**The Rehearsal**

**William Brooks**

[[1]](#endnote-0) Wars occur in theaters. Entertainer Elsie Janis experienced the First World War performing on the front for American soldiers; for her, this was *The Big Show*. All shows need rehearsals, tryouts, and backers, and the Great War had all three. To Europe, the Great War was a *happening*, a somewhat unexpected, site-specific performance that mixed radical innovation with hidebound tradition. But to the United States, the Great War was a *spectacle*; the curtain rose at a fixed time and at a distance, and the country was in the audience for the first twenty months. When it finally made an entrance, at the start of the last act, it had had plenty of time to prepare; it had learned its lines, built its props, rehearsed its routines.[[2]](#endnote-1)

In the States rehearsals for the Great War took place in the border region between Texas and Mexico. The backers were those who backed *The Big Show*: J. P. Morgan and other businessmen anxious to protect trade and generate profits. The stars were Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, General John Pershing, General Frederick Funston, and a host of lesser lights, with guest appearances by Victoriano Huerta (in act I) and Pancho Villa and Venustiano Carranza (in act II).[[3]](#endnote-2)

The public watched with interest as local boys—the state regiments of the National Guard—took the stage. It reveled in press releases and advertisements generated by teams of writers and plugged by cooperative reporters. It joined the parade and learned the steps in rallies, leagues, and summer training camps. And it cheered as the show went public, first in 1914 and then again in 1916.

Most shows have music, and many have songs. The songs from *The Big Show* are legion and legendary: “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be A Soldier,” “America, I Love You,” “Over There.” The songs from *The Rehearsal* are almost forgotten.

Think of this article, then, as a kind of souvenir program book for the songs and story of *The Rehearsal*.

**Background to the story**

The first disputes with Mexico arose in the 1830s, the decade during which the United States’s “Monroe Doctrine” established a de facto protectorate over Central and South America. Resolved in 1848, these brought Texas into the Union and remained a tenacious memory in America’s border states. Mexico’s stability after 1877 was shattered in 1911, when the Mexican revolution deposed President Pofirio Diaz and Francisco Madero assumed control. The United States watched with concern as, in short order, Madero encountered concentrated resistance from Victoriano Huerta, who executed a coup on February 19, 1913; Huerta in turn was immediately opposed by a “Constitutionalist” coalition formed by Venustiano Carranza and Francisco (“Pancho”) Villa. President William Howard Taft was then in the waning days of his presidency, and he referred this diplomatic quagmire to his successor, Woodrow Wilson. Wilson, appalled at the methods attributed to Huerta, supported Carranza; and in February 1914 he revoked an arms embargo so he could supply Carranza with weapons. The United States was now Huerta’s adversary, and Wilson groped for a reason to intervene more directly.[[4]](#endnote-3)

**Act I**

*The rehearsal curtain rises on act I, scene 1. It’s April 18, 1914; on opposite sides of the stage, Wilson is in White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, and Huerta is in Mexico City. Eight days earlier Huertistas had arrested the crew of an American whaleboat in Tampico. The Huertista commander immediately apologized, but Admiral Henry T. Mayo, commanding a Navy squadron off Veracruz, demanded a twenty-one gun salute to the American flag. Wilson rushed to support Mayo, and as the scene opens—with a script surely stolen from W. S. Gilbert—he demands that Huerta honor Mayo’s demand or face military consequences. Huerta, amused, responds that he will gladly salute the flag, but only if the United States returns the salute, gun for gun—thus in effect acknowledging the legitimacy of his regime. At this juncture, a messenger arrives to tell the President that Germany has sent a large shipment of ammunition to Huerta, to be shortly delivered to Veracruz. Fuming, Wilson announces that he will go to Congress for action. Blackout; the curtain falls; and a newsboy rushes on, lit by a spotlight. “Extry! Extry! U. S. Navy Captures Veracruz!”*

*The country is at war.* The Rehearsal *is underway, and immediately songwriters rush to ply their wares.[[5]](#endnote-4)*

By the 1900s photolithography had made music publishing available to almost anyone with a little cash and determination. Printers like Raynor, Dalheim & Co. (Chicago) advertised in newspapers and magazines; working in tandem with arranging firms like Harry Alford’s (also Chicago), they could see a song through from simple melody and lyric to finished product. Hence the apparent concentration of songwriting in a dozen or so intensely commercial “Tin Pan Alley” firms in New York is very misleading; yes, these firms left a more lasting trace in the entertainment business and in trade journals, but huge numbers of songs were written and self-published elsewhere, in urban centers and small communities, by what I will call “Kitchen Table” publishers. These were usually motivated not by profit but by personal interest: family members, civic organizations, social concerns, or religious beliefs.[[6]](#endnote-5)

Song sharks, too, solicited “song poems” from would-be lyricists, who were even more widely dispersed. They were, in effect, surrogate Kitchen Table publishers for widely dispersed citizens who could write words but not music. Song sharks sometimes claimed a fee to compose and “publish” the music for a lyric and then disappeared, but the ones who had a permanent business took most of their clients through the copyright stage, at least. The song-shark business was indeed a racket, replete with misrepresentation, excess charges, and downright fraud, but it was also a logical extension of capitalist entrepreneurship, and the least shady of the song sharks provided a service which some persons used repeatedly.[[7]](#endnote-6)

Tin Pan Alley, Kitchen Table, and song sharks were constantly being transformed, one into another: big sharks often started as small fry on the Alley, and some Kitchen Table publishers expanded to become small-time Alley publishers. The whole of publishing was a complicated network of interconnections, imitation, and invention. But each type of publisher also had its own identity and agenda; and one consequence of *The Rehearsal* was that these were clarified and reshaped into the form necessary for *The Big Show*.

When the Huerta-Wilson scene commenced, the first musical responses were from two small-town Americans who sent their lyrics to one of the most predatory of song-sharks: Marks-Goldsmith Co., of Washington, DC. Copyright was registered on April 21 for “To the Cause of Mexico” (by Chris Gerling, Jr., of Troy, NY) and for “When Wilson Says the War is On!” (by Mrs. L. C. Burden, of El Paso, TX)—though, consistent with Marks-Goldsmith’s operation, copies of the completed songs were not deposited until May 28. Tin Pan Alley was close behind; the next four songs were all issued by commercial publishers in New York or Chicago. But one of these, issued by the minor firm of Harold Rossiter, had Kitchen Table qualities: the lyricist, Dan J. Wall, dedicated it to his brother, a private in the army.[[8]](#endnote-7) *The Rehearsal*, like *The Big Show*, was intensely personal even in the heart of a profit-driven industry. The pattern continued through the end of May: of twenty-one titles about the Mexican war, eight were registered by song sharks or their clients and ten were registered by Tin Pan Alley. (Of the former, three were by Texas residents, who had a very direct stake in border politics.) Only three titles were registered by Kitchen Table publishers, who had to send songs through the mails to be prepared and printed and whose response was thus necessarily slower. (This and similar numerical summaries derive from a searches of digitized copyright catalogues and archival collections; for methodology and data, see the Appendix.)

*The second scene begins on April 25, three days after the U. S. occupation of Veracruz. Envoys from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile meet in Washington and offer to mediate, and Wilson backs away from a full-scale invasion. War has been averted, it seems; and when negotiations actually begin four weeks later, most of the country turns its attention elsewhere.*

Tin Pan Alley, in particular, found better things to do; and when the peace process dragged on interminably, the Alley grew downright cynical. On May 26, in a last burst of enthusiasm, Remick registered copyright for “On the Road to Mexico through Dixie Land” and “I Want to Go to Mexico,” the latter a patriotic catch-all featuring the memorable couplet “They’ll chase Huerta up a mango / And they’ll make him do a tango” and replete with quotations of “The Star-Spangled Banner,” “Yankee Doodle,” and “Dixie.” But the same day Maurice Richmond copyrighted a novelty song, “Keep Your Eye on Uncle Sammy,” the cover of which pictures the title character barreling down the road in a cannon-armed racing car; and three days before Will Rossiter had issued a wholly irreverent title, “When the War Breaks Out in Mexico (I’m Going to Go to Montreal)”—“written for laughing purposes only,” according to the cover, and including a downright sarcastic quotation from “Break the News to Mother.” War was no longer serious business.[[9]](#endnote-8)

From June through August, Tin Pan Alley copyrighted only four Mexico-related titles—two novelties, a piano piece, and one late patriotic song issued by a very minor publisher. And the song sharks began to prey in other waters: they too copyrighted only four songs. But Kitchen Table publishers—necessarily slow to get moving—rebalanced the total, copyrighting thirteen titles. These were not at all cynical; they were, in fact, late products of the same patriotic impulse felt across the country in April. By the beginning of September, the totals stood thus: Tin Pan Alley 14, Kitchen Table 16, song sharks 12. This was a good rehearsal for *The Big Show*, when Kitchen Table publications would similarly outpace Tin Pan Alley and the sharks would really clean up. Publishers were finding their places.

*The final scene of the first act starts with dramatic developments. On June 28 Archduke Ferdinand is assassinated in Sarajevo; and on July 15, Victoriano Huerta flees Mexico City for exile. In parallel scenes, war erupts in Europe, and the Constitutionalist allies—Carranza and Villa—march triumphantly into Mexico City. The first act ends with intimations of dark days to come: Belgium is overrun and France is threatened; and Villa falls out with Carranza, who, facing a military coup, moves himself and his precarious government to Veracruz.*

Songwriters’ interest in Mexico waned quickly. In September seven Mexico-related titles were copyrighted (none by Tin Pan Alley) and the rest of the year there was only one late song-shark title. The country turned its attention to Europe, with songs celebrating peace in America or mourning war in the lyricist’s homeland. Tin Pan Alley produced all-purpose lyrics in support of American soldiers (“You’ll Be Proud of Your Boys in Blue”), with no theatre of war specified; although in fall, 1914, the country was still more likely to intervene in Mexico than in Europe, many of these songs were received and interpreted by a public that was looking across the Atlantic. The balance among publishing categories was preserved: at the end of the year, Tin Pan Alley 17, Kitchen Table 20, song sharks 17.

**The show-stopper**

Every show has its show-stoppers, and it was Irving Berlin who hoped to stop the first act of *The Rehearsal*. “They’re on Their Way to Mexico” was introduced on April 27, 1914, when war-fever was at its height. The singer was the minor vaudevillian Winona Winter, and that week’s issue of *The Billboard* included a notable account:

Miss Winter seemed quite nervous but was helped out by Berlin himself, who stood in the wings and prompted her. The song received so much applause that she ushered Berlin on the stage and he was compelled to sing the chorus twice as seven men, made up as rough riders, marched across the stage.[[10]](#endnote-9)

The nerves, the prompting, Berlin’s appearance, and the “rough riders” were all, of course, preplanned, and they marked the start of an extraordinary plugging campaign by Waterson, Berlin & Snyder. “Soldiers” rendered “the Mexico song” in venues from theatres to racetracks; and at the end of May, Theodore Morse remarked wryly that “Billy Jerome says he heard eight soldiers declare with much vim and gusto at Hammerstein’s that ‘they were on their way to Mexico,’ and three weeks later they were no further than the Lincoln Square Theatre.”[[11]](#endnote-10)

 The campaign produced results; Berlin’s new title rocketed to success, and a month after its introduction, *The New York Clipper* proclaimed that it had been “taken up by the general public as one of the official songs of the day.”[[12]](#endnote-11) It had competitors, of course: “On the Road to Mexico,” by Egbert Van Alstyne and J. Will Callahan, was introduced a few days after it; and F. Henri Klickmann was not far behind, writing “I’m Off for Mexico” (also with lyrics by Callahan) within a fortnight. Van Alstyne remarked somewhat wistfully about his song that it “would be a good song even if there wasn’t any war”—and indeed it was, with a cleverly placed quotation from “Tramp, Tramp, Tramp,” the George F. Root song that was nearly fifty years old and was, in 1914, being sung constantly at semicentennial Civil War observances.[[13]](#endnote-12) But the promotion for Berlin’s song was unbeatable, boosted in the long run by six recordings: three on Victor, two on Columbia, and one on Pathé.[[14]](#endnote-13)

Berlin wrote his song virtually overnight, and it’s hardly his best work. The verse was nearly identical to “Alexander’s Ragtime Band” in rhythm and phrasing (see figure 1), and

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

the lyric was, at best, contrived. Writing a year later, the critic E. M. Wickes took Berlin to task:

A small fortune was spent on that song in an effort to foist it on the public . . . In New York City alone, as many as ten sets of “Pluggers” were out every night singing it at different theatres. The song itself had no sentimental value, and was more or less of an insult to intelligence and patriotism. When Berlin or anybody else thinks he can appeal the hearts of people by such lines as “And we’ll herd them up like cattle,” he is overdoing it . . .[[15]](#endnote-14)

But that didn’t matter to vaudevillians at the time. Led by Berlin champion Belle Baker, they sang the song in theatres across the country and were rewarded by being pictured on variant covers. Nor did it matter to the soldiers; writing in 1918, one infantryman recalled that “‘They’re on their way to Mexico,’ which must have been written in a vast hurry, had a wide popularity. Its music went through the marching forces of the Marines like wildfire.”[[16]](#endnote-15)

And then the war was cancelled. The theatre closed; *The Rehearsal* was suspended; all bookings were off. Poor Irving! What was he to do? Characteristically, he simply put the song back on the shelf to wait for another occasion; and he wrote a second “Mexico” title, a comic novelty more suited to the carefree, midsummer atmosphere. When Belle Baker presented her act at the Palace in July, she sang only Berlin songs, and these did not include “They’re on Their Way to Mexico.” Instead she introduced the new one, “Come Back, Antonio,” never published, about an Italian shoe-shine boy who has headed off to fight on the border. The abandoned wife concludes her refrain thus: “Didn’t we fight enough at home? / Antonio, you better come back.”[[17]](#endnote-16)

Indeed, *The Rehearsal*’s first act had ended. The troops were coming back home.

**Entr’acte**

*In the interval between the acts the story continues offstage. The rupture between Villa and Carranza becomes full-scale civil war. Wilson, fretting about American interests and American citizens in Mexico, proposes a negotiated coalition but is rebuffed by Carranza. The swashbuckling Villa expresses interest, and his military exploits make him something of a hero to the American public. Victoriano Huerta reappears in New York City; supported by Germany, who wants to distract America from the European theatre, he plots a takeover. In June 1915 he and his confederates are arrested, but the conviction that German agents are interfering in Mexico has taken root, especially since the sinking of the* Lusitania *in May had brought the European war home to America.*

*In the meantime Pancho Villa’s position has been severely damaged by his army’s defeat at the Battle of Celaya in April 1915. Reduced to outlaw status, he takes to the hills of Northern Mexico and begins a series of raids. When Wilson, having no other option, finally recognizes Carranza’s government in October, Villa vows to continue the struggle and turns against the United States. Wilson, meanwhile, is beset by other concerns: the months following the Lusitania tragedy have increased calls for American intervention in Europe. Badgered by Theodore Roosevelt and worried about the 1916 election, he takes to the stump to promote a new policy of “preparedness”: the United States will not intervene at this time but will make “the force that is within us ready for assertion.”[[18]](#endnote-17)*

Songwriters regrouped. Kitchen Table publishers had little reason to change course; they were motivated by a mix of self-expression, patriotism, and civic pride, and these would continue right through the end of *The Big Show*. But the time lag between concept and product was troubling, and it appears that some, at least, took steps to be more proactive; in 1916 and after, Kitchen Table publications would be a part of the action from the very start. Tin Pan Alley, on the other hand, had invested heavily in topical songs that lost value the moment conditions changed; of its seventeen Act I songs, nine had had “Mexico” in the title. It would be more cautious in the future, writing less specific songs that could be rebranded or reshaped as events required. Finally, the song-shark business underwent a sea-change during the interval. The Postal Service brought three of the biggest operators to trial for mail fraud, driving John T. Hall, Marks-Goldsmith, and H. Kirkus Dugdale out of business. These three had taken their most committed customers right through to publication, ultimately sending them several hundred copies of a cheap imprint, and investigators had a wealth of postal transactions to draw on. In their stead sprang up a new generation of sharks—E. S. S. Huntington, J. E. Andino, and several smaller operators—who adopted a new model. They provided a service but no product: they wrote music to the “song poems” they received, but they sent no printed copies, only a manuscript. Fraud was much more difficult to prove, and the new method was faster; Huntington, the biggest operator, would copyright over a thousand titles in 1916 alone. He and the others carried right on through the end of *The Big Show* and beyond.

**Act II**

*The second act begins on March 9, 1916; with the sound of gunfire, Pancho Villa’s ragtag army rushes onto the stage, attacking the town and army garrison at Columbus, New Mexico. Villa is angry that the United States has passed over him in favor of Carranza, and he is in desperate need of supplies; but he has been misinformed about the number of soldiers in Columbus, and the attack is a disaster. Villa and his troops flee into the Mexican hills, but nineteen Americans have been killed. On the forestage, Wilson issues orders for Brigadier General Pershing to pursue and disperse Villa’s army, but stays them pending Carranza’s approval. This Carranza gives, very reluctantly and with the understanding that the so-called “punitive expedition” will be short and confined to the border region.*

*Back on the full stage, Major General Frederick Funston, commander of the United States army in the South, meets with Pershing to arrange equipment and personnel for the expedition. On March 15, Pershing crosses the border, with a considerable collection of reporters, photographers, and film-makers in tow. He finds that Villa has slipped away to the south; he follows, and by the start of April the American army is far into Mexican territory, to Carranza’s consternation.*

A burst of enthusiasm from the American public for the expedition was followed by doubt and discontent as the chase went on and on, accompanied by intricate and obscure diplomatic wrangles. Songwriters bided their time, and war-related titles published in March were overwhelmingly by Kitchen Table publishers, continuing a trend that had started in January. Most were preparedness songs that were not specific to Mexico, and four were rebuttals of last year’s megahit, “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier,” which Teddy Roosevelt had been assailing since July 1915.[[19]](#endnote-18)

Tin Pan Alley was especially cautious; it remembered the 1914 Mexican war that didn’t happen, and it didn’t issue a single new “Mexico” song. Irving Berlin, however, had a title in temporary retirement, and Waterson, Berlin & Snyder had nothing to lose by a revival. Thus on March 24, Variety reported that “with the announcement of the Mexican crisis . . . Max Winslow issued orders for the resurrection of ‘They’re on Their Way to Mexico,’ and that song will be the advance runner of the Waterson, Berlin & Snyder catalog, at least pending the capture of the desired Villa.”[[20]](#endnote-19) It was helped along by the recordings, still very much in print; in Kansas City an enterprising businessman ordered a large stock of these immediately after the March raid and mounted an advertising campaign in synchrony with Pershing’s advance.[[21]](#endnote-20) But the firm’s publicity campaign this time involved not pseudo-soldiers, but something more modern—those tagalong film crews and their products. Sime Silverman penned a characteristically detailed account:

One of the interesting items on the Fifth Avenue program Monday evening [March 27] was the animated illustrated song, ‘They Are on Their Way to Mexico.’ . . . [T]he singer was quite overshadowed by the moving picture film of the marching soldiers and Villa. . . . The different views were perfectly cued with the lyric, and all blended in. . . . The audience secured a number of ‘Mexico’ encores, a sheet with the chorus being dropped. The last sheet had the chorus written along the blades of the American flag.[[22]](#endnote-21)

Indeed, while the not-quite-campaign of 1914 would have merely reapplied war tactics from 1898, this one was meant to test war machines of the future. It would be *modern*, with the army using automobiles and airplanes for the first time—and with Irving Berlin somehow given the gift of prophecy: “As that sterling song writer Irving Berlin prematurely penned some two years ago, ‘they’re on their way to Mexico,’ and for the first time in his career Uncle Sam will mix gasoline with gunpowder in actual warfare.”[[23]](#endnote-22)

*Scene two begins on April 12 with another armed encounter. This time, however, the skirmish is between American and Carrancista soldiers: American troops have entered the small town of Parral and are confronted with a hostile crowd chanting “Viva Villa!” and “Viva Mexico!” Shots are heard, the American soldiers open fire, and forty Mexicans are killed. Again we move to the forestage; Carranza demands that the United States exit Mexico immediately, and Wilson responds by sending Funston on a last-ditch attempt at negotiation. Back to the main stage and yet another battle: Mexican raiders cross into Texas on May 5 and attack the outpost towns of Glenn Springs and Boquillas. They make their escape, pursued by the 8th Cavalry on horseback, which is accompanied by a truck, four cars (including a chauffeur-driven Cadillac), and a motion-picture crew. The comic-opera qualities of this convoy do not amuse Wilson, on the forestage, who abandons all thoughts of recalling Pershing. Both sides prepare for military confrontation, and on June 18 President Wilson mobilizes virtually the entire National Guard, to be dispatched to the border as soon as possible. Once again we return to the main stage for the final battle, on June 21, at Carrizal. Pershing’s troops are apparently ambushed by Carrancistas, who fight with unexpected strength; and when the scene ends, thirty Mexicans and twelve Americans are dead and the Mexicans have taken twenty-three prisoners.*[[24]](#endnote-23)

Songwriters began to move into action. Mexico reappeared in three Kitchen Table titles in early April: “On to Mexico,” “Down on the Rio Grande,” and “The Villa Chase.” These had to have been conceived in the wake of Villa’s March raid, given the necessary publishing delay; but as the situation escalated in mid-April the pace picked up. Activity remained centered in Kitchen Table publishers, who generated eight songs, though a solitary shark could be seen, together with an equally solitary, belated Tin Pan Alley preparedness reply-song, “I’m Going to Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier.” After the May 5 raid, however, the song sharks emerged in force, with the tireless J. E. Andino copyrighting five titles on May 12 alone. And as action picked up, the songs became more and more specific: “When the War Is Over Down in Mexico,” “Under the Mexican Moonlight, or, Only a U. S. Marine,” “My Laddie in Pershing’s Brigade.” Many songs were more general, of course, many advocated preparedness, and a few mused sentimentally on a soldier’s fate. The mix, and the proportions, more closely resembled those in Act I; from early May to mid-June, Kitchen Table publishers issued 15 songs, song sharks 12. The response to political developments, in sum, had become very like that in 1914, and like that to come in *The Big Show*.

With one exception: where was Tin Pan Alley?

**The scene-stealer**

Tin Pan Alley was playing it safe. The Alley, after all, was motivated by profit; Kitchen Table publishers were motivated by a cause, and song sharks were opportunists. So in 1916 the Alley mostly watched and waited—or issued vaguely patriotic titles like “When the Boys Come Marching Home” or “My Country, I Hear You Calling Me,” with Mexico evident only in the cover illustration. [[25]](#endnote-24) The industry was wryly realistic, even sardonic; a short note in *Variety* on June 23, when war looked inevitable, read: “The Mexican trouble is the third time ‘They Are On Their Way to Mexico’ has been revived. It’s a song published by Waterson, Berlin & Snyder. The firm is not suspected of being behind the Mexican affair.”[[26]](#endnote-25)

After mid-June the Alley became more active, but it was still wary. From June 22 through the end of July it issued six titles; minor firms published “General Funston’s March” and “Hello Mexico,” but the big New York companies still avoided the M-word.[[27]](#endnote-26) The thought was that more generic publications could be re-purposed if—as began to seem likely—the country entered the war in Europe. Much the same strategy was followed for preparedness publications, even by Kitchen Table publishers. H. C. Weasner issued “Will You Be One of the Soldier Boys” in March 1916 with a cover proclaiming it “The National Preparedness Song”; in April 1917, after the country declared war on Germany, it reappeared with slightly rewritten lyrics and a cover that declared “Your Country Needs You Now.”[[28]](#endnote-27) The reverse also applied: J. Kiern Brennan’s lyrics for “Good-Bye, Good Luck, God Bless You,” published in January, 1916, weren’t about soldiers at all, but the song was a massive hit, so in July Brennan equipped it with new lyrics: “Good-bye, good luck, God bless you / You’re off to Mexico . . .”[[29]](#endnote-28)

But the Alley’s—and Brennan’s—Act II sensation actually came earlier. Sometime after the April 12 clash at Parral, Brennan wrote a rousing patriotic lyric, “For Dixie and Uncle Sam.” Ernest R. Ball wrote the music, and the song made its debut on May 15, ten days after the Glenn Springs raid, at Broadway’s Palace Theatre. Ball, a vaudevillian, had intended to introduce it himself, but at the last minute he stepped aside in favor of Nora Bayes.[[30]](#endnote-29) The song was not just a vital contribution to *The Rehearsal*; it also anticipated *The Big Show*. It refers to Mexico only obliquely (the second verse mentions in passing “a tent near a far border town”); more importantly, but also obliquely, it is yet another reply to “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier,” and in that sense it also functions in part as a preparedness song. Like its predecessor, it presents a narrative about a mother and son in the verse and then allows the mother to speak directly in the refrain. Moreover, like several previous patriotic numbers—for instance, “America, I Love You”—it presents the current conflict as the successor to past wars: grandad fought in the Civil War, daddy fought in the Spanish-American War. Since the mother is from Maryland, the song also promises North-South reconciliation: “one wore grey and the other blue.” Transcendence of regional differences would be a crucial theme in *The Big Show*, manifested politically by dismantling the state National Guard regiments to create a new, country-wide “American Expeditionary Force.”[[31]](#endnote-30)

All these dimensions of the lyrics are captured equally in the music. A fanfare in the introduction acts as a preparedness call to arms, and “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier” is evoked and repudiated musically by using a nearly identical metric, rhyme, and harmonic scheme in the verse that gives way not to a sentimental ballad refrain but to a brisk march song—marked, if there could be any doubt, “With Patriotic enthusiasm in Bright March time.” Place, character, and historical continuity are all established with the opening of the verse, which quotes “Maryland, My Maryland” in both tune and text. Musical quotations were more than clever tricks in war songs; they established cultural context and a kind of historical legitimacy that linked present conflicts with past ones. In this case, American history is evoked by two musical quotations in the refrain—“Dixie” and “Columbia the Gem of the Ocean”—and South and North are reconciled by pairing “Dixie” with “Marching through Georgia” in cadential passages in the piano. The piano ends with a snippet of “Yankee Doodle,” that oldest, most all-purpose, all-American tune, thus declaring “For Dixie and Uncle Sam” suitable for all patriotic occasions.

The publicity campaign for Brennan and Ball’s song was not as extraordinary as that for “They’re on Their Way to Mexico”—Witmark & Sons was an older, less flamboyant firm than Waterson, Berlin & Snyder—but like Berlin’s 1914 piece, Ball’s song was boosted by a hit recording, made very quickly (on June 1) by Nora Bayes. In this, too, the song looked forward as well as back: in 1914, sheet music sold recordings, which were made after the song had established itself, whereas by 1919 recordings sold sheet music and were sometimes made even before a song was copyrighted. Moreover, in *The Big Show*, it would be Nora Bayes, again, who would memorably record the megahit, George M. Cohan’s “Over There,” taking over in that case, too, from the singer-songwriter himself.

“For Dixie and Uncle Sam” did not create quite the splash that Berlin’s song had done, but it gradually stole the scene from its predecessor. It had staying power: Ball and Bayes kept it in their acts at least through August; three more recordings were made before October; an arrangement for band was widely played on summer concerts; and the song was taken up as a finale in burlesque and in amateur minstrelsy.[[32]](#endnote-31) When President Wilson was inaugurated for his second term, “The Democratic Glee Club of Columbus, Ohio”—which used megaphones to sing “magnified music”—rendered an impromptu version with adapted words. In April 1917, after war was declared, Witmark plugged the song as an “older one” that “existing conditions have suddenly aroused into new life.” Through that year and into the next, dozens of amateur performances were given at “patriotic entertainments”; and on March 29, 1918, the assembled African-American choirs of Salisbury, North Carolina, gave a “rip-roaring” rendition as part of a send-off for black soldiers departing for training camp. After the war, the song lingered in popular culture, and in an eerie echo of its origins, a mother penned a letter to the editor of *The Tennessean* in 1940, writing “I pray that [my son] may never have to fight in European countries, but he has been taught to be Johnny on the spot for Dixie and Uncle Sam.”[[33]](#endnote-32)

Tin Pan Alley had learned its lesson well. It would henceforth avoid “Mexico” titles and lyrics—and when war in Europe came less than a year later, it would similarly eschew songs naming specific places or incidents. As a result, the songs from Act II and from *The Big Show* were, by and large, reusable when *The Big Revival* started in 1941. “They’re on Their Way to Mexico” was not.

**Finale**

*In the finale of* The Rehearsal *the house is flooded with light and regiments of the National Guard parade down the aisles on the way to the trains that will take them to training camps and eventually to the border. Crowds cheer; politicians orate; mothers weep; sweethearts embrace; and everyone sings. The audience has been given flags to wave and is invited to join the patriotic medley; this is a moment for everyone. The train pulls out, the crowds gradually disperse, and two reporters are discovered on the stage. They have learned that the incident at Carrizal was not an ambush but had been provoked by the United States; this is confirmed in official Army reports. They resolve to publish their findings. The curtain drops; and on the forestage, Wilson appears, surrounded by heaps of letters and petitions. He muses on the situation: Germany would like nothing better than a military commitment in Mexico, but Americans are being held prisoner; America does not want Mexican territory, but General Pershing is deep within the country. He prepares a speech in which he will ask Congress for the authority to use military force; but at the last moment, an aide rushes in with news: Carranza has ordered the release of the prisoners. War is again averted.*

*The curtain rises to reveal an army camp at the border. Soldiers wander aimlessly about, some fiddling with broken cars or guns. One soldier brings out a violin and tries out half-a-dozen popular songs of the day; this evokes nothing but jeers, and he switches to Civil War tunes, in which the others join. On the forestage Wilson and Secretary of State Robert Lansing propose a Mexican-American commission to establish a mechanism for security and ensure the orderly withdrawal of Pershing’s expedition. On July 4, with considered irony, Mexico agrees in principle, and on July 28 the details are confirmed. The negotiations drag on through August and September and are then preempted by the presidential election. In January Wilson unilaterally orders Pershing to withdraw, and on February 19, a general order recalls all the remaining National Guard units. The stage gradually clears; and as it does, the lights go out, one by one.* The Rehearsal *is over, and the audience leaves the theatre in darkness, bewildered by the inconclusive ending and concerned for the future.*

For the American public, the high point of *The Rehearsal* came when the National Guard left for the border. The Guard was not an army; it was a highly uneven collection of companies and regiments structured by communities, counties, and states. As a result it lacked any semblance of cohesion; some units were ready almost immediately, some were in disarray, and some had ceased to exist. But what it lacked as an army, it made up in local pride; Kitchen Table and song poets rushed to write farewell songs or to celebrate home-town boys. Over half of the 34 songs copyrighted after the mobilization on June 18 and before the end of July were Kitchen Table publications; only one-fifth were issued by Tin Pan Alley.

The Alley, in fact, had a more realistic sense of what was actually happening. Five of its seven songs were copyrighted during the two weeks that followed mobilization, and on June 30, *Variety*’s page-one lead headlined “‘War-Songs’ Flooding Market with Over 400 on the Lists,” assessing the recent offerings. But two weeks later it announced a “War-Song Slump,” writing that “just as things looked promising the President stepped in with the peace talk and the publishers hiked back to . . . popularizing moon and love numbers.” It added an Irving Berlin update: his song had “made it to the front five times, . . . each time falling short of popularity though some action of the Government in calling off activities.” And by July 21 it realized that *The Rehearsal* was over: “Just as soon as the publishers had all the war songs nicely printed the war was called off. . . . It looks as though our army went to Mexico to find out they weren’t booked.”[[34]](#endnote-33)

The public’s enthusiasm lasted longer. In July, as troops were finally trained and dispatched, newspapers nationwide printed accounts of grand send-offs. A syndicated article appeared on June 30, headlined “Want a Song with Pep for Soldiers on Border”; it traced the history of war songs from “Yankee Doodle” forward, and concluded that the three contenders at the moment were “America, I Love You,” Cohan’s “Grand Old Flag,” and, yes, Irving Berlin’s “Mexico” song. On July 21, the day Variety concluded the war was called off, the *Watertown Daily Times* (NY) announced to the contrary that “War Songs Are in Great Demand” and proceeded to inventory many titles the industry was abandoning.[[35]](#endnote-34)

But military shortcomings could not be ignored, and troops and civilians alike grew disillusioned with lack of action, obsolete weapons, and failed technology. In the July 27 issue of Life magazine the young cartoonist Ellison Hoover appropriated Irving Berlin’s title (“They’re on their way to Mexico”) as his caption: a train is carrying to the border “Aeroplanes that fall,” “Machine guns that jam,” and “Political doctors” (figure 2).[[36]](#endnote-35) And the

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

[CAPTION: “They’re On Their Way To Mexico”]

Scottish comic Clifton Crawford penned a preparedness song, “What’s the Matter with You?”, that caused a sensation in *The Passing Show* of 1916, where it introduced a spectacular stage illusion in which a troop of cavalry appeared to charge directly at the audience. (“It Would Fool Carranza,” *The New York Times* headlined.)[[37]](#endnote-36) The lyrics were scathing:

You’ve sent some twenty thousand troopers a-hiking ’way down into Mexico

with guns and limber and things,

They got so far they’ve had to stop you haven’t got the men

To guard those short communication strings

Did you ever think if this were some real foe and not a joke

Like Villa and his comic opera band

What chance the U. S. trooper with your negligence on his back

Would have when he came out to make his stand?

From August to the end of the year even the public began to turn away, and Tin Pan Alley moved on to other things. The stream of publications slowed, from 30 in the month of August to 25 for November and December combined. The Alley contributed about three songs a month, and most—like the very successful “When Uncle Sammy Leads the Band”—were deliberately unspecific, designed for the future more than the present. The troops were encamped, and going nowhere; “border” began to supplant “Mexico” in songwriters’ lexicons.[[38]](#endnote-37) Citizens in the hinterlands began to embrace both the possibility and the actuality of war; song sharks circled and fed. At the end of December, total publications for Act II stood as follows: Tin Pan Alley 24, Kitchen Table 92, song sharks 69. The ratio between Kitchen Table and song sharks (roughly 9:7) was much like that in Act I (16:11), but Tin Pan Alley, which contributed about 30 percent of the titles in Act I, produced less than half that in Act II. In sum, the citizenry held steady, regardless of disappointments; commercial publishers quickly abandoned what seemed like a lost cause. Everyone had a strategy in place for *The Big Show*.

**Epilogue**

*The Rehearsal* had ended. The tryout was over; the theatre had closed. What had been accomplished?

President Wilson had learned that diplomacy and military action, when coupled, conspire to undermine ideals. In *The Big Show*, he would pursue them separately: war first, talk afterwards. The government and the military had learned that the National Guard could never be made into an army; in the spring of 1917, it would be largely dissolved and a new military entity created. General Pershing had learned that equipment, supplies, and a reliable chain of command were essential, and he had demonstrated resolution and resilience; when General Funston died unexpectedly in February, 1917, he was the inevitable choice to head the Expeditionary Force, and the quartermaster corps became the unsung heroes of the European war. Tin Pan Alley had learned the value of vagueness, and the songs for *The Big Show* would be carefully non-specific; “Over There” was all the geography necessary. Song sharks had learned that war was a superb motivation for their customers; they had perfected their methods, and in the two years to come their business would reach its zenith.

And the public? The public had practiced its lines, rehearsed its routines. When the troops departed for Europe, scripts for the send-offs were already in hand, reworked from July 1916. When the citizenry was asked to back the Liberty Loan campaigns, it reused promotional tactics devised for the Mexican campaigns. Thanks to those film crews, the public had acquired a new way to experience the news—and it understood that there was a military need to regulate it. It had learned to support the troops by mailing letters, sending parcels, knitting socks—and writing songs. It was ready.

The last of the troops were recalled in February, 1917. Germany had already resumed unrestricted submarine warfare, and on February 23, British agents gave the American government three decoded telegrams that had been sent by Germany’s foreign minister, Arthur Zimmermann. These proposed a German-Mexican alliance, with a war in Mexico to divert American forces, and with Mexico promised territories in Texas and the Southwest after a United States defeat. The combination tipped the balance irrevocably; from then on American engagement was a certainty. A subplot from *The Rehearsal* raised the curtain on *The Big Show* itself.

Which would be, indeed, a *big* show. Less than a hundred American soldiers died in *The Rehearsal*; fifty thousand would die in *The Big Show*. Airplanes and armored vehicles were only curiosities in *The Rehearsal*; in *The Big Show*, they would be lethal staples of warfare. Before *The Rehearsal*, Americans enjoyed the comfortable predictability of the ragtime era; after *The Big Show* they would be unsettled by the jazz age. Wilson, and American progressives in general, were baffled by the events of *The Rehearsal*; they were destroyed by *The Big Show*.

Everything changes on opening night.

**Appendix**

The spreadsheet in this appendix does not claim completeness or consistency; there are surely Mexico-related publications that are absent, and some titles are included that surely should not be. It is at best a first approximation; a more accurate tally would require a detailed scrutiny of copyright deposit copies at the Library of Congress.

My primary method was to conduct full-text searches of music copyright records (digitized and downloadable at both [archive.org](http://archive.org) and at [hathitrust.org](http://hathitrust.org)) for the following terms: Mexico, Mexican, border, Grande, Vera Cruz; Funston, Pershing, National Guard, Pancho, Villa; boys, soldier(s), Yankee. The titles thereby obtained were incorporated into the database when they unambiguously referred to the Mexican crises. I attempted to locate printed copies of titles which were ambiguous, using primarily online digitized archives, many of which are cited in footnotes. These, if found, were used to rule the title in or out; I considered not only lyrics but cover images, dedications, and advertising matter. Titles for which no printed copy could be found were included unless there were convincing reasons to omit them. The final three columns of the spreadsheet summarize the results; of 239 titles, 138 (58%) are of confirmed relevance (column C) and 82 (29%) have not been confirmed (column U). There are thus a number of false positives, almost certainly; informally, based on the titles which I was able to disambiguate, I would guess about half of the “unconfirmed” titles are not demonstrably connected to the Mexican crises. However, it seems to me to be likely that a significant number of these are actually responses to the military call-ups, since these are the only plausible proximate motivations for songs about “boys in blue” and the like.

A final category of songs are replies to “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be A Soldier”; there are 19 of these (column R). Note, however, that replies which are also confirmed responses to the Mexican crises appear in the “confirmed” column, not under “replies.” I decided to include these reply-songs both because they illustrate the interaction of the “preparedness” movement with the Mexican mobilizations and because they, too, may have been motivated at least in part by concern over Mexico, especially those written between May and July, 1916.

I supplemented the copyright search with a manual check of all the titles from 1914 and 1916 contained in the Myers Collection (University of Illinois) and the Driscoll Collection (Newberry). It is this that resulted in the inclusion of songs like “Rookey” and “Dear Old Uncle Sam.” Finally, I searched trade journals for the term “Mexico” for the periods in question, and I also read through selected issues. By means of publishers’ advertisements and reviews of performances I was able to find some additional titles and resolve some ambiguities.

I would like to clarify two details. First, the “State” and “City” columns are taken from copyright records except for the first generation of song-sharks (Marks-Goldsmith, H. Kirkus Dugdale, and John T. Hall). These operators registered copyright and deposit copies in their own names; the next generation registered copyright on behalf of the lyricist. For the twelve titles registered by the first generation, then, I have recorded the state and city of the lyricist, not the copyright registration. Second, for present purposes I have counted as “Kitchen Table” publications manuscripts that were registered for copyright but not actually printed, except when the registration was by a recognized song shark.

I hope that this data will serve in part an incentive to further research. The spreadsheet is available as an Excel file that can be sorted, searched, and ordered as required; contact me at w-brooks@illinois.edu if you would like to obtain a copy.

**INSERT SPREADSHEET**

**ENDNOTES**

1. The research underpinning this article was funded in part by an NEH Lloyd Lewis Long-term Fellowship at the Newberry Library, 2015–16, by a Thomas Hampsong Educational Fellowship, 2015, and by a Research Leave from the University of York for 2015–2016. An AHRB Extended Leave awarded in 2006, furthered by a Mendel Fellowship at the Lilly Library, Indiana University, provided the opportunity to begin the large project of which this forms a part. I would like to thank Scott Schwartz, at the Sousa Archive and Center for American Music, University of Illinois, for arranging to digitize portions of the Myers Collection there; and to thank the staff of the Newberry Library for digitizing the World War I holdings in the Driscoll Collection there. [↑](#endnote-ref-0)
2. Elsie Janis, *The Big Show: My Six Months with the American Expeditionary Forces* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1919). The modern source for the phrase “theater of war” would seem to be Clausewitz, who used “theater” as both a strategic descriptor and a metaphor. See Clausewitz, *On War*, in *The Book of War*, ed. Caleb Carr: Sun-Tzu, *The Art of Warfare*, trans. Roger T. Ames; and Karl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. Otto Jolles (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), *passim*; see p. 315 for a good instance of the metaphoric use. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
3. In many respects, of course, *The Rehearsal* differed radically from *The Big Show*: different theater, different plot, different villains. But the changes are not unlike those undergone by shows during tryouts; think of *The Bandwagon* (1953). [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
4. Here and elsewhere, historical information is largely drawn from Clarence C. Clendenen, *Blood on the Border* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1969); John Patrick Finnegan, *Against the Specter of a Dragon* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974); Mark T. Gilderhus, *Diplomacy and Revolution* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1977); Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler, *The Secret War in El Paso* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009); Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler, *The Great Call-up: The Guard, the Border, and the Mexican Revolution* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015); James W. Hurst, *Pancho Villa and Black Jack Pershing* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2008); and Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), chapter 5. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
5. The incidents in this single “scene” actually occupied several days. For more complete accounts, see Link, pp. 122–23, and Gilderhus, pp. 10–11. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
6. Many thanks to Laurie Matheson for suggesting “Kitchen Table” as a complement to “Tin Pan Alley,” which I here use as a catch-all for commercial publishing, no matter whether large or small, and by no means limited to New York firms. I have created a more nuanced categorization of commercial publishers, but it’s not necessary for the present purposes. For a nearly contemporaneous explanation of self-publishing (which does, however, emphasize its commercial potential), see Jack Gordon, *How to Publish Your Own Music Successfully* (Chicago: Jack Gordon Pub. Co., 1919). [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
7. “Considered Trifles,” *The Editor* 42:12 (December 4, 1915), pp. 562–64; “Fraud Order Issued,” *The Music Trade Review* 62:2 (January 8, 1916), p. 52; Bill Edwards, “H. Kirkus Dugdale,” at <http://www.perfessorbill.com/ragtime13a.shtml>. For more on song sharks, see E. M. Wickes, *Writing the Popular Song* (Springfield, MA: The Home Correspondence School), chapter XXIV. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
8. “He’s a Soldier of the U. S. A.”, Dan J. Wall (w), James White (m). A digitized copy is available from the Myers Collection at the University of Illinois: <http://imagesearchnew.library.illinois.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/myers/id/1855/rec/15>. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
9. “I Want to Go to Mexico”, lyrics by Edward Madden, words by Gus Edwards, has been digitized by the University of Maine: <http://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5184&context=mmb-vp>. “Keep Your Eye on Uncle Sammy” is in the Charles Templeton Sheet Music Collection at Mississippi State University: <http://digital.library.msstate.edu/cdm/ref/collection/SheetMusic/id/20588>. “When the War Breaks Out in Mexico,” lyrics by J. Brandon Walsh, music by Ernest Breuer, is in the Levy Collection at Johns Hopkins University: [http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/catalog/levy:154a.125](http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/catalog/levy%3A154a.125). The racist cover for the latter is gratuitous; there’s nothing in the song itself that requires it. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
10. “Hammerstein’s,” *The Billboard* 26:18 (May 2, 1914), p. 10) [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
11. “Morse’s Musings,” *The New York Clipper* 62:16 (May 30, 1914), p. 10. See also Sime [Silverman], “Solly Lee,” *Variety* 34:11 (May 14, 1914), p. 15; and “New York Singers Feature at Speedway Races,” *The Indianapolis News*, May 30, 1914, p. 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
12. “That Berlin War Song,” *The New York Clipper* 62:15 (May 23, 1914), p. 7. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
13. “On the Road to Mexico,” words by J. Will Callahan, music by Egbert Van Alstyne, published by Jerome H. Remick & Co., copyrighted May 5, 1914, was performed by Shorty and Leopold in Chicago on April 27; see “Colonial, Chicago,” *The Billboard* 26:16 (May 2, 1914), p. 11; two digitized copies can be found at *IN Harmony*, http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/inharmony/welcome.do. “I’m Off for Mexico,” words by J. Will Callahan, music by F. Henri Klickmann, published by Frank K. Root, was copyrighted May 9; the cover and lyrics can be found at http://www.authentichistory.com/1898-1913/4-imperialism/8-taft-wilson/1914\_SM\_Im\_Off\_For\_Mexico.html. Van Alstyne is quoted in “The Boulevardier,” *The Inter Ocean* (Chicago), May 3, 1914, p. 8. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
14. Recordings of “They’re on Their Way to Mexico” include: The Victor Military Band, Victor 17592-B (mx B-14904), recorded May 26; the Heidelberg Quintette, Victor 17599-A (mx B-14838, recorded May 28; the Victor Light Opera Company, in a medley, Victor 35394-B (mx C-15049), recorded July 7; William Halley, Columbia A1565 (mx 39443), recorded June 12; Prince’s Band, Columbia A5850 (mx 48859), recorded July 8; and The American Republic Band, Pathé 5004 (mx and date not known). See *Discography of American Historical Recordings* for more details: <http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php>. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
15. E. M. Wickes, “Help for Song Writers,” *Writer’s Monthly* 6:2 (August 1915), p. 61. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
16. Pvt. E. B. Waterworth, “War Songs of Past and Present,” *Recruiters Bulletin* 4:4 (February 1918), p. 25. At least eight acts were honored (or bribed) with cover images: Belle Baker, the Lynch Trio, Gertrude Morgan, Frank Mullane, Bobbie Russell, Billy Shirley, Gertrude Taylor, and the Four Melodious Chaps. For five of these, see *IN Harmony*. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
17. Robert Kimball and Linda Emmet, *The Complete Lyrics of Irving Berlin* (New York: Knopf, 2000), p. 51. 1914 07 15. Frederick James Smith, “Vaudeville,” *New York Dramatic Mirror*, July 15, 1914, p. 17. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
18. Woodrow Wilson, “Address at the Manhattan Club, New York City, November 4, 1915”, in *President Wilson’s State Papers and Addresses* (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1917), p.129. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
19. See Appendix; eight of nine titles are by Kitchen Table publishers, with a solitary copyright by a song shark. For Roosevelt and “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier,” see “Roosevelt Asks Action, Not Talk,” *The Boston Daily Globe*, July 22, 1915, p. 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
20. “Music Notes,” *Variety* 42:4 (March 24, 1916, p. 11). [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
21. “Current News Sells Records,” *Talking Machine World* 12:4 (April 1916), p. 71. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
22. Sime Silverman, “Fifth Avenue,” *Variety* 42:5 (March 31, 1916), p. 20. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
23. *The Ottawa Journal*, March 25, 1916, p. 19.. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
24. Details in this account are drawn primarily from Hurst, pp. 104–6 and 93–97*.* [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
25. “When the Boys Come Marching Home” is at *IN Harmony* (<http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/lilly/starr/LL-SSM-2-090-0573>); “My Country, I Hear You Calling Me” is in the Myers collection at the University of Illinois: <http://imagesearchnew.library.illinois.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/myers/id/3202/rec/4>. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
26. Untitled article, *Variety* 43:4 (June 23, 1916), p. 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
27. A band arrangement of “General Funston’s March” can be found at <https://www.bandmusicpdf.org/bmpdf/G/GeneralFunston_gillett.pdf>. “Hello Mexico” has been digitized by the University of Washington; see <http://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/cdm/ref/collection/sm/id/834>. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
28. The first version of Weasner’s song is in the Myers Collection, University of Illinois, at <http://imagesearchnew.library.illinois.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/myers/id/6029/rec/3>; the second version is in the Driscoll Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, and will soon be made available on line. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
29. “More Good Luck for the Good Luck Song,” *The New York Clipper* 64:21 (July 1, 1916), p. 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
30. “Featuring Witmark Songs,” *The Billboard* 28:23 (June 3, 1916), p. 12. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
31. “For Dixie and Uncle Sam,” with Bayes on the cover, is available from the Brown University Library at [https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:90181/](http://library.brown.edu/cds/catalog/catalog.php?verb=render&id=1086363072662000); the first printing, with Ball pictured, is in the Myers Collection: <http://imagesearchnew.library.illinois.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/myers/id/589/rec/5>. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
32. Recordings of “For Dixie and Uncle Sam” include: Nora Bayes, Victor 45100-A (mx B-17761, recorded June 1; George Wilton Ballard, Edison Blue Amberol 3006, recorded June 29; the Peerless Quartet, Columbia A2084, recorded August 15; and as part of a medley, the Victor Military Band, Victor 35604-B (mx C-18375), recorded September 15. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
33. For the inaugural, see “Great Throng Braves Chill Winds to Witness Inaugural Parade,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 6, 1917, p. 13; for the Witmark plug, see “Witmark Songs Revived”, *The New York Clipper* 65:11 (April 18, 1917), p. 15; for North Carolina, see “Farewell Meeting for Colored Men,” *Salisbury Evening Post*, March 30, 1918, p. 2; and for 1940 in Tennessee, see “Johnny on Spot,” *The Tennessean*, September 9, 1940, p. 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
34. “‘War-Songs’ Flooding Market with Over 400 on the Lists,” *Variety* 43:5 (June 30, 1916), p. [3]; “War-Song Slump,” *Variety* 43:7 (July 14, 1916), p. 5; Thomas J. Gray, “Tommy’s Tattles,” *Variety* 43:8 (July 21, 1916), p. 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
35. “Want a Song with Pep for Soldiers on Border,” *The Gettysburg Times*, June 30, 1916, p. 2; “War Songs Are in Great Demand,” *Watertown Daily Times*, p. 12. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
36. Ellison Hoover, *Life* 68:1761 (July 27, 1916), p. 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
37. *The New York Times*, July 2, 1916, p. X4. “What’s the Matter with You?” is in the Driscoll Collection, Newberry Library, digital copy forthcoming. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
38. “Border” appears in ten titles from August forward, and none before then. “When Uncle Sammy Leads the Band” can be found in the Myers Collection at <http://imagesearchnew.library.illinois.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/myers/id/6021/rec/14>. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)