiece for protest song writers. Because its members had complete contempt for commercial music, the influence of the songs

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[6]"Songbook" (Monteagle, Tennessee: Highlander Folk School, 1943), p. 45. Tennessee Collection.

rarely went beyond the borders of a small group of activists who believed that "the world was worth saving and that we could do it with songs."[7] They anticipated that a revival of folk music would come through the trade unions. However, the revival did not come and in 1949, the People's Song movement dissolved because of a lack of financial support.

The content of the songs generally reflected the optimism of the day. In the four part round entitled "Peace of Earth," hope and faith in the future were central to its message. "United Nations Makes a Chain" celebrated the UN as the hope of mankind.

United Nations make a chain,
Every link is freedom's name,

Refrain:

Keep your hand on that plow, hold on!
Hold On! Hold On!
Keep your hand on that plow, hold on!

Now the war is over and done,
Let's keep the peace that we have won,
(Refrain)

. . . . . .

Many men have fought and died,
So we could be here side by side,
(Refrain)[8]

The one war protest song of the period which achieved

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[7]Irwin Silber (ed.), Reprints From The People's Songs Bulletin (New York: Oak Publications, 1961), p. 4.

[8]Ibid., p. 94.

even modest success in the mass media was Vern Partlow's "Old Man Atom" or the "Talkin' Atom Blues," a lengthy ballad written in 1946. At one time there were fifteen different recordings on the market. Its message was satirical but frank and expressed considerable concern for the threat to humanity by nuclear weapons. The following verses are quoted from a slightly revised edition sung during the Korean War.

Don't you worry, honey child,
Don't you cry no more,
It's just a little old Atom bomb
In a little old limited war;
It's just a bitsy warhead, child,
In a little old tactical shell,
And all it'll do is blow us all
To a limited little old Hell.

I'm gonna preach you all a sermon about Old Man Atom;
And I don't mean the Adam in the Bible datum,
NO, I don't mean the Adam that Mother Eve mated,
I mean the thing that science liberated.
The thing that Einstein says he's scared of. And
when Einstein's scared,
Oh, brother, I'm scared.

. . . . . .

Well, the atom's international, in spite of hysteria,
Flourishes in Utah, and in Siberia,
And whether you're black, white, red or brown,
The question is this, when you boil it down;
To be or not to be. That's the question.

. . . . . .

Yes, it's up to the people, 'cause the atom don't care,
And you can't fence him in, he's just like air,
And he doesn't give a hoot about any politics
Or who got what into whichever fix--
All he wants to do it just sort of sit around and have
his nucleus
Bombarded by neutrons.

So the moral of this, just as plain as day;
Old Man Atom, he's here to stay.
He's gonna stick around, that's clear to see--
But ah, my dearly beloved, are we?
So listen folks, here's my thesis;
Peace in the world, or the world in pieces.
Hiroshima, Nagazaki, Alamagordo, Bikini.[9]

Henry A. Wallace was a peace conscious politician who believed that such Truman policies as the Marshall Plan were antagonizing Russia, a peace loving nation in Wallace's opinion. Wallace sympathizers on the left organized the Progressive Party and nominated their hero for president during the 1948 election. The Wallace For President campaign was discredited for its communist connections and Wallace finished last in a field of four major candidates. The Progressive Party was a singing movement which sang from song books published by the People's Songs, a leftist group previously mentioned. "Make Your Vote Count" was a rally song which included one verse advocating peace.

Make your vote count! Make your vote count!
Wallace is the way! Make your voice heard!
Make your voice heard!
Stand right up and say,
"We've had enough of hooey,
From Tweedle Truman to Tweedle Dewey."
Make your vote count!
Make your voice heard!
Fight for peace today!
Wallace and Taylor lead the way![10]

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[9]John Greenway, "The Talking Blues," Folkways Records, FH 5232, 1958, Side II, Band 6.

[10]Waldemar Hille (ed.), "Songs for Wallace" ([n.p.]: People's Songs, Inc., 1948), p. 4. Library of Congress.

"Let's Get Out The Vote" was written by the Gloversville Wallace for President Committee and sung to the tune of one of America's most popular union songs, "We Shall Not Be Moved." The following stanza expressed the Progressive Party's opposition to the Marshall Plan.

> The Marshall Plan will lead us into another war,
> The Marshall Plan will lead us into another war,
> If we want peace and freedom for the entire world--
> Let's get out the vote.

Chorus:

> Wallace is our candidate--Let's get out the vote.
> Wallace is our condidate--Let's get out the vote.
> Like FDR, he's standing by the people,
> Let's get out the vote.[11]

The rise of McCarthyism during the 1950's hindered freedom of expression and this seriously curtailed the struggling peace song movement. It was reported that the Pentagon went so far as to issue an order which prohibited the playing of "Old Man Atom" on the radio.[12] The Weavers, a folk singing group, was black listed at the height of their career. Pete Seeger was brought before the House Committee on Un-American Activities only to be cleared of the communist charges by the Supreme Court. Seeger has never been able to recover from this episode and remains today effectively prohibited from most professional appearances.

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[11] Ibid., p. 6.

[12] Sis Cunningham (ed.), "Broadside -- Songs of Our Times from the Pages of Broadside Magazine," Vol. I (New York: Oak Publications, 1964), p. 5.

In the late 1950's, peace and anti-war songs again made their appearance. Russ Farrell, a logger, and Roy Grice were amateur song writers from Washington who wrote "Then We'll Have Peace" during the Algerian crisis. Their message emphasized that force cannot guarantee a lasting peace.

> When rich men act like poor men, and poor men eat
> like rich.
> When all men take the high road, no black men in
> the ditch;
> When mothers down in Kenya, can rear their
> children strong;
> And people on Algeria's coast, can sing a freedom
> song...
> Then we'll have peace!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> For peace is based on love and trust, where no
> man lives on man.
> Where each shall own his native soil, though
> tis Egyptian sand.
> For peace is based on tolerance, thus all men
> must be heard.
> "Good will towards men", and "Peace on Earth",
> if there be God
> Then that's his word.
> There shall be peace.[13]

Peacemakers, a Cincinnati pacifist group, frequently published anti-war songs. "They'll Buy No Bombs --Tale of Maurice McCrackin" was a ballad about the Reverend McCrackin, a Cincinnati clergyman, who was convicted and jailed for refusing to pay an income tax for National Defense expenditures.

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[13]Pete Seegar, "Gazette," Folkways Records, Folkways Records, FW 2501, 1958, Side II, Band 1.

'Twas in September of fifty-eight
The tax men came up to my gate.
They said, "McCrackin, we want you;
Your income tax is overdue."
I'd spent my time as preachers should -
To try to save my neighborhood.
Now I'm in jail, six months to do.
I told Internal Revenue:

Chorus:

Tear up that income tax return;
They'll buy no bombs with what I earn.
If they want money, they can go
To the banks of the Ohio.

. . . . . .

The men who plan for blood and strife
Demand my money or my life;
My faith in God is not for sale
That's why I'm here, locked up in jail.
But through these bars, I see blue sky,
I know that someday you and I
Will both be free from hate and war -
And that's the day I'm working for.
(Chorus)[14]

"I Don't Want Your Missiles, Mister," expressed the fear and pessimism for the future commonly believed by many who were concerned with the spread of nuclear weapons and with the introduction of missiles capable of carrying a nuclear warhead. The tune was adoped from the Civil War Ballad, "Just Before the Battle, Mother."

I don't want your missiles, Mister,
I don't want your atom bomb.
Killing off a million people
Is and always will be wrong.

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[14](Cincinnati: Peacemakers, 1960). Jean Putnam, Yellow Springs, Ohio; Song Sheet.

Chorus:

Can't you see the way you're taking
Only leads the world to doom?
Life your voice against this madness
Ere the earth become a tomb.

. . . . . .

So let's take the missiles, Mister,
Dump them in the Arctic Sea,
Tear the atom bombs asunder,
Give the people liberty.
(Chorus)[15]

During the fifteen years following the Second World War, the peace movement was active. But such forces as the Allied victory in the war, the prosperity, the creation of the United Nations, and the McCarthy investigations hindered its influence on a citizenry already apathetic to the problem of war. Peace hymns rapidly declined in the 1940's and completely disappeared in the 1950's. Christian pacifists accepted the difficult challenges of building a lasting peace and were no longer concerned with capturing the public's attention with mass peace rallies. As a result peace advocates who were not Christian pacifists remained to write anti-war and peace songs. Immediately following the war, they wrote songs which emphasized the need for the United Nations to bring political harmony to the anarchy characteristic of international relations. During the 1950's their

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[15] Ibid.

songs emphasized the danger of a nuclear holocaust which could incinerate the world. The 1960's have produced a great surge of peace songs which has reached a wider audience than at any other time in the long history of American anti-war and peace songs. This will be the study of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX

SONGS OF THE SIXTIES

Preface to the Sixties. One of the most dominant cultural phenomena of this unfinished decade is the rapid rise of protest songs in all fields of popular music. This phenomenon had its roots in the revival of folk music which was lead by the popular Kingston Trio. Protest songs of freedom such as "The Hammer Songs" often became as popular as many of the most traditional ballads. One of Pete Seeger's anti-war songs, "Where Have All The Flowers Gone," was the first war protest ballad which achieved considerable success and recognition in the mass media. It was a circular-question song which began by asking "Where have all the soldiers gone?" They were picked by young girls, then the young girls married the young men who became soldiers. To the question, "Where have all the soldiers gone, long time ago?," the reply was "gone to graveyards every one." After each verse, the refrain was "When will they ever learn, when will they ever learn?"[1]

The folk song revival not only encouraged an interest in the history of American folk songs of protest but also produced numerous topical folk ballads which protested

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[1]Peter, Paul and Mary, "Peter, Paul and Mary," Warner Brothers, W1449, 1962, Side II, Band 6.

injustices in the American society of the 1960's. Rarely were these contemporary ballads recorded, but many of the protest ballads, including numerous anti-war songs, were published in folk song magazines. The sphere of influence was greatly enlarged when Bob Dylan suddenly achieved great popularity as his protest songs became popular with the college community. Soon popular music was flooded with songs of protest in the folk and folk-rock medium and they were bought by the thousands. Songs protesting nuclear weapons and the Vietnam War were often the best sellers. The controversy over America's involvement in Vietnam has been reflected in the songs written and sung by American soldiers serving in Vietnam.

Topical Ballads of the Sixties. Numerous topical protest songs, many with an anti-war bias, reached a wider audience than ever before through such magazines as Sing Out! and Broadside. The composed ballads of the 1960's were very similar to the traditional topical songs. The music was never complex which enabled the singer to emphasize his message. Many of the newer songs were based on the old folk idioms. Bill Frederick's "Talkin' Peace" effectively used the talking blues tradition. The songs were often stimulated by a contemporary problem and voiced a very definite point of view. For example the "Ballad of Major Fatherly" protested war by telling the fate of the com-

mander of the Hiroshima atomic bomb raid who was driven to insanity by guilt. Of the original seven stanzas written by Gene Hunn, three are quoted below:

> Tell me Major Eatherly what's troubling your mind?
> You dream of children burning whom you have
> left behind,
> Who thru the flames are running with their
> bodies burned and blind,
> And why haven't you forgotten for your deed
> is far behind?
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The sixth of August was the day, they said the
> end was near,
> If you'd fly scout for the A-Bomb to find a city
> that was clear,
> Dreaming of home and sick of war your conscience
> could not hear,
> So your plane doomed Hiroshima to the fire and to
> the fear.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> So why must you bear all this guilt for that one
> fearful blow?
> You were just obeying orders, you just fought the
> hated foe,
> Are there no more men alive to share your heavy
> guilt?
> Or did the last man die upon that cross the
> Romans built?[2]

"Will You Work For Peace Or Wait For War," written by Agnes Friesen when sixteen years old, was recorded in the Congressional Record, "Appendix" for Thursday, 1 February 1962. The song was submitted by the author's Congressman, William Fitts Ryan of New York, who believed that the song

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[2]Cunningham, op. cit., p. 85.

was "indicative of the impack the threat of atomic war has had on America's youth."[3] Of the original three stanzas, two are quoted below:

Come all you good people and answer to me
Will you work for Peace or wait for war,
For humanity's threatened by a terrible fate --
Will you work for Peace before it's too late.

Chorus:

Will you see your family, your children be killed,
Will you watch your cities come tumbling down,
Will you work for Peace or wait for war,
In your concrete coffins down under the ground.

. . . . . .

Can we live like brothers or die like dogs
In a puff of smoke and deafening roar,
Can we find a new way for mankind to live
In a country of Peace and a world without war.
(Chorus)[4]

Malvina Reynolds of Berkeley has achieved considerable success as a protest song writer and has written many songs dealing with the problem of war. "We Hate To See Them Go" was a humorous ballad about "a lovely dream" in which bankers, diplomats, and other men of distinction go off to fight a war. In "Andorra" she sang high praise for tiny Andorra whose defense budget was less than five dollars. And "Rand Hymn" was a song critical of the Rand Corporation and its research on military problems. But perhaps her most influential song

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[3] Ibid., p. 64.

[4] Ibid.

was "What Have They Done To The Rain?" It was written when scientists warned of the potentially dangerous effects of nuclear fallout from atomic bombs. The song had wide circulation and appeared in Land Of The Free, the controversial history book currently in use in the California school system.

Just a little rain falling all around,
The grass lifts its head to the heavenly sound,
Just a little rain, Just a little rain,
What have they done to the rain?

Just a little breeze out of the sky,
The leaves pat their hands as the breeze blows by,
Just a little breeze with some smoke in its eye,
What have they done to the rain?

Just a little boy standing in the rain,
The gentle rain that falls for years.
And the grass is gone,
And the boy disappears,
And the rain keeps falling like helpless tears,
And what have they done to the rain?[5]

Not all the anti-war songs authored by Malvina Reynolds were gentle protests. "Napalm" was written in 1965 and was a bitter protest of America's involvement in the Vietnam War.

Lucy Baines, did you ever see that napalm?
Did you ever see a baby hit with napalm?
When they try to pull it loose why the
flesh comes too
And that's the way they do with that napalm.

. . . . . .

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[5]Irwin Silber (ed.) "Reprints From Sing Out!" Vol. VI, (New York: Oak Publications, 1964), p. 21.

Well, your school is too refined to speak
of napalm
And the White House has no time to talk of
napalm
And the war is far away
But it goes on night and day
And it's your hand and mine that drops
the napalm.[6]

"'Legend in the Making! Phil Ochs is drawing the kind of extravagantly enthusiastic audiences that folk music legends are made of' Toronto Telegram." So read the poster for his Berkeley concert on 29 April 1966. Phil Ochs was a college drop-out from Ohio State University. He was a journalism student who turned to the folk song medium because he believed that it was the only way to express his political opinions. Ochs appealed to the peace advocates of the college community with such topical songs as "Days of Decision," "Draft Dodger Rag," and "I Ain't Marchin' Anymore." The latter song was one of his most popular ballads and the title song for an album of that name.

Oh, I marched to the Battle of New Orleans
At the end of the early British war,
A young land started growin', the young blood
started flowin',
But I ain't marchin' anymore.

. . . . . .

Interlude:

It's always the old to lead us to the war,
Always the young to fall,

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[6]Sing Out! Vol. XV, No. 6 (January, 1966), p. 21.

Now look at all we won with a sabre and a gun
Tell me, was it worth it all?

. . . . . .

Now the labor leader's screamin' when they close the
missile plants,
United Fruit screams at the Cuban shore,
Call it "Peace" or call it "Treason",
Call it "Love" or call it "Reason",
But I ain't marchin' anymore.[7]

"There But For Fortune," one of Och's tamer protest songs written in 1963 and sung by Joan Baez, was on the hit parade early in 1966. The last verse was thoughtful anti-war protest.

Show me a country where the bombs had to fall,
Show me the ruins of the buildings once so tall,
And I'll show you a young land with so many
reasons why,
And there but for fortune may go you or I, or I.[8]

The Bob Dylan Phenomenon. From 1962 to 1966, Bob Dylan has written over 225 songs. His concerts all across the country and in Europe have usually been sold out weeks in advance. "Blowing in the Wind," his most popular song, has been recorded over two hundred times since its release in 1963 by groups which vary from Lawrence Welk to Stan Getz. The new Dylan style of folk-rock dominated the hit parade

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[7]"Songs of Phil Ochs" (New York: Appleseed Music, Inc., 1964), p. 30.

[8]Sing Out!, Vol. XV, No. 2, (May, 1965), p. 5.

and was copied by every major group, including the "Beatles." At twenty-five, Bob Dylan was a millionaire.

Dylan grew up in Hibbing, a small Minnesota border town. Between the ages of ten and eighteen, he ran away from home frequently. After six months at the University of Minnesota, he dropped out, "went on the road," and changed his name from Zimmerman to Dylan -- "in tribute to Dylan Thomas, according to legend; but actually after a gambling uncle whose last name was similar to Dylan."[9] The new Bob Dylan found his way to New York City where many felt he would never succeed as an entertainer because of the bitterness of his songs. But he did, much to the surprise of all.

"Masters of War" and "With God on Our Side" were two of his songs where the concern was limited to the specific anti-war message. The second song, written in 1963, was a seven-minute attack upon self-righteousness in American foreign policy. Of the original nine verses, four are quoted below. Perhaps the first verse expressed Dylan's personal anxiety over the problem of human existence, a dilemma often discussed in his songs.[10]

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[9]Nat Hentoff, "Playboy Interview: Bob Dylan," Playboy, Vol. XIII, No. 3, (March, 1966), p. 41.

[10]See especially "One Too Many Mornings" and "Restless Farewell" from "Bob Dylan - The Times They Are A-Changin'," Columbia, CL 2105.

Oh my name it means nothin'
My age it means less
The country I come from
It's called the Midwest
I's taught and bro't up there
The laws to abide
And that the land I live in
Has God on its side.

. . . . . .

Oh the first World War, boys,
It came and it went,
The reason for fighting
I never did get,
But I learned to accept it,
Accept it with pride,
For you don't count the dead
When God's on your side.

. . . . . .

I've learned to hate Russians
All through my whole life,
If another war comes
It's them we must fight,
To hate them and fear them,
To run and to hide,
And accept it all bravely
With God on my side.

. . . . . .

So now as I'm leavin'
I'm weary as hell,
The confusion I'm feelin'
Ain't no tongue can tell,
The words fill my hear
And fall to the floor --
But if God's on our side
He'll stop the next war.[11]

The majority of the poetic songs authored by Dylan had a more general message as he tried to confront all the

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[11]Cunningham, op. cit., p. 18.

problems challenging society. "The Times They Are A-Changin'" was in this vein. Playboy magazine considered that it "became an anthem for the rebellious young, who savored its message that adults don't know where it's at and can't tell their children what to do."[12] The following is only one stanza of this multi-verse song.

> Your sons and your daughters are beyond your command
> Your old road is rapidly aging.
> Please get out of the new one if you can't lend a hand
> For the times they are a-changin'.[13]

It would be incorrect to conclude that Dylan was the Pied Piper for only the young radicals of the New Left. Many of his songs have had a much wider appeal. "Blowing in the Wind," his greatest success, seemed to have captured the imagination of the majority of today's youth.[14] The song used a technique of asking challenging but slanted questions. Below appears the first verse with its comment on the problem of war.

> How many roads must a man walk down
> before you call him a man?
> Yes, 'n how many seas must a white dove sail
> before she sleeps in the sand?
> Yes, 'n how many times must the cannon balls fly
> before they're forever banned?

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[12]Hentoff, op. cit., p. 41

[13]Bob Dylan, "Bob Dylan - The Times They Are A-Changin'," Columbia, CL 2105, Side I, Band 1.

[14]This song became very popular with the Civil Rights movement and the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley. It has an international appeal; this author heard it whistled by the gate keeper at Nairobi National Game Park, Kenya, East Africa in June of 1966.

Chorus:

The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind,
The answer is blowin' in the wind.[15]

In 1966 Dylan changed his style by having a rock-and-roll band for support and made an attempt to appear to the teenage record market. Rather than singing of specific social problems, his new songs proclaimed a philosophy of negativism and alienation as he rejected totally contemporary American society, thereby also rejecting America's foreign policy and the war in Vietnam. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by quoting extensively from the song "It's Alright Ma (I'm Only Bleeding)."

...he not busy being born Is busy dying...

While others say, don't hate nothin' at all
Except hatred...

Made everything from toy guns that spark
To flesh colored Christs that glow in the dark
It's easy to see without lookin' too far
That not much,
Is really sacred...

Advertising signs that con you
Into thinking you're the one
That can do what's never been done
That can win, what's never been won
Meantime life outside goes on
All around you...

I got nothin', ma
To live up to...

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[15]Jean Putnam (ed.), "It Could Be A Wonderful World - Songs of Peace and Freedom" (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Jean Putnam, 1965), p. 30.

> Money doesn't talk it swears; obscenity who really cares?
> Propaganda, all is phony...
>
> It's all right ma
> It's life an' life only.[16]

While many of the Dylan records have been purchased by America's youth, his reception by adults, or the "over-thirty set," has usually been less enthusiastic. Folk singer Ewan MacColl has been critical of the poetic qualities of Dylan's songs.

> ...I am still unable to see in him anything other than a youth of mediocre talent..."But the poetry?" What poetry? The cultivated illiteracy of his topical songs or the embarrassing fourth-grade schoolboy attempts at free verse?[17]

Folklorist Irwin Silber has been one of Dylan's strongest critics.

> Having proclaimed himself an apostle of "freedom" where answers are to be found only "on your own," Dylan's music...essentialized the fundamental isolation of white, middle class, teen-aged America -- rejecting the false values of a corrupt society and unable to find any new values anywhere...To some, this psychotic vision represented truth -- and art. But to others, this writer included, it was a death-wish set to music, the ultimate philosophy of fear.[18]

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[16]Bob Dylan, "Bringing It All Back Home," Columbia CL 2328, Side 2, Band 3.

[17]Don West and others, "Symposium: Topical Songs and Folksinging, 1965," Sing Out!, Vol. XV, No. 4 (September 1965), p. 13.

[18]Irwin Silber, "Fan the Flames," Sing Out!, Vol. XV, No. 6 (January, 1966), p. 73.

However, journalist Ralph J. Gleason has consistently defended Dylan with praise.

> I compare him to Shakespeare and the Bible...His songs are an affirmation of life.[19]

Nevertheless, Bob Dylan, a complex phenomenon, has been regarded by many to be a young man of considerable talent and sensitivity. Gleason expressed the conviction that Dylan and the other young protest singers were striving to evolve a "New Morality" where they claim "the virtues are Love and Truth and Beauty and the ultimate sins are to hurt another human, to break trust and not to love."[20] This described in part the mood of the younger generation as they struggled to deal with a rapidly changing and tangled world.

Popular Anti-War Songs. For a few months during the autumn of 1965, a number of anti-war songs were widely played on the popular radio stations across the country, the first time that serious protest songs were heard over the mass media. Their release coincided with the escalation of the war in Vietnam and their effect was considerable. The Army considered such songs a threat to military moral and they were banned from United States military radio stations of the

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[19]Interview with Ralph J. Gleason, Tuesday, May 17, 1966, Berkeley, California.

[20]Ralph J. Gleason, "The Times They Are A-Changing," Vol. III, No. 12, Ramparts (April, 1965), p. 48.

Armed Forces Network. Ralph J. Gleason quoted one military spokesman as saying, "it is absurd to expect that we should encourage a situation whereby U. S. Soldiers handling nuclear weapons as part of their duties, then spend their off-duty time listening to music telling them nuclear weapons are wicked."[21]

The most successful protest song was "Eve of Destruction," sung by Barry McGuire, a onetime pipefitter and singer with the New Christy Minstrels. Because it sold over a million copies and was number one on the national hit parade, the folk song magazine Sing Out! concluded that this "might indicate a large segment of the young population other than college students is dissatisfied with our war policy abroad and double standard at home."[22] "The Eve of Destruction" angerly protested the threat to humanity by nuclear war.

> The Eastern world It is explodin'
> Violence flarin' and bullets loadin',
> You're old enough to kill,
> But not for votin',
> You don't believe in war,
> But what's that gun you're totin'?
> And even the Jordan River has bodies floatin'!

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[21]Ralph J. Gleason, "ON THE TOWN: Take One Pop Song and a Military Mind," San Francisco Chronicle, Wednesday, March 23, 1966.

[22]Josh Dunson, "Folk Rock: Thunder Without Rain," Sing Out!, Vol. XV, No. 6 (January, 1966), p. 16.

Chorus:

But you Tell me over and over and over
again my friend,
Ah, you don't believe we're on the
Eve of Destruction.

. . . . . .

My blood's so mad feels like coagulatin'
I'm sittin' here just contemplatin'
You can't twist the truth it knows no regulatin'
And a handful of Senators don't pass legislation
Marches alone can't bring integration
When human respect is disintegratin'
This whole crazy world is just too frustratin'.
(Chorus)

Think of all the hate there is in Red China
Then take a look around to Selma, Alabama!
You may leave here for four days in space
But when you return, it's the same old place.
The pounding drums, the pride and disgrace
You can bury your dear, but don't leave a trace
Hate your next door neighbor, but don't forget
to say grace.
(Chorus)[23]

McGuire quickly released a second song which was also written by P. F. Sloan. But "Child of Our Times," a song more bitter than "Eve of Destruction," was a total failure. "Dawn of Correction," sung by the Spokesmen and released immediately following the success of McGuire's hit record, argued that the world was not on the eve of destruction. Rather, peace could only be achieved through a strong military force, and because of the success of various student movements and the Peace Corps, the world was changing for the better.

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[23]Barry McGuire, "Eve of Destruction," Dunhill Records, D-4009.

But the songs limited success was a result of the greater success of "Eve of Destruction."

"Our World," "A World Without Sunshine," and "Broomstick Cowboy" were other songs which achieved modest success as anti-war songs. "Broomstick Cowboy," written and sung by Bobby Goldsboro, was typical of many popular songs which were negative and pessimistic about the future. Because the song expressed the belief that war was inevitable, it offered a hopeless conclusion.

> So dream on little broomstick cowboy,
> Dream while you can.
> For soon you'll be a dreadful thing,
> My son...you'll be a man.[24]

Glen Campbell, a country and western singer, achieved considerable success with his version of "The Universal Soldier." The song was authored by Buffy Sainte-Marie, a Cree Indian who became popular at many coffeehouses by singing her songs protesting government maltratment of the Indian. "Universal Soldier" emphasized that all men were brothers and that it was impossible to achieve a lasting peace by fighting a war. Only when men refused to fight, the song argued, will there be a genuine peace. The song was very popular with Berkeley anti-Vietnam War demonstrators during the closing months of 1965.

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[24]Bobby Goldsboro, "Broomstick Cowboy," United Artists Records, UA 952.

He's five foot two and he's six feet four,
he fights with missiles and with spears,
He's all of thirty-one and he's only seventeen,
he's been a soldier for a thousand years.

He's a Catholic, a Hindo, an Atheist, a Jain,
a Buddhist and a Baptist and a Jew,
And he knows he shouldn't kill and he knows he
always will kill you for me, my friend, and me for you;

And he's fighting for Canada, he's fighting for France,
he's fighting for the U.S.A.,
And he's fighting for the Russians and he's fighting for
Japan, and he thinks we'll put an end to war that way.

And he's fighting for democracy, he's fighting for
the Reds, he says it's for the peace of all,
He's the one who must decide who's to live and who's
to die, and he never sees the writing on the wall.

But without him how would Hitler have condemned him at
Dachau, without him Caesar would have stood alone.
He's the one who gives his body as a weapon of the war,
And without him all this killing can't go on.

He's The Universal Soldier and he really is to blame,
his orders come from far away no more,
They come from him and you and me and, brothers,
can't you see,
This is not the way we put an end to war.[25]

Glen Campbell recorded Roger Miller's humorous ballad, "Private John Q," but it achieved only modest success on the country and western hit parade. If everybody was worrying about a third world war, Miller wondered, who was going to worry about Private John Q? On the reverse side of the record, Campbell recorded one of his own songs, "Less of Me," which expressed his humanistic philosophy captured in the songs he had chosen to record. Implicit in the song was his

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[25]Glen Campbell, "The Universal Soldier," Capitol Records, 5504.

comment on such social problems as the problem of war.

Let me be a little kinder
Let me be a little blinder
To the faults of those about me, let me
praise a little more--
Let me be when I am weary just a little
bit more cheery,
Think a little more of others and
a little less of me.

Let me be a little braver when temptation
bids me waver,
Let me strive a little harder to be all
that I should be,
Let me be a little meeker with the brother
that is weaker,
Let me think more of my neighbor and a
little less of me.

Let me be when I am weary just a little
bit more cheery,
Let me serve a little better those that
I am striving for,
Let me be a little meeker with the brother
that is weaker,
Think a little more of others and a little
less of me.[26]

But not all the popular songs expressed an anti-war and anti-Vietnam bias. Similar to "Eve of Destruction," "The Green Beret," a song which sang high praise for America's fighting elite, sold over a million records. "What's Come Over This World?" was recorded by Billy Carr and strongly criticized the student war protests and anti-war songs for what was believed to be un-American activities. Two stanzas are quoted below from this ballad which achieved only limited success.

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[26]Glen Campbell, "Less Of Me," Capitol Records, 5545.

What's become of this nation and the songs
that they sing
Ev'rybody's protestin' what's it all gonna bring?
We sang "The Star-Spangled Banner", forever in peace
may it wave,
Now some rock an' roll singer is knocking the home
of the brave!

Chorus:

Oh What's Come Over This World? What's Come Over
This World?
I've thought it over and I can't get over
What's Come Over This World?

There's an army of cowards, see them marching in line
While the country's in danger they just carry a sign!
We look at them burning their draft cards and re-
fusing to fight,
While they talk about freedom they're dimming liberty's
light![27]

G.I. Songs of Vietnam. There have been few wars in the history of the United States which have so deeply divided the nation as the conflict in Vietnam. Songs about previous wars were frequently humorous or sentimental ballads which were descriptive of the human waste caused by the conflicts. But the songs sung by the American soldiers in Vietnam have been unique because they have often been critical of the way the war has been fought. Frequently the mood of the songs expressed confusion, bitterness, and cynicism of America's involvement in Southeast Asia. "The Ballad of the Co Van My" did not praise the work of the various American military advisers in Vietnam. The following stanza was critical of

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[27]Billy Carr, "What's Come Over This World?," Colpix Records, CP-791.

the staff advisers who were stationed in the cities of Vietnam.

His intelligence is six months old,
   his native wit is nil,
For him, the trees teem with VC and
   regiments crowd each hill.
He has no kinfolk in the woods, there's
   nought for him to lose,
So if in doubt he'll always shout,
   "Send in B-52's!"

Another stanza celebrated the FAC, the pilot who flew an observation plane and directed artillery and bomb strikes. The verse was extremely cynical of the entire operation and concluded with the phrase, "sorry about that," the most popular phrase among the soldiers stationed in Vietnam.

The FAC rides forth to battle,
   a warrior without match,
In his monogrammed flack jacket and
   his F-100 patch.
Put napalm on a hamlet and burnt
   the whole thing flat,
Got a thousand noncombatants, and
   he's sorry about that.

A third stanza concerned the naval gunfire spotter, usually a Lieutenant Junior Grade, who directed the naval bombardment from the beach. The verse expressed the frustration experienced by American military personnel when they searched for military targets.

The J.O.'s daily recon is the terror
of the beach,
As he calls for naval gunfire on
everything in reach.
He sees supplies in every hootch,
the foe in every boat.
He's killed a hundred fishermen,
twelve chickens and a goat.[28]

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[28]Joseph B. Treaster, "G.-Eye View of Vietnam," The New York Times Magazine, (October 30, 1966), p. 106.

CHAPTER X

IN RETROSPECT

The Conclusion of the Thesis. This thesis began its survey with the American Revolution. The revolution was primarily a political rather than a social revolution and such a philosophy of social change was reflected in the peace songs of the period. They advocated a non-violent solution to the various political and economic problems and warned that a war between England and the colonies would be an unnecessary disaster for both. An enduring human value which was implicit in the peace ballads was the belief that economic and political problems are actually human problems which should not be ignored by turning to war for a solution. An exception were the Loyalists songs which argued an anti-war bias in order to preserve the status quo. Such a reactionary approach to the American Revolution was not founded on pacifist principles.

The nineteenth century experienced great changes due primarily to the forces of industrialization and the expansion and settlement of the frontier. The unprecedented material advancement created a philosphy optimistic about man's future progress which produced a dramatic change in the attitude toward social problems. Because the nineteenth century social reformers based their philosophy of social change on the premise that human nature was essentially good, they believed

that man would rationally create a perfect society where hunger, poverty, war, and other social problems were nonexistent. Thus they advocated a social rather than a political revolution and assumed that American society could realize such a social transformation. This philosophy of social change took a century to mature and reached its zenith during the fifteen years preceding the First World War.

The peace movement, a significant part of this larger social reform movement, grew slowly in the first seventy-five years following the American Revolution. This was a period of nationalism and expansion which considered pacifist sentiments unpatriotic. It was not until the Civil War that the peace movement experienced progress. The songs of that conflict reflected such growth because they were primarily descriptive, often in a sentimental and romantic way, of the human waste caused by the war. This was the first time in American history that war's chaos was seriously discussed in popular music.

During the years following the Civil War and preceding the First World War, religious peace hymns frequently expressed the conviction that it was primarily God's responsibility to grant peace to His world. However, such thinking is questionable: if God were held responsible for peace, then God could also be held responsible for causing war, a dubious conclusion. Modern theologians such as L. Harold DeWolf have

argued that because man has been given the freedom to affirm life or to negate life, man must accept the responsibility for causing war. Therefore, it is up to man to use his freedom creatively to build peace rather than to wage war.[1]

Christian pacifists believed that war would be abolished when humanity realized the Kingodm of God in secular society. Such a conviction was paralleled in the socialist movement which asserted that peace would prevail as soon as man attained a society governed by brotherly love. Such a philosophy was captured in the songs of the early twentieth century and expressed the belief that if the nations of the world would disarm and arbitrate their differences, the problem of war would be solved. Although such thinking was logical, it was irrational because it overlooked powerful forces, often economic and political in nature, which prevented the nations of the world from disarming and arbitrating their differences. Modern theologians such as L. Harold DeWolf have asserted that love is not a realistic solution to the problem of war; it can, however, offer a clue for appropriate action which could lead to an effective solution.[2]

Secondly, this approach to the problems of war rested

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[1]L. Harold DeWolf, A Theology of the Living Church (New York: Harper and Brother, 1953), p. 139.

[2]Ibid., p. 17.

on the questionable premise that human nature is essentially good. This has been criticized by Reinhold Niebuhr who has argued that the human condition cannot be reduced to a philosophy which considers it either good or evil. Any doctrine of man which did so would be considered suspect. Historian Herbert Butterfield has asserted: "It is essential not to have faith in human nature. Such faith is a recent heresy and a very disastrous one."[3] Because it has taken humanity more than five thousand years to achieve the present imperfect society, a perfect society, founded on brotherly love, is an impossibility. However, this argument was not seriously considered by the nineteenth-century philosophy of social change. Therefore, such superficial idealism was a "heresy" because it led to the disaster of World War I.

With the outbreak of war in 1914, disillusionment and confusion gripped many of the peace advocates and this was reflected in the songs of the period. Perhaps the best example was the popular "I Didn't Raise My Boy To Be A Soldier." Its message, which urged the mothers of the world to abolish war by discouraging their sons from becoming soldiers, indicated that the period's idealistic philosophy

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[3]Herbert Butterfield, Christianity and History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), p. 47. For a greater discussion of this, see the writings of Reinhold Niebuhr, especially his book The Children of Light and The Children of Darkness (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960).

of social change was extended to an irrational extreme. Other songs of the period introduced a new approach to the problem of war by advocating an anti-war message. They expressed the conviction that the masses were essentially good but were mislead by the evil "tyrants."

This new anti-war theme was not emphasized during the 1920's because the peace movement tended to emphasize a more traditional, if not a more conservative, peace message. But new ideas were introduced and old ideas were refined. Many of the peace hymns stressed humanity's responsibilities for building peace and not just God's responsibility. Others went beyond the disarmament and arbitration arguments to discuss the possibilities for improving society if man was freed from the heavy financial burden created by war. A few hymns were nationalistic in their message when they argued that the United States had a responsibility to bring peace to a war troubled world.

The peace movement experienced considerable change during the 1930's, a decade of depression and social unrest. At the beginning of the period, many people expressed the belief that peace was practical and synonymous with progress. Peace hymns continued to emphasize the view that man caused war, not God. Often they were appeals to God to cure humanity's "warring madness" and emphasized man's common humanity by singing of brotherhood. Pacifist songs for

children made their appearance and were an attempt to inform the younger generation that peace was an alternative to war.

The most significant development during the decade was the emergence of anti-war songs which continued where the anti-war songs of World War I left off. Most of these songs took an economic approach to the problem of war which reflected their Marxist bias. Such songs expressed the conviction that war and other social problems would be eliminated if munition makers, capitalists, and other privileged elites in society were elimnated and replaced by a classless society. Such an argument believed in the basic goodness of the common man who was led astray by leaders unconcerned with the welfare of the majority. Similar to the philosophy of social change during the nineteenth century, this approach over simplified human nature when it separated humanity into two groups, one basically good and the other essentially evil. The anti-war theme was carried to an extreme at the end of the decade when it appeared to have common ties with the anti-war but isolationist conservatives. Many of the radical peace groups on the left based their opposition to American involvement in World War II primarily on fear rather than pacifism.

The Second World War exerted a profound influence on the peace movement. So grateful was the celebration for peace in 1945 that many people optimistically attempted a

political revolution by creating the United Nations, a forum where war would be avoided by the discussion of differences between nations. The songs of the period reflected this concern when they offered high praise for the UN and for permanent peace. Other songs discussed the dangers to humanity from nuclear war and other problems challenging the nations of the world. A radical anti-war theme continued but with little effect on the electorate when Henry A. Wallace campaigned for president during the election of 1948.

The rise of McCarthyism and a conservative, if not an isolationist, philosophy of international relations seriously limited the political revolution which worked for a viable and effective United Nations. This was an important development because it set the stage for the rise of a peace movement in the 1960's which has been in many ways a reaction against the conservatism of the 1950's. Protest songs, often expressing a militant anti-war peace message, have become one of the most dominate cultural phenomena of the 1960's. Their field of influence was greatly enlarged when Bob Dylan became popular with university students across the country and when frank anti-war protest songs became popular on the hit parade. Never before have peace and anti-war protest songs reached such a mass audience.

Perhaps the most profound development in contemporary peace songs has been the appearance of songs which advocated

a more general approach to the problem of war. John Fairman Brown, professor of Christian Ethics and New Testament at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific in Berkeley, summarized this philosophy of social change when he wrote:

> Until recently one group of people has agitated for justice at home and another for fairness abroad; but it has started coming over persons like Martin Luther King that the two jobs are the same. Racialism in America and colonialism overseas spring from the same attitude...[4]

"Blowing in the Wind," "The Times They Are A Changin'," and "Less of Me" were only a few of the songs which take this indirect approach to the problem of war. Other specifically anti-war songs, such as "Eve of Destruction," frequently made reference to the civil rights movement or other social problems. The significance of this philosophy of social change incorporated in many protest songs has not been generally recognized by many American liberals. It has, however, been recognized by the ultra conservatives who consider most popular rock-and-roll music as part of the communist conspiracy to overthrow America.

Many of the songs of the 1960's expressed anxiety and urgency with the problem of nuclear war. The "Eve of Destruction" and Phil Ochs' "Days of Decision"

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[4]John Fairman Brown, "The Liberation of the Church," a paper distributed by author at the Episcopal Peace Fellowship meeting of the Berkeley chapter, October, 1966.

were examples. Others expressed the belief that the nature of man was essentially evil. The message of "Broomstick Cowboy" appeared to accept man as a cold hearted militarist and concluded by asserting that man was a "dreadful thing." Many of the songs authored by Bob Dylan expressed a message which totally rejects American society. This indicated that Dylan has not distinguished phony values from genuine human values. The following quote by John H. Schaar seriously challenged Ralph J. Gleason's hypothesis that Dylan and other protest singers were developing a "New Morality":

> Once upon a time, a man stepped from the communal caves, saw the pain of the life around him, and in his anguish and pride tried to force the universe to tell him why it must be so. Why must there be pain and suffering? Must man forever endure strife and misery? How can he make life happier and more noble? Moral philosophy still begins with these questions, and one cannot be certain that it has gone much beyond the answers given by the earliest questioner. Each new writer on moral subjects enters a rich and subtle conversation with the past. In this conversation, advancement of understanding seldom occurs by leaps of discovery. It occurs, rather, by making modest additions to the stock of the past, by the slow refinement of old ideas, by the expression of inherited conceptions in new terms, and by the extension of old meanings into new situations.[5]

Songs written by Dylan often expressed a message of futility, despair, aimlessness, and anti-institutionalism. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. recently expressed considerable concern about such an attitude common to a sizable

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[5]John H. Schaar, Escape from Authority, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row, 1961), p. 13.

minority of the young people today:

> Nothing is more disturbing than the defection of so many of the young from the purposes and institutions of a society which they claim to find stifling and absurd and which unquestionably gives them a profound feeling of impotence and meaninglessness. While much of the rhetoric of contemporary youth seems to me...over-wrought and even hysterical, those over thirty would be foolish not to see in it the symptoms of deep and alarming disquietude.[6]

The danger is that the consequences from such blind pessimism and cynicism for peace efforts could be as disastrous as the consequences from the earlier philosophy of blind idealism and optimism. Although Bob Dylan and other protest singers of the 1960's have effectively discussed the injustice in society they have failed to point the way for constructive action. This could stifle any attempts to extend the political revolution which created the United Nations.

Because the protest song movement of the 1960's is in an evolutionary process, in 1967 there may be a change in philosophy which will be more constructive. Perhaps the following song, a song extremely popular on the hit parade of February, 1967, indicated such a change. "For What It's Worth (Stop, Hey What's That Sound)" was sung by a group called The Buffalo Springfield. The song discussed

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[6]"Tumult & Shouting," "This World," San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, February 12, 1967, p. 2.

the various self-righteous extremist groups on both sides of the political spectre. The chorus asked:

> I think it's time we stopped
> Children, what's that sound?
> Everybody look what's going around.[7]

The song expressed the belief that paranoia has gripped the land.

Two hundred years have passed since the first song was written to protest against war. As John Steinbeck suggested in the introductory chapter, a review of American anti-war and peace songs offer valuable insights for a greater understanding of those who have advocated the abolition of war. The basic trend in the evolution of anti-war and peace songs has been a trend toward greater maturity and influence for the peace movement in American history.

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[7]The Buffalo Springfield, "For What It's Worth (Stop, Hey What's That Sound)," Atco Records, 45-6459.

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