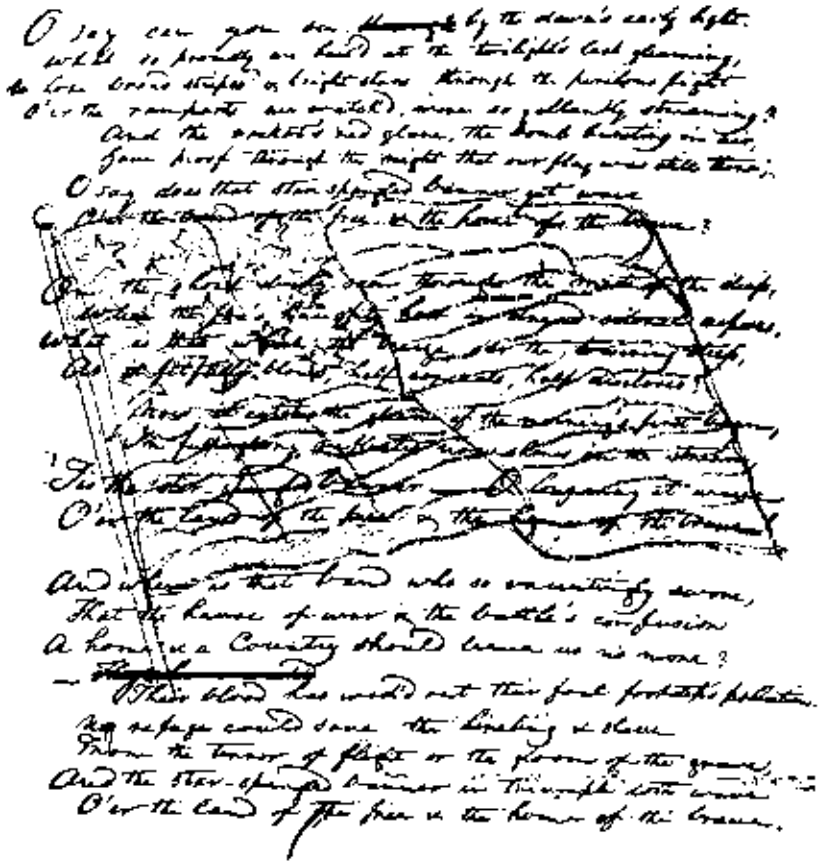
346/D-71

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
LIBRARY
Denver, Colorado

APR 6 2004

HISTORY OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER FROM 1814 TO THE PRESENT

by
Dr. George J. Svejda



DIVISION OF HISTORY
Office Of Archeology And Historic Preservation

FEBRUARY 28, 1969

National Park Service

U.S. Department of the Interior

ML 3561 .S94 H57 1969
Svejda, George J.
History of the Star-spangled
banner from 1814 to the

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
INTRODUCTION		i
I.	THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER AS FLAG a. Origins of the Concept of a National Flag b. Origins of the Flag of the United States of America	1
II.	THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER AS NATIONAL ANTHEM a. European Background of the War of 1812 b. The American Phase of the War c. Events Leading to the British Attack on Baltimore in 1814 d. The Battle of Baltimore e. Outcome of the War	17
III.	CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE WRITING OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER	55
IV.	THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER'S FIRST APPEARANCE IN THE PRESS MEDIA	83
V.	THE POETIC MESSAGE	89
VI.	THE BACKGROUND OF THE MUSIC	91
VII.	THE TUNE	104
VIII.	EARLY MUSICAL ARRANGMENTS	111
IX.	THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER'S POPULARITY a. Songsters b. Presidential and Political Campaigns c. Temperance Movement d. Fourth of July Observances e. Other Public Uses of the Star Spangled Banner	115
X.	THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER DURING THE CIVIL WAR	162
XI.	THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER BETWEEN 1865 AND 1889; ITS CONTINUED GROWTH IN POPULARITY DURING THE POST-CIVIL WAR ERA, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE TREND TOWARD ITS OFFICIAL RECOGNITION	201
XII.	ADOPTION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER BY THE NAVY AND THE ARMY	218
XIII.	PUBLIC REACTION TO THE MILITARY RECOGNITION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER	261
XIV.	PROPOSED STANDARDIZATION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER	295

XV. THE EFFORTS TO ADOPT THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER AS THE NATIONAL ANTHEM OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 3
a. Attempts to Preserve Fort McHenry as a Memorial
b. Congressional Bills and Resolutions to Make the Star Spangled Banner the National Anthem

XVI. CRITICISM AND DEFENCE OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER 3

XVII. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER BETWEEN THE TIME OF ITS CONGRESSIONAL RECOGNITION AS THE NATIONAL ANTHEM AND THE PRESENT 3
a. Military Use (1931 to Date)
b. Civilian Use (1931 to Date)

XVIII. EPILOGUE 4

XIX. APPENDICES 4

XX. BIBLIOGRAPHY 4

INTRODUCTION

"The Star Spangled Banner from 1814 to the Present" is a study of the writing and subsequent history of America's national anthem. It also includes details on the anthem's first publication as a poem, its later adaptation to music, the background of the music, when it was first sung, the development of its popularity after 1815, its various musical arrangements, and the efforts to adopt it as America's national anthem, as well as the inspirational meaning which it has held for successive generations of Americans and newcomers to these shores.

Human fallibility, and the variations among men in character, education, etc., are such that different people have the same lastingly different "optical fields," and even that the same person may each day have a different "optical field." Some people look at a phenomenon as normal, suitable or necessary, while others view the same phenomenon as out of place and tasteless.

In preparing this study I had in mind the statement attributed to Herodotus that the man and the event hardly ever arrive at the same place at the same time, but that a good historian always allows for this discrepancy.

The importance of the Star Spangled Banner in the history of this land arises partly from historical facts connected with the person of Francis Scott Key and the War of 1812, and partly from tradition and idea. History draws a distinction between these two concepts. Each great man and each important event in history has a twofold nature, partly immediate, contemporaneous, related directly to the era in which it exercises its influence and partly evolutional, potential, on which the ensuing ages co-create, and on the basis of which subsequent generations elevate that man or that event to the status of an idea. This idea remains, even when its original vanishes from the scene and becomes himself or itself a formative value in history. The idea of the Star Spangled Banner is such an historical reality; it is a factor which cannot be excluded from the history of America without impoverishing and distorting that history.

The Star Spangled Banner is the result of the patriotic feeling of an individual who, fearing for the fate of his country while witnessing the British bombardment of Fort McHenry in September of 1814, composed a memorable poem, an ode to the spirit of patriotism and to the American flag.

From its very beginnings the Star Spangled Banner was used on patriotic occasions of different kinds: as a toast at public dinners;

at Fourth of July observances; during political conventions, etc. Bands played it frequently, and it was sung throughout the land by adults and children. It appeared in newspapers, periodicals, hymnals and music sheets. It became a favorite song of the people. Being a song of the American national spirit, it was naturally turned to by the people in times of national crisis, as for instance during the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and the First and Second World Wars.

In spite of its popularity, no action was taken to make this song officially the national anthem until 117 years after its composition. The first step in this direction was taken by Secretary of the Navy B.F. Tracy, who introduced the Star Spangled Banner for band music at morning Colors, and "Hail Columbia" for evening Colors. The Army in the meantime had as yet no regulation requiring its personnel to stand during the rendition of the Star Spangled Banner; the first steps toward instituting this custom were taken in 1895. By amendment to the Navy Regulations, approved on April 8, 1904, the Star Spangled Banner was introduced into both morning and evening Colors. Paragraph 441 of Army Regulations, 1904, carries the instruction "...the band will play 'The Star Spangled Banner'," while Paragraph 437 of Army Regulations, 1913, as amended by C.A.R. 50 of January 8, 1917, not only designates the Star Spangled Banner as "the national anthem of the United States of

America," but also orders that the band play "the national anthem," meaning the Star Spangled Banner. The Navy Department, following the Army example, took steps toward the formal designation of the Star Spangled Banner as the National Anthem through a change in Navy Regulations dated February 14, 1917 (Paragraph 1172).

In the meantime various patriotic organizations and individuals began taking up the cause of Congressional recognition of the Star Spangled Banner, although critics of the song were saying that recognition was out of the question, because the song expressed an Anglophobic attitude, and was also difficult to sing. The numerous bills introduced in the Congress by various legislators between 1910 and 1931 seeking Congressional recognition of the Star Spangled Banner all failed, until finally, after several unsuccessful attempts, Rep. J. Charles Linthicum introduced a Bill on April 15, 1929, which was passed in the House on April 21, 1930. On March 3, 1931, this Bill to make the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem was adopted by the Senate and went to the President to be signed. The credit for this accomplishment goes to Congressman Linthicum, and also to Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway, President of the Maryland Society, United States Daughters of 1812, as both, through united and enthusiastic effort, rendered complete Maryland's gift to the nation.

Passage of the Bill was the crowning of Congressman Linthicum's and Mrs. Holloway's long and faithful work for the Star Spangled Banner; however it did not eliminate all controversy over the song. The battle was won, but the question remaining to be solved was the musicality of the Star Spangled Banner, over which dispute continues to the present time.

The Italian composer Giacomo Puccini's (1858-1924) opera, Madama Butterfly, includes a passage from the Star Spangled Banner; Puccini used the opening notes of the anthem as a motif for the character of Lt. B. F. Pinkerton, U. S. N. At the time when this opera had its premiere at La Scala, Milan, on February 17, 1904, it was thought that the use of the opening notes of the Star Spangled Banner might be found objectionable or offensive; however Puccini meant no offense in using the national anthem of the United States in his opera. Interestingly enough, during the 1960 Olympics held in Rome, Italy, many Italians, hearing the Star Spangled Banner played, thought that the United States had taken its national anthem from Puccini's opera.

It is said that indebtedness is the worst sort of slavery. It means that a free moral agent has voluntarily given up the best gift of heaven, his independence. Nevertheless I am indebted to the many individuals who have assisted me in my effort. The research for this study was carried

out at the New York Public Library; the New York Historical Society; the Maryland Historical Society; Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, the Enoch Pratt Free Library; the Peabody Institute Library, and the Star Spangled Banner Flag House in Baltimore; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; the Smithsonian Institution; the Library of Congress; the United States Marine Band Library; and the United States Navy Band Library in Washington, D.C. To the staffs of these institutions I am indebted for their kind assistance and advice in obtaining the necessa material. My particular gratitude and thanks go to Mr. William Lichtenwang Head of the Reference Section, Music Division, Library of Congress; Lt. Col Albert Schoepper, Director of the United States Marine Band; M/Gy. Sgt. Cha H. Walls, Chief Librarian of the United States Marine Band; and Mr. Richard Bain, Public Affairs Officer, The United States Navy Band, for their valuab assistance. My sincerest thanks are extended to my friend and former colleague, Dr. Thomas M. Pitkin, and to Dr. Paul Ambrose of Villanova Univers for reading this study and giving me the benefit of their opinions and suggestions, both of which I value greatly. To all of them go my gratitude and thanks. Last but not least, my thanks go to my wife, Hana, who typed the entire manuscript while expecting our first baby. When our daughter was born at the Georgetown University Hospital this manuscript was nearing its completion. While commuting after office hours

to visit my wife and daughter at the Georgetown University Hospital I thought about the problems of today and began to realize how little young people know about the patriotic and moral values upon which this great nation was founded and without it may not survive. And it is for this reason that I am dedicating this little work to my daughter Jana, so that she might later on, "If there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things" (Phil. 4:8), and realize that responsible citizenship is the basic premise of all freedom and progress.

Needless to say, while grateful for the valuable assistance which I have received, I assume full responsibility for this work. It was a very complex task, because the sources are widely scattered, and in many cases hostile toward the Star Spangled Banner. But history may not be silent and truth may not contradict itself, because after all "Veritas liberabit vos - the truth will make you free." (Jn. 8:32).

History is knowledge to which we point when we want to draw some parallel between olden times and today, and which we conveniently ignore when the parallel runs counter to our viewpoint. I have tried to be objective, realizing that "via media aurea est." I have also tried to present a clear picture, but "ad impossibilia nemo tenetur."

I. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER AS FLAG

a. ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPT OF A NATIONAL FLAG

When we hear or think of the Star Spangled Banner, our national anthem, we always think of our flag, for which the anthem was named. When we draw a parallel between ancient times and today we can see that the flag has always represented the national individuality; it is a national symbol of honor. For their flag, their enduring symbol, men have lived, worked,and died to keep alive the ideals which the flag symbolized.

The origins of our flag go back to the time when the Lord gave Moses the Ten Commandments and the Book of the Law, to be placed in the Ark of the Covenant which was within the Tabernacle, whose curtains were blue, scarlet and fine-twined linen (white). This is perhaps the first recorded instance in which the combination of red, white and blue is mentioned.[1]

---

[1]The Bible refers to the Tabernacle in the following way: "And thou shalt make the tabernacle in this manner: Thou shalt make ten curtains of fine twisted linen, and violet and purple, and scarlet twice dyed, diversified with embroidery...

"Thou shalt make also a veil of violet and purple, and scarlet twice dyed, and fine twisted linen, wrought with embroidery work and goodly variety...

"Thou shalt make also a hanging in the entrance of the tabernacle of violet and purple, and scarlet twice dyed, and fine twisted linen with embroidered work." Ex. 26:1, 31, 36 (Douay Version).

The banner, being a symbol of the people, is also the emblem of loyalty and patriotism and courage. "Hoist the standard to rally those who fear you, to put them out of range of bow and arrow,"[1] and "May we shout with joy for your victory, and plant our banners in the name of our God!"[2] says the Scripture.

The use of banners and standards has developed differently in different areas; in most cases they served for military purposes. The symbolic change came on Christmas Day of 800 A.D., during the Coronation of Charlemagne at Rome as Holy Roman Emperor, on which occasion the Patriarch of Jerusalem presented him with a flag.[3] Although we do not have the description of this flag, it can be assumed that in addition to symbolizing Charlemagne's secular power, it also symbolized his religious or divine authority to spread Christianity throughout pagan Europe.

During the conquest of England by William the Conqueror in 1066 William used the flag presented to him by Pope Alexander II, which is shown on the Bayeux Tapestry, depicting scenes of the conquest.[4]

Use of a flag as a symbol of State in Europe originated in Milan in 1038, when Archbishop Aribert devised a movable standard whose purpose was to be a rallying-point for his fellow townsmen. It was designed as

---

[1]

[2]Psalms 60:4.

[2]Psalms 20:5.

[3]Milo Milton Quaife, The Flag of the United States. (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1942), p. 8; William G. Perrin, British Flags, Their Early History and Their Development at Sea, With an Account of the Origin of the Flag as a National Device (Cambridge: The University Press, 1922),p. 12.

[4]Quaife, op. cit., p. 8; Perrin, op. cit., pp. 12 and 14.

a chariot or wheeled vehicle called a carrioccio, which had a tall fixed pole, from whose top depended two white streamers. It served its function so well that its idea was adopted by other Italian city-states. Subsequently, during the 12th Century, to its base there was added an altar, from whose peak flew the City Flag.[1]

The great nobles during the Third Crusade under Richard Coeur-de-Lion (1189-1192) bore coats-of-arms, and had their armorial bearings embroidered or painted on their banners.[2]

Traditionally, St. George's banner, insignia of all Christian knights, was carried by the German knights in their crusades against the heathen.

Before the French Revolution it was the monarchy, and not the French people who had a flag. At the time of Jacques Necker's dismissal in 1789, however, the people established their sovereignty and felt for the first time the need of a Color. Camille Desmoulins may have suggested green, the color of hope. Upon hearing this suggestion the crowd, assembled before the Palais Royal, quickly stripped the leaves from the courtyard trees. Since, however, someone remembered that green was the color of the livery of the Count of Artois, who was the leader

---

[1] Quaife, op. cit., p. 9; Perrin, op. cit., p. 27.

[2] Richard Henry Spencer, "The Provincial Flag of Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. IX, No. 3 (September 1914), p. 218.

of the most reactionary faction in France, the Committee of Electors adopted blue and red as the colors of Paris. The Marquis de Lafayette, the Commander of the new National Guard, after the capture of the Bastille, demanded that the flag should also contain white, the color of the Bourbons, as a sign of the supposed reconciliation between royalty and people.[1] Thus was born the famous "Tricolor" of the French Republic.

Since the days of Dante, green, white,and red (colors emblematical of the three cardinal virtues of hope, faith, and charity) have been popular in Italy. The students demonstrating at Bologna in 1795 chose these three colors for their own; in 1796 they were adopted as the flag of the Cisalpine Republic.[2]

However the oldest national flag in the world is the Dannebrog, or Cloth of Denmark, which is a white cross on a red field. This flag has remained unchanged since 1219, when it was adopted after the battle of Lindanissa, Estonia.[3]

---

[1] Chester Penn Higby, Europe 1492 to 1815; A Social, Cultural, and Political History. (Chicago, Philadelphia, New York: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1948), p. 582.

[2] Ibid., p. 583.

[3] F. Edward Hulme, The Flags of the World: Their History, Blazonry, and Associations. From the Banner of the Crusader to the Burgee of the Yachtsman; Flags National, Colonial, Personal; The Ensigns of Mighty Empires; The Symbols of Lost Causes. (London and New York: Frederick Warne & Co., 1897), p. 115.

b. ORIGINS OF THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Stars and Stripes became the official emblem of the United States of America on June 14, 1777, almost a year after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, when the small group of Colonies on the eastern seaboard of North America broke their ties with England and proclaimed that they were a new Nation in which freedom and justice to all would abound. The resolution which the Continental Congress adopted on Saturday, June 14, 1777, read as follows: "Resolved, That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white: that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."[1]

Although the new flag was the symbol of a new nation, certain characteristics of its design were reminiscent of the past. This was typical of the new country, for even though the United States of America set itself up as an entirely free, new nation, some of the centuries-old Anglo-Saxon traditions were brought into the new country. The best components of the old world's empire were woven into the framework of the new country. It was, therefore, quite fitting that the new Anglo-Saxon country's flag should bear elements that were reminiscent of the past.[2]

---

[1] Journals of the Continental Congress 1774 - 1789, Vol. VIII, 1777: May 22 - October 2. Edited from the original records in the Library of Congress by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Chief, Division of Manuscripts. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), p. 464.

[2] Etta May Smith, The Flag of the United States of America. (State of California, Department of Education Bulletin, No. 7, April 1, 1937). (Sacramento, California: State Printing Office, George H. Moore, State Printer, 1938), p. 1.

In his adventurous landing in 1497, John Cabot or Giovanni Caboto brought with him the first English flag to come to North America. This was the Cross of St. George, England's Patron Saint; the pattern on the flag was a red cross on a white background.[1]

The first permanent settlers arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, and in Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1620. Prior to this time, in 1603, England and Scotland were joined together when James VI of Scotland assumed the throne and became James I of England. To symbolize Scotland, the Cross of St. Andrew, a white cross on a blue background, was added to the Cross of St. George, and this new flag was called "The King's Colors" and no doubt was the one under which the new Colonies were established.[2]

The British Red Ensign, also called the Meteor Flag of England, was the next flag that was designed and used in the American Colonies prior to the American Revolution. The background was red, and the King's Colors appeared in the upper right quarter of the flag. In 1707 Queen Anne prescribed this flag to represent both Great Britain and her Colonies.[3]

---

[1]Harrison Summers Kerrick, The Flag of the United States, Your Flag and Mine. Wisconsin edition. (Chicago: The White House Publishers, 1931), p. 21.

[2]Smith, op. cit., pp. 1-2; Quaife, op. cit., p. 14; Perrin, op. cit., p. 71.

[3]Smith, op. cit., p. 2; Quaife, op. cit., p. 17.

During this time another flag came into being. This flag was flown from 1600 to 1717 by the ships of the East India trade, specifically of the East India Company, which was established in 1600 to promote British trade with China and the East Indies. This flag consisted of thirteen alternating red and white stripes with the red Cross of St. George on a white background. This may have been the inspiration for the thirteen stripes in our flag, which represented the thirteen Colonies. Benjamin Franklin supposedly urged the Colonies to adopt this flag, when on December 13, 1775, he said, "While the field of our flag must be new in the details of its design, it need not be entirely new in its elements... I refer to the East India Flag." Stripes, and also the combining of the colors red, white and blue, were often used in flags at that time, and some of the numerous other flags with stripes may have been the inspiration for that design.[1]

The Cambridge flag, often called the "Grand Union Flag" was in use directly before the Stars and Stripes. The thirteen stripes as they appeared in the East India Flag, and the King's Colors as they were used in the British Red Ensign, were combined to form this new flag.[2]

---

[1]Smith, op. cit., p. 2.

[2]Smith, op. cit., p.2; Milo M. Quaife, Melvin J. Weig, and Roy E. Appleman, The History of the United States Flag From the Revolution to the Present, Including a Guide to Its Use and Display. (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, 1961), pp. 26-27.

This flag immediately appealed to the new settlers because the thirteen stripes were symbolic of their thirteen Colonies and the King's Colors represented their Mother Country. To make the Grand Union (Cambridge) flag, six white stripes were laid across the British Red Ensign's red field. This flag unofficially served as the first national emblem of the united American Colonies, and it was first raised on December 3, 1775, by Navy Lieutenant John Paul Jones on the Flagship Alfred.[1]

The best sources relate that this same flag was displayed on January 1 or 2, 1776, in Prospect Hill and Cambridge (from which the "Cambridge Flag" gets its name), Massachusetts, and was the flag adopted by the Continental Army, which had its beginning on that date. George Washington wrote that the Union flag was raised in honor of the united Colonies, and another source states that it was used at Cambridge, when George Washington took over the role of Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.[2]

These were the forerunners of our national flag, and yet they give us little evidence on the origin of the Stars and Stripes, and we may never know the complete story of the origin of our national flag. One thing is however certain, and that is that our flag was a result of a process of evolution.

---

[1]Smith, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

[2]Kerrick, op. cit., p. 46; Smith, op. cit., p. 3.

Although many flags, representing individual Colonies and military units, were in use during the Revolution, such as the "Snake" flags with the motto "Don't Tread on Me," and the "Pine Tree" flags, stating "Appeal to God," the only acknowledged flag in use which was representative of the combined Colonies was the Grand Union or Cambridge flag. This was in use from December 3, 1775, until June 14, 1777, when the Stars and Stripes was adopted.[1]

John Adams, head of the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress, on June 14, 1777, approved his Committee's resolution which decreed that the flag of the thirteen United States should "be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation." This was the first official Stars and Stripes flown by the American Navy.

Ezra Stiles recorded in his diary on July 9, 1777, the Congressional Resolution: "The Congress have substituted a new Constella of thirteen stars (instead of the union) in the Continental Colors."[2]

One cannot readily learn the sources for the blue field of stars, nor explain "a new constellation." Instead, early flags showed several arrangements; for example rows of circles or rows of crescents. It was

---

[1]Smith, op. cit., p. 3.

[2]Ezra Stiles, The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. Edited Under the Authority of the Corporation of Yale University by Franklin Bowditch Dexter. Vol. II: March 14, 1776-December 31, 1781. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), p. 181.

a North Carolina flag, belonging to the State Militia, and having an irregular design of blue and red stripes, that was probably the first Stars and Stripes used in a land battle during the Revolution.[1]

In the constellation there is one star for each State, symbolic of the State's sovereignty in the Federal Union.

Although it lacks historical proof, there is the pleasant belief that Betsy Ross of Philadelphia, at the bidding of George Washington, Robert Morris and Colonel George Ross, made the first Stars and Stripes. However, until 1870, only Francis Hopkinson had claimed the honor of designing the flag. On March 14, 1870, William J. Canby, in a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, asserted that Mrs. John Ross, his maternal grandmother, first made and partially designed the Star and Stripes.[2] According to Mr. Canby a Committee of General Washington, Colonel George Ross and Robert Morris, in June 1776, asked Mrs. Ross, a Philadelphia upholsterer, to make a flag from a design which they submitted.[3] Mrs. Ross, who was well-trained as a seamstress, immediately gave some helpful hints. She suggested that the length of the flag be one-third longer than the width. She then cut a five-pointed star with her scissors, which star was more pleasing to the eye than the

---

[1] Quaife, op. cit., p. 76.

[2] Franklin Hanford, Did Betsy Ross Design the Flag of the United States of America? (Scottsville, N.Y.: Isaac Van Hooser, Printer, 1917), pp. 7-8. Rear Admiral Hanford's documented pamphlet exposes some of the myths which have originated in the Betsy Ross legend.

[3] Lloyd Balderston, The Evolution of the American Flag. From materials collected by the late George Canby. (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1909), pp. 47-48. Dr. Balderston, a nephew of William J. Canby, was in 1909 Professor of Physics at the West Chester State Normal School. He died in 1933.

six-pointed one, and arranged the stars in a circle to symbolize the complete union and perfect equality of the thirteen new States.[1] This story has been told by Mr. Canby, and three of Mrs. Ross' daughters, and a niece confirmed it in 1870.[2] Balderston, however, claims that Clarissa Sidney Wilson, the eldest daughter of Betsy Ross, dictated the story to Canby -- affidavits of Betsy Ross' daughter, Rachel Fletcher, her granddaughter, Sophia Hildebrandt; and her niece, Margaret Boggs, all of whom stated they had heard the story from Betsy Ross, supported this story.[3]

Canby could not confirm the date mentioned in his paper as June 1776. The date is important, because on May 29, 1777, Betsy Ross was paid for making Colors for Pennsylvania; Canby inferred that it was June 1776 when Washington visited Philadelphia. However, the records of the Congress, of Washington, of Morris, and of others do not confirm the story.[4]

H. S. Kerrick's book, The Flag of the United States, which was issued and endorsed by the American Legion, mentions Betsy Ross as accomplished in upholstering, flag-making,and fancy needle-work, but

---

[1]Smith, op. cit., pp. 3-4; Balderston, op. cit., p. 48.

[2]Hanford, op. cit., p. 8.

[3]Balderston, op. cit., pp. 108-118.

[4]Theodore D. Gottlieb, comp., Betsy Ross and the Flag. Legend, Myth, History. Compiled by Theodore D. Gottlieb, Chairman, Americanization Committee, Patriotic Order Sons of America, State Camp of New Jersey. (No publisher or date given), pp. 5-6; George Henry Preble, Origin and History of the American Flag. And of the naval and yacht-club signals, seals, and arms, and principal national songs of the United States, with a chronicle of the symbols, standards, banners, and flags of ancient and modern nations. New edition in two volumes. Supplemented by Charles Edward Asnis. Vol. 1. (Philadelphia: Nicholas L. Brown, 1917), pp. 265-267.

does not hold that she made the first flag in June 1776 -- a year before the Congress officially adopted the flag -- or that she changed the design of the stars from six to five points.[1]

Byron McCandless and Gilbert Grosvenor, in their Flags of the World, published in 1917 and endorsed by President Wilson, wrote: "Whatever their origin, there is no persuasive evidence in the official records of the time which would lead to the conclusion that the Stars and Stripes were in use before the resolution of June 14, 1777."[2]

Washington was not in Philadelphia on June 14, 1777, but was engaging the British, under General Howe, in New Jersey.[3]

Another story dealing with the designing of the flag concerns Francis Hopkinson. Records state that Hopkinson, a delegate to Congress from New Jersey and a member of the Maritime Committee, wrote an undated letter to the Board of Admiralty stating that he was itemizing his services rendered, among them being "the flag of the United States of America."[4] It should be remembered here that the Board of Admiralty was established on October 28, 1779, by Congress, which passed a resolutio "that all matters heretofore referred to the Marine Committee be trans-

---

[1]Kerrick, op. cit., pp. 125-126.

[2]Byron McCandless and Gilbert Grosvenor, Flags of the World. With 11 Flags in Full Colors. (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 19 p. 297. N.B. The pagination of this book is the same as it appeared in th National Geographic Magazine, Vol. XXXII, No. 4, October 1917.

[3]Gottlieb, op. cit., p. 10.

[4]George E. Hastings, "Francis Hopkinson and the American Flag." Americana, Vol. XXXIII, No.3 (July 1939), p. 295.

mitted to the Board of Admiralty."[1] John Brown, Secretary of the Board of Admiralty, on May 25, 1780, sent the letter to the President of Congress requesting that Congress consider it.[2]

In a description of his duties in this role, Hopkinson stated that he helped to design the flag of the United States of America, seven devices for Continental currency, a Seal for the Board of Treasury, and a Seal for the United States of America with a reverse, and the Great Naval Flag of the United States. He presented a bill for £2,700 or $7,200 for his services, but payment was not made because it was determined that Hopkinson was not the only person working on these projects and therefore was not entitled to any additional remuneration other than his regular salary.[3]

Perhaps Col. James A. Moss summed this problem up best when, in analyzing various attitudes, he said:

> Almost without exception historians and Flag authorities assail the Betsy Ross story on the following grounds: (a) The Journals of the American Congress make no mention of the appointment of the Committee which it is claimed called on Betsy Ross, or any other Flag Committee, and nor is any mention made of the report of such a committee; (b) it is neither logical nor probable that Congress would have appointed a committee to design and report upon a national flag before we had declared ourselves a free people; (c) although Washington was a voluminous letter-writer

---

[1]Cf. Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789, Vol. XV, 1779: September 2-December 31. Edited from the original records in the Library of Congress by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Chief, Division of Manuscripts. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), pp. 1217-1218, 1366.

[2]Hastings, op. cit., pp. 295-297.

[3]Ibid., pp. 296-303. Hastings also discusses Hopkinson's participation in the making of the American flag in his previous work Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), pp. 240-257.

> and kept most detailed diaries, in none of his writings is any mention made of any connection he may have had with a matter as interesting and as important as the designing and making of the first United States Flag; (d) none of the historians of the Revolutionary period make reference to the matter, and nor did any of the newspapers of Philadelphia issued at the time chronicle any portion of the story told by Mr. Canby ninety-four years after the event is alleged to have taken place, although it is claimed that before the flag which Betsy Ross made was submitted to the Congress it was displayed on a vessel at the wharf and belonging to one of the members of the Flag Committee, and was received with shouts of applause by the bystanders.[1]

It then appears that no primary historical source has yet been found which confirms either Betsy Ross or Hopkinson as the designer of the flag.

In 1791 Vermont entered the Union, followed by Kentucky in the next year. Upon these admissions the Congress provided that both a stripe and a star be added to the flag for each of the new States. Consequently it was enacted by the Congress on January 13, 1794, "That from and after the first day of May, Anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, the flag of the United States, be fifteen stripes alternate red and white. That the Union be fifteen stars, white in a blue field."[2] This version remained the official flag until 1818, when the Union was composed of twenty States. Prior to

---

[1]James Alfred Moss, The Flag of the United States: Its History and Symbolism. 3d edition. Introduction by J.W. Studebaker, U.S. Commissioner of Education. (Washington, D.C.: United States Flag Association, 1941), p.63.

[2]The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, From the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845. By Authority of Congress. Edited by Richard Peters. Vol. I. (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845), p. 341. Hereafter cited as U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. I.

this time,however, it had become evident that both stripes and stars could not be provided for all new States. To remedy the situation New York Congressman Peter H. Wendover, on the occasion of the admission of Indiana to the Union on December 9, 1816, introduced a resolution "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of altering the flag of the United States."[1] Such a committee was formed and headed by Wendover, and after studying the problem, on January 2, 1817, Wendover recommended that the number of stripes be reduced to thirteen, representing the original thirteen States; that a star should represent each State at that time in the Union; and that for each new State joining the Union, an additional star should be added.[2] On March 25, 1818,the Congress adopted Wendover's recommendations and passed an Act providing that the number of stripes

---

[1]The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States; With an Appendix, Containing Important State Papers and Public Documents; and all the Laws of a Public Nature; With a Copious Index. Fourteenth Congress, Second Session: Comprising the period from December 2, 1816, to March 3, 1817, Inclusive. Compiled from Authentic Materials. (Washington: Printed and Published by Gales and Seaton, 1854), p. 253. Hereafter cited as Annals of the Congress of the United States, 14th Cong., 2d Sess.

[2]American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, From the First Session of the Seventeenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing May 22, 1809, and Ending March 3, 1823. Selected and Edited, Under the Authority of Congress, by Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin. Miscellaneous. Volume II. (Washington: Published by Gales and Seaton, 1834), p. 412. Hereafter cited as American State Papers, Class X. Miscellaneous. Volume II.

be reduced to thirteen.[1] Though this law was passed through the great endeavor of Congressman Wendover (whose Flag Committee by the way held its meetings at Dominick Lynch's Blackrock Farm on the western part of Clason's Point, which would be presently at about Commonwealth and Soundview Avenues in the Bronx, New York), the idea for a revision of the American flag originated with Captain Samuel Chester Reid, Harbormaster of the Port of New York, who realized that an increase in the number of stripes would become unwieldy. His suggestion for a marine flag was that the stars be arranged in parallel horizontal lines; this idea is embodied in the Union Jack. It was the Flag Committee headed by Congressman Wendover which, after consultation with Captain Reid, decided on the present form[2] of our Flag.

Presently the flag of the United States carries fifty stars, one for each State of the Union, the fiftieth having been added in 1960, when Hawaii became our fiftieth State.

[1]The Act says the following: "Wednesday, March 25, 1818. An engrossed bill to alter the flag of the United States was read the third time, and passed." See The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States; With an Appendix, Containing Important State Papers and Documents, And All the Laws of a Public Nature; With a Copious Index. Fifteenth Congress - First Session: Comprising the Period from December 1, 1817, to April 20, 1818, Inclusive. Compiled from Authentic Materials. (Washington: Printed and Published by Gales and Seaton, 1854), p.1469. Hereafter cited as Annals of the Congress of the United States. 15th Cong., 1st Sess. Quaife, Weig and Appleman, op. cit., on page 70 mistakenly state the following: "Beginning with the Congress which met in December, 1816, he [Wendover] persisted in his self-appointed task until the passage of a new Flag Act on April 4, 1818, crowned his efforts with success."

[2]Cf. "Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the expediency of altering the Flag of the United States," dated January 6, 1818. Report No.440. 15th Congress, 1st Session in American State Papers, Class X. Miscellaneous. Vol. II, pp.457-456. Also "Report of the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the joint resolution proposing the thanks of Congress to Samuel C. Reid, late commander of the private armed brig General Armstrong, for having designed and formed the present flag of the United States," dated January 6, 1818. Report No.160 of the Committee, H.R., 35th Congress, 2d Session in Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives, made during the Second Session of the Thirty-fifth Congress: 1859-'59. Printed by Order of the House of Representatives. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. (Washington: James B. Steedman, Printer, 1859).

II. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER AS NATIONAL ANTHEM

a. EUROPEAN BACKGROUND OF THE WAR OF 1812

The French Revolution in 1789, an uprising against the established order, and the wars which followed this revolution spread ruins and chaos throughout the European continent. Along with the political reactionarism which followed these wars, there also grew a demand for social justice, as expressed in the terms of the Code Napoleon. While the population rose explosively, agricultural and industrial innovations burgeoned in bewildering succession. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars tore down old ways of life, the "old regime" in Europe, and fostered nationalism. The developments in France had a profound influence on Prussia, Austria, Russia, and England. Although these social and economic changes in France were based on ideas, and ideas cannot really be suppressed, they were vigorously opposed by the governments of the above-mentioned countries. One of the main reasons for Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to leadership in France was France's need to break the European opposition to her reforms. On the European scene Napoleon was enormously successful, going from one victory to another in spite of the opposition of the great European powers. On December 2, 1804, he crowned himself Emperor of France and a year later, on December 2, 1805, his armies were victorious in the decisive Battle of Austerlitz.[1] On December 26,

[1]The Czech name for Austerlitz is Slavkov. This is a small Czech town in Moravia, Czechoslovakia, where Napoleon's victorious battle was accomplished on December 2, 1805. A Mohyla míru or Barrow of Peace was erected by the Czechs around 1910 to commemorate the fallen soldiers of three Emperors, Russian, French and Austrian, at this Battle. In addition this Barrow of Peace displays memorabilia from the Battle.

1805 a treaty known as the Peace of Pressburg[1] was signed by Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria. On November 21, 1806, Napoleon issued the Berlin Decrees, declaring the British Isles to be in a state of blockade. These blockades between France and Great Britain, along with restrictions by the belligerents of neutral shipping, also affected the United States. In the years following the Revolutionary War, America had built up a large and active trading fleet which became prime target in the Napoleonic conflict, particularly of Britain, whose superior naval strength enabled her to enforce blockades and to impress suspected deserters and former subjects of His Majesty. The British practice of impressing, or kidnapping sailors off U.S. merchant ships, began during the second term of President Thomas Jefferson and continued into the first term of James Madison. This British impressment policy aroused indignation throughout the United States, and the Congress, under the insistence of President Jefferson, passed, on December 22, 1807, the Embargo Act, by which the shipment of raw materials and manufactured goods to England and France were forbidden. This action did little damage to the great European Powers, but almost caused the bankruptcy of New England. In 1808 Madison was elected as the fourth President of the United States, and eleven days after he was inaugurated, on March 15, 1809, the Embargo Act was repealed.

During the Napoleonic Wars both England and France preyed upon U. S. shippiug on the high seas; however, like his predecessor, Thomas Jefferson, Madison strove, under these provocations, to avoid

---

[1] In Czechoslovak history the term "Peace of Pressburg" is "Mír Bratislavský." Bratislava is the Czech name of the principal city of Slovakia, Czechoslovakia; Pressburg is its German name.

war. Until June 12, 1812, he was successful in maintaining a united sentiment and in controlling the "war party" in Congress, led by Congressman Henry Clay of Kentucky, Speaker of the House Felix Grundy of Tennessee, and Congressman John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. The desire of these men was not only to annex Canada but also to take Florida from Spain. Congressmen from the northeastern states made up the "peace party." Shortly before the reelection of President Madison, the Congress, on June 18, 1812, declared war on Britain, a war which the war hawks named the "Second War of Independence."[1] De Witt Clinton, who went over to the Federalists and ran as a peace candidate against Madison, in the presidential election held on December 2, 1812, won all the New England votes with the exception of Vermont's eight votes. Madison was saved from defeat by the twenty-five votes of Pennsylvania, receiving altogether one hundred and twenty-eight votes against eighty-nine for Clinton.[2]

Historical interpretations of the causes of the War of 1812 have gone full circle: from Henry Adams' Histories,[3] which held the view that

---

[1]Geoffrey Bruun and Henry Steele Commager, Europe and America since 1492; Western Civilization and its Influence. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1954), p. 403.

[2]Gaillard Hunt, The Life of James Madison. (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902), pp. 326-327.

[3]Henry Adams, History of the United States of America during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson. With Introduction by Henry Steele Commager. 2 Vols. (New York: A.& C. Boni, 1930), passim, and his History of the United States of America during the Administration of James Madison. 2 Vols. (New York: A. & C. Boni, 1930), passim.

America went to war to respond to British outrage on the high seas, to Julius W. Pratt's thesis in Expansionists of 1812, that the western war hawks wished to acquire British North America and Spanish Florida.[1] It appears that Warren H. Goodman's 1941 plea[2], that a combination of reasons was responsible for the war, has gone unheeded. According to Goodman, Adams did not completely abandon the general 19th Century emphasis on British infractions against U. S. commerce as a prime cause of the war; he merely modified it.[3]

On September 14, 1812, under siege by Napoleon Bonaparte, residents of Moscow set fire to the city, causing the destruction of about 30,000 houses.

The fortunes of war were not favorable for the United States either; indeed its very existence was gravely threatened. As the war of 1812 went on, the people's sentiments turned against it and against President Madison. Except on the sea, where the U. S. Navy did well in capturing British warships, the United States war with Britain was waged inefficiently, and consequently the first year of the war was far from glorious. On land the United States plan for invasion of Canada failed when General William Hull surrendered Detroit to British General Isaac Brock[4] on August 16, 1812.

---

[1]Julius W. Pratt, Expansionists of 1812. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), passim.

[2]Warren H. Goodman, "The Origins of the War of 1812: A Survey of Changing Interpretations," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Vol. XXVIII, No.2 (September, 1941), pp. 171-186.

[3]Ibid., p. 173.

[4]Pratt, op. cit., pp. 173-174.

However, the U. S. Navy's victories over British sea power surprised many. For example, Capt. James Lawrence of the Chesapeake won fame and went to an untimely death in 1813, atoning for the 1807 disgrace of Capt. James Barron, whose guns were not ready when a British ship stopped to search the Chesapeake.[1] In 1812 the Constitution destroyed the Guerrière and the Java.

America's fortunes improved considerably in 1813 with the bold action of Capt. Oliver Hazard Perry.

The Canadians, many of whom were Loyalists evicted from the United States during 1776-1783, hurled back the American invasions of Canada in 1813. Capt. Oliver Hazard Perry realized that control of the Lakes was important to transport military supplies westward. He built a fleet of "green-timbered ships, manned largely by even greener seamen, plus some Kentucky riflemen, and engaged and captured a less powerful British fleet on Lake Erie, in the Battle of Put-in-Bay on September 10, 1813, making it impossible for the British to hold Detroit any longer. "We have met the enemy and they are ours," he wrote to his commander, "two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and a sloop." His slogan and victory raised the sagging American morale and British posts at Malden

---

[1] Quaife, Weig, and Appleman, op. cit., p. 63.

and Detroit quickly fell to the Americans. The British retreated into Canada, but General Harrison defeated them at the Battle of the Thames. In this battle Tecumseh, a gifted Indian chief and General in the British army,was killed.[1]

The very first victories of the American Navy were heartily cheered, but soon the seaboard states, which depended largely on the trade with Britain, found themselves unhappy with the situation.

Between the period June 18, 1812 - March 31, 1814,the primary interest of the British Government was in the outcome of the Napoleonic conflict in Europe; the war with the United States was given secondary place, since the British were unable to spare men and equipment to bring both wars to successful conclusion. British action in the American war was centered in the defense of Canada against United States attack and in fleet operations along the Atlantic coastal areas.

The long and costly war with Napoleon was exhausting not only to Europe but also to England. The British public, as well as the Gevernment, were also weary of the costly and prolonged war in America, and were anxious to come to some settlement. Two initiatives occurred during January of 1814 which indicated their willingness and intention to settle the conflict in America. Their first move was to negotiate with the American representatives regarding a Peace Conference; their second was to replace the old and inefficient Admiral Warren with

---

[1]Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant, A History of the Republic. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1956), p. 209.

Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane as Commander-in-Chief of the North American Section of the British Navy.[1] Thus, if the diplomatic art of peace negotiations were to fail, strong and decisive action would be possible.

During January-March of 1814, plans were made for joint Navy and Army operations against the United States in the summer and fall of that year. However, these plans became known to Mr. Beasley, the U. S. Prisoner of War exchange agent in England, and were subsequently transmitted to Secretary of State James Monroe. Although these plans are rather obscure in content, they do reveal the name of Admiral Cochrane as the leader of the planned expedition.[2]

On March 1, 1814, a formal alliance of the Great Powers was concluded on French soil at Chaumont. In this treaty, known as the Treaty of Chaumont, the four Powers, England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, agreed on the necessity of the total defeat of Napoleon, that each state would give 150,000 men to this end, that they would not lay down their arms until Napoleon be defeated, and finally that 5,000,000 English pounds would be equally divided among the Powers. On March 30, 1814, the Allies carried out an invasion at France, and Napoleon fled. On the following day, March 31, 1814, the Allies

---

[1]Admiralty to Cochrane, January 25, 1814, Public Record Office. Admiralty 2, Vol. 933, pp. 91-95.

[2]Beasley to Secretary of State Monroe, January 5, January 25, February 11, March 18, 1814, Clemens Library, University of Michigan, Melville Papers.

decided to mark the occupation of Paris by a mammoth parade, designed to convince the French people that they had nothing in common with Napoleon. The French people had had enough of the "merde et gloire de la guerre."[1]

b. THE AMERICAN PHASE OF THE WAR

The fall of Paris on March 31, 1814, and the exile of Napoleon to Elba brought a change in the American situation. Great Britain, now no longer bound to Europe, turned her attention fully to the American problem, as with Napoleon's defeat, she was free to devote more resources to the campaign in the United States. The Admiralty issued orders on May 6, 1814, for a reduction of manpower on the British ships stationed south of France and for the transfer of the men thus freed to Cochrane's North American Station.[2] Upon this action, the organization of the Army expedition began on May 20. This expedition was primarily composed of the veterans of the then recent Spanish campaign and was put under the command of Major General Robert Ross, an able officer and close friend of the Duke of Wellington.[3]

---

[1]For Napoleon's military campaigns, cf. General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall, Napoleon as Military Commander. (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., & D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., Princeton, New Jersey, 1967), passim.

[2]Barron to Cochrane, May 6, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 2, Vol. 1380, Part 2, pp. 107-108.

[3]Bathurst to Commanding Officer of Troops Detached from the Mediterranes for North American Service, [May 20, 1814], Public Record Office, War Office 6, Vol. 2.

The British War Office gave instructions to General Ross according to which he was to create a diversion and thus assist British operations in Canada and on the northern frontier of the United States. In this primary objective General Ross was to work closely with Admiral Cochrane, the Commander-in-Chief of the planned expedition. Ross was ordered to limit his activities to the area along the coastline, and due to the lack of sufficient artillery and cavalry support he could not occupy permanently any American district. General Ross with his troops sailed from the Gironde on June 27 and arrived in Bermuda on July 24, 1814.[1]

However, by secret dispatch of August 1, 1814, Admiral Cochrane received full authority to use the men and the ships as he saw fit within the North American Station.[2]

c. EVENTS LEADING TO THE BRITISH ATTACK ON BALTIMORE IN 1814

In July of 1814, Cochrane dispatched nine hundred marines to the Commander of the Chesapeake Squadron, Admiral Cockburn, with the specific purpose of keeping all American forces in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania fully engaged and consequently away from the northern theater.[3] It should be remembered that United States forces had won the land Battle of Chippewa on July 5, 1814, followed by another battle on July 25 at Lundy's Lane.

---

[1]Ibid.

[2]Croker to Cochrane, August 1, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 2, Vol. 1380, p. 287.

[3]Cochrane to [Bathurst]. July 14, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

From his letter reporting on his action to the War Office, it is evident that Cochrane had in mind a broader plan than one of simply keeping American troops away from the northern theater. Discussing General Ross's troops, who joined him 10 days later, he wrote: "If troops arrive soon and the point of attack is directed towards Baltimore I have every prospect of success and Washington will be equally accessible. They may be either destroyed or laid under contribution as the occasion may require....I have it much at heart to give them a complete drubbing before peace is made--when I trust their northern line will be circumscribed and the command of the Mississippi wrested from them."[1]

The above leaves no doubt that in the conquest of Baltimore and Washington Cochrane saw an important element which would influence the planned Peace Conference at Ghent, Belgium,in the direction of British wishes.

In 1813 Great Britain had rejected the offer of the Russian Czar Alexander I to mediate between London and Washington. Britain, however, was willing to negotiate directly with America. To the Peace Conference at Ghent, which began on August 8, 1814, came the American Commissioners--John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and James A. Bayard--who were "on their own,"since correspondence with Washington took many weeks. The British delegates, however,

---

[1] Ibid.

could communicate almost daily with London.[1]

Meanwhile, because of the summer danger of fever and ague in the Chesapeake region, Cochrane had decided, on July 23, 1814, to postpone the attack on Baltimore to October, and to start a series of raids on the New England coast.[2]

On July 24 the expeditionary forces of General Ross arrived in Bermuda. Shortly after, on August 2, Cochrane, Ross and Rear Admiral Malcolm began their voyage to the Chesapeake, and when by August 14, the entire expeditionary force for the first time approached the mouth of the Potomac, Cochrane, Ross and Cockburn began their council of war.[3]

Of the forces included in the expedition, the Naval unit was the most important, having twenty warships plus transport and supply ships.[4] However sixteen of the twenty warships consisted of shallow draft frigates, bomb ships and a rocket ship.[5] The fleet also provided the expedition with a brigade of 600 seamen, headed by Captain E. Crofton of the Royal Oak.[6] Operating with this naval brigade were the

---

[1]Julius W. Pratt, A History of the United States Foreign Policy. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 135.

[2]Cochrane to Admiralty, July 23, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiral's Dispatches, Vol. 506, Part 5.

[3]William James, A Full and Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War Between Great Britain and the United States of America; With an Appendix, and Plates. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. (London: Printed for the Author, by Joyce Gold, 1818), pp. 275-276.

[4]A.T. Mahan, Sea Power In Its Relations To the War of 1812. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1919), p. 340.

[5]Steele's List of the Royal Navy for 1813, [New York Historical Society].

[6]Cochrane to Croker, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

2nd and 3rd Battalions of the Royal Marines[1] and a detachment of Marines from the ships, as well as units of Colonial Marines composed of runaway negro slaves.[2]

At the time when the army of Major General Ross left Bermuda for its Chesapeake campaign it consisted of 3400 men,[3] and included detachments of the Royal Sappers and Miners, the Royal Artillery and the 4th, 21st, 44th and 85th Regiments of Light Infantry.[4] It was an experienced army of professional soldiers who had served with the Duke of Wellington in the Napoleonic Wars.

Even prior to the arrival of Ross's army the tactical operations of the Chesapeake campaign had started, as evident from a classified letter of Admiral Cockburn of July 17, 1814. It was his opinion that Ross's army should land at Benedict, located near the Patuxent River, because, as he stated, it "is only 44 or 45 miles from Washington and there is a high Road between the two Places which tho hilly, is good.... within 48 Hours after the Arrival in the Patuxent of such a Force as you expect [meaning Ross's army], the city of Washington might be possessed without Difficulty or Opposition of any Kind." It was his opinion that the Patuxent near Benedict would guarantee protection for the ships in case of a storm. Cochrane had previously suggested either

---

[1]Cockburn to Croker, September 15, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 507.

[2]Cf. Proclamation of Admiral Cockburn, May 19, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol, 507, Pt. 1 and Cochrane to Croker, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

[3]Mahan, op. cit., p. 340.

[4]Ross to Bathurst, August 30, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1

Annapolis or Baltimore as good places for the first landing, but these suggestions were strongly opposed by Cockburn, because, as he said, "Annapolis is tolerably well fortified and is the spot from whence the American Government has always felt Washington would be threatened." He also believed that Baltimore was quite difficult of access from the sea and conceived a plan according to which "both Annapolis and Baltimore are to be taken without difficulty from the land side, that is coming down upon them from the Washington Road...Baltimore having no Defence whatever in its Rear."[1]

As later events show, Admiral Cochrane approved this Cockburn plan, to which, as a result of a conference between Admirals Cochrane and Cockburn and General Ross held on August 15-16, three important additions were made. These additions consisted in sending Captain Gordon, HMS Seahorse 16 with a small squadron up the Potomac with the purpose of bombarding Fort Washington, while Admiral Cockburn, after landing Ross's army at Benedict and destroying the flotilla of Commodore Barney, was to follow up the Patuxent River. The third addition consisted in sending Captain Parker with HMS Menelaus, 38 guns, as well as a contingent of marines to the Chesapeake Bay for the purpose of making raids there not too far above Baltimore. The primary purpose of these three naval operations was to create confusion, and thus to

---

[1]Cockburn to Cochrane, July 17, 1814, Library of Congress, Cockburn MSS, Secret Letters.

divert attention from the landing of Ross' forces at Benedict.[1] All these diversions were successful, and General Ross landed at Benedict on August 19, proceeding immediately by way of Marlborough and Bladensburg to Washington. On the evening of August 23,his march was temporarily interrupted by about 1200 American militia, who fired a few shots at Ross' men and then ran. On August 24, at Bladensburg, militia and regulars under Brig. General Winder tried to stop Ross' army but failed. Around 8 P.M. of that day Ross' troops captured Washington and burned the Capitol, the White House,and other public buildings.[2] It was Mrs. James (Dolly) Madison who saved the original document of the Declaration of Independence and reportedly rushed from the White House with Gilbert Stuart's portrait of George Washington in her arms.

On August 27, 1814,Rear Admiral George Cockburn reported to Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane of the victory and described the burning and capture of Washington. In his own words,

> On taking possession of the city we also set fire to the President's Palace, the Treasury, and the War-Office, and in the morning Captain Wainwright went with a party to see that the destruction in the Navy Yard was complete, when he destroyed whatever stores and buildings had escaped the flames of the preceding night. A large quantity of ammunition and ordnance stores were likewise destroyed by us in the arsenal, as were about 200 pieces of cannon of different calibres, as well as a vast quantity of arms. Two Rope Walks of a very extensive nature, full of Tar Rope, etc.,

---

[1]Cochrane to Croker, September 2, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 506.

[2]Ross to Bathurst, August 30, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1.

> situated at a considerable distance from the Yard, were likewise set on fire and consumed. In short, sir, I do not believe a vestige of public property, or a store of any kind, which would be converted to the use of the government escaped destruction, the bridge across the Eastern Branch and the Potomac were likewise destroyed. This general devastation being completed during the day of the 25th, we marched again at 9 that night on our return by Bladenshurg to Upper Marlborough.[1]

Though the British claimed that the burning of Washington was in retaliation for the burning of York (Toronto), their act only served to inflame anti-British bitterness in America.[2]

The news of the burning of Washington was received with shock and dismay throughout the country. In a dispatch from Washington dated September 9, 1814, the Boston Patriot reported that "The Public Buildings having been mostly destroyed, the various offices are locating themselves in those private houses which are most commodious and conveniently situated for the purpose."[3]

The Boston Patriot called the burning of the Capitol by the British

> a wanton piece of destruction without a parallel in modern war. Bonaparte has been in possession of almost every capital in Europe, but he spared edifices that were merely ornamental, and had no relation to war. He did not burn public libraries. He did not wage war with science and the arts and civilization. What would have been said, or rather what would not have been said, had he burnt the palaces of the Emperor of Austria, or the King of Prussia? Even the Goths and Vandals who sacked

---

[1]Cockburn to Cochrane, August 27, 1814. M-625, Roll No. 77, A-7, Area File 1775-1910.

[2]Bailey, op. cit., p. 211.

[3]Boston Patriot, September 14, 1814, p. 2.

> Rome left her ornamental buildings standing. The barbarian and civilized conquerors, who have so often visited the ancient mistress of the world, have left her spendid ornaments to waste under the slow decay of time. But Britons disdain to take their examples from barbarous or civilized nations. They choose to set an example for themselves.[1]

In England, on the other hand, the destruction of the American Capitol aroused enthusiasm. According to Niles' Weekly Register, "The capture of Washington was received in London with great exultation and joy, the park and tower guns were fired for three days successively, at 12 o'clock at noon."[2] The London Times saw in this event the disappearance of the American Republic, which it called an "association," declaring "That ill-organized association is on the eve of dissolution, and the world is speedily to be delivered of the mischievous example of a government founded on democratic rebellion."[3] But there were also voices in Great Britain which prophesied no good in the British action. The London Statesman condemned the official organs for justifying the action of General Ross and his company, seeing in it an action worthy of the old buccaneers, and declaring, "Willingly could we throw a veil of oblivion over our transactions at Washington. The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the Capitol of America."[4] The Liverpool Mercury, while praising and applauding "the spirit and intrepidity of our seamen and soldiers, who were the brave instruments of this successful enterprize," at the same time expressed doubts of the justice and sound policy

---

[1]Boston Patriot, September 17, 1814, p. 2.

[2]Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No. 18 (December 31, 1814), p.276.

[3]Benson J. Lossing, The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the Last War for American Independence. (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1869), p. 934.

[4]Niles'Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No. 13 (December 3, 1814), p.204.

of such warfare, saying: "We will content ourselves with asking the most earnest friends of the conflagratory system, what purpose will be served by the flames of the senate house at Washington? If the people of the United States retain any portion of that spirit with which they successfully contended for their independence, the effects of those flames will not easily be extinguished."[1] The British Annual Register opposed the action, calling it "a return to the times of barbarism."[2]

But the burning had, if anything, a salutary effect in the long run on American morale.

Speaking of the capture of Washington, a federal paper, The Albany Register, said:

> Gloomy and disastrous as this news is, let it not damp the ardor of American patriotism - let it not, for a moment, discourage or throw us into the arms of despondency. Our capital is gone, but of what advantage to the enemy is this destruction of a few buildings, the monuments of art and of national magnificence? The loss of property is insignificant, compared with our resources, and the event cannot surely strike terror into the bosoms of freemen, or repress for a moment the energies of a nation to resentment and exertion by this daring invasion of its territory.
>
> We observe that the annunciation of this intelligence is mingled in several prints with criminations of the Administration. These may be just, but they are ill-timed. Believe us, fellow-citizens, this is no moment for crimination and recrimination, which necessarily follows. While the lightning of war flashed dimly in the distant horizon, and its thunder was scarcely heard within our borders, it was still

---

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No. 18 (December 31, 1814), p. 276.

[2] Lossing, op. cit., p. 933.

> proper enough to give vent to our criminations and complaints, to the just feelings of regret or indignation. But when the clouds have gathered over our heads, and are bursting in vengeance upon our altars and our firesides; when the heart of our country is penetrated by hostile bands, and the smoking ruins of our capital admonish us that UNION alone is salvation, it is worse than fruitless to complain of grievances, the redress of which is necessarily remote. Hushed then be every murmur of discord, while a hostile foot pollutes the land of our fathers; let us forget all minor considerations of political or personal animosity; let one voice and one spirit animate us all--the voice of our bleeding country, and the spirit of our immortal ancestors.[1]

The British defeated Winder's army, captured Washington and burned it, but did not capture the Republic. Nothing now stood in Ross' way on his march to Baltimore. Nevertheless on August 29, 1814, he retreated to the south, reaching Benedict four days later, and on August 30 his army was reembarked. What caused his decision to withdraw from launching the planned attack against the rear of undefended Baltimore? He himself admitted that his action was motivated by his expectation of a possible encounter with a large American force.[2] Consequently Ross' army stayed aboard its transports in the Patuxent between August 30 and September 6, protected under the guns of HMS Royal Oak, and it was on September 6 that Ross' expeditionary force left the Patuxent to join the fleet of Admiral Cochrane, then anchoring near Tangier Island. On September 10, the unified British expeditionary forces appeared near North Point, in the mouth of the Patapsco River,

---

[1]Quoted in Boston Patriot, December 3, 1814, p. 1.

[2]Ross to Bathurst, August 30, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1.

where they began to land sailors and troops early in the morning of September 12.[1] This was the beginning of the Battle of Baltimore.

In the meantime, the British had some 10,000 crack troops ready in 1814 for the campaign in the Lake Champlain area. On September 11, 1814, Thomas Macdonough, Commander of the weaker American fleet, challenged the British near Plattsburg on board "floating slaughterhouses." At one point the U.S. flagship was silenced, but Macdonough suddenly turned his vessel about and gave the enemy a broadside. His victory meant that the British army was forced to retreat; its supply lines were endangered. "Macdonough thus saved New York from conquest, New England from detachment, and the Union from possible dissolution. He also profoundly affected the concurrent negotiation of the peace treaty in Europe. The victories of Perry and Macdonough, though achieved on inland lakes, were by far the most decisive naval engagements of the war. That of Macdonough, though the more important, is largely forgotten, partly because he devised no blood-tingling slogan."[2]

On Monday morning, September 12, at 3:00 A.M. the British units on the Patapsco assembled on the decks to get ready for transportation by barge and small boat to the shore, and four hours later at 7:00 A.M. the operation was completed and a little over a thousand soldiers were

---

[1]Cochrane to Croker, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

[2]Bailey, op. cit., p. 210.

ready for combat operations at the edge of the beach.[1]

The assault was led by three companies of light infantry followed by a light brigade which included the 85th Light Infantry together with light companies from the 4th and 21st Infantry. Then followed the brigade of 600 seamen, armed with muskets. The rear of the assault units consisted of two brigades made up from the rest of the infantry and marines. When they had advanced about three miles, the British suddenly came upon a partly completed defense position prepared by the Americans. General Ross then realized that the main American unit might be nearer than expected, and consequently ordered his front column to halt until the rest of the expeditionary army reached him.[2]

Upon reaching the Gorsuch Farm, General Ross and Admiral Cockburn rested and had a meal, and General Ross interrogated captured American prisoners concerning the strength of the forces and defenses of the Americans under General Sam Smith. According to George Robert Gleig, who served as a Lieutenant during this expedition and witnessed this interrogation, while the Americans gave an accurate account of the

---

[1]George Robert Gleig, A Subaltern in America; Comprising His Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, at Baltimore, Washington, etc., etc. During the Late War. In One Volume. (Philadelphia and Baltimore: E.L. Carey & A. Hart Co., 1833), pp. 112-114. Hereafter cited as A Subaltern in America. Cf. also his A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, at Washington, Baltimore, and New Orleans, Under Generals Ross, Pakenham, & Lambert, in the Years 1814 and 1815; With Some Account of the Countries Visited. To which is annexed An Appendix, containing An Exposition of Sundry Errors in the Work. (Philadelphia: Published by M. Carey & Sons, 1821), p.174. Hereafter cited as A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army.

[2]Brooke to Bathurst, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

strength of General Smith's army they said very little of the 3rd Brigade of General Stricker, which was situated nearby at Bear Creek.[1]

When word reached Stricker that the advance party of General Ross was resting in the Gorsuch house he ordered a volunteer group to form a detachment which would advance to the Gorsuch house and destroy Ross' advance column.[2] As this detachment moved forward under the command of Major Heath they soon encountered Ross' advance unit, which had already left the Gorsuch place. In the course of fighting, the Americans were pushed back, but General Ross was shot by an unknown American rifleman, whose bullet went through Ross' hand and landed in his chest.[3] The wound was mortal, and General Ross died while being carried back to the beach. Thus General Ross, hero of Bladensburg and destroyer of the Capitol, lost his own life. Later his body was placed in 129 gallons of rum and conveyed back to England.[4]

The command of the British forces then devolved upon Colonel Brooke, who was then in command of the 44th Regiment. Upon assuming command Col. Brooke continued the advance, pushing back Major Heath's detachment and soon reaching a position near Bear Creek within view

---

[1]Gleig, A Subaltern in America, pp. 118-120; A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, p. 176.

[2]Stricker to Smith, September 15, 1814, Library of Congress, Samuel Smith Papers.

[3]Gleig, A Subaltern in America, pp. 122-123; A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 177-178; James, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 314-315; Brooke to Bathurst, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

[4]British Admiralty Records, Log of H.M.S. Royal Oak.

of the 3rd Brigade. Just fifteen minutes after the arrival of the British forces in front of the Stricker position, the Battle of North Point began at 2:50 P.M. The British advance was precise and masterfully coordinated,[1] and not even one hour later, at 3:45 P.M., General Stricker issued an order for withdrawal, which according to British account saw the Americans "obliged to fly in every direction."[2]

As the outnumbered defenders were eventually routed by the British they withdrew to a reserve position about a mile and half to the rear, where they regrouped and prepared for further attack by the British.[3] This attack however did not materialize, Instead the British set up campfires and rested overnight,[4] while General Striker, fearing a sudden British attack, withdrew to Worthington Mill situated about four and a half miles closer to Baltimore.[5]

---

[1]Stricker to Smith, September 15, 1814, Library of Congress, Samuel Smith Papers.

[2]Brooke to Bathurst, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

[3]Stricker to Smith, September 15, 1814, Library of Congress, Samuel Smith Papers.

[4]Gleig, A Subaltern in America, p. 140; A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, p. 186.

[5]Stricker to Smith, September 15, 1814, Library of Congress, Samuel Smith Papers.

d. THE BATTLE OF BALTIMORE

Although a heavy rain fell on Baltimore early in the morning of Tuesday, September 13, by 6 A.M. the British army and fleet were ready to resume operations in the hope of taking Baltimore.[1] Brooke set up a command post on the Philadelphia Road at 10 A.M., to take the range, as he put it, "at my leisure," of the Baltimore defences.[2]

While Brooke's units proceeded in their march toward Baltimore, the bomb ships Terror, Meteor, Aetna, Devastation and Volcano, together with the rocket ship Erebus, began to fire on Fort McHenry at a distance of approximately two miles.[3] On the night before, however, a force composed of ten frigates and sloops had moved up the Patapsco, taking up positions about two and half miles below Fort McHenry. One of these frigates was the Surprise, which became the flagship of Admiral Cochrane, who took charge of the bombardment of Fort McHenry. At first, when Washington was captured, Cochrane opposed an attack on Baltimore, as he thought that it was not the proper time for such a step. But he was finally persuaded, and gave his approval to the operation to be led by General Ross and Admiral Cockburn. But the death of General Ross and doubts regarding the outcome of this engagement now began to worry Admiral Cochrane as well as the Captain of the Fleet,

---

[1]Gleig, A Subaltern in America, pp. 141-150; A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, p. 189.

[2]Brooke to Bathurst, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

[3]James, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 322. For an illustration of the bombardment of Fort McHenry see Appendix A.

Admiral Codrington.[1]

Fort McHenry is so situated that it has absolute control of the water approaches to Baltimore. Lying in Baltimore between the Patapsco River and its northwest branch, it had its origin in 1776 with the Whetstone Point shore battery.[2] By 1794 Fort Whetstone, which in the meantime had been abandoned, came under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government upon a recommendation made to the House of Representatives that Baltimore, together with fifteen additional ports and harbors, be fortified, and an appropriation was made for this purpose.[3] The authorization for work on the fortification of ports and harbors came with the Act of March 20, 1794.[4]

---

[1]Sir Edward Codrington, Memoir of the Life of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington With Selections from His Public and Private Correspondence. Edited by his daughter, Lady Bourchiers. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1873), pp. 319-320.

[2]Harold I. Lessem and George C. Mackenzie, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Maryland. National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, No.5. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), pp. 1-2.

[3]Cf. Report No. 13 Communicated to the House of Representatives, February 28, 1794, 3rd Congress 1st. Session. American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, From the First Session of the First to the Second Session of the Fifteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing March 3, 1789, and Ending March 3, 1819. Selected and Edited, Under the Authority of Congress, by Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke. Military Affairs. Volume I. (Washington: Published by Gales and Seaton, 1832), pp.61-64.(Hereafter cited as American State Papers. Class V. Military Affairs.Volume I.

[4]"An Act to provide for the defence of certain ports and harbors in the United States." The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States; With an Appendix, Containing Important State Papers and Public Documents, and all the Laws of a Public Nature; With a Copious Index. Third Congress: Comprising the Period from December 2, 1793, to March 3, 1795, Inclusive. Compiled from Authentic Materials.(Washington: Printed and Published by Gales and Seaton, 1849), pp.1423-1424. Hereafter cited as Annals of the Congress of the United States, Third Congress.

John Jacob Ulrick Rivardi was designated by the Secretary of War to examinate the fortifications and to prepare plans for a permanent defence of the Baltimore harbor.[1] Rivardi's plans were approved on April 20, 1794, and Samuel Dodge was selected to supervise the construction.[2]

By July 18, 1798, Fort Whetstone had become known as Fort McHenry, so named in honor of Colonel James McHenry of Maryland, then the Secretary of War.[3] It received the name of a very distinguished person. Dr. James McHenry was born on November 16, 1753,at Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland. Upon obtaining a classical education in Dublin, he arrived about 1771 in Baltimore. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was studying medicine in Philadelphia in the office of Dr. Benjamin Rush. He became an assistant surgeon in the Continental Army, and in 1776 was assigned to the Cambridge, Mass.,Army hospital. Subsequently he became a surgeon of the Pennsylvania Fifth Battalion, and after the fall of Fort Washington he was taken prisoner, paroled on January 27, 1777,and finally exchanged on March 5, 1778. On May 15, 1778, he became Secretary to General Washington, a position in which he served until August 1780, when he became a member of the staff of General Lafayette, with whom he experienced the Virginia campaign against Cornwallis in 1781 and the surrender at Yorktown. Following the war, between 1783-86

---

[1]Secretary of War to Rivardi, March 28, 1794. American State Papers. Class V. Military Affairs. Volume I, pp. 87-88.

[2]Rivardi to Secretary of War, April 20, 1794. Ibid. p. 89.

[3]Register of Warrants, 1795-1799, Accountant's Office, G.A.O.

he represented Maryland as a delegate to the Continental Congress, became a member of the Federal Constitutional Convention in 1787, and in 1796 Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Washington, a post which he held until May 1800, when he resigned because of differences with President John Adams regarding the French question. He died on May 3, 1816, at his residence, "Fayetteville," on West Baltimore Street.[1]

Although the Star Fort was completed sometime in the late 1790s, extensive improvements were made between 1803 and the time of the bombardment by the British in 1814. The bombardment by the fleet of sixteen British warships lasted, with two brief intermissions, for twenty-five hours, between 6:00 A.M. of September 13 to 7:00 A.M. of September 14, and according to the estimate of Major George Armistead, between fifteen to eighteen hundred shells were directed at the fort. Despite this heavy shelling, only four men lost their lives and twenty-four were wounded.[2]

The primary purpose of the bombardment was to create panic among the defenders and thus to cause evacuation of the fort. This event did not materialize and it became evident that a direct assault on the fort during daylight could not succeed.[3]

---

[1]For a complete study of James McHenry's life see Bernard C. Steiner, The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry, Secretary of War under Washington and Adams. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company 1907), pass.

[2]Armistead to Secretary of War, September 24, 1814, Niles' Weekly Register. Vol. VII. No.3 (October 1, 1814), p. 40.

[3]Cochrane to Croker, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

While the prospects of the naval operation seemed gloomy, Colonel Brooke, who by noon had completed the preliminary survey for his action, found that his project was also hopeless. According to his estimation the Eastern Defense Line had about 15,000 men and 120 guns.[1] His own force, on the other hand, had been reduced, due to the 341 casualties suffered on the previous day, to approximately 3270 men, plus two light field pieces and a howitzer.[2] Consequently any frontal attack was out of the question.

Realizing that the only undefended part of the city was its northern perimeter, Brooke decided to move his army by noon in the direction of Harford and York Roads. His movement was however discovered by the American cavalry, whereupon Stricker's Brigade, together with General Winder's command, were ordered by Smith to follow the British movements, and took up a position between York Road and Belair Road, just north of the city.[3]

Stricker's and Winder's actions frustrated Brooke's plan, and consequently, between 1 and 2 P.M. Brooke's army concentrated in front of the Eastern Defense Line, within a mile's distance. Smith, believing that Brooke would wait until night for any movement, instructed Stricker

---

[1]Brooke to Bathurst, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

[2]James, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 318.

[3]Smith to Secretary of War, September 19, 1814, Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No. 2 (September 24, 1814), pp. 26-27.

and Winder to assume a position on the left flank of their entrenchment, since, in the event of a frontal attack during the night, he planned to have these forces fall on the right rear of the British position.[1]

As heavy rain started to pour immediately after 5 P.M. and made visibility very difficult, Colonel Brooke, following a conference with his officers, decided on a night attack. Such an attack, however, depended on the cooperation of the fleet, which was to attack the strong American position known as the Rodgers Bastion. "To the fleet it was accordingly left, which by bombardment, would, it was presumed, reduce it to ruins in a few hours; and the commencement of a serious cannonade from the river, was to be the signal for a general movement in line."[2]

During the course of the evening of September 13 Brooke's army had established contact with the fleet of Admiral Cochrane.[3] In spite of Cochrane's belief that the fleet might have difficulty in penetrating the Northwest branch of the Patapsco River as a result of the sunken hulks between Fort McHenry and the Lazaretto,[4]

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] This is the account of an eyewitness of this conference, Lieutenant Gleig, and is included in his A Subaltern in America, pp. 156-157, and A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 192-193.

[3] Cf. Brooke to Bathurst, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141, and Cochrane to Croker, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

[4] Cochrane to Croker, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

the plans for a joint action remained in effect,and Brooke's army stayed in combat readiness until about 2 A.M. of September 14. By midnight Brooke's army was waiting for a signal from the fleet to begin the joint action.[1]

During the evening of September 13 Major Armistead sent a message from Fort McHenry to General Smith stating: "From the number of barges and the known situation of the enemy I have not a doubt but what an assault will be made this night on the Fort."[2]

Shortly before midnight the bomb ships intensified their bombardment of Fort McHenry to such an extent that Master Webster, who was in charge of the six-gun Babcock Battery on the Ferry Branch, decided that his own guns must he double-shotted with eighteen pound balls and grape shot.[3] By midnigbt the final stage of the Battle of Baltimore had begun, curiously by a diversionary tactic, hy way of the back route at the Ferry Branch of the Patapsco River into Ridgely's Cove, about a half a mile within the southern limits of Baltimore. Captain Charles Napier, of the frigate Euryalus,led the attack on the Ferry Branch with a force of twenty boats and 1200 officers, marines and seamen. As Captain Napier's force left the fleet and approached Fort McHenry eleven of his boats separated from the remaining nine,

---

[1]Gleig, A Subaltern in America, pp. 157-158; A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 196-197.

[2]Armistead to Smith, September 13, 1814, Library of Congress, Samuel Smith Papers.

[3]Webster to Brantz Mayer, July 22, 1853, Maryland Historical Society, Vertical File.

and instead of sailing into the Ferry Branch of the river, they mistakenly sailed into the Northwest Branch.[1] As these boats neared the Lazaretto they were detected by the Flotillamen who, believing this to be a move to capture the Lazaretto battery, informed Commodore Rodgers, who in turn ordered Mr. Stockton Major Randall's Company of Pennsylvania Riflemen to proceed there.[2] As this was going on the officers of the eleven boats recognized their error and also the danger of their position, and began a withdrawal to their fleet.[3]

Not knowing what had happened Captain Napier and his nine boats continued on their assignment to the Ferry Branch. This force included a rocket boat, five launches or barges, two pinnaces and one gig, plus 128 men.[4] In passing Babcock Battery and approaching Fort Covington, Napier's unit came to the notice of Master Webster, whose battery opened fire and Fort Covington followed shortly.[5] Upon this the British boats replied with their cannon.[6] Upon detection of his boats Napier retreated down the river, firing at Fort McHenry on the way, and finally at about 2 P.M. returning to the fleet.[7] This unsuccessful attack was the end of

---

[1]James, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 324-325.

[2]Rodgers to James, September 23, 1814, Library of Congress, Rodgers Papers.

[3]James, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 324-325.

[4]Ibid., p. 325.

[5]Webster to Brantz Mayer, July 22, 1853, Maryland Historical Society, Vertical File.

[6]Newcomb [CO at Ft. Covington] to Rodgers, September 14, 1814, Library of Congress, Rodgers Papers.

[7]Armistead to Secretary of War, September 24, 1814, Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No. 3 (October 1, 1814), p. 40.

the British plan to capture Baltimore.

During Napier's engagement in the Ferry Branch the forces of Colonel Brooke stayed combat-ready, just opposite the Eastern Defense Line, expecting to take action between midnight and 1:30 A.M. in accordance with previous plans.[1] As the order came to withdraw at 1:30 A.M. Brooke's army began its return to North Point. Colonel Brooke's withdrawal was explained in his report to the War Office as follows: "it was agreed between the vice-admiral and myself, that the capture of the town would not have been a sufficient equivalent to the loss which might probably be sustained in storming the heights."[2] The fleet covered the withdrawal of Brooke's army to North Point by a severe bombardment of Fort McHenry until 7:00 A.M.; two hours later it was on its way to the mouth of the Patapsco River.[3]

During his withdrawal Colonel Brooke followed a pattern by which he first retreated only three miles before taking up another position, which he held until the afternoon of September 14, then advancing an additional three and one-half miles and making camp for the night. The reason for this move he explained in his report as follows:

---

[1]Gleig, A Subaltern in America, pp. 157-158; Gleig, A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 196-197.

[2]Brooke to Bathurst, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141. Gleig in his A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, page 197, says that "About three hours after midnight, the troops were accordingly formed upon the road, and began their retreat; leaving the piquets to deceive the enemy, and to follow as a rear guard."

[3]Armistead to Secretary of War, September 24, 1814, Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No. 3 (October 1, 1814), p. 40.

"Having ascertained at a late bour on the morning of the 15th, that the enemy had no disposition to quit his entrenchments, I moved down and re-embarked the army at North Point, not leaving a man behind."[1]

The American version concerning the British withdrawal, however, according to the report of Major General Sam Smith, is slightly different; according to his account the American defenders stationed in the Eastern Defense Line, because of darkness and heavy rain, did not know until morning that the British had left their position. Upon discovering this fact Smith ordered General Winder's unit, together with the Virginia militia and Bird's U.S. Dragoons, to follow Colonel Brooke's army through the North Point Road, and Major Randall's Pennsylvania Riflemen, together with all tbe militia cavalry, were dispatched to attack the British on Trappe Road.[2] Due, however, to the physical exhaustion of the militia, after lack of sleep for the three previous nights, the British force was reached only by the U.S. Dragoons, who, according to General Winder's account, attacked only their rear guard and captured six prisoners before retreating in tbe face of superior force.[3]

---

[1]Brooke to Bathurst, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141. This retreat is also described in Gleig's A Subaltern in America, pp. 159-163, and his A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 197-200.

[2]Smith to Secretary of War, September 19, 1814, Niles' Weekly Register Vol. VII, No. 2 (September 24, 1814), pp. 26-27.

[3]Division Orders of General Winder, September 15, 1814, Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. II, No. 2 (September 24, 1814), pp. 29-30.

The British fleet set sail on the morning of September 17, and at 2:00 P.M. it passed Swan Point close to the mouth of the Patapsco River.[1] Two days later, on September 19, Admiral Cochrane set sail with the Tonnant and the Surprise for Halifax, to assume charge of construction of the flat-bottomed boats to be used in the attack on New Orleans. Admiral Cockburn also sailed, on September 19 with most of the ships belonging to the Chesapeake squadron, for Bermuda. Admiral Malcolm however stayed in the Patuxent, not only with the frigates and bomb ships but also with Brooke's army, and finally, on October 14, sailed for Jamaica.[2] Thus by this time the mighty Chesapeake Expeditionary force of the British had been reduced to a small force comprising the frigates HMS Dragon 74, Hebrus and Havannah, and four smaller supporting ships, plus a unit of 200 colonial Marines who were former refugee slaves.[3] This once mighty force, now commanded by Captain Barrie, was stationed on Tangier Island near the mouth of the Potomac River, and were no longer able to pose a threat to Baltimore.

---

[1]Smith to Monroe, September 17, 1814, Library of Congress, Samuel Smith Papers. Cf. also Gleig, A Subaltern in America, p. 165, and his A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, p. 203.

[2]James, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 331-332; Gleig, A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 203-210.

[3]James, op. cit., p. 332.

e. OUTCOME OF THE WAR

At the time of the withdrawal of the British expeditionary forces, their leaders were preparing their reports on the Battle of Baltimore. As usually happens in human relations, their accounts present the British actions in a rather favorable [illegible] Admiral Cockburn, who was in command of the sailors and Marines during the expedition, admitted that the latter was a failure. At the same time, however, he praised the units under his command, and to justify their failure despite the fact that the British force was about 900 men stronger than the American, wrote in describing the Battle of North Point that "An advance of this description, against superior numbers of an enemy so posted, could not be effected without loss."[1] Colonel Brooke's dispatch, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, described the attack on Baltimore in an exaggerated tone, lauding the English forces' valiant action and brilliant victory, while disparaging the American action.[2] Colonel Brooke's account also appeared on October 17, 1814, in the London Gazette Extraordinary.

This official British account, full of errors, was rejected by the American press, which declared the expedition a failure and predicted that its "disastrous result will have a most mischievous effect; it will

---

[1] Cockburn to Cochrane, September 15, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 507.

[2] Brooke to Bathurst, September 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

give heartening to every enemy in this country; it will indeed be a consoling victory to the Americans; give a new spirit to the government, efface, in some degree its disgrace at Washington; and enable it to meet Congress with a triumphant air, instead of dejection and depression which must inevitably have accompanied the recital of an almost unbroken series of defeats and disasters, since the legislative body last met. Victories which have effects like these, we think Britain had better be without."[1]

However, the country at this time was exposed to danger not only from outside, but also from within. It was the old strategy of intrigue, divide et impera --Divide and rule, which dominated thought at that time. Dissatisfaction with the war and some of its effects in New England led to the Hartford Convention of December 1814, at which secession from the Union was freely discussed. In addition to the economic problems under which the New England states suffered due to the war, there was also the problem of decreasing population in these states. The economy of New England was seriously affected by the steady emigration of her people westward; it was the general opinion that this emigration was acting as a complete drain to all New England population, and consequently as a disadvantage to that area.[2] However the main cause of discontent seemed to be the war.

---

[1] Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, November 28, 1814, p. 2.

[2] Cf. a letter discussing the future prospects of the United States which appeared in the Boston Patriot, November 16, 1814, p. 1.

"My plan is to withhold our money and make a separate peace," said the "Boston Rebel," alias John Lowell,[1] althougb such a step would of course mean the annihilation of the Constitution.[2]

The Hartford Convention was sanctioned by the Legislatures of three States out of the eighteen; tbese pillars were Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, containing 810,913 souls on 12,504 square miles of territory, against fifteen Washington Union States and six Territorial Governments comprising 6,423,990 souls on 1,733,275 square miles.[3] An article entitled "History of Henryism," appearing in the Baltimore Patriot and Evening Advertiser on October 17, 1814, saw in "Massachusetts Henryism" the result "of the repeated attempts of bad men, to effect an object so injurious to the country."[4] On the other hand the New Hampsbire Patriot, discussing the potency of the New England rebellion, had this to say: "The whole population of Massachusets proper, Rhode-Island and Connecticut, which have agreed to raise the standard of Rebellion, (for New-Hampshire, Maine and Vermont cannot be included) is 810,913 men, women and children, and a territory of 12,504 square miles.--What a figure will these States make i: a rebellion against the rest of the United States, consisting of a population of 6,428,990, and a territory of 1,733,272 square miles?--

---

[1]Quoted in Boston Patriot, December 7, 1814, p.3.

[2]The Constitution, Sec. 10, says, "No State shall enter into a treat; alliance or confederation." Again - "No State shall without the consent o: Congress, enter into any agreement or compact with another State."

[3]See article entitled "Comparative View of the American Confederatio: with tbe Hartford Convention States," which appeared in The National Advocate (N.Y.), November 23, 1814, p. 2 and in the Boston Patriot, November 23, 1814, p. 1.

[4]Baltimore Patriot and Evening Advertiser, October 17, 1814, p. 3.

The great State of New-York alone, containing nearly one million of population, and three times the territory of all the three rebellious States, would alone put down the traitors, should treason be attempted. Hence we may well laugh at the ridiculous threats of those leaders of faction, who talk as if they would mount the ladder before the halter is placed round their necks, and who so openly write and speak of measures which they dare die as soon as attempt."[1] A new song, entitled 'The Eastern Convention," sung to the tune "O fy, let's a' to the wedding," was composed; its last line ended with the perhaps over-pious wish, "We pray they may all - HANG together!"[2]

However the peace negotiations which had started on August 8, 1814, at Ghent resulted in the Treaty of Ghent, ending the War of 1812 on Christmas Eve, 1814. But because of the slow communications of that time one more engagement took place on January 8, 1815, in which General Andrew Jackson won a resounding victory over the strong contingent of Sir Edward Pakenham.

The Treaty of Ghent restored to its original status all territory that the American or British forces had occupied during the war, provided that the Indians still at war with the U.S. would receive all their land holdings of 1811, and authorized commissions to settle boundary

---

[1] New-Hampshire Patriot (Concord, N.H.), November 29, 1814, p. 3.

[2] It appeared in the Baltimore Patriot and Evening Advertiser, November 11, 1814, p. 2, in the Virginia Argus (Richmond, Va.), November 16, 1814, p. 1, and in the Boston Patriot, November 23, 1814, p. 2.

disputes along the American-Canadian border. Though the United States did not win a single foot of Canadian territory nor receive a single maritime concession, the U.S. Senate, on February 16, 1815, unanimously approved the treaty, and the public joyously registered its approval.[1]

The surrender by the British of the land they had occupied in the Northwest shattered their prestige among the Indians. Furthermore, the Treaty of Ghent was a failure for the United States in that the U.S. failed to achieve any of the maritime concessions or territorial gains which the "war hawks" had contemplated, due to inadequate preparation, incompetent administration and military leadership, together with internal discontent.[2]

However the War of 1812 ended the British impressment of American seamen. Another result of the war was the creation of the poem, "The Star Spangled Banner," by Georgetown attorney Francis Scott Key, who, inspired by the gallant defense of Fort McHenry during the British bombardment on the night of September 13-14, 1814, wrote this poem which later, set to music, was destined to become our National Anthem.[3]

---

[1]Pratt, op. cit., pp. 136-137.
[2]Ibid., pp. 132-133 and 137.
[3]Quaife, Weig, and Appleman, op. cit., p. 63.

III. CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE WRITING OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

The Star Spangled Banner and the circumstances under which it was written manifest the spirit which animated Roger B. Taney and the Federalists in Maryland during the War of 1812. Originally the song of Maryland Federalism, The Star Spangled Banner became the song of the Nation because of its patriotism and its origin in the midst of battle.[1]

Its author, Francis Scott Key,[2] descendant of a 15th-Century poet laureate of England, the Earl of Surrey, was born on his father's estate, "Terra Rubra," on August 1, 1779, in the midst of fertile valleys and in the shadow of the Catoctin Mountains, in Frederick County, Maryland, a State rich in history, steeped in tradition. After graduating from St. John's College, Key remained in Annapolis to read law in the office of Jeremiah Townley Chase, and to court Miss Mary Tayloe Lloyd.[3] He showed his poetic talents during his boyhood by producing hymns, as well as by writing verse to woo his future wife.[4] His impressively handsome face indicates a serious and poetic nature.[5]

---

[1]Samuel Tyler, Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney, LL.D., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. (Baltimore: J. Murphy & Co., 1872), p. 108.

[2]For the English ancestry of the Key family cf. McHenry Howard, "Some Old English Letters." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. IX, No.2 (June, 1914), pp. 107-119. Cf. also McHenry Howard, "Date of Francis Scott Key's Birth." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. II, No. 2(June, 1907), pp. 137-140.

[3]Mrs. Julian C. Lane, Key and Allied Families. (Macon, Ga.: Press of The J.W. Burke Co., 1931), pp. 13-15.

[4]Edward S. Delaplaine, Francis Scott Key: Life and Times. (New York: Biography Press, 1937), pp. 29-30.

[5]See Appendix B.

On January 19, 1801, Mary Tayloe Lloyd and Francis Scott Key were married at St. Anne's Church in Annapolis, and from this marriage eleven children were born.[1]

[illegible] opened a law office in Frederick in 1800, staying there for five years and then moving to Georgetown at the suggestion of his uncle, Philip Barton Key, with whom he established a law partnership. In Georgetown Key developed a lucrative practice and appeared frequently before the Supreme Court to argue cases significant in American legal history.[2]

Besides being a lawyer, Key was an active social worker, helping to organize the Lancaster Society of Georgetown for the free education of Georgetown's poor children,[3] and was a charter member of the American Colonization Society.[4] Generally he gave liberal financial support to various organizations.

Key was an extremely religious person, and at one time he seriously considered entering the Episcopal Ministry. In April of 1814 a correspondence in this respect started with his relative, Dr. James Kemp, then rector of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore.[5] It was the suggestion of

---

[1]Lane, op. cit., p. 15.

[2]F. S. Key-Smith, Francis Scott Key, Author of The Star Spangled Banner, What Else He Was and Who. (Washington, D.C.: Published by Key-Smith and Co., 1911), pp. 23-43.

[3]Delaplaine, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

[4]Ibid., pp. 197-201.

[5]See letters of Mr. Key to Dr. Kemp of April 4 and April 28, 1814, in Clarence C. Wroth, "Francis Scott Key as a Churchman." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. IV, No.2 (June, 1909), pp. 156-158.

Dr. Kemp that Key "should enter the ministry as his assistant in the work of St. Paul's parish, probably intending that he should be the associate rector of the parish, holding services according to the arrangement existing at that time alternately in St. Paul's and Christ Churches." And in his reaction to Dr. Kemp's proposal one can see in Francis Scott Key his deep piety, his religious outlook and his sense of personal responsibility.[1] Though he did not become a minister he became an active member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and his sincere religious convictions are perhaps best expressed in his two popular hymns, "Before the Lord We Bow" and "Lord, With Glowing Heart I'd Praise Thee."

From the time he first attended, as a delegate, the General Convention of 1817, he became a distinguished person in the Church's councils. William Stevens Perry, quoting Bishop McIlvaine of the American Episcopal Church, says that at the General Convention of 1820, "Key was the only one who was allowed to stand up in defense of evangelical truth." From 1814 to 1826 inclusive Key was a delegate to every General Convention, attending all except that of 1814. Besides being a trustee of the General Theological Seminary from its foundation in 1820 until his death, Key was on important committees in each convention. The journals show that when Key discussed matters of moment the other delegates always listened. In standing up, without fear of contradiction, "in defence of evangelical truth" in the councils of the Church,

---

[1] Ibid., p. 155.

he notably assisted the cause of religion in the country.[1]

Key assisted President Andrew Jackson during the Nullification troubles of 1832, undertaking a [illegible] mission to South Carolina. In 1833 the President appointed him U. S. Attorney for the district of Columbia. Both Presidents Jackson and Van Buren reappointed him to this office. "His handsome head and [illegible] dignity, and his rare oratorical powers marked him as [illegible]." He was a type of the high-minded gentleman and man of affairs that has been one of the factors in the conduct of the [illegible] it was indeed justly observed. He opposed the War of 1812, mainly on religious grounds, but did not hesitate to join the Georgetown Artillery Company and served a 13-day tour of duty in 1814.[3] In the debacle at Bladensburg in August of 1814 he was a [illegible] to General Walter Smith.[4]

The name of Francis Scott Key is closely connected with that of Dr. William Beanes, a resident of Upper Marlborough, who [illegible] to become an unwilling host to General Ross and who had refused to give an oath of good behavior.

After the British had won the battle of Bladensburg [illegible] Washington they left some wounded behind. Before [illegible] ships. But the village of Upper Marlboro got [illegible]

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 160-161.
[2] Ibid., pp. 161-163.
[3] Delaplaine, op. cit., p. [illegible].
[4] Ibid., p. 139.

of a British defeat at Washington, and some townspeople began celebrating. During the festivities, according to United States interpretation, three British stragglers came and begged water; according to another interpretation the soldiers became abusive. In any case Dr. William Beanes had them jailed.[1]

To avoid severe punishment from the British, Dr. Beanes' friends enlisted Francis Scott Key to secure release.

On Friday, September 2, 1814, General John Mason, the United States Commissioner General of Prisoners, in a letter addressed jointly to John S. Skinner and Francis Scott Key, advised them as follows: "We have been instructed to authorize you to proceed to the quarters of Major General Ross, commanding the British army which lately invested the City of Washington, to deliver him the letter herewith handed - copy of which accompanies this, and endeavor by all possible means to get released & to bring off Dr. William Beans [sic] of the vicinity of Marlborough in Maryland - the substance of the case is stated in my letter to General Ross - Mr. Key has been made acquainted by friends

---

[1]The British account of events leading to Dr. Beanes' arrest says this: "While the infantry were thus employed, the cavalry was sent back as far as Marlborough, to discover whether there were any American forces in pursuit; and it was well for the few stragglers who had been left behind, that this recognizance was made. Though there appeared to be no disposition on the part of the American general to follow our steps, and to harass the retreat, the inhabitants of that village, at the instigation of a medical practitioner called Bean, had risen in arms as soon as we were departed; and falling upon such individuals as strayed from the column, put some of them to death, and made others prisoners. A soldier whom they had taken, and who had escaped, gave this information to the troopers, just as they were about to return to head quarters; upon which they immediately wheeled about, and galloping into the village, pulled the doctor out of his bed, (for it was early in the morning,) and compelled him, by a threat of instant death, to liberate his prisoners; and mounting him before one of the party, brought him in triumph to the camp." Cf. for this Gleig, A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 148-149. An American account of this event is well described in DeLaplaine, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

... Beans [sic] with the particulars, the grounds and issues ... be taken by the enemy in justification of their conduct...."[1]

Furthermore General Mason in another letter of the same date, ... to Mr. Skinner, instructed him "that you embark in Baltimore ... the Bay," and also informed him that "This letter ... with a copy of my communication to General Ross will be ... you by Francis S. Key, Esqr. who is joined with you in the ... - Instructions are made out to you jointly which are in the ... of Mr. Key."[2]

The esteem in which Key was held by the officials of his Government can be seen in General Mason's selection of him to accompany ... Skinner on his delicate mission.[3]

In addition to these two letters of instructions to Skinner and Key, there was also a letter which General Mason sent to General Ross advising him of the following:

> Having understood from sources not to be doubted - that a detachment of the army under your command on its retreat from Washington - seized and carried off from their houses several of our most respectable citizens in the vicinity of Marlbro', unarmed and entirely of non-combattant character - and that one of them Dr. William Beans - sixty five years of age

---

[1] Mason to Skinner and Key, September 2, 1814, RG 45, Naval Records ... Section of the Office of Naval Records and Library.

[2] Mason to Skinner, September 2, 1814, RG 45, Naval Records Collection ... the Office of Naval Records and Library.

[3] A study of the career of John S. Skinner, Key's companion on the ..., is presented in Harold A. Bierck, Jr., "Spoils, Soils, and Skinner," ... Historical Magazine, Vol. XLIX, No. 1 (March, 1954), pp.21-40, and ... XLIX, No.2 (June, 1954), pp.143-155. Cf. also article by Herbert ... Kellar, "John Stuart Skinner," Dictionary of American Biography, ... XVII. Edited by Dumas Malone. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), ... 198-201

> taken from his bed in the midst of his family and hurried off almost without clothes is yet retained - I have been instructed to enquire into the causes of this Departure from the known usages of civilized warfare - and to request the release of Dr. Beans.
>
> To this end John S. Skinner agent and Flag officer for this office and Francis S. Key Esqr. a citizen of the highest respectability have been authorized to wait upon you to express to you the views and expectation of the Government.
>
> It is hoped that the seizure and detention of the person of the aged and respectable Dr. Beans have been unauthorized by you - and I confidently trust Sir that when you shall have been made acquainted with the facts in the case you will order the immediate release and restoration to his family of that gentleman. He is far advanced in life, infirm, and unaccustomed to privations from which he must now suffer severely.
>
> I beg leave to assure you that the utmost attention has been and will be paid to your wounded officers and men left in our possession. It was directed the Flag officer to take any letters they may wish to convey to the British army - and on return to take charge of such articles of Supplies &c. - as it may be desired to send them. [1]

When Key arrived in Baltimore on Sundsy morning, September 4, he contacted Colonel Skinner and gave him the letters from General Mason. Following the completion of their arrangements for their journey they sailed from Baltimore on Monday, September 5, on a cartel ship used for communication with the enemy, under the white flag of peace. In a letter of September 5 which Colonel Skinner wrote from "Patapsco River" to General Mason, he informed Mason that "Mr. Key

---

[1]Mason to Ross, September 2, 1814, RG 45, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library.

reached here yesterday morning and handed me your instructions, and despatches for Admiral Cochrane & General Ross. We are now on our way and expect to find them in the Patuxent and hope to be back on Wednesday night."

As a P.S. to his letter Skinner noted that "To get Doct. Beanes upon giving a receipt under the circumstances is as much as I expect - if not more - making allowance for the opinion & feelings of an enemy, they will no doubt consider him as having waived all "benefit of exception" from the general rule of combatant persons. The best however shall be done with the most ardent desire to accomplish your views and wishes."[1]

When Colonel Skinner and Key reached the British fleet, on Wednesday, September 7, they were taken aboard Admiral Cochrane's flagship Tonnant, where they were courteously received. Skinner produced a pouch of letters in which wounded British soldiers testified to Dr. Beanes' excellent treatment, in an attempt to mollify Cochrane's attitude that Dr. Beanes merited severe punishment, and eventually it was agreed that Dr. Beanes would be released.[2] On September [illegible] General Ross in a letter to General Mason informed him that he would permit the release of Dr. Beanes, not because he deserved it, but

---

[1]Skinner to Mason, September 5, 1814, RG 59, Naval Records of the Office of Naval Records and Library.

[2]Delaplaine, op. cit., pp. 155-156.

because of the good treatment given to wounded officers and men of the British army left at Bladensburg. Furthermore he discussed arrangements for the exchange of prisoners. Specifically he wrote this:

> Dr. Beans having acted hostilely towards certain soldiers of the British army under my command, by making them prisoners when proceeding to join the army, & having attempted to justify his conduct when I spoke to him on the subject, I conceived myself authorized & called upon to cause his being detained as a prisoner - Mr. Skinner to whom I have imparted the circumstances will detail them more fully.
>
> The friendly treatment, however, experienced by the wounded officers & men of the British army left at Bladensburg, enables me to meet your wishes regarding that gentleman; I shall accordingly give directions for his being released, not from an opinion of his detention is to be considered, but purely in proof of the obligation which I feel for the attention with which the wounded have been treated...[1]

Since Key and Skinner had been entertained for several days aboard the ship and had thus learned of the British plans to attack Baltimore, they could not be allowed to go ashore until after the attack. They were however transferred on September 8 to the frigate H.M.S. Surprise, commanded by Admiral Cochrane's son, Sir Thomas Cochrane, and when Admiral Cochrane decided to take over Surprise as his flagship, the two

---

[1]Ross to Mason, September 7, 1814. RG 45, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library. Ross' letter may perhaps be one of his last, if not his last, official act before he was killed.

men were returned to their tender.[1] During the night of September 13-14, 1814, from the deck of this tender, Key witnessed the bombardment of Fort McHenry.

On the 12th of September the enemy's vessels formed a great half-circle, out of reach of the guns of Fort McHenry and those of the Lazaretto battery, on the side opposite the great basin around the head of which lies Baltimore. The fort is about two miles from the city, "a light little place, with some finely planned batteries, mounted with heavy cannons." Six bomb and some rocket vessels began the attack at 6:00 A.M. on Tuesday morning, staying at such a distance as to make the fort a target and not an opponent. The fort's commander, Major George Armistead, fired occasionally to let the British know that the fort still stood. The four or five bombs that were frequently in the air at one time, the noise of the "foolish rockets," the shots from the fort, from the Lazaretto and from the United States barges, created a "horrible clatter." The bombs, many of which were later found entire, weighed with their combustibles about 210 or 220 pounds. Their trajectories were longer than the distance the American 42 pounders could cover. The bombardment lasted until about 3:00 P.M., when the British approached closer to the fort. Now the American guns could reach them and the balls

---

[1]This tender, or cartel, was one of the Ferguson's Norfolk packets which then maintained regular sailing service between Baltimore and Norfolk. The captain of this truce boat was John Ferguson; James Gramatt was its mate. Eight other Americans made up the crew of this boat, the name of which is believed to be the President. Each of the eight crew members was designated as a lieutenant. Cf. for this an article by Ralph J. Robinson, "The Men With Key. New Facts in the National Anthem Story." Baltimore, Vol. XLIX, No. 11 (September, 1956), pp. 33, 35, 37.

flew like hail-stones--the British retreated with some damage to their vessels. Then they resorted again to bombardment from a distance, until about 1:00 A.M. The explosions shook the houses in the city:

> for never, perhaps from the time of the invention of cannon to the present day, were the same number of pieces fired with so rapid succession; particularly from Fort Covington, where a party of Rodgers' really invincible crew was posted. Barney's flotilla men, at the city battery, maintained the high reputation they had before earned. The other vessels also began to fire, and the heavens were lighted with flame, and all was continued explosion for about half an hour. Having got this taste of what was prepared for them (and it was a mere taste) the enemy precipitately retired with his remaining force, battered and crippled, to his respectful distance; the darkness of the night and his ceasing to fire, (which was the only guide our people had) preventing his annihilation.[1]

The rockets which Key saw were fired on Fort McHenry from the ship Erebus. These rockets, known as "Congreve Rockets," were missiles used extensively by the British during the War of 1812, and were designed by Major General Sir William Congreve of the British Army.[2]

On March 31, 1967, a delegation of British military officials visited the Air and Space Museum of the Smithsonian Institution for the purpose of donating a Congreve rocket to the Museum. In presenting the gift, which was of the type used during the War of 1812, Maj. Gen. P.G. Glover, Director of Great Britain's Royal Artillery Institution, said:

---

[1]J. Thomas Scharf, The Chronicles of Baltimore; Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874), pp. 348-350.

[2]For the role of rockets in the attack on Baltimore cf. Ralph Robinson, "The Use of Rockets by the British in the War of 1812." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. XL, No. 1 (March 1945), pp. 1-6.

"Now that a century and a half have elapsed, I am sure that the rockets' red glare of your National Anthem refers to Congreve rockets used in the bombardment viewed by Francis Scott Key." The Director of the Air Museum, Paul S. Johnson, responded to this in a friendly spirit, in the following way: "The last time a Congreve rocket reached us it was fired in anger. It is particularly pleasant to receive one today with the fuse unlit."[1]

The birth of the Star Spangled Banner was in the middle of the noise and confusion of the night of September 13, 1814. It was born in tears and blood and baptized in the same. Francis Scott Key, in a letter of October 5, 1814, to his close friend John Randolph of Roanoke, describes the particular moments which inspired the composition of the Star Spangled Banner as follows:

> You will be surprised to hear that I have since then spent eleven days in the British Fleet - I went with a flag to endeavour to save poor old Dr. Beanes a voyage to Halifax in which we fortunately succeeded - They detained us till after their attack on Baltimore, & you may imagine what a state of anxiety I endured. Sometimes, when I remember that it was there the declaration of this abominable war was received with public rejoicings, I could not feel a hope that they would escape - and again when I thought of the many faithful, whose piety leavens that lump of wickedness, I could hardly feel a fear.
>
> To make my feelings still more acute the Admiral had intimated his fears that the town must be burned; and I was sure that if taken, it would have been given up to plunder. I have reason to believe that such a promise was given to their soldiers. - It was filled with women

[1] The Evening Star, April 1, 1967, p. A-22.

> & children! - I hope I shall never cease to feel the warmest gratitude when I think of this most manifest deliverance. It seems to have given me a higher idea of the 'forbearance, long-suffering & tender mercy' of God than I had ever before conceived. Whether this gentle paternal chastisement we have been suffering will be sufficient for us is yet to be seen. - I have my fears. - Never was man more disappointed in his expectations than I have been as to the character of British Officers. - With some exceptions they appeared to be illiberal ignorant & vulgar, seem filled with a spirit of malignity against everything American. Perhaps however, I saw them in unfavorable circumstances.[1]

The German poet Schiller said, "It is only man's will that makes him great or small,"[2] and the validity of this idea is certainly apparent in the case of Francis Scott Key. Although he wrote more than one volume of poetry and achieved importance and success as a lawyer and a public servant, he nevertheless attained world fame and honor on the basis of one single poem, "The Star Spangled Banner." He wrote it while in an ugly and defiant mood, perhaps having in mind an old Latin adage, "Non solum nobis, sed pro patria" - "Not alone for ourselves, but for our country."

There are days when the distance from home makes difficult concepts like courage and duty seem clearer than before.

We should remember that the "Star Spangled Banner" was an expression of Key's fear for the fate of his country until he saw "our flag was still there." In this sense we should remember also that much of the early symbolism and structure of the new American republic was based

---

[1]Key to Randolph, October 5, 1814, Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. XLIV, No. 4 (December, 1949), pp. 284-285.

[2]The German original for this is "Den Menschen macht sein Wille gross und klein." In Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, Wallenstein. Ein dramatisches Gedicht, II. Wallensteins Tod. (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1943), p. 94.

on that of Rome; for example, the use of the term "Senate," the use of Roman architectural forms in the Capitol and the White House; such architecture was similar to the Georgian structures familiar to Americans. The domed Capitol "has become virtually indigenous in the United States." But when classicism went beyond architecture it could no longer represent the American people; for example, the goddess of liberty on coins "had no emotional value for Americans."[1]

"As a result of the poverty in symbolism, the flag became the chief representative of the nation," especially since the war of 1812. In the British experience their national anthem "God Save the King" refers to a living symbolic person, the monarch, while "The peculiar importance of the national banner in American political symbolism was a result of the rejection of monarchy. The American President who replaced the king was so important a political officer that his value as a symbol was negligible,"[2] and the flag was consequently invested with crucial importance as the definitive national symbol.

Perhaps during the bombardment Francis Scott Key shared the sentiments of Virgil, many years before, when he wrote: "quaeque ipse miserrima vidi, Et quorum pars magna fui. Quis talia fando ... Temperet a lacrymis?" - "These sufferings I have seen myself and to the greater

---

[1]Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought. An Intellectual History Since 1815. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1940), p. 92.

[2]Ibid., pp. 92-93.

part of which I was a principal party. Who can relate...such woes without a tear?"[1]

There are two accounts of the origin and writing of the "Star Spangled Banner." The first account was given by Skinner himself in 1849, while the other was given by Key's brother-in-law, Chief Justice of the United States Roger Brooke Taney (author of the famous "Dred Scott Decision") in 1856. Consequently both are the products of old-age memories.

---

[1]The Latin poet Virgil narrates the adventures of Aeneas in twelve books. The Greeks entered the city of Troy in the dead of night, massacred the inhabitants, and set fire to the beautiful buildings which had been the king's pride and delight. Virgil relates the escape of some of the Trojans from general destruction. Unconscious of coming danger, Aeneas, son of Venus and Anchises, lay fast asleep in his palace; but the gods had not doomed him to perish, and send the shade of Hector to warn him in a dream to arise, leave the city and fly to some distant land. The above quotation is taken from P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneidos, Liber II - The Aeneid of Virgil, Book II. The complete text is as follows:

"Continuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant:
Inde toro pater Aeneas sic ursus ab alto,
Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem,
Trojanas ut opes, et lamentabile regnum,
Eruerit Danai, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui. Quis talia fando,
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles Ulyssei,
Temperet a lacrymis? et jam nox humida coelo
Praecipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos:
Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros,
Et breviter Trojae supremum audire laborem,
Quamquam animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit Incipiam."

Cf. Publius Vergilius Maro, Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis. Opera et studio Thomae Cooke. (Londini: Impensis Jacobi Hodges sub Insigne Speculi juxta Pontem vulgo vocatum London-Bridge, 1741), pp. 162-163.

It is to Charles J. Ingersoll that we owe the first serious attempt to trace the history of the Star Spangled Banner. In 1849 he published a book on the history of the War of 1812 of which Chapter IX gave an account of the Battle of North Point, the bombardment of Fort McHenry, the death of General Ross and the retreat of the British.[1] Referring to the origin of the "Star Spangled Banner" Ingersoll stated that "it was during the striking concussions of that night conflict, that the song of the 'Star-spangled Banner' was composed in the admiral's ship."[2]

On Wednesday, May 23, 1849, the Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette published an extract from Ingersoll's book.[3] As a result of the publication of this extract the book was widely discussed, and moved John S. Skinner to write a letter to the Gazette, in which he corrected some slight errors appearing in the extract, regarding the landing of Admiral Cochrane, etc. Describing his and Key's version of the episode, he also said,

> On this visit to the enemy upon business growing out of the capture of Washington, the undersigned was instructed to take along with him Mr. Key of Washington, his mission having exclusive reference to the release of Doctor Beans, a venerable cavalier of Prince George's county, who, on the retreat from Washington had been seized in his house, and carried off in the night, under circumstances of gross harshness and indignity. His friends were persuaded that something might be hoped from Mr. Key's tact and

---

[1]Charles J. Ingersoll, Historical Sketch of the Second War Between the United States of America, and Great Britain, Declared by Act of Congress, the 18th of June, 1812, and Concluded by Peace, the 19th of February, 1815. (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1849), Chapter IX, pp. 210-216.

[2]Ibid., p. 212.

[3]Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette, May 23, 1849, p.2.

persuasive manners, in getting the Doctor released, and though that was effected, as will be seen by a different influence, ended happily in giving us one national song, that will be as imperishable as the naval renown it will forever serve to celebrate and to cherish. Such was the origin of 'The Star Spangled Banner.'

On boarding the flag-ship, at the mouth of the Potomac, we were invited to remain and were soon summoned to dinner....The dinner was nearly over before the writer of these lines discovered, from something which was said incidentally, that the plainly-dressed officer next on his right the most reserved gentleman at the table, was no other than General Ross, the 'Hero of Bladensburgh'....After General Ross was killed, and Admiral Cockburn, then proceeding with Col. Brooke, had gotten sight or report of the entrenchments, wrote a note to Admiral Cochrane, saying, that if he would go on, in pursuance of their concerted plan, with a feint attack, at midnight, in the rear of the fort, to draw off our forces from the main point of attack and defence, on Loudenslager's Hill, he, Cockburn and Brooke, with the land and naval forces acting under his command, would undertake to capture our entrenchments, 'with a loss not exceeding 500 men'....But after he received the note from Cockburn, there was no sufficient time remaining for him to learn whether his advice was followed, he was obliged to proceed with his part of the plan agreed upon...and hence were seen those portentous and well remembered signal rockets, arranged to be thrown off at the time designated for the point attack....'It was' says your extract, 'during the striking concussions of that night that the song of the Star-Spangled Banner was composed in the admiral's ship.'

Now it is not unworthy of that noble inspiration that its circumstances should be more exactly known. The author of the Star-Spangled Banner was never on board the admiral ships [sic] after we were in sight of Baltimore. We had been invited during our detention to take up our quarters with the admiral's son, Sir Thomas Cochrane, on board the Surprise Frigate the admiral expressing regret that his own, the Flagship, was so crowded with officers that he could not accommodate us as he wished; but promised that his son (which he well redeemed) would make us comfortable until after the denouement of the expedition then going forward.

> Dining every day with the admiral and a large party of army and navy officers, his objects and plans were freely spoken of, and thus when we arrived in sight of the city, the undersigned again demanded an answer to his despatches, to which Sir Alexander answered, smilingly, "Ah, Mr. S. after discussing so freely as we have done in your presence, our purposes and plans, you could hardly expect us to let you go on shore now in advance of us. Your despatches are all ready. You will have to remain with us until all is over, when I promise you there shall be no further delay." Seeing no help for it, I demanded that we should then be returned to our own vessel - one of Ferguson's Norfolk Packets, under our own "Star-Spangled Banner," during the attack. It was from her deck in view of Fort McHenry, that we witnessed through an anxious day and night, 'The rockets red glare, the bombs bursting in air,' and the song which was written the night after we got back to Baltimore, in the hotel then kept at the corner of Hanover and Market streets, was but a versified and almost literal transcript of our expressed hopes and apprehensions, through that ever-memorable period of anxiety to all, but never of despair. Calling on its accomplished author next morning, he handed it to the undersigned, who passed it to the Baltimore Patriot, and through it to immortality.[1]

The second account of the origin of the Star Spangled Banner was allegedly given by Francis Scott Key himself orally to his brother-in-law, Roger B. Taney, who described the history of the song's origin

---

[1]John S. Skinner, "Attack of the British on Baltimore - Mr. Ingersoll's History." Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette, May 29, 1849, p. 2. This letter also appeared in the Washington Daily National Intelligencer, June 4, 1849, p. 2. Quaife, Weig and Appleman, op. cit., p. 182, say that "The Narrative of John S. Skinner.../was/first published in the Baltimore Patriot, May 23, 1849." This statement is erroneous; in that it confuses the date of May 23, 1849, which is the date of publication of the extract of Ingersoll's history in the Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette with the date of Skinner's reply, which appeared on May 29, 1849.

in a letter of March 17, 1856, intended as a family memorial to Charles Howard of Baltimore, who married the eldest daughter of Mr. Key.[1]

In the letter Chief Justice Taney mentions that he had promised an account of the incidents which led Francis Scott Key to write "The Star Spangled Banner," and predicts that the song will continue to be a national one.

Taney recalls that in 1814, when he was living in Frederick and Key in Georgetown, the British troops retired from Washington and a squadron of British ships sailed up the Potomac to Alexandria, which capitulated and was plundered, and the citizens of Frederick believed that Washington and Georgetown would be subject to similar attacks. Key, in Georgetown, resolved as a matter of honor that he could not leave while the enemy threatened the town. At this time Key was a volunteer in the Light Artillery commanded by Major Peter, which had been in active service from the time the British fleet had appeared in the Potomac. Mrs. Key also refused to leave.

---

[1]Taney to Howard, March 17, 1856, Library of Congress, Roger B. Taney Papers. The letter of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney to Charles Howard first appeared in printed form as a preface to a book entitled Poems of the Late Francis S. Key, Esq., Author of "The Star Spangled Banner." With an Introductory Letter by Chief Justice Taney. (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857), pp. 13-28. The letter is also included in Tyler, op.cit., pp. 109-119. While in the Poems...the date given the letter is only "Washington, 1856," in Tyler's book the date of the letter is incorrectly given under the date of March 12, 1856. Furthermore, in both of these books Taney's letter has been corrected and altered from the original. The present writer is using and citing the original version of the letter in the form as it appears presently in the Library of Congress.

Mr. Key's father and mother and Mr. & Mrs. Taney became anxious about Key's family,and Mr. Taney went to Georgetown to persuade Mrs. Key to leave with the children. Taney,in Georgetown, learned that the British ships were still at Alexandria and that British militia were encamped in Washington.

Mr. Richard West reported to Key in the evening that the British had encamped several miles below Upper Marlborough and had taken Dr. Beanes, the leading physician in Upper Marlborough, prisoner. Dr. Beanes' friends had vainly tried to solicit his release. Earlier when the British had passed through Washington, Admiral Cockburn and his principal officers had quartered themselves in Beanes' home, and both parties treated one another with much courtesy; however, on passing through Upper Marlborough on their way from Washington, a British detachment had taken Dr. Beanes prisoner, and treated him with great harshness, because Beanes had headed a group of citizens in the capture of some British stragglers who were bent on plundering.

Key, after receiving the President's sanction, went to approach the British to secure Dr. Beanes' release. Mr. John S. Skinner, agent for the Government for flags of truce and exchange of prisoners, accompanied Key. Key went to Baltimore to embark on a vessel to meet with the British authorities, and his family went with Taney to Frederick.

Taney heard nothing until after the British retreat from Baltimore. Key had found the British fleet at the mouth of the Potomac, and Admiral Cochrane had courteously received him, but the British had become cool

when he presented his mission. Both General Ross and Admiral Cockburn had spoken harshly of Dr. Beanes. Mr. Skinner, however, carried letters from wounded British officers left at Bladensburg, who testified to their humane treatment at the hands of the Americans. Key then spoke of Beanes' standing in the community and General Ross replied that Beanes should have received more severe punishment -- but that he had to make a return for the kindness shown the wounded officers.

Key was soon informed that he would not be permitted to leave the Surprise, commanded by Sir Thomas Cochrane, the admiral's son, until after the attack on Baltimore. Admiral Cochrane apologized for not being able to accommodate them on his own ship, as it was already crowded with army officers. At Patapsco, Admiral Cochrane shifted his flag to his son's frigate so that he could move closer to the port. Key, Skinner, and Dr. Beanes were sent, under guard, back aboard their packet, which was so anchored as to enable them to see distinctly the flag of Fort McHenry. Throughout the night Key and Skinner watched the bombardment with great anxiety. When the bombardment ceased, some time before dawn, they did not know whether or not the fort had surrendered. In painful suspense they paced the deck, waiting for the light of day. When light came, they saw that indeed "our flag was still there." The British informed them that the attack had failed and that the English army was re-embarking, and the Americans were permitted to leave.

When Key showed Taney a copy of the poem, Taney asked him how he had found time to compose such a poem under such difficult circumstances. Key replied that "he commenced it on the deck of their vessel in the fervor of the moment when he saw the enemy hastily retreating to their ships, & looked at the flag." He wrote brief notes, that would aid him in recalling the lines, on the back of a letter. For some lines he relied on his memory, finishing them before reaching shore. He wrote the final version, however, at his hotel on the night he reached Baltimore. The next morning he sent it to the printer to be done in handbill form, and the citizens of Baltimore received it in less than an hour after it was given to the printer.

It can be seen from the above that most of the evidence concerning when and under what conditions the poem was first composed and printed is contradictory and not contemporary, and that some of it is hearsay. According to Taney, Key wrote the lines in the excitement of the moment on the back of an old letter he had in his pocket and finished it, as it stands now, at his hotel in Baltimore upon his arrival there on the night of September 14. On the following morning, September 15, he took it to Judge Joseph H. Nicholson to ask him for an opinion of its merits. Judge Nicholson liked it so much that he sent it to the printer to be struck off in handbill form.

According to Skinner the poem was written at the hotel in Baltimore, and it was Skinner who arranged to have it printed.

The passage of time makes it practically impossible to pinpoint the exact sequence of events which resulted in the first printing of the Star Spangled Banner. It would seem impossible for Judge Nicholson, as Taney relates, to have sent Key's poem to the printer, because the former was then engaged with his military duties at Fort McHenry. Writing from Baltimore, T. M. Forman, in his letter of September 15, 1814, addressed to Capt. J. H. Nicholson, Fort McHenry, said among other things: "I congratulate you upon your safety, I have felt great anxiety for your fate & at 1 this day, called to see your lady, and found the house closed."[1] Consequently it would seem difficult to believe in the accuracy of Taney's statement, in describing the role Nicholson played in the defense of Fort McHenry, that "The Judge had been relieved from duty and returned to his family only the night before Mr. Key shewed him his song."[2] Indeed one finds it incredibly difficult to believe that this was the case, since other sources show that Nicholson's part in the defense of Fort McHenry was in fact much greater than Taney implies. We know that during the British shelling of Fort McHenry Capt. Nicholson commanded the company of artillery at the southwest bastion.[3] As the British

---

[1]Forman to Nicholson, September 15, 1814, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Nicholson Papers, Vol.7: April 2, 1814-December 14, 1827.

[2]Taney to Howard, March 17, 1856, Library of Congress, Roger Brooke Taney Papers.

[3]Armistead to Secretary of War, September 24, 1814, Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No. 3 (October 1, 1814), p. 40.

forces began their retreat from Baltimore, Armistead became seriously ill and was replaced in command by Nicholson. According to a letter from Major General S. Smith to Secretary of War James Monroe, dated September 19, 1814, "Maj. Armistead being seriously ill in consequence of his continued exposure to the weather, has rendered it impossible for him to send in his report."[1] Niles' Weekly Register of September 24, 1814, in describing the events of the battle, says, "The gallant and accomplished Armistead, through watching and excessive fatigue (for he had other great duties to do besides defending his post) flagged as soon as the fight was gone, and now lies very ill; but not dangerously, we trust, though severely afflicted. Many of his gallant companions were also exhausted, but have generally recruited their strength."[2] It was only on September 24, 1814, when Armistead was apparently sufficiently recovered, that he was able to write a letter to the Secretary of War stating that "A severe indisposition, the effect of great fatigue and exposure, has prevented me heretofore from presenting you with an account of the attack on this post."[3]

From all of this evidence it would seem impossible for Nicholson, as Taney states, to have been at home with his family on the night before Key returned to Baltimore. This would mean that he would have had to leave Fort McHenry on September 14, 1814, the day on which the

---

[1]Smith to Secretary of War, September 19, 1814, Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No. 2 (September 24, 1814), p. 27.

[2]Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No.2(September 24, 1814),pp. 24-25.

[3]Armistead to Secretary of War, September 24, 1814, Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No.3 (October 1, 1814), p. 40.

British fleet covered the withdrawal of Colonel Brooke's army and set out for the mouth of the Patapsco.[1] Despite this British withdrawal, Baltimore was still endangered by the possibility of another British attack, and consequently it would seem highly improbable that Nicholson would leave his military duties and return to his family.

On the other side we have the statement of Skinner, that "Calling on its accomplished author next morning, he handed it to the undersigned, who passed it to the Baltimore Patriot, and through it to immortality."[2] It is evident that Skinner takes pride in having been a witness to this happening--a direct participant. It would not be unreasonable to believe that Skinner indeed visited Key and that both men together visited Nicholson, then serving at Fort McHenry, and that there perhaps the idea of publishing Key's poem came into realization. This theory, taking into consideration both Skinner's and Taney's accounts, might be borne out by a letter from one of the defenders of Fort McHenry, Severn Teackle, to his friend Philip Wallis of Easton, Maryland, dated September 23, 1814, describing the engagement at Fort McHenry, which appeared in the June-July 1943 issue of The Collector, a New York magazine for autograph and historical collectors.[3] At the conclusion of his letter Teackle remarks "We have a song composed by Mr. Key of G. Town which was presented to every individual

---

[1] See Supra, p. 47.

[2] See Supra, p. 72.

[3] "...Our Flag Was Still There..." The Collector, Vol.LVI, No.7 (June-July, 1943), pp. 97-99. To the present writer's knowledge the original Severn Teackle letter to Philip Wallis is presently owned by Mrs. Irving Berlin of New York City.

in the Fort in a Separate sheet -- you may have seen it...if not at some future day I will shew it you."[1] We do not know on what day this distribution of Key's poem took place at Fort McHenry, but evidence indicates that this might have taken place after the poem was printed as a broadside and after it appeared on September 20 in the Baltimore Patriot and Evening Advertiser and on September 21 in the Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser. We should also remember that at the time Teackle wrote his letter, Armistead was still incapacitated by his illness and Nicholson was still at Fort McHenry. When one also considers that Key himself was basically a modest person one is led to the conclusion that it could only have been Skinner who probably took it upon himself to have his friend's work set in print.

Years later, in 1874, Samuel Sands described the circumstances under which he himself happened to set the poem in type. Sands' account first appeared early in 1874 in a work by Archibald Hawkins,[2] who precedes Sands' account, with these words: "The following, as a special favor, was furnished us by an old and tried friend, Samuel Sands, Esq., in advance of the April number of the American Farmer of 1874."[3] Although Sands' account did not appear in the April issue of The American Farmer

---

[1]Ibid., p. 99.

[2]Archibald Hawkins, The Life and Times of Hon. Elijah Stansbury, An "Old Defender" and Ex-Mayor of Baltimore; Together With Early Reminiscences, Dating From 1662, and Embracing a Period of 212 Years. (Baltimore: Printed by John Murphy & Co., 1874), pp. 290-295.

[3]Ibid., p. 290.

it did appear in the June issue. Sands, then the senior editor of this publication, preceded his account with this explanatory remark: "The following paper was prepared by request, about a year ago, but mislaid. It was intended for insertion in another journal, but as it is possible we may follow it up with some other reminiscences of the 'olden time,' we have determined to give it in our own pages, as we have many old-time friends still lingering on the stage of life, who may feel interested therein." According to his account Sands was fourteen years old and an apprentice in the office of the American when the British attacked Baltimore. The paper was suspended, for all hands capable of bearing arms were with the troops at North Point or in the batteries and entrenchments on Loudenslager Hill. Mr. Thomas Murphy, one of the editors, received a copy of Key's poem and a leave of absence from the army in order to begin preparations to reissue the paper. Sands vividly recalled, even after sixty years, that the copy of the poem Murphy gave them was regarded as the original manuscript. He believed then that it was Mr. Skinner who brought the copy to the office. Later, having perused a volume of Key's poems, published in 1857, by the late Rev. H.V.D. Jones, D.D., he learned from an introductory letter written by Judge Taney that both Key and Skinner were detained on board their cartel by the British during the bombardment and that upon his release Key gave it to Judge Nicholson. Nicholson then "sent it to a printer" and "ordered copies to be struck off in handbill form, which were distributed to the public." Judge Taney, however, does

not mention the name of the printer to whom it was sent. Lossing, in his Historical Record, writes that the Judge "took it to the office of Captain Benjamin Edes, on the corner of Baltimore and Gay Streets," and that "his apprentice, Samuel Sands...set up the song in type, printed it, and distributed it among the citizens." Sands, however, believes that Lossing did not have an original copy but one that was printed after the American had issued the originals. First of all "we were never connected with the office of Mr. Edes, nor do we remember that the office of that gentleman ever was at the corner of Baltimore and Gay Streets." The American office was at No. 4 on the east side of Harrison Street; later it moved to the southwest corner of Gay and Baltimore Streets. At one time Captain Edes' office was at the northeast corner of Baltimore and Calvert Streets.[1]

Here we have the account of the former apprentice boy, Samuel Sands, who set the broadside, who was later associated with John S. Skinner on the American Farmer, and who writes, sixty years after the event occurred, that he was always under the impression that it was Mr. Skinner who brought the copy of Key's poem to the office of the American, stressing that in view of Mr. Taney's narrative presentation, the former must have been mistaken. Since, as the present author has mentioned before, Taney's general narrative seems open to some doubt, we could assume from all the available scanty evidence that Taney was in error and Sands perhaps correct,

---

[1] Samuel Sands, "A 'Reminiscence' of the War of 1812." The American Farmer, Vol. III, No.6 (June, 1874), pp. 220-221.

or simply that Taney, because of family ties with Key and his great regard for Key, was over enthusiastic in presenting the events which led to the writing and publishing of the Star Spangled Banner. After considering all the facts one may state that in all probability it was Skinner who took Key's poem to the printer. But we should also remember that there is no immediate contemporary account of the event to substantiate either thesis. In history sometimes historians, as well as participants in historical events, fall into disagreement.

IV. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER'S FIRST APPEARANCE IN THE PRESS MEDIA

A young officer named Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle in the spirit of revolution created during the night of April 25-26, 1792, the Marseillaise, which caught the spirit of its time and spread immediately. Much the same can be said of Francis Scott Key's The Star Spangled Banner. The flag which flew over Fort McHenry during the bombardment on September 14, 1814, with its fifteen stripes and fifteen stars, inspired Key to write his poem.

The Fountain Inn is believed to have been the hotel at which Francis Scott Key lodged at the time of his completion of the Star Spangled Banner in its finished form, and as has been shown before it is believed that the plant of the Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser first

published Key's poem as a broadside. The person who most probably brought it to this printery was John S. Skinner.

Originally the song was first known as "Defence of Fort McHenry," and it first appeared in newspaper form under this name on Tuesday evening, September 20, 1814, in the Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser, the very first day that newspaper renewed its publication following its suspension due to the war. This newspaper voluntarily suspended publication "to avert any censure" between September 12-19, 1814, so that its personnel could participate in the defense of Baltimore, and resumed on September 20, 1814.[1]

The editor of the newspaper called the poem a "beautiful and animated effusion" and predicted that it was "destined long to outlast the occasion, and outlive the impulse, which produced it." He also pointed out that the poem "has already been extensively circulated." While Mr. Key's name did not appear as its author, the editor explained the circumstances under which the poem was composed, indicating that it had been written by a gentleman who had left Baltimore under a flag of truce to seek release from the British fleet of his friend who had been captured at Marlborough. The editor also states that the poem was to be sung to the tune of "Anacreon in Heaven."[2]

---

[1]Cf. editorial of Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser, September 20, 1814, p. 2. The last issue of the Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser before suspension was issued on Saturday evening, September 10, 1814, as Vol. IV, No. 58. Regularly there was no paper issued on Sunday, which would have fallen on September 11, 1814. The paper was suspended from Monday, September 12 until Monday, September 19. It resumed publication on Tuesday evening, September 20, 1814, with Vol. IV, No. 59, the issue which included the Star Spangled Banner.

[2]Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser, September 20, 1814, p. 2.

On the following day, Wednesday morning, September 21, 1814, the Star Spangled Banner was published in the Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser under the title "Defence of Fort M'Henry," with an explanation of the circumstances under which it had been composed. Francis Scott Key's name was still not mentioned.[1]

Perhaps it should be pointed out here that while the Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser was suspended between September 12-19, the American and Commercial Daily Advertiser did appear during this period; issues of this paper exist at the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, dated September 15, 16 and 20, 1814. This fact might explain how it came about that this newspaper most probably first printed Key's poem as a broadside. Nevertheless the newspaper version of the Star Spangled Banner appeared in this paper only on September 21, 1814.

On Saturday, September 24, 1814, the song appeared in a Frederick-Town, Md., weekly, the Frederick-Town Herald, still under the same title and without mentioning the author's name.[2]

On Monday, September 26, 1814, the poem was published in the Washington Daily National Intelligencer, under the title "Defence of Fort M'Henry," followed by the statement "From a Baltimore Paper" and "Tune-Anacreon in Heaven;" then followed the text of the poem. In a footnote the Daily National Intelligencer printed this statement: "Whoever is the author of those lines, they do equal honor to his principles and

---

[1] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, September 21, 1814, p.2.
[2] Frederick-Town Herald, September 24, 1814, p. 3.

his talents."[1] This was the first time a newspaper outside the State of Maryland published the poem.

On September 27, 1814, the Georgetown Federal Republican printed the "Defence of Fort M'Henry" to "Tune-Anacreon in Heaven" without mentioning its author but with the usual explanation of the circumstances under which it had been written. Preceding the poem the newspaper stated: "A friend has obligingly favored us with a copy of the following stanzas, which we offer to our readers as a specimen of native poetry, which will proudly rank among the best efforts of our national muse."[2]

The New York National Advocate printed the song with the attribution "From the Baltimore Patriot" on September 27, 1814.[3] It is interesting to note that other important New York papers such as the New-York Evening Post, the New-York Gazette & General Advertiser and the New-York Herald did not publish Key's poem in the fall of 1814, nor did the poem appear in Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, published in Philadelphia for this period. This is rather surprising, since particularly the New-York Gazette & General Advertiser, as early as September 17, 1814, reported the defeat of the English at Baltimore[4] and The National Advocate of September 19, 1814, described the attack on Fort McHenry in great detail.[5]

---

[1]Daily National Intelligencer, September 26, 1814, p. 2.
[2]Federal Republican, September 27, 1814, p. 4.
[3]The National Advocate, September 27, 1814, p. 3.
[4]New-York Gazette & General Advertiser, September 17, 1814, p. 2.
[5]The National Advocate, September 19, 1814, p. 2.

On September 28, 1814, the song appeared in the Boston Patriot under the title of "Defence of Fort M'Henry;" however the source from which it was reprinted is not mentioned.[1]

The song also appeared on Wednesday, September 28, 1814, in the Richmond, Virginia, Enquirer under the title of "Defence of Fort M'Henry" and with a footnote explanation that it had been taken from the Baltimore Patriot.[2]

It also appeared on October 4, 1814, in the Savannah, Georgia, Republican, And Savannah Evening Ledger as a reprint from the Baltimore Patriot under the title of "Defence of Fort M'Henry."[3]

The song appeared in Concord, New Hampshire, on Tuesday, October 11, 1814, in the weekly New-Hampshire Patriot under the caption, "Defence of Fort M'Henry," with an account of the circumstances of its writing, but with no mention of either the author or the source from which it had been reprinted.[4]

As late as October 14, 1814, when the song first appeared in the Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, this newspaper withheld the secret concerning its author's name.[5]

The first magazine known to have published the words of the Star Spangled Banner was The Analectic Magazine in its issue for November

---

[1] Boston Patriot, September 28, 1814, p. 4.
[2] The Enquirer, September 28, 1814, p. 4.
[3] The Republican, And Savannah Evening Ledger, October 4, 1814, p. 4.
[4] New-Hampshire Patriot, October 11, 1814, p. 4.
[5] Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, October 14, 1814, p.2.

1814. The poem carries the same title, "Defence of Fort M'Henry," and is accompanied by the statement: "These lines have been already published in several of our newspapers; they may still, however, be new to many of our readers. Besides, we think that their merit entitles them to preservation in some more permanent form than the columns of a daily paper." Following this is the previously quoted background explanation, "The annexed song was composed under the following circumstances." Here too, no author's name is given.[1] This was the first known publication of the Star Spangled Banner in any medium other than that of the newspaper. The above sequence of events indicates that, despite the slow communications system existing at that time, the Star Spangled Banner spread rather quickly, thanks to newspaper and magazine coverage. These publications were extremely important in their communities and occupied a prestigious position among the people. Thanks to them the Star Spangled Banner received a good start on its way to popularity as a favored national tune.

---

[1] The Analectic Magazine, Vol. IV, New Series, (November 1814), pp. 433-434.

V. THE POETIC MESSAGE

Chief Justice Taney in the beginning of his letter to Charles Howard praised the Star Spangled Banner as an example of Key's "genius & taste as a poet" and commented on "the warm spirit of patriotism which breathes in the song." Again at the end of his letter Taney expressed admiration for Key, with whom he "was so long and so closely united in friendship & affection" and whom he "so much admired for his brilliant genius & loved for his many virtues."[1]

In the first stanza of his poem Key expresses his concern over the outcome of the bombardment. Anxiously peering through the mists of dawn he asks:

> ...can you see, by the dawn's early light,
> What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming.

In the second stanza Key finally sees the banner and expresses his joy:

> 'Tis the star-spangled banner, O long may it wave
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

In the third stanza Key expresses his defiance of the oppressor. Seeing the flag still waving and the enemy ships in retreat he asks:

> And where is that band who so vauntingly swore,
> That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
> A home and a Country should leave us no more?
> Their blood has wash'd out their foul footstep's pollution.
> No refuge could save the hireling and slave
> From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave,
> And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

---

[1]Taney to Howard, March 17, 1856, Library of Congress, Roger Booke Taney Papers.

In referring to the "hireling and slave," Key is alluding to the fact that a great number of the British troops fighting in this war were hired mercenaries, and not British subjects fighting in a spirit of patriotism and devotion to their country.

In the fourth and final stanza Key expresses his thanksgiving for the victory of his country, praying that she may always be victorious whenever she is found fighting in a righteous cause.

> "O thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
> Between their lov'd home and the war's desolation:
> Blest with vict'ry and peace may the heav'n rescued land
> Praise the power that hath made and preserv'd us a nation!
> Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
> And this be our motto - "In God is our trust,"
> And the Star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Thus in his concluding lines Key christens the national flag the Star Spangled Banner and extols America as the "land of the free, and the home of the brave."

The Star Spangled Banner begins with a question and ends with a prayer. It expresses the spirit of that memorable night during which Key composed his equally memorable poem, and it stresses trust and faith in the nation's future under God and arouses the national consciousness.

VI. THE BACKGROUND OF THE MUSIC

The melody to which the Star Spangled Banner was sung grasped the hearts and spirit of the people just as the words. We are all familiar with the saying that "music hath charms to soothe the savage breast." This is indeed true, but we should also remember that music hath charms to excite and stimulate. From the very beginning of human history until our day, when operatic and television stars enthrall us, martial music has played a major role in man's cultural history. Money has been called the sinew of war, but music is also indispensable to warfare, since music is the soul of Mars.

Some songs have their origin in an armed conflict, as "Yankee Doodle" in the Revolution, the Star Spangled Banner in the War of 1812, Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," "Dixie," "John Brown's Body," "Marching Through Georgia" in the Civil War, Metz's "Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight" in the Spanish-American War (but actually written 15 years earlier), etc.

At the beginning of the 19th Century, prior to the War of 1812, of the many patriotic songs in this country perhaps the most popular were "Yankee Doodle," Joseph Hopkinson's "Hail Columbia," Mrs. Susanna Rowson's "America, Commerce and Freedom" and "Jefferson and Liberty," written in 1801 to the tune of an old Irish song.

When was the Star Spangled Banner first sung? Some authorities credit Ferdinand Durang, a Baltimore actor, as being perhaps the first to sing the words in public. Actually there is no proof that the Star Spangled Banner was first sung by the Durang Brothers, Ferdinand or Charles. This assumption is based on an article signed with the initials D.C., which appeared in the Fall 1864 issue of The Historical Magazine, published in New York, and which said the following:

> One of your correspondents inquires in what form the song of the Star Spangled Banner was first printed? I think that in The History of the Pennsylvania Stage you will find that subject clearly explained. The song was first printed and put upon the press by Captain Edes, of Baltimore, who belonged to Colonel Long's Twenty-seventh Regiment of militia. He kept his printing office at the corner of Baltimore and Gay streets. It was given to him by the author, Mr. Key, of Washington, in its amended form, after the battle of North Point, about the latter end of September, 1814. The original draft, with its interlineations and amendatory erasures, &c., was purchased by the late Gen. George Keim, of Reading, and I suppose his heirs have it now. It was printed on a small piece of paper, in the style of our old ballads that were wont to be hawked about the streets in days of yore. It was first sung by about twenty volunteer soldiers, in front of the Holiday Street Theatre, who used to congregate at the adjoining tavern to get their early mint juleps. Ben. Edes brought it round to them on one of those libating mornings, or matinees. I was one of the group. My brother sang it. We all formed choristers. This is its history.[1]

Here of course Charles Durang refers to his brother Ferdinand. His reference to "The History of the Pennsylvania Stage" is actually to his work, "The Philadelphia Stage; From 1749 to 1821," which appeared serially in the Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch, beginning on May 7, 1854[2] and ending with Chapter LXXV, which appeared in the same newspaper on October 7, 1855.[3] However a perusal by the present writer

---

[1]The Historical Magazine, Vol. VIII, No. 10 (October, 1864), pp.347-3-

[2]Sunday Dispatch, May 7, 1854, p. 1.

[3]Sunday Dispatch, October 7, 1855, p. 1.

of the above series, based on the papers of its author's father, John Durang, reveals no mention of the Star Spangled Banner.

It is then evident that Charles Durang is solely responsible for the story that it was his brother Ferdinand who first sang the Star Spangled Banner. Perhaps he succumbed to the tendency of all human beings, notably of thespians, to dramatize or exaggerate, particularly when it comes to the significance of events in which one is himself involved.

More confusion regarding the origin of the song is added by a speech which Colonel John L. Warner delivered before the Pennsylvania Historical Society at its meeting on Monday evening, April 8, 1867. According to Warner, a veteran of the War of 1812, the Star Spangled Banner was printed by Banjamin Edes, to whom it had been handed by the author following his release by the British, and then first sung by Ferdinand Durang in a small frame house adjoining the Holiday Street Theatre. Mr. Warner specifically said:

> The British having thus been defeated before Baltimore, at once returned down the Chesapeake Bay. Mr. Key, having in a few days completed a perfect copy of his stanzas, gave the song to Captain Benjamin Edes, a printer established at the corner of Baltimore and Gay Streets, (and who was a Captain in the Twenty-seventh Baltimore Regiment, which had done good service in the battle of North Point,) to print and distribute to the citizens. It was first sung when fresh from his press, at a small frame one-story house, occupied as a tavern next to the Holiday Street Theatre.

> This tavern had long been kept by the widow Berling, and then by a Colonel MacConkey, a house where the players "most did congregate," with the quid nuncs of that day, to do honor to, and to prepare for, the daily military drills in Gay Street, (for every able man was then a soldier;) and here came, also, Captain Benjamin Edes, of the Twenty-seventh Regiment; Captain Long and Captain Thomas Warner, of the Thirty-ninth Regiment, and Major Frailey. Warner was a silversmith of good repute in that neighborhood.
>
> It was the latter end of September, 1814, when a lot of the young volunteer defenders of the Monumental City was thus assembled. Captain Edes and Captain Thomas Warner came early along one morning and forthwith called the group (quite merry with the British defeat) to order, to listen to a patriotic song which the former had just struck off at his press. He then read it to all the young volunteers there assembled, who greeted each verse with hearty shouts. It was then suggested that it should be sung; but who was able to sing it? Ferdinand Durang, who was a soldier in the cause and known to be a vocalist, being among the group, was assigned the task of vocalising this truly inspired patriotic hymn of the lamented Key. The old air of Anacreon in Heaven had been adapted to it by the author, and Mr. Edes was desired so to print it on to the top of the ballad.
>
> Its solemn melody and impressive notes seem naturally allied to the poetry, and speak emphatically the musical taste and judgment of Mr. Key. Ferdinand Durang mounted an old-fashioned rush-bottomed chair and sang this admirable national song for the first time in our Union, the chorus to each verse being reechoed by those present with infinite harmony of voices. It was thus sung several times during the morning. When the theatre was opened by Warren and Wood, it was sung nightly, after the play, by Paddy McFarland and the company.[1]

---

[1]John L. Warner, "The Origin of the American National Anthem Called the Star Spangled Banner." The Historical Magazine, Second Series, Vol. 1, No. 5 (May, 1867), pp. 279-280. Oscar George Theodore Sonneck's analysis of this problem is basically correct, but in his book The Star Spangled Banner (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), p. 73, he mistakenly states that Warner's speech appeared "in the Historical Magazine, 1867, Volume II," which is not so.

Commenting on Col. Warner's speech, the Philadelphia Press stated that "The circumstances attending the first production of 'The Marsellaise' [sic] have become widely known by a popular picture; and the incidents related by Colonel Warner possess a much deeper interest to American citizens."[1]

In analyzing the above evidence it is obvious that Warner's statement is supplementary to that of Charles Durang.

In addition to this we have a rather inaccurate account of an eyewitness which only adds to the controversy over the first printing and singing of the Star Spangled Banner. It appeared in the form of an article entitled "The Star Spangled Banner. An Hour With An Octogenarian," which Mrs. Nellie Eyster wrote on the basis of an interview which she conducted on November 20, 1870, with Mr. Hendon, and which appeared in Harper's New Monthly Magazine.[2] In this interview Mr. Hendon, "An American gentleman of unblemished reputation and strict integrity,"[3] who was a native of Frederick, Maryland, recalled that he had known Francis Scott Key, who "lived but a few doors above my father's house."[4] In 1809 he left Frederick, as he put it, "to seek my fortune in Lancaster, Pennsylvania,"[5] the hometown of Charles and Ferdinand Durang.[6] During the conflict with the British he joined the

---

[1]The Press, April 10, 1867, p. 4. This account of Warner's speech also appeared, with slight changes, in The New York Times, April 13, 1867, p. 2.

[2]Nellie Eyster, "The Star Spangled Banner. An Hour With An Octogenarian." Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. XLIII, No. 254 (July, 1871), pp.254-258.

[3]Ibid., p. 254.

[4]Ibid., p. 255.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 257.

Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia. According to his account,

> The first day of August, that same year, I, with a hundred and thirteen others, volunteer militia, were the first to leave Harrisburg, Pennsylvania in defense of Baltimore. Our rendezvous was York, Pennsylvania, where we expected to meet General Watson, of Lancaster, commander of our division. When we reached York, where General Watson was to meet us with new Harper's Ferry muskets and tents, he was not on hand, so we were quartered at first in the court-house. Hearing our camp equipage was at the Carlisle Barracks, a squad of us got wagons, went after it, and brought it to the York jail, whence each man drew his musket, cross-belt, and cartridge-box. We were on duty there several weeks before the division of five thousand men was organized. We grew dreadfully impatient. One morning some of our guard went out to gather wood, and hearing a dull, rumbling noise, they laid their ears to the ground and listened. The sound of cannon was distinctly heard, and they hurried to camp with the news. Then, in tremendous haste, we were filed into ranks and marched to the seat of war, three days after the battle had been fought. When we reached an old encampment near Baltimore, on the York Road, just alongside what was known as Howard's Woods, the citizens came to meet us, hauling drays on which were hogsheads of hot coffee, most delicious. I can never forget that coffee, nor how it revived us. The city was in a blaze of excitement still, and news came that the British were hovering about, and we must go to Elkridge's Landing to oppose them. As we marched through the streets they were crowded with women, weeping, and crying, 'Oh, those poor fellows will never all come back again!' But we did; for the very next day, as we were drawn into line ready to march into Bladensburg, an officer came dashing up, his horse covered with foam, with the order for our immediate return to the city, as an hourly attack was expected from the fleet, still lying in the bay. We got back that evening, and encamped upon Gallows Hill, near a rope-walk, where for three months we remained, daily waiting for an enemy

> that never came. Then, for the first time since leaving York, we took breathing-time, and looked about for amusement. 'Have you heard Francis Key's poem?' said one of our mess, coming in one evening, as we lay scattered over the green hill near the captain's marquee. It was a rude copy, and written in a scrawl which Horace Greeley might have mistaken for his own. He read it aloud, once, twice, three times, until the entire division seemed electrified by its pathetic eloquence. An idea seized Ferd Durang. Hunting up a volume of old flute music, which was in somebody's tent, he impatiently whistled snatches of tune after tune, just as they caught his quick eye. One, called 'Anacreon in Heaven' (I have played it often, for it was in my book that he found it), struck his fancy and riveted his attention. Note after note fell from his puckered lips until, with a leap and shout, he exclaimed, 'Boys, I've hit it!' and fitting the tune to the words, there rang out for the first time the song of the 'Star-spangled Banner.' How the men shouted and clapped, for never was there a wedding of poetry to music made under such inspiring influences! Getting a brief furlough, the brothers sang it on the stage of Holiday Street Theatre soon after. It was caught up in the camps, and sang around our bivouac fires, and whistled in the streets, and, when peace was declared, and we scattered to our homes, carried to thousands of firesides as the most precious relic of the war of 1812."[1]

From the above eyewitness it seems evident that Ferdinand Durang first sang the Star Spangled Banner some time after the three-month period following the attack on Baltimore while his unit was encamped at Gallows Hill. Consequently, in this case the time element differs from that given by Charles Durang, although both

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 256-257.

eyewitnesses to the event, Charles Durang and Mr. Hendon, agree that it was Ferdinand Durang who first sang the song.

In addition, the anonymous writer of an unsigned article, "The Star Spangled Banner," in The American Historical Record for January 1873[1] went so far as to write that "It was first sung in a restaurant in Baltimore, next to the Holiday Street Theatre, by Charles Durang, to an assemblage of patriotic defenders of the City, and after that, nightly at the theatre. It created intense enthusiasm, and was everywhere sung in public and in private."[2] The writer, perhaps confused, substitutes the name of Charles for Ferdinand.

Still another discrepancy appears in 1897 in the Iowa Historical Record, which reprinted an article from the Philadelphia Public Ledger in which the writer stated that:

> Ferdinand Durang, an actor, and a soldier in the Harisburg Blues (a Pennsylvania Volunteer regiment which was engaged in the fighting which occasioned the composition of our National ode), was the first person who sang the Star Spangled Banner. Durang, who was a good singer, the second day after the words were written was rummaging in his trunk in a tavern in Baltimore where he had his baggage, for music to suit the words,

---

[1] "The Star Spangled Banner." The American Historical Record, Vol. 2, No. 13. (January, 1873), pp. 24-25.
[2] Ibid., p. 25.

> and finally selected that of Anacreon in Heaven. By the time he had sung the third verse in trying the music to the words, the little tavern was full of people who spontaneously joined in the chorus. The company was soon joined by the author of the words, Francis Scott Key, to whom the tune was submitted for approval, who also took up the refrain of the chorus, thus endorsing the music. A few nights afterward the Star Spangled Banner being called for by the audience at the Holiday Street Theatre, in Baltimore, Ferdinand Durang sang it from the stage.[1]

The core of the controversy regarding the manner in which the Star Spangled Banner first came to be printed and sung is based on the accounts of two eyewitnesses, Charles Durang and Mr. Hendon, supplemented by later competing reports of other individuals. In history we sometimes talk of "accepted facts of history" as if a fact were not a fact until "accepted" somewhere in actuality. If Ferdinand Durang first sang the Star Spangled Banner, as his brother Charles states in his account, that fact would certainly be recorded in some contemporary public form. No written evidence exists, either

---

[1] Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XII, No. 3 (July, 1897), p. 144.

in contemporary newspapers or other documents, which could substantiate Charles Durang's statement. On the other hand the reminiscences of Mr. Hendon, according to which the Star Spangled Banner was sung after three months after it was composed, in a military camp at Gallows Hill, seems to be also somewhat dubious, as we know that already on September 20, the Star Spangled Banner had appeared in the Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser, on the following day in another Baltimore newspaper, the American and Commercial Daily Advertiser on September 24, in the weekly Frederick-Town Herald and finally on October 14 in the Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser. All this newspaper publicity would certainly indicate that the Star Spangled Banner was well known among the people and perhaps sung publicly. And indeed it was. On Tuesday, October 18, 1814, the Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser advertised the presentation for Wednesday evening, October 19, 1814, in the Baltimore Theatre, of "an historical play in five acts called Count Benyowsky" pointing out also that "After the Play, Mr. Hardinge will sing a much admired New Song, written by a gentleman of Maryland, in commemoration of the gallant defence of Fort M'Henry, called The Star Spangled Banner."[1] Another Baltimore morning paper, the American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, advertised this play in the same terms

[1]Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser, October 18, 1814, p. 3.

twice, on Tuesday and Wednesday mornings, October 18[1] and 19, 1814.[2] Furthermore, still another Baltimore newspaper, the Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, advertised this play, Count Benyowsky, also in the same terms, on October 19, 1814.[3] This is the first known public evidence as to when the song was sung publicly and also printed for the first time under the name of the Star Spangled Banner.

An advertisement which appeared on Saturday morning, November 12, 1814, in the American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, announced for that Saturday evening in the Baltimore Theatre an entertainment commemorating "the gallant repulse of the enemy from Baltimore." The programme for the evening included the three-act drama "The Fortress," followed by "The Wreath Dance, by Miss Abercrombie & Mr. F. Durang," then two acts of "The Weathercock," followed by a "Patriotic Military and Naval Entertainment," which in addition to numerous songs also included a "New Song, Written by a Gentleman of Maryland, 2d time here - The Star spangled Banner By Mr. Hardinge. An Entire New Scene, Representing the Bombardment of Baltimore, The night previous to the retreat of the Enemy by Land and Water The view is taken from Hamstead Hill and exhibits Fort M'Henry Illuminated By the Fire from the Enemy's Bomb vessels which discharges a rapid succession of Shells, (accurately represent by machinery,) some hursting in the air, etc."[4] The same

---

[1] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, October 18, 1814, p. 3.
[2] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, October 19, 1814, p. 3.
[3] Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, October 19, 1814, p.3.
[4] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, November 12, 1814, p. 3.

advertisement also appeared on November 12, 1814, in the Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser.[1] This is the second known time that the Star Spangled Banner was publicly sung under its present name.

According to Thomas Scharf, "On November 19th, Mr. Hardinge substituted for the 'Star Spangled Banner' the following 'new patriotic song,' called , 'Freedom, Home, and Beauty.' "[2] but to his knowledge "The new song did not excite the same feeling as the 'Star Spangled Banner,' which was received with universal enthusiasm, and at once gave its author a national reputation, and the theatre so wide a celebrity that the best actors thenceforth sought it eagerly."[3] But there is no actual proof that Mr. Hardinge sang it at all, as on that same Saturday evening, November 19, 1814, the Baltimore Theatre was giving a drama called "The Aethiop, or, The Child of the Desert" with an additional farce, the "Irishman in London,"[4] and after the following Monday night performance, on November 21, the Baltimore Theatre was closed for the season.[5]

It was Francois Adrien Boieldieu (1775-1834) who composed the opera Beniowski, first performed in 1799, and the play Count Benyowsky

---

[1] Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, November 12, 1814, p. 3.

[2] J. Thomas Scharf, History of Baltimore City and County From the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men. (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), p. 685.

[3] Ibid., p. 686.

[4] Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser, November 19, 1814, p. 3.

[5] Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser, November 21, 1814, p. 3.

was quite popular in this country during the early 19th Century. Although this play was also presented in the Theatre, in New York, on Wednesday evening, November 30, 1814, there is no evidence that the Star Spangled Banner was sung there,[1] as it was in Baltimore.

The person who was primarily responsible for the popularization of the Star Spangled Banner was a young Englishman, Thomas Carr, who owned a music store in Baltimore and was also active as organist at St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Accordiug to his daughter, Mary Jordan Carr Merryman, Key's poem "was set to music" by her father, "by Mr. Key's request in his presence from his manuscript selected from an English Composition - Entitled 'The Anacreon in Heaven' - and approved by him."[2]

Most probably this was done not later than October 19, 1814, the day on which the song was first publicly sung and given its present title, in connection with a performance of the play "Count Benyowsky," after which Mr. Hardinge sang a new song, written by a Maryland gentleman, in commemoration of the "gallant defence of Fort M'Henry, called The Star Spangled Banner."[3]

It should be remembered that Carr's publishing establishment was very efficient; it also published America's other original song, "Hail Columbia," on Monday afternoon, April 30, 1798, only five days after

---

[1]See advertisements which appeared in the New-York Evening Post, November 29, 1814, p.3,and November 30, 1814, p. 3, and in the New-York Gazette & General Advertiser, November 29, 1814, p. 3, and November 30, 1814, p. 3.

[2]Cf. letter of Mary Jordan Carr Merryman as quoted in Joseph Muller, Comp., The Star Spangled Banner, Words and Music Issued Between 1814-1864. (New York: Published by G. A. Baker & Co., Inc., 1935), pp. 42, 44-46.

[3]See Supra, p. 100.

it was sung by actor Gilbert Fox on Wednesday evening, April 25, 1798.[1]

Being an efficient salesman, Carr is generally considered to have been the one who most probably suggested the appealing and felicitous title, "The Star Spangled Banner."[2]

VII. THE TUNE

The song "To Anacreon in Heaven" was widely known and sung in 1814, and Key composed his poem in obvious imitation of the older song, from which he borrowed not only the melody itself but also the meter and verse form. In a letter sent from Philadelphia to The American Historical Record and dated January 28, 1873, Charles V. Hagner says, "...At the time it was written by Mr. Key, during the attack on Fort McHenry, Sept., 1814, there was a very popular and fashionable new song in vogue, viz: 'To Anacreon in Heaven,' every one who could sing seemed to be singing it. The writer of this was at the time, (Sept. 1814,) one of some three to four thousand men composing the advance Light Brigade, chiefly volunteers from Philadelphia, under the command of General John Cadwalader, when encamped

---

[1] Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music. (18th Century). Revised and Enlarged by William Treat Upton. With a Preface to the Da Capo Edition by Irving Lowens, Library of Congress, Music Division. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), p. 171.

[2] Muller, op. cit., pp. 49 and 52.

in the state of Delaware. In the evening before tattoo, many of the men would assemble in squads and sing this song, hundreds joining in the chorus. Mr. Key must have caught the infection and adapted his words to the same air."[1]

Toward the end of the 18th Century a London social club, the Anacreontic Society, was named in honor of Anacreon, a lyric poet of Greece, who supposedly worshipped "the Muses, Wine and Love." Indeed the Anacreontic Society was inspired by the philosophy of this Greek poet. Anacreon was born about 572 B.C. and was highly esteemed in his time. With the Persian invasion of Greece this poet of pleasure left his birthplace, the Ionian city of Teos, in Asia Minor, for Abdera in Thrace. Thanks to his poetic excellence he became a member of the court of Polycrates, ruler of Samos, where he composed verses dedicated to wine and the ladies of Samos. Following the death of his supporter Polycrates, Anacreon moved to Athens, where he was received with honors by Hipparchus. When he died at the age of 85 a statue erected to his memory was placed near one of Orpheus on the Acropolis at Athens. About sixty of his Odes have been preserved for posterity.[2]

In its own age Anacreontic music and poetry were basically inseparable, and the poems of Anacreon were sung at banquets as late

---

[1]The American Historical Record, Vol. 2, No. 15 (March, 1873), p. 129.

[2]For the life of Anacreon of Teos see C.M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides. 2d., Revised Edition. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 268-307.

as the time of Aulus Gellius.[1] They were also part of the learning of the Turks. Prince Cantemir made even the Russians familiar with Anacreon.[2] There have been Latin, German, and French versions of his poetry but it is Henry Stephen who is given principal credit for recovering its remains from obscurity, when he published these in Paris in 1554.[3]

The fame of Anacreon of Teos, particularly among English speaking readers, rests on the popularity of the Anacreontics, particularly as translated by Abraham Cowley and Thomas Moore. The original membership of the "Anacreontic Society" consisted of about forty men who met fortnightly. However, when the number of members was extended, the meetings were held weekly at a tavern situated in the Strand, where these jovial gentlemen regaled themselves with good music and song. Ralph Tomlinson, then President of the Society, feeling that his organization should have an appropriate song which would characterize it properly, wrote the words of "To Anacreon in Heaven," for which another member of the Society, John Stafford Smith, composed the music. Smith's settings illustrate well the canons of musical style which were prevalent in the 18th Century. The club sang "To Anacreon in Heaven" at every meeting.[4]

---

[1]Thomas Moore, Moore's Poems, With Notes. (Chicago and New York: The Henneberry Company, n.d.), p. 6. This is a reprint. Thomas Moore, an Irish poet who lived between 1779-1852, also visited America in 1803-1804.

[2]Ibid., p. 8.

[3]Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[4]Sonneck, The Star Spangled Banner, pp. 16, 24.

There are other theories concerning the composer of the music later used for the Star Spangled Banner. One of these theories holds that the melody was to be attributed to Samuel Arnold (1740-1802), the conductor of the Anacreontic Society.[1] Still another theory exists to the effect that, in Ireland, with different words, the tune was a popular drinking song. The late Richard S. Hill, Chief of the Reference Section of the Library of Congress Music Division, also believed that, because of the shape of the melody, the tune could have been composed earlier as a military or a hunting song for trumpet or valveless horn, and was of possible Irish origin.[2] According to a recent statement by William Lichtenwanger, present Chief of the Reference Section of the Library of Congress Music Division, the Star Spangled Banner tune is of Irish origin and was 'probably brought to this country by an Irish regiment in the British army."[3] Lichtenwanger bases his conception on the theory of his predecessor, Richard S. Hill, who for 20 years accumulated a considerable amount of evidence but died in 1961 before he could prove his thesis. An anonymous writer in the column "Potomac Fever," in the Washington Post, commented on this theory as follows: "A Library of Congress expert says that Star-Spangled Banner is an old Irish tune. They called it 'O'Shea Did You See Pat O'shawn's Early Fight?'"[4] while an editorial in The Evening Star remarked,

---

[1]The Star Spangled Banner. Hearings Before Subcommittee No. 4 of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 85th Cong., 2d Sess. on H.J. Res. 17, H.J. Res. 517, H.R. 10542, H.J. Res. 558, and H.R. 12231, May 21, 22, and 28, 1958. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 155. Hereafter cited as: The Star Spangled Banner. Hearings Before Subcommittee No. 4, 1958.

[2]Ibid., p. 157.

[3]Cf. dispatch of the Associated Press which appeared in The Evening Star, February 23, 1967, p. A-1.

[4]The Washington Post, March 3, 1967, p. A 19.

> As every schoolboy knows, the words to our National Anthem were penned by Francis Scott Key to the tune of an old English drinking song. But now, along comes the head of the reference section of the Library of Congress music division to say that every schoolboy is wrong; that the tune was Irish in origin and had been swiped by the British before Key appropriated it for his own use.

The editorial then pointed out:

> Without presuming to render a final judgment in the dispute, we must observe that, on the surface of it, there are two considerations that weigh heavily in favor of Irish authorship. First of all, the congressional librarian who unveiled the Irish theory goes by the name of William Lichtenwannger [sic]. Had his name been O'Boyle or Kennedy or O'Toole, or some such, there might be reason to suspect that motives other than the pursuit of truth might have led him to rock the traditional boat. But Lichtenwannger? . . . Obviously a neutral. Secondly, consider the tune itself. Hum it through until you get to that part about 'the rockets' red glare . . .' Now who but an over-enthusiastic Irish tenor would think for a moment that a normal human being could reach those notes?[1]

But in spite of this controversy, as of now we know of no Irish military songs which might substantiate this theory of the Star Spangled Banner's Irish origin. It is then fairly reasonable to state that the

---

[1]The Evening Star, February 27, 1967, p. A-10.

music was indeed written by the Englishman John Stafford Smith for a drinking song of the Anacreontic Society in London, and that as time went on it migrated to the taverns of this country, where the original verses were paraphrased and adjusted to patriotic American sentiment under such titles as "Freedom Triumphant," "The Fourth of July," "Adams and Liberty," to mention a few. "To Anacreon in Heaven" inspired a great many poets from its own time up to the years just prior to the Second American War with England. In America the tune assumed a patriotic character, as in the setting of Robert Treat Paine's "Adams and Liberty," which appeared in 1798 was perhaps the most prominent patriotic song prior to the appearance of the Star Spangled Banner.[1] In the U.S. the tune was adapted to about eighty-five different lyrics between 1790 and 1820 with most texts having a patriotic nature.[2] There is no doubt then that Francis Scott Key was familiar not only with the tune "To Anacreon in Heaven," but most probably also with some of the many poems set to this melody.[3] Key similarly adapted the "Anacreon" tune to his own earlier verses which appeared on Saturday, January 18, 1806, in the Frederick-Town Herald "Prepared for, and sung by, a gentleman of George-town, at an entertainment given in honor of capts. Stephen Decatur, jun. and Charles Stewart." It is not perhaps without significance that in this very poem there appears the line "By the light of the star-spangled

---

[1]Sonneck, The Star Spangled Banner, pp. 15, 16, 24, 45-63,79 and 97.

[2]Richard S. Hill, The Melody of "The Star Spangled Banner" in the United States before 1820. Offprint from Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth 1951. (Washington: The Library of Congress, Copyright, 1951, by Frederick R. Goff, 1951), pp. 14-28.

[3]For example, on page 438 of Moore's op. cit., there appears the "Song of Nourmahal," which is in the same meter as Key's poem.

flag of our nation."[1]

Key's poetic and musical mind may well have unconsciously cast his sentiments upon beholding his Flag, still atop its staff after the bombardment, into the mold of this deeply absorbed poetic form and melody, invested as it had already become for him with patriotic sentiment and fervor.

---

[1]Frederick-Town Herald, January 18, 1806, p. 3.

VIII. EARLY MUSICAL ARRANGEMENTS

When the first original edition of the Star Spangled Banner by Thomas Carr appeared, most probably not later than October 19, 1814, when it was sung publicly and also captioned for the first time under its present name of the Star Spangled Banner,[1] not only was the name of the author Francis Scott Key, not given, but also the word "patriotic" was misspelled as "pariotic." The notation at the bottom of both pages reads, "Adapd. & Arrd. by T. C." and on the lower margin of the first page there appears the note "(T.s.s.b.)."[2] The music is arranged for voice and piano in 6/4 time, in the key of C major, and is followed by an air in D for the flute. Key's poem is adapted to "The Anacreontic Song as Sung at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, the Words by Ralph Tomlinson Esqr. late President of that Society. (London). Printed by Longman & Broderip No. 26 Cheapside."[3]

In comparing Thomas Carr's version with the text of Francis Scott Key's poem, one sees that in the second part of the third line of the third stanza the word "should" has been changed to "shall;" instead of "should leave us no more," Carr has "shall leave us no more."[4] However, in the broadside which Judge Nicholson supposedly arranged to have printed,[5] the word "shall" appears at this spot.

---

[1] See Supra, p. 100.
[2] See Appendix C.
[3] Sonneck, The Star Spangled Banner, Plate VIII.
[4] Muller, op. cit., p. 49.
[5] Cf. Sonneck, The Star Spangled Banner, Plate XV.

It is believed that this was the transcription on the copy which Carr used for his publication, and Muller is most probably correct in stating that "This variation is found in many subsequent editions of the song in sheet-music form."[1]

Presently eight copies of Carr's first edition are known to be in existence; these are located at the Library of Congress, Indiana University, the Maryland Historical Society, the New York Public Library, the White House, and in the possession of James J. Fuld, New York City, Lester S. Levy, Pikesville, Maryland, and Thomas W. Streeter, Morristown, New Jersey.[2]

The spelling error in Carr's first edition was soon discovered, and a new edition was shortly issued which gave the correct spelling of the word "patriotic;" however this new edition gives the wrong dates for the bombardment of Fort McHenry, as "on the 12 & 13th Sept. 1814" (instead of September 13 and 14, 1814). An additional error appears in this edition, giving the author's name as "B. Key Esqr."[3] In spite of all these discrepancies, this edition is still the first example in which Key's name, although given inaccurately, appeare in print as the author of the Star Spangled Banner.

---

[1]Muller, op. cit., p. 49.

[2]James J. Fuld, The Book of World-Famous Music. Classical, Popular and Folk. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1966), p. 436.

[3]See Appendix D.

On Monday, February 26, 1821, Thomas Carr's music store advertised in the American & Commercial Daily Advertiser in Baltimore some "New Music - Just Received," and announced "With a great variety of other pieces, which will be noticed in future advertisements just published, A new edition of the 'Star Spangled Banner,' with a handsome Vignette of the Bombardment of Fort M'Henry, printed on handsome white paper as a specimen of what has been lately made for my own publications, not inferior to any paper used for printing music by any publisher in other cities."[1] Although this advertisement did not appear in the evening paper, the Baltimore Patriot & Morcantile Advertiser, it did appear, with the same text and on the same day, in the morning Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser.[2] But even this new edition still printed the wrong initial of Key's first name together with the wrong dates of the bombardment.[3]

After the first appearance of the Carr edition, new "Carr-type" editions by different publishers appeared over a period of approximately thirty-five years, and according to the best available modern sources these are now known to be in existence eighteen separate editions. One of the earliest of these subsequent editions was issued between 1814 and 1816 in Philadelphia by A. Bacon & Co., and the latest was published by Wm. Hall & Son, 239 Broadway, New York City about 1851, at a reduced price of eight cents.[4]

---

[1] American & Commercial Daily Advertiser, February 26, 1821, p. 3.
[2] Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, February 26, 1821, p. 3.
[3] Muller, op. cit., p. 28.
[4] Ibid., pp. 28, 61-64 and 111-112.

Between the issuance of these two very early and very late Carr-type reprints, there appeared those by men like John Cole, in Baltimore around 1825,[1] C. Bradlee, in Boston between 1834-1836[2] and Hewitt & Jacques, in New York City between 1837-1841,[3] to mention a few. All aditions have one feature in common; they include the same textual mistake which appeared in Carr's first amended edition.

Perhaps the main reason the Carr-type editions were so popular and so much reprinted by other publishers was that Carr's publishing concern never bothered to copyright its versions, which were appropriated freely by other publishers without proper acknowledgment. The Carr-type editions of the Star Spangled Banner were the only type sold to the public, which, as a matter of fact, had to wait for a corrected version until the New York City publishers issued their edition of the Star Spangled Banner, "arranged by a contemporary musician, some time between 1832 and 1839."[5] And by this time the popularity of the Star Spangled Banner among the public in general was well on its way.

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 75-80.
[2] Ibid., p. 86.
[3] Ibid., pp. 87-88.
[4] Ibid., p. 28.
[5] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

IX. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER'S POPULARITY

a. SONGSTERS

Undoubtedly the various songsters and hymnals in which the Star Spangled Banner appeared contributed to its popularity. The success of a national song depends upon its absorption into the popular tradition, and one of the ways in which this end was achieved in early 19th-Century America was through the songsters.

One of the earliest songsters to include the Star Spangled Banner was published in 1814 in Hagerstown, Maryland.[1] The song appears under the caption "Defence of Fort M'Henry. Tune-Anacreon in Heaven." Preceding it are the following words: "Wrote by an American Gentlemen [sic], who was compelled to witness the bombardment of Fort M'Henry, on board of a flag vessel at the mouth of the Patapsco."[2]

The fact alone that the song appeared at such an early date in this tiny songster, of altogether 40 pages, is an indication of how quickly the song gained popularity.

Around 1815 the text of the song appeared in another work, Washington Guards, published in Philadelphia, under the following

---

[1] National Songster: or A Collection of the Most Admired Patriotic Songs, on the Brilliant Victories, Achieved By the Naval and Military Heroes of the United States of America, Over Equal and Superior Forces of the British. From the Best American Authors. First Hagers-town Edition. (Hagers-Town: Printed by John Gruber and Daniel May, 1814), pp. 30-31.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

heading; "Fort McHenry Or, The Star Spangled Banner as Sung by Mr. Hardinge."[1] However in a songster published in Baltimore in 1816, the Star Spangled Banner is missing, while the song "Independence," sung to the tune "Anacreon in Heaven," is included.[2]

A songster published in 1816 in Wilmington, Del., includes the song, however, without indicating its title or its author's name, and specifies "Tune-Anacreon in Heaven." The song is preceded by the well-known story of its inspiration which had first appeared in the Baltimore newspapers.[3] When the second edition of this songster appeared a year later, in 1817,[4] the song reappeared as it had previously - again without mentioning the author - but with a note to the effect that it was to be sung to "Tune-Anacreon in Heaven." Following the four verses of Key's poem there is an additional stanza referring to the Battle of New Orleans (January, 1815), which reads as follows:

---

[1] Washington Guards. Written by John F. Wells. A Member of the Third Company of Washington Guards. (Philadelphia: Published and Sold at G. Willig's Music Store, n.d. [but believed 1815]), p. 3.

[2] The Poor But Honest Soldier. To Which Is Added, The Much Admired Songs of the American Star, Independence, and a Sprig of Shillelah. (Baltimore: Printed for the Purchaser, 1816), pp. 5-7.

[3] The Star Spangled Banner: Being a Collection of the Best Naval, Martial, Patriotic Songs, etc., etc., etc. Chiefly Written During, and In Relation to the Late War. (Wilmington, Del.. Printed and Sold by J. Wilson, 1816), pp. 14-15. This may be the first time the name of the song was used as the title of a book.

[4] The Star Spangled Banner: Being a Collection of the Best Naval, Martial, Patriotic Songs, etc., etc., etc. Chiefly Written During, and In Relation to the Late War. Second Edition.(Wilmington, Del.: Printed and Sold by J. Wilson, 1817), pp. 14-15. To the author's knowledge the only available copy of this second edition is in the collections of The New York Historical Society.

Hail Jackson, Coffee and all the brave band
Who gallantly foiled the foes last "Demonstration,"
Who, formed in firm phalanx, resistless did stand
Between their loved homes and the war's desolation:
Long shall Britian deplor the terrific roar
Of Tennesee Rifles on New-Orleans shore,
Where the Star Spangled Banner in triumph still waves
In proudest defiance of Britain's vile Slaves.[1]

This is the first time the Star Spangled Banner was assigned a gratuitous extra stanza. Although the author of this additional verse is unknown, it is not impossible to presume that this fifth stanza, celebrating Jackson's victory in the Battle of New Orleans, was written by Francis Scott Key himself. Key after all was a Jackson man and supported him fully.

In a songster published in Richmond, Va., in 1817, the song is described in the following terms: "The Star Spangled Banner. By Francis Key, Esq. Written while detained on board the British squadron, after the bombardment of Baltimore. [Tune - Anacreon in Heaven.][2] On the frontispiece of this songster there is a woodcut entitled "Bombardment of Fort Mc Henry;" following this woodcut there appear the following

---

[1] Ibid., p. 15. The spelling and punctuation of this text given above is as it appears in the original.

[2] The American Star. Being a Choice Collection of the Most Approved Patriotic and Other Songs: Together with many others never before published. Second Edition. (Richmond: Published by Peter Cottom, 1817), pp. 4-5.

three lines of Francis Scott Key's poem;

> and this be our motto, in God is our trust
> And the star spangled banner in triumph shall wave,
> Oer the land of the free & the home of the brave.

In very small lettering, almost illegible, there also appears the following: "Knedss Sc." (or Kneass?) perhaps indicating the name of the artist.

Another songster, published in Philadelphia in 1818, includes the song under the caption, "The Star Spangled Banner. Sung by Mr. M'Farland."[1] No author's name is given. A very interesting fact is that, although the song's title is given in the text as "The Star Spangled Banner," in the Index attached at the end of this songster it is listed as follows: "O, say, can you see by the dawn's early light," the first line of Key's poem.

The song also appears in a songster published in 1818 in Pittsburgh, under the following inscription: "The star Spangled Banner, Tune - Anacreon in Heaven."[2] This publication perhaps represents the first time the Star Spangled Banner appeared in printed form west of the Alleghenies.

In 1818 Charles Starr published in New York City a tiny songster in two volumes,[3] and the Star Spangled Banner appears in the first with

---

[1] The Antihipnotic Songster, Containing Original and Select Songs. Patriotic, Sentimental Anacreontic, Comic, & Masonic. With Favorite Airs, Glees, and Catches. (Philadelphia: Printed and Published by T. Town and S. Merritt, 1818), pp. 50-51.

[2] The Star. A Collection of Songs, Sentimental, Humourous, and Patriotic. (Pittsburgh : Published by Lambdin & Minis, 1818), pp. 7-9.

[3] The Aeolian Harp, or Songster's Cabinet; Being a Selection of the Most Popular Songs and Recitations; Patriotic, Sentimental, Humorous, etc. In Two Volumes. Vols. I and II. (New York: Stereotyped and Published by Charles Starr, 1818).

the well-known description of its inspiration, but without the name of its author.[1]

A songster published in New Haven in 1819 includes as song number one The Star Spangled Banner,[2] while the tunes "Hail Columbia"[3] and "Yankee Doodle"[4] are included in later pages.

In a songster published in two volumes in 1820, by J. B. Jansen of New York, the song appears in volume one under its correct name "The Star-spangled Banner." The songster also identifies the Star Spangled Banner's authorship with the phrase "By Francis Key, Esq.," followed by the explanation, "Written while on board the British squadron, after the bombardment of Baltimore. Tune - Anacreon in Heaven."[5]

Another of the earlier songsters which includes the song and the author's name was published in 1824 in Richmond, Va.[6]

---

[1] Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 18-20.

[2] The Songster's Pocket Companion, or Gentlemen and Ladies' Vocal Museum: Being a Selection of the Most Elegant and Fashionable Modern Songs. (New-Haven: Printed and Published by A.H. Maltby & Co., 1819), pp. 3-4.

[3] Ibid., pp. 57-58.

[4] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[5] The Songster's Magazine, A Choice Selection of the Most Approved Patriotic, Comic, Sentimental, Amatory and Naval Songs, both Ancient and Modern. Vol. I. (New-York: Published and Sold by J.B. Jansen, 1820), p. 9.

[6] The title reads: "Star Spangled Banner - By F.S. Key, Esq." In The Vocal Standard, or, Star Spangled Banner; Being the Latest and Best Selection Ever Offered to the Public, Particularly of American Patriotic Songs; As Well as Sentimental, Humourous & Comic Songs, Duetts, Glees, etc. Many of Which Are Original, and Not to be Found in Any Other Collection. (Richmond: Published by J. H. Nash, and T.W. White; C. Bonsal and C. Hall, Norfolk; and H. K. Whyte, Petersburg, 1824), pp. 15-16.

In 1827 the Star Spangled Banner appeared as the first number in a songster published by John Grigg in Philadelphia, labeled simply "By F. S. Key, Esq."[1] It would seem that as the circumstances which led to the song's creation became well known, the explanation of those circumstances which accompanied earlier editions gradually came to be omitted. Indeed the Star Spangled Banner had become by that time (the first quarter of the 19th Century) one of the favored national songs in the country.

There were however cases, particularly in New England, in which the Star Spangled Banner was completely omitted from songsters. One such was published in Hartford, in 1826.[2] When its second edition was published in 1835 the song still was not included.[3] Neither did the Star Spangled Banner appear in a songster published in Boston in 1828,[4] nor in still another published in 1836 in the same city,[5] although the latter includes such songs as "Auld Land Syne"[6] and "Hail Columbia."[7]

---

[1]The Southern and Western Songster: Being a Choice Collection of the Most Fashionable Songs, Many of which Are Original. Second edition, greatly enlarged. (Philadelphia: Published by John Grigg, 1827), pp. 19-20.

[2]The Songster's Museum; A New And Choice Collection of Popular Songs, Selected From the Best Authors. (Hartford: Published by Henry Benton, 1826), passim.

[3]The Songster's Museum: A New And Choice Collection of Popular Songs, Selected From the Best Authors. Second Edition.(Hartford: Published by Henry Benton, 1835), passim.

[4]A Choice Collection of Patriotic and Comic Songs. (Boston: J. Shaw, Printer, 1828), passim.

[5]Abner Kneeland, National Hymns, Original and Selected; For the Use of Those who Are "Slaves to No Sect." (Boston: Published and Sold at the Office of the Boston Investigator, 1836), passim.

[6]Ibid., pp. 127-128.

[7]Ibid., pp. 113-114.

But in spite of this Yankee coolness the Star Spangled Banner quickly won it way in other parts of the country. In 1829 the song appeared under the title "Star-Spangled Banner. - By F. S. Key, Esq.," as song number one in the Western Songster published by J. Grigg in Philadelphia.[1] When a new edition of Grigg's songster appeared in 1835, the Star Spangled Banner still occupied first place,[2] as it also did in still another edition issued in 1841.[3]

The Star Spangled Banner also appears in the American Naval and Patriotic Songster, published in Baltimore in 1831.[4] Here too, while the title of the song is listed as the 'Star Spangled Banner," the "Contents" at the end of the songster lists it under "O! say can you see, by the dawn's."[5] An interesting fact is that on the page preceding the Star Spangled Banner there is a woodcut entitled "Bombardment of Fort M'Henry, Baltimore."[6] Although this woodcut does not appear to be

---

[1]Grigg's Southern and Western Songster: Being a Choice Collection of the Most Fashionable Songs, Many of Which Are Original. New Edition, Greatly Enlarged. (Philadelphia: Published by J. Grigg, 1829), p. 19.

[2]Grigg's Southern and Western Songster: Being a Choice Collection of the Most Fashionable Songs, Many of Which Are Original. New Edition, Greatly Enlarged. (Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot, 1835), p. 19.

[3]Grigg's Southern and Western Songster: Being a Choice Collection of the Most Fashionable Songs, Many of Which Are Original. New Edition, Greatly Enlarged. (Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot, 1841), p. 19.

[4]The American Naval and Patriotic Songster. As Sung at Various Places of Amusement, In Honor of Hull, Jones, Decatur, Perry, Bainbridge, Lawrence, etc., etc., etc. (Baltimore: Published by P. N. Wood, Wm. Wooddy, Printer, 1831), pp. 219-220.

[5]Ibid., p. 254.

[6]Ibid., p. 218.

signed by any artist, its writer seems, on the basis of similarity in artistic style and technique, to be an artist by the name of Horton, whose name appears on the frontispiece, "Battle of Lake Erie," as well as on two other woodcuts in the book, namely "The Hornet and Peacock"[1] and "The Constitution and Guerrier[sic]."[2]

Similarly, the song appeared as song number one in a songster published in 1834 in Newark, N. J., under its correct name and author, as "Star Spangled Banner. By F. S. Key, Esq."[3]

The Star Spangled Banner appears as the first member in a songster published in Philadelphia in 1835,[4] which included only songs which deserved the title of merit, either in composition or claimed to include only melody.

The Star Spangled Banner is also included as first song in a songster published in Cincinnati in 1836,[5] and in 1837 it appeared in another songster published in Philadelphia.[6] It is also included in a

---

[1] Ibid., p. 88.

[2] Ibid., p. 154.

[3] The Select Warbler, Containing a Choice Collection of Most Fashionable Songs. (Newark, N.J.: Printed and Published by Benjamin Olds, 1834), pp. 3-5.

[4] The Singer's Own Book: Well-Selected Collection of the Most Popular, Sentimental, Patriotic, Naval, And Comic Songs. Thirtieth Edition. (Philadelphia: Desilver, Thomas, and Co., 1835), pp. 7-8.

[5] The United States Songster. A Choice Selection of About One Hundred and Seventy of the Most Popular Songs: Including Nearly All the Songs Contained in the American Songster. (Cincinnati: Published by U. P. James, 1836), pp. 5-6.

[6] John Kenedy, The American Songster, Containing a Choice Selection of About One Hundred and Fifty Modern and Popular Songs, As Sung by Mr. Sloman, Mr. Pearman, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Cowell, Mr. Philipps, Mr. Nichols, Mr. Incledon, Mr. Hyle, Mr. Keene, Mr. Braham, Mr. Horn, Mr. Eberle, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Mathews, Mrs. Sloman, Mrs. Holman, Miss Fisher, Miss Rock, Miss George, Miss Jefferson, Miss Kelly, Miss Stephens, Miss Gillinghams, Miss Paton, Miss Free, Miss French, Miss Knight, Sen'r Garcia, etc. Including Mr. Sloman's Analyzation; Or, What Are Mortals Made Of. Stereotype Edition. (Philadelphia: Published by John Kenedy, 1837), pp. 50-52.

gster published in 1840 in New York under the title "Star Spangled nner;" however no author's name is mentioned.[1] The Star Spangled nner is also included in the Forget Me Not Songster, published in w York City around 1842.[2]

As early as 1842 the Star Spangled Banner was included among the val and patriotic songs frequently used by the U.S. Navy.[3]

In 1845 the Star Spangled Banner appeared in a songster published Philadelphia, as song number one among a total of 83 songs.[4]

By this time the popularity of the song was extensive enough so that t even reached abroad. In 1857 it appeared in an English songster ublished in London under the title "The Star-Spangled Banner," with e author's name given as F. S. Key.[5] An explanation at the bottom of e page notes that "Francis S. Key is a native of Baltimore [sic]. This song supposed to have been written by a prisoner on board of British fleet, [sic] the morning after the unsuccessful bombardment of Fort McHenry."[6]

---

[1]The American Naval, and Patriotic Songster. In Honour of Hull, Jones, catur, Perry, etc., etc., etc., Embellished with numerous Engravings. New York: Published by N.C. Nafis, 1840), pp. 55-56. On the preceding page ere appears a woodcut entitled "Bombardment of Fort M'Henry," but no rtist's name is given.

[2]The Forget Me Not Songster, Containing a Choice Collection of Old llad Songs, as Sung by Our Grandmothers. (New York: Nafis & Cornish, n.d.), p. 26-27. Although no date is given for this songster it is assumed to have en published ca. 1842.

[3]John Frost, The Book of the Navy; Comprising a General History of the erican Marine; and Particular Accounts of all the Most Celebrated Naval ttles, From the Declaration of Independence to the Present Time.(New York: . Appleton & Co., 1842), p. 319.

[4]The American Songster, Containing a Choice Selection of Eighty-Three Songs. Philadelphia: Published by W. A. Leary, 1845), pp. 3-5.

[5]The Book of American Songs: With Notes, Biographical and Historical. Edited nd Arranged by Howard Paul. (London: Ward and Lock, 1857), pp. 62-63.

[6]Ibid., p. 62.

b. PRESIDENTIAL AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Generally political songs are rather poor in quality and lacking in literary merit. Their principal claim to popularity is their timeliness and the ease with which they can be sung to a popular air. This kind of song is known rather for its simplicity than for any lasting artistic value.

Of the tunes to which political lyrics were sung in the early and middle 1800's the Star Spangled Banner tune was quite popular. Although the lyrics of many of these songs were not always of the highest order, the sentiment expressed was patriotic and fervent.

A songster published for the 1840 Whig presidential campaign[1] included eight different songs sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner celebrating the virtues of General William Henry Harrison as a hero, patriot, farmer, statesman, and philanthropist, and celebrating his victory over Martin Van Buren. The songs sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner were, "Come, Cheer Up, Ye Whigs,"[2] "The Dispersion of the Spoilers,"[3] "The Harrison Banner,"[4] "The People Are Coming,"[5] "The First Gun,"[6] "A Song, Written for the Anniversary of Our National Independence, 1840, by a Lady,"[7] "Our Own Harrison,"[8] and "The Victory

---

[1] The Harrison Medal Minstrel. Comprising a Collection of the Most Popular and Patriotic Songs, Illustrative of the Enthusiastic Feelings of a Grateful but Power-Ridden People Towards the Gallant Defender of Their Country. (Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliott, 1840), passim.

[2] Ibid., pp. 64-66.

[3] Ibid., pp. 66-67.

[4] Ibid., pp. 124-125.

[5] Ibid., pp. 126-127.

[6] Ibid., pp. 128-131.

[7] Ibid., pp. 132-133.

[8] Ibid., pp. 142-143.

of Tippecanoe."[1]

The air of the Star Spangled Banner was also used for an 1840 Whig campaign song, "O! Who Does Not See In This Heart-Cheering Way," published in 1840.[2] Still another Tippecanoe song was "A New Song," sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner at the annual election for charter officers in the city of Pittsburgh in 1840.[3]

A favored Whig campaign song of 1840, called the "Harrison Songs," sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner,[4] and still another song, "The Victory of Tippecanoe," to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner, appeared in a campaign songster published in Brooklyn in 1840.[5]

There were times when the Fourth of July celebration was used for political campaign purposes, as during the Grand Harrison celebration of the Fourth of July of 1840, prepared by the Eighth Ward Democratic Tippecanoe Club at Lafayette Hall in New York; following the dinner many patriotic toasts were drunk and several appropriate songs were sung. Of the thirteen regular toasts, toast number four was to "The Army and Navy of the United States," during which the Star Spangled Banner was sung.[6]

---

[1]Ibid., pp. 152-153.

[2]Tippecanoe Song Book: A Collection of Log Cabin and Patriotic Melodies. (Philadelphia: Marshall, Williams, and Butler, 1840), pp. 37-39.

[3]A.B. Norton, Tippecanoe Songs of the Log Cabin Boys and Girls of 1840. (Mount Vernon, O., and Dallas, Texas: A.B. Norton & Co., 1888), pp. 87-88.

[4]Ibid., pp. 30-31.

[5]Brooklyn Tippecanoe Song Book, Part I, Being a Selection of the Most Approved Songs, From the Various Collections Recently Published - And Part II, Consisting of Popular Songs, Not Included in Other Editions. Compiled by the Brooklyn Tippecanoe Glee Club. (Brooklyn,N.Y.: A. Spooner & Son, Printers, 1840), p. 30.

[6]New York Times & Commercial Intelligencer, July 11, 1840, p. 2.

There can be little doubt that this patriotic use by the Whigs of the Star Spangled Banner for their political campaign contributed to the fact that, in the election of 1840, General William Henry Harrison was elected over the incumbent President Martin Van Buren, to the Presidency of the United States.

In still another Whig songster, published in New York, in 1840, the Star Spangled Banner is parodized in a song in praise of General Harrison, whose text is as follows:

OUR HARRISON.

Tune--"The Star-Spangled banner."

Oh, say, who is he, through the forest so dark,
With his warrior legions advancing to battle?
Where the yell of the savege re-echoes--and hark!
Where the death dealing strokes of their rifle balls rattle,
What is it they fear?--'t is his name that they hear,
With the cry of revenge for the blood of the dear;
'T is the name of our HARRISON--long will it flame
In letters of light on the banner of Fame!

How piercing the shriek, uttered thrillingly wild,
From the heart of the mother, in agony swelling,
As she mourns the sad fate of her innocent child
Torn from her, while blazens her desolate dwelling!
Who soothes her alarms, and her wretchedness calms,
And restores, gaily smiling, her babe to her arms?
Oh, say, 't is our HARRISON--long will his name
Float in letters of light on the banner of Fame!

Rouse! rouse! to the battle! remember your sires;
Their fame is immortal--and how have they gained it?
They fought for their rights, and their own household fires,
And the blood of a fallen foe never has stained it.
Let our enemies feel, at our charge as they reel,
That the vanquished are safe from the American steel!
Who spake thus? Our HARRISON--long may his name
Float in letters of light on the banner of Fame!

The war cry is hushed, and the struggle is o'er;
No longer in strife are the bayonets gleaming;
For gallantly far on the sea and the shore,
Is the star-spangled banner in victory streaming;
And changes he now, the sharp sword for the plough,
But green still the laurel that circles his brow!
Then huzza! ' is our HARRISON--long will his name
Float in letters of light on the banner of Fame![1]

During the campaign of 1842 the song "Harry of the West," sung to the air of the Star Spangled Banner, was included in a Henry Clay songster of 1842, in which he was celebrated as "Our Harry, the glory, the Pride of the West."[2] Two years later, during the political campaign of 1844, the songs "Harry of the West"[3] and "The Heroes of Mind"[4] were sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner to support Henry Clay as the Whig Presidential candidate.

Similarly, during the 1848 presidential campaign, the song "Our Brave Rough and Ready," celebrating the Mexican War and the victory "On Mexico's plains," was sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner.[5]

The growing popularity of the Star Spangled Banner continued, as during the Presidential campaign of 1852 the song "Old Winfield, the Brave," sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner, was included in a

---

[1]The Log Cabin Song-Book. A Collection of Popular And Patriotic Songs, Respectfully Dedicated to the Friends of Harrison and Tyler. (New-York: Published at the Log Cabin Office, 1840), p. 20.

[2]The Clay Minstrel; or, National Songster. To Which is Prefixed a Sketch of the Life, Public Services, and Character of Henry Clay. (Philadelphia and New York: Turner & Fisher, 1842), pp. 73-74.

[3]The National Clay Minstrel. And True Whig's Pocket Companion, for the Presidential Canvass of 1844. (Boston: Published by James Fisher, 1844), pp.75-76.

[4]Ibid., p. 116.

[5]The Rough and Ready Melodist. Illustrated O.Z. Edition. Containing a selection of the best Taylor and Fillmore songs, with many written and arranged expressly for this work. (New York: H. Long and Brother, 1848), pp. 23-24.

campaign songster for 1852.[1] Its first stanza reads as follows:

> Oh, say do you see, with its folds flashing high,
> That honored Whig banner which streams to the sky,
> Once more to the breezes we have flung its bright stars,
> And welcomed its stripes with our wildest huzzas,
> While hallowed by fame, and unsullied by shame
> In its beak Freedom's eagle holds proudly the name
> Of Scott! - to the foe never yet known to yield,
> The patriot and soldier, our gallant Winfield![2]

While during the presidential campaign of 1856 one quite popular Republican songster did not include any song sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner,[3] its Democratic counterpart included in a songster for the Fillmore and Donelson ticket one song sung to the Star Spangled Banner which went like this:

NATIONAL CLUB SONG.

Air--Star Spangled Banner,

> O, say, have ye heard of the banner so bright,
> That we proudly displayed in our last year's campaigning:
> When the National Club, in the van of the fight,
> Showed the foes of our Cause how its young men were training!
> Over freemen it flew--
> O'er Americans true,
> And through all the long conflict still dearer it grew--
> 'Twas the flag of our Club, boys!--we saw it still wave
> O'er the heads of the free, and the hearts of the brave!
>
> That banner we bore, when the hirelings of John
> Sought to rear up a power with their dark superstition--
> It waved on the breeze till our triumph was won,
> And Erastus went back on his countrymen's mission.
> Over freemen it flew,
> O'er Americans true--
> And through all the long conflict still dearer it grew--
> 'Twas the flag of our Club, boys! we saw it still wave
> O'er the heads of the free, and the hearts of the brave.

---

[1] The Scott Songster, Compiled Expressly for the Presidential Campaign of 1852; Respectively Dedicated to the Old Warriors of the War of 1812; and the Glee Clubs and Chippewa Lodges of the Rank and File of the Whig Party of the United States. By True Blue, Esq. (Cincinnati: Edwards & Goshorn, 1852), pp. 25-

[2] Ibid., p. 25.

[3] Fremont Songs for the People, Original and Selected. Compiled by Thomas Drew. (Boston: Published by John P. Jewett and Company, 1856), passim.

When the battle was o'er, and by thousands, once more,
We met at Head Quarters, with loud salutations--
That banner, unstained, floating vanward we bore,
And we hailed its bright folds with our loud acclamations.
Streaming vanward it flew
O'er Americans true--
And we felt that in triumph still dearer it grew!
'Twas the flag of our Club, boys--we saw it still wave!
O'er the heads of the free, and the hearts of the brave.

But as Judas betrayed, and as Arnold was base,
So a traitor was found in but one of our number
From our ranks he has fallen, and with endless disgrace
Let his name and his shame in oblivion now slumber!
For the banner that flew
O'er Americans true
Shines out through his treason still dearer to you--
'Tis the flag of our Club, boys,--O long may it wave [1]
O'er the heads of the free, and the hearts of the brave!

Another Republican songster for the presidential campaign of 1860, dedicated to "Lincoln and Liberty," includes no campaign song sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner;[2] nevertheless the tune was now obviously deep-rooted in the population throughout the country.

---

[1] Fillmore and Donelson Songs for the Campaign. Union and Peace. (New-York: Robert M. De Witt, 1856), pp. 14-16.

[2] Hutchinson's Republican Songster, for the Campaign of 1860. Edited by John W. Hutchinson, of the Hutchinson Family of Singers. (New York: O. Hutchinson, Publisher, 1860), passim.

c. TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

As early as 1826 the American Temperance Society was established,[1] thanks to the activities of the missionaries of temperance who preached the idea of prohibition throughout the country. But it was after 1840 that significant numbers of temperance societies began to be formed. One of these new societies, called the "Washingtonians," was organized during the winter of 1841 by a small group of drunkards in Washington who pledged themselves that they "will not drink any spirituous or malt liquors, wine or cider."[2] From this rather humble beginning the movement speedily spread to an unprecented popularity, with temperance songs and poems printed and sung by the thousands.[3] When this movement suddenly died out around 1843, another group came into existence, namely the "Sons of Temperance."[4]

The melody of the Star Spangled Banner was popular for songs of the Temperance movement. The Temperance version of the Star Spangled Banner, published in 1843, and a most clever parody indeed, has become historic:

The Star Spangled Banner

Oh! who has not seen by the dawn's early light,
Some poor bloated drunkard to his home weakly reeling,
With blear eyes and red nose most revolting to sight;
Yet still in his breast not a throb, of shame feeling!
And the plight he was in--steep'd in filth to his chin,
Gave proof through the night in the gutter he'd been,
While the pity-able wretch would stagger along,
To the shame of his friends, 'mid the jeers of the throng.

---

[1]Cf. John Allen Krout, The Origin of Prohibition. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), p. 108.

[2]Ibid., pp. 182-183.

[3]Ibid., pp. 197-198.

[4]Ibid., p. 208.

To his home when he came, half frantic with ire,
That his poor wife had dared, while he revell'd to sleep,
Though wretched and faint 'neath miseries dire,
She had striven, all in vain, her sad vigils to keep,
And tears, gushing, chase down her wo-begone face
In the furrows which sorrow and suffering trace,
To see her loved lord like a wild demon rave,
To the vilest of sins, a beast and a slave.

But thanks to that band who so faithfully swore,
That the havoc of rum and the bottle's confusion
Our home and our country should ravage no more
If aught might o'ercome the foul curse & pollution
They are striving to save the victim and slave,
From th' horrors of guilt & th' drunkard's dark grave
And the temperance banner in triumph shall wave, [1]
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

The Star Spangled Banner was also included in a song book published in 1853 to serve as a guide for the temperance musician.[2] In still another Temperance hymnal, published in 1889, the song "The Star of Temperance" is listed as being sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner.[3]

---

[1] The Cold Water Magazine, Vol. I, No. 3, 1843, p. 95.

[2] A. D. Fillmore, The Temperance Musician: A Choice Collection of Original and Selected Temperance Music. Arranged for One, Two, Three, and Four Voices. With an Extensive Variety of Popular Temperance Songs, Designed for the People. (Cincinnati: Published by Applegate & Co., 1853), pp. 108-110.

[3] Walter K. Fobes, Temperance Songs and Hymns. (Boston: Published by Walter K. Fobes, 1889), p. 5.

d. FOURTH OF JULY OBSERVANCES

The Star Spangled Banner was also sung on the anniversary of American Independence, the day which saw the birth of American freedom.

> You are to count seven weeks of years - seven times seven years, that is to say a period of seven weeks of years, forty-nine years. And on the tenth day of the seventh month you shall sound the trumpet; on the Day of Atonement you shall sound the trumpet throughout the land. You will declare this fiftieth year sacred and proclaim the liberation of all the inhabitants of the land. This is to be a jubilee for you,

says the Bible.[1] Thus the idea of a national jubilee has its origin from the time of the Hebrews.

In this country the Fourth of July was the anniversary of the date on which the American people assumed a place in the family of nations, and the day was hailed with gratitude and joy throughout the country.

In the early years of the 19th Century the Fourth of July celebrations were held throughout the country by large and respectable assemblages. The day was ushered in with the firing of artillery, reading of the Declaration of Independence, orations by distinguished public figures, public dinners and fine musical programs.

---

[1] Lv. 25:8-10.

These programs usually included selections of band music, a medium which was particularly popular during the 18th Century and the early 19th Century. František Kočvara's[1] "The Battle of Prague" was one piece of band music frequently heard on these occasions; in the early years of the 19th Century this favorite sonata was published in various arrangements in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Charleston.

Interestingly enough, a newcomer like the Star Spangled Banner was surprisingly quick to take a solid place among the established musical favorites for these occasions.

On Tuesday, July 4, 1815, the company of Baltimore Independent Blues commemorated the national holiday with a dinner at the Bellevue with Captain A. R. Levering presiding. On this occasion twenty-one anniversary toasts were drunk, "accompanied by music from an excellent band" playing tunes such as "Hail Columbia," "Yankee Doodle," "Washington's March," and the Star Spangled Banner, to mention a few. Toast number five was offered to: "The brave defenders of Fort M'Henry in September, 1814 - They proved to the enemy that neither the roaring of their cannon nor the bursting of their shells could compel them to desert the Star Spangled Banner. - 3 Cheers and Song - Star Spangled Banner."[2]

---

[1]This is the correct Czech spelling of his name. Kočvara was a prominent Czech composer and bandmaster in the 18th Century. His name in this country is spelled in various ways most frequently as "Kotzwara."

[2]Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser, July 7, 1815, p. 2.

Neither the Washington tri-weekly National Intelligencer nor the Washington City Weekly Gazette mention the Star Spangled Banner as having been played or sung during the fortieth anniversary of American Independence on July 4, 1816.

The Democratic Citizens of the City and County of Philadelphia commemorated the nation's birth on July 4, 1817, with an impressive festival at Vauxhall Garden, with an oration, a dinner, and entertainment provided by the band "attached to the Marine Corps of the United States. Nineteen toasts were drunk, accompanied by the tunes "Yankee Doodle," "Hail Columbia," etc. Toast number five was to "The Army and Navy: They triumphed over the self styled sovereigns of the ocean, and vanquished the conquerors of the conquerors of Europe. The Star-Spangled Banner."[1]

Frequent use of the Star Spangled Banner is also recorded for the Fourth of July celebration in 1818. Thus, the forty-second anniversary of National Independence was observed in Georgetown with a parade and a dinner, during which thirteen toasts were drunk, of which toast number nine was "The star spangled banner - A nation's greatest boast, and the admiration of a world."[2]

On the national jubilee celebrated on July 4, 1818, in Baltimore, toast number twelve was to "The Siege of Baltimore - Already recorded in

---

[1] Richmond Enquirer, July 15, 1817, p. 1.

[2] Daily National Intelligencer (Washington, D. C.), July 8, 1818, p. 3.

annals of time; may our enemies learn, in the bombardment of
rt M'Henry that Americans are not to be intimidated by the 'rockets'
are.'"[1]

Similarly, a number of citizens of Baltimore met on Saturday,
ly 4, 1818, on the shore of the Patapsco, nearly opposite Fort McHenry,
celebrate the national anniversary. It was recorded that the company
"then partook of an excellent dinner provided for the occasion;" after
hich, among the customary toasts, they drank the following:

> 17. The Star Spangled Banner - Whenever unfurled, may it prove equally triumphant on the land, and on the ocean.[2]
> ...

The first Farmers' Association, at Queenstown, Md., also commemo-
ted the anniversary of national independence on July 4, 1818, in the proper
de. It was recorded that "At two o'clock the company sat down to
sumptuous Farmer's Dinner, after which toasts were drunk with great
larity, interspersed with patriotic songs, and music suited to the
casion." Of twenty-two toasts drunk, toast number fourteen was to "The
avy of the United States - Their brilliant victories have illuminated both
hemispheres, and given triumphant respect to their Star Spangled Banner
in every sea; to themselves imperishable Laurels. - The Star Spangled Banner."[3]

During the celebration commemorating the 43d anniversary of American
independence on July 4, 1819, the Fredonian Society of Baltimore drank

---

[1] Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, July 9, 1818, p. 2.
[2] American & Commercial Daily Advertiser (Baltimore, Md.), July 6, 1818, p. 2.
[3] Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, July 10, 1818, p. 2.

twenty toasts, of which the fifteenth was to "The 12th and 13th September, 1814 - Times that tried men's souls - when the citizen soldiers of Baltimore met and vanquished the conquerors of Europe. The Star Spangled Banner."[1] On Monday, July 5, 1819, the Baltimore Independent Volunteers observed the national holiday in an impressive ceremony during which thirteen toasts were drunk, of which the ninth was to "Baltimore - Ever open to strangers, we have received them with hospitable rights - 'Tis not our fault if our guests prove unworthy, and spread the banner of the pirate and the outlaw. Star Spangled Banner."[2]

The birth of American freedom was also celebrated abroad in Paris on Monday, July 5, 1819, as Americans met there to commemorate the anniversary of their nation's birth. Following dinner, thirteen toasts were drunk, of which number six was "The Star-Spangled Banner - Never struck to an equal force."[3] This may well be the first time the Star Spangled Banner was sung abroad during the commemoration of our national independence.

During the national observance of July 4, 1820, the Baltimore Independent Volunteers prepared an impressive celebration, which included a parade and a dinner. There were thirteen toasts drunk, "accompanied by an excellent Band of Music, under the direction of Mr. Kelly," which

---

[1] American & Commercial Daily Advertiser, (Baltimore, Md.), July 8, 181[illegible],

[2] Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, July 9, 1819, p. 2.

[3] Daily National Intelligencer, (Washington, D.C.), September 2, 1819, p.[illegible]

included the tunes "Hail Columbia," "The Star Spangled Banner," Yankee Doodle," to mention a few. The Star Spangled Banner was played to toast number three, "The Constitution - May we have the wisdom to cherish, and the worth to merit it. The Star Spangled Banner."[1] On the occasion of the national anniversary as commemorated by the Society of '76 in Baltimore on July 4, 1820, one of the thirteen toasts drunk was to "Francis S. Key - May his name be revered, so long as 'The star spangled banner in triumph shall wave, O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.'"[2]

Many officers of the Marine Corps and Navy, together with a number of citizens from the eastern section of Washington, assembled on July 4, 1820, to celebrate the national anniversary. "After partaking of an elegant repast," thirteen patriotic toasts were drunk, accompanied by various well-known tunes. Toast number twelve was drunk to "The Stars of Columbia: A bright constellation in the political hemisphere. Tune - The Star-spangled Banner."[3]

On July 4, 1820, the Charleston Riflemen observed the national holiday together with their own fourteenth anniversary in an impressive ceremony during which many toasts were drunk, "accompanied by appropriate music from the elegant Band attached to the Corps." There were

---

[1]Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, July 8, 1820, p. 2.
[2]Ibid., July 10, 1820, p. 2.
[3]Daily National Intelligencer, July 12, 1820, pp. 2-3.

twenty-one toasts, during which the band played such tunes as "Adams and Liberty," "Hail Columbia," "Yankee Doodle," the Star Spangled Banner, etc. Toast number seven was to "The Army and Navy of the U.S. -- The twin stars of our political hemisphere. They shall mingle their beams with the latest of time. The Star Spangled Banner.

On the forty-fifth anniversary of American Independence, on July 4, 1821, the members of the Ciceronian Society of Baltimore held a dinner at the Maryland Tavern, at which eighteen toasts were drunk, accompanied by patriotic airs. Toast number four was to "The American Eagle, that was unknown 45 years ago, now soars to Heaven, with the liberty cap on her head, her back laden with the banners of freedom, and her wings bespangled with stars, that shine with lustre as bright as the sun; - She is an example for the world. - The Star Spangled Banner."[2]

By 1821 people had become rather accustomed to Francis S. Key's introduction in his poem of the epithet "star-spangled," referring to the Flag. Nevertheless, in the edition of Tuesday morning, July 3, 1821, a writer protested in the Charleston, S. C. Courier against the use of the epithet "star-spangled" on July 4, denouncing the usage as wanting in dignity enough for the subject to which it was then popularly applied. He said that it put him in mind of the ornaments of opera dancers' shoes, of tawdry dresses, etc., specifically writing:

---

[1]City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser (Charleston, S.C.), July 13, 1820, p. 2.

[2]Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, July 13, 1821, p. 2.

Star-Spangled.

We use this abominable phrase for the first and last time, only to protest against [sic] its use, to-morrow, by the speakers and toast-makers of the day. It is the vilest combination that ever speech was guilty of. To connect a star, a mighty luminous orb, a world of light and beauty, with a Spangle, diminutive, insignificant tinsel, worthless ornament of a dirty kid slipper - to bring together one of the glories of the firmament, and the trodden refuse of a country dance, is a most degrading association. Let us maintain, if we can, the elevation of the stars, but God deliver us from the objections of the spangles. [1]

On the following day, July 4, 1821, the Charleston City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser carried the following refutation:

Star-Spangled Banner

Mr. Editor--To shew that this phrase is not altogether indefensible, we request you to publish a few passages from the best English authors. They evince the wisdom of enquiry previously to decision. We hope they will be sufficient authorities to remove the alarms of any timid orator, who may have suffered this compound epithet, to find its way into his Oration:

"The Spangled Heavens." - Addison.
"The dew with Spangles deck'd the ground." - Dryden.
"By Spangled star-light sheen." - Shakespeare.
"What Stars do Spangle Heaven with such beauty?" - Shakespeare.
"All their shape Spangled with eyes." - Milton.
"There appeared Spangling the Hemisphere." - Milton.
He with starry vapours Spangles all." - Cowley. [2]

---

[1] The Charleston Courier, July 3, 1821, p. 2.

[2] City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser, July 4, 1821, p. 2.

The national anniversary of July 4, 1822, was observed by the Baltimore Independent Blues, attached to the First Regiment, first by a military parade and then by "an elegant dinner," following which thirteen regular toasts were drunk,of which number twelve was to "The 12th and 13th of September - The Demonstration of Baltimore -

Bid joyful cannon sound from shore to shore,
Our homes are safe, the invader lives no more;
On M'Henry's Staff our flag in triumph waves
The pride of freedom and the dread of slaves.
The Star Spangled Banner - full band."[1]

Following this period the popularity of the Star Spangled Banner seems to have declined,and there is little evidence that it was used during the celebrations of American Independence of 1823, 1824 and 1825. The situation changed in 1826, when the great national jubilee, the fiftieth anniversary of American Independence, was celebrated throughout the Union with unusual splendor and festivity. In the villages, towns and cities, the spirit of '76 was blazoned forth with dinners, toasts, cheers, and every demonstration of joy. Public meetings, patriotic intermingling of sentiments, thanksgivings were visible everywhere. In New York City, the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Independence, on July 4, 1826, was particularly splendid and distinguished. There was a great civil collation in the morning, of which it is said 10,000 people partook,

---

[1]Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, July 8, 1822, p. 2.

and the scene of which is supposed to have been visited in the course of the day by fifty thousand persons. The New-York Evening Post said: "The military parade was very handsome; we do not recollect to have ever seen the troops look better."[1]

The Tammany Society, or Columbia Order, in New York City, a society which traditionally led the way in observing the Fourth of July anniversary, commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of American Independence in a celebration during which various toasts were drunk. While the first toast was offered to "Our Country, Its Constitution and its Laws," during which "Hail Columbia," nine cheers was sung, toast number nine was to "The battles and conflicts of the Revolution and the late War," after which was sung the Star Spangled Banner with thirteen cheers.[2]

The fiftieth anniversary of American Independence was also marked at Annapolis, Md., with an impressive ceremony, during which numerous toasts were "announced and drank [sic] with the greatest hilarity." Toast number four was to "The United States - May their union be as lasting as the glory of this day. - 3 guns - The Star Spangled Banner."[3]

The Fourth of July, 1826, was also celebrated by the Richmond Volunteers, with a military ceremony followed by a dinner. Then, according to a news-

---

[1]The New-York Evening Post, July 5, 1826, p. 2.

[2]The National Advocate (New York, N.Y.), July 7, 1826, p. 2.

[3]The Maryland Republican, or Political and Agricultural Museum (Annapolis, Md.), July 8, 1826, p. 2.

paper account, the toasts, "accompanied by discharges of Artillery, and appropriate music by a fine volunteer band of the Blues, were drunk with much enthusiasm and many hearty cheers." Of the thirteen toasts drunk, the ninth was to "The Army and Navy of the United States! They have nobly sustained the honour of our flag. We cherish with gratitude and pride, their gallant services and well earned fame. One gun, The Star Spangled Banner."[1]

The celebration of the national holiday at Petersburg, Va., on July 4, 1826, was accompanied by a "plentiful and excellent dinner at Poplar Spring," after which twenty-four toasts were drunk, of which number eleven was to "The Late War - A contest which alike proved the resources of our country and the invincible valor of freedom. 3 guns, 3 cheers, Star Spangled Banner."[2]

Similarly the Democratic Republicans in Pittsburgh, Pa., and its vicinity observed the fiftieth anniversary of Independence at Elliott's Spring, near the city. According to a newspaper account, "The company was large and respectable, and [we] were happy to recognize amongst the number, our Senator in Congress, General Marks, our Representative, Hon. Mr. Stevenson, and John Brown, Esq. of the Pennsylvania Legislature ...After the cloth was removed," altogether thirteen toasts were offered and drunk, "accompanied by discharges of Artillery and appropriate music." Toast number five was offered to "Our Country - Nourished by

---

[1]Richmond Enquirer, July 7, 1826, p. 3.

[2]Ibid., July 11, 1826, p. 1.

the blood and consecrated by the prayers of patriots. Perish the traitor who would not defend her liberties. Star Spangled Banner."[1]

However, during the fiftieth anniversary of the National Independence as observed by the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, in Philadelphia, the Star Spangled Banner is not mentioned as having been sung or played.[2] Similarly there is no mention of the Star Spangled Banner as having been either sung or played during the main civic observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the National existence held in Philadelphia, although one newspaper account says that an excellent dinner was held at which toasts "accompanied by appropriate music and interspersed with songs, were given, and the day was passed in cordial festivity."[3] There also appears no evidence that during the Fourth of July celebration of 1826 held in Faneuil Hall in Boston, the Star Spangled Banner was played at all, although other songs such as "Columbia, Land of Liberty," "Yankee Doodle," "Auld Laug Syne," and "Adams and Liberty," were among those sung.[4]

On the Fourth of July, 1828, in Washington, "A party of Gentlemen, to the number of forty persons, chiefly connected with the printing offices in the city, having associated, for the purpose of celebrating the fifty-second anniversary of American Independence, Mr. Robert Farnham was elected President of the Day, and Mr. Edmound Richardson Vice President

---

[1] The Democratic Press (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 19, 1826, p. 2.

[2] National Gazette and Literary Register (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 8, 1826, p. 3.

[3] Poulson's American Daily Advertiser (Philadelphia, Pa.) July 6, 1826, p. 3.

[4] Boston Courier, July 7, 1826, p. 1.

....The Declaration was read by Mr. Moore...and Mr. Dowling delivered a brief address...The Company then proceeded to the house of Mr. Braden, where they sat down to a well-provided dinner." Among the thirteen regular toasts offered, the ninth was given to the Navy, during which the Star Spangled Banner was played.[1] But there is no mention of the Star Spangled Banner having been played or sung during the fifty-second anniversary of American Independence observed at the dinner given by the Friends of the Administration at the Masonic Hall in Philadelphia on July 4, 1828, although during the toasts tunes such as "Hail Columbia," "The President's March," "Yankee Doodle," and others were performed.[2]

The celebration of the Fourth of July of 1829 in Baltimore by the Marion Corps included a "splendid dinner," during which thirteen toasts were drunk with the band playing tunes such as "Hail Columbia," "Auld Lang Syne," etc. Toast number twelve was: "The Army and Navy of the United States - Star Spangled Banner."[3]

The fifty-fourth anniversary of American Independence was observed in New York City on Monday, July 5, 1830, with a great celebration presided over by the Mayor of New York City, and attended among others by Albert Gallatin, members of Congress, the Ministers' Plenipotentionary of France and Mexico, foreign consuls and other distinguished guests. Thirteen regular toasts were proposed, and many national tunes were play-

---

[1] Daily Washington Intelligencer, July 7, 1828, p. 3.
[2] The Democratic Press (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 8, 1828, p. 2.
[3] Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, July 6, 1829, p. 2.

Toast number two was offered to "The Declaration of Independence - The Voice of an emancipated people: - May its echoes resound from the remotest corners of the earth, and ring upon the ears of mankind from generation to generation. Band, 'Star Spangled Banner.'"[1]

Similarly the national holiday was observed in Richmond, Va., on July 4, 1832, with a very impressive ceremony. Of the thirteen regular toasts offered, toast number five was drunk to "The Army and Navy of the United States - Their country's ornament in peace, in war its shield. 3 guns, 3 cheers." During this toast the "Tune, The Star Spangled Banner" was played.[2]

The use of the Star Spangled Banner in connection with the anniversary of the national independence continued, not only in the North but also in the South, with steadily increasing military and civic display, and as the years went by the song took an established place among the many national airs. During the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1855, held at the Norfolk, Virginia, City Hall, and attended by about 200 people, who were well entertained "with strains of martial music," thirteen regular "toasts were then offered, and drunk with enthusiasm." The first of these toasts was offered to "The day we celebrate: The glorious 4th of July. In '76 the day broke on a free republic, May an eternal meridian go down to posterity and never see its sunset. Music-Star Spangled Banner."[3]

---

[1] New-York Daily Advertiser, July 7, 1830, p. 2.

[2] Richmond Enquirer, July 10, 1832, p. 3.

[3] The Daily Southern Argus (Norfork, Va.), July 6, 1855, p. 2.

It is interesting that the Star Spangled Banner was performed upon toast number one at this celebration, while "Hail Columbia" was performed to the fourth toast, "The Union," and "Yankee Doodle" to the fifth toast, "Virginia."[1]

The Star Spangled Banner was used as one of the patriotic songs played by the band during the Fourth of July, 1856, celebrations prepared by the New York Tammany Society.[2]

Again following this period it seems that the popularity of the Star Spangled Banner at the Fourth of July celebrations waned somewhat, and it was only with the outbreak of the Civil War that it again experienced a revival.

e. OTHER PUBLIC USES OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

On January 6, 1815, the following advertisement appeared in the Washington Daily National Intelligencer:

> Star Spangled Banner
>
> and
>
> Ye Seamen of Columbia.
>
> Two favorite Patriotic Songs - This day received and for sale by
>
> Richards & Mallory,
>
> Bridge street, Geo. Town.[3]

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] New-York Daily Tribune, July 7, 1856, p. 3.

[3] Daily National Intelligencer, January 6, 1815, p. 2.

On the following day, January 7, the firm of Richards & Mallory advertised in the same newspaper the publication of The Family Instructor, which was designed "to assist the heads of families in introducing the knowledge and practice of religion among their children and servants." To boost its sales the advertisement included several endorsements by prominent people, of which one, "From F. S. Key, Esq. of Georgetown," stated: "I have read the Family Instructor, and think it a work of uncommon excellence, and eminently calculated to be useful in families. F. S. Key."[1]

It would seem then that Key enjoyed considerable prestige in his community, considering the fact that the other people who endorsed the advertisement with him were prominent clergymen.

The earliest known reference to the American flag as the "star spangled banner" appeared in the Washington Daily National Intelligencer. which stated on February 20, 1815: "On Saturday last, several National Salutes were fired, and the star-spangled banner of America, and the red cross flag of Britain were displayed together near the City Hall, during the day."[2] This reference to the American flag was reprinted from the Intelligencer in Niles' Weekly Register.[3] These references to the American flag for the first time as the Star Spangled Banner undoubtedly helped to popularize Key's poem.

---

[1] Daily National Intelligencer, January 7, 1815, p. 4. The same endorsement of the Family Instructor also appeared in subsequent issues of the Daily National Intelligencer, January 9, 1815, p.4, January 10, 1815, p.4, and January 11, 1815, p. 4.

[2] Daily National Intelligencer, February 20, 1815, p. 3.

[3] Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII September 1814 - March, 1815), Supplement to Vol. VII, p. 190.

The Star Spangled Banner was often used during the various testimonial dinners which were held to honor either a certain individual or a certain patriotic event. During the celebration of the pacification of the Territory of Michigan, held on Wednesday, March 29, 1815, "a national salute was fired from the garrison, at noon, on Wednesday; and at 5 o'clock a very numerous collection of citizens sat down to the public pacification dinner, prepared at Mr. Woodworth's Hotel, in the City of Detroit." Through the kindness of the commanding officer, Colonel Butler, an excellent band entertained the dinner guests, following which eighteen sentiments were expressed in the toasts. Toast number eighteen was to "The memory of the immortal Washington. Like a pillar of light it serves to direct the soldier and the statesman.- Music. One gun. A patriotic song. The Star-Spangled Banner. By Dr. Henry."[1] This may be the first time upon which new American lyrics were composed to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner.

Similarly, at a party given for Commodore Stephen Decatur and Captain Charles Stewart, on January 8, 1816, at M'Keowin's Hotel in Washington, D.C., by "a number of the citizens of Pennsylvania, now in this city, and the greater part of the Pennsylvania Delegation in Congr according to the Washington press "At 5 o'clock the company sat down to dinner and spent the evening with the purest harmony and good humor. After the cloth was removed, the following toasts were drunk, accompanie

[1] Daily National Intelligencer, May 6, 1815, p. 3.

with highly patriotic songs."[1] On January 18, 1816, the Daily National Intelligencer reported that "The following Lines were hastily written by one of the Company of the Pennsylvania Dinner in this City, on the 8th of January, and we have been politely furnished with a copy of them: - Song. Tune - To Anacreon in Heaven."[2]

Similarly in 1816 James Hewitt, an early American musician who wanted to replace the old English drinking song with native music, wrote an original tune for the Star Spangled Banner. His effort, however, was not an improvement over the English air. Furthermore, since it ranged from D to high G it was more difficult to sing. It was first published from his "Musical Repository" at 156 1/2 William Street, New York City.[3]

The Star Spangled Banner was included in the Saturday evening program on December 28, 1816, given at the Columbian Theatre in New York City, being sung by an artist simply designated as "Clarence."[4] This is believed to be the first time the Star Spangled Banner was sung professionally on the stage in New York City.[5]

---

[1]Daily National Intelligencer, January 15, 1816, p. 3; National Intelligencer, January 16, 1816, p. 4.

[2]Daily National Intelligencer, January 18, 1816, p. 3.

[3]Muller, op. cit., p. 35.

[4]The New-York Evening Post, December 28, 1816, p. 3. The program appeared as an advertisement in this issue.

[5]George C. D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage. Vol. Two: 1798-1821. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), p. 484.

The Star Spangled Banner was also sung during the concert held on Wednesday evening, August 22, 1821,at the Columbia Garden in New York City. The advertisement which appeared in the New York Evening Post announcing this event stated that "Mr. Lamb will (by particular desire) sing the favorite song of 'The Star Spangled Banner'."[1] On the following night, Thursday, August 23, 1821, a "Grand Serenade and Vocal Concert" was given at Chatham Garden, and the Star Spangled Banner was included in the programme, again sung by Mr. Lamb.[2]

The Star Spangled Banner was also sung and applauded at various patriotic ethnic functions, where the toasts drunk expressed as always the sentiment and feeling of those present. The Star Spangled Banner became a favorite tune of the Irish for St. Patrick's Day; the Scots used it for the observances of St. Andrew's Day; the Welsh for the St. David's Day, and so forth.

During the anniversary election meeting of the St. Patrick Benevolent Society, held at Galloway's in Charleston, S.C., on Wednesday, March 17, 1819, a dinner was given, following which twenty-one toasts were drunk, "accompanied by a select band," which played such well-known tunes as "Hail Columbia," "Yankee Doodle," "The President's March," etc. Toast number twelve was drunk to "The Navy of the United States. The Star Spangled Banner."[3]

---

[1]The New-York Evening Post, August 22, 1821, p. 2.

[2]The American (New York, N.Y.), August 23, 1821, p. 3.

[3]City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser (Charleston, S.C.), March 20, 1819, p. 2.

During the observance of St. Patrick's Day, on Monday, March 17, 1823, which the Hibernian Society of Baltimore commemorated with a dinner, "The Band from Fort M'Henry attending, performed a great variety of National Airs and Marches, Irish and American, in fine style, and to the great delight of all present."[1] Although no national airs and marches were specifically mentioned it is almost certain that one of them was the Star Spangled Banner, as toast number eleven was given to "The defenders of Baltimore."[2]

Also important was the celebration of St. Patrick's Day in 1826 held in Baltimore. The Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser of March 27, 1826, reported to the people on "A convivial meeting of the sons of Erin, with other European emigrants, and some jovial Americans, in accordance with their usual, harmonic custom, at the Exchange Hotel, Water street, [sic] Mr. John Magee being chosen President, and Mr. P. Rooney Vice President, the company sat down to a sumptuous dinner, tastefully prepared by the proprietor, Mr. P. Reilley." After the cloth was removed, seventeen toasts were drunk, "accompanied by music and appropriate songs," during which tunes such as "Hail Columbia," "Washington's March," "Lafayatte's March," etc., were played. Toast number five was offered to "The Army and Navy of the United States.- Young in age, tho'old in glory. Song - The Star Spangled Banner."[3]

---

[1] Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, March 21, 1823, p. 2.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, March 27, 1826, p. 2.

During the St. Patrick's Day celebration held in Baltimore on March 17, 1829, by the Hibernian Society, at its traditional dinner Mr. Roundtree's band "contributed much to the enjoyment of the company by playing many of the beautiful Irish Melodies and National Airs." Thirteen toasts were given, during which tunes like "Hail Columbia," "Yankee Doodle," etc. were played. Toast number three was to "The Memory of Washington" during which the Star Spangled Banner was played.[1]

The New York Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick commemorated the anniversary of St. Patrick on Tuesday, March 17, 1835, with a dinner at City Hall, the Presidents of the St. George, St. Nicholas, St. Andrew, and German Benevolent Societies attending, with other distinguished guests. Of the thirteen regular toasts drunk, toast number six was offered to "The Army and Navy of the United States" at which the Star Spangled Banner was sung.[2]

Similarly, during the Saint Patrick's Day celebration held on Thursday, March 17, 1836, at O'Connor's House in Pottsville, N. Y., following an excellent dinner, one of the toasts was offered to: "The American Eagle - His wings are ample, beneath which natives and foreigners may find refuge and protection. Song-Star Spangled Banner."[3]

However, during the St. Patrick's Day celebration in New York City, observed after the religious rites at St. Patrick's Cathedral on March 17,

---

[1] Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, March 20, 1829, p. 2.

[2] The Emigrant (New York, N.Y.), March 25, 1835, p. 3.

[3] The Emigrant and Old Countryman (New York, N.Y.), March 30, 1836, p.

1837, at the Sixth Ward Hotel, the Star Spangled Banner was not included in any of the regular toasts, although tunes such as "Hail Columbia," "Yankee Doodle," etc., were sung.[1]

The Star Spangled Banner was also used to celebrate the anniversary of St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland. It is not unexpected that these celebrations held in New York would be noteworthy, since the city had a large community of Scottish people. Thus the annual observance of the birth of Saint Andrew on Monday, December 1, 1834, was observed in the various parts of New York City according to custom. An impressive ceremony took place at the Blue Bonnet House on Frankfort Street, during which seven standard toasts were drunk with appropriate music. Toast number three was to "The United States - A home welcome to the oppressed of every nation, and where the oppressor learns that justice, humanity, and sympathy are considered natural to the breast of man. Song - The Star Spangled Banner."[2]

A year later, on Monday, November 30, 1835, the people assembled at the Blue Bonnet House in New York City for a celebration of the anniversary of auld Scotia's tutelary Saint, during which the Star Spangled Banner was used with one of the standard toasts.[3] In another ceremony commemorating St. Andrew's Day, held the same evening at the Wallace House on Greenwich Street in New York City, the Star Spangled Banner was

---

[1] Ibid., March 29, 1837, p. 2.

[2] The Emigrant, December 3, 1834, p. 3.

[3] The Emigrant and Old Countryman, December 9, 1835, p. 3.

also performed to one of the toasts on that day sacred to Scotsmen.[1]

When the members of St. Andrew's Society of New York celebrated their anniversary on Wednesday, November 30, 1836,at City Hall, ten toasts were given, of which the fifth was to "The land we live in - The birth place of Washington - ever honoured by the countrymen of Bruce and Wallace.- Song: The star spangled Banner."[2]

Similarly, during the celebration which the Sons of St. Andrew held in honor of their patron saint the same evening at the Wallace House, the Star Spangled Banner was used to toast number three of the seven regular toasts: "The land of our adoption - Nobly she stands a proud exemplification and polar star of self government; may she never estrange the affections of her adopted children by becoming to them an unnatural stepmother. Song - Star Spangled Banner."[3]

The Welshmen too used the Star Spangled Banner on the festival day of their patron saint, St. David. Thus during the St. David's Day celebration held on March 2, 1835, the Welshmen of New York prepared a splendid ceremony,at which toast number three was devoted to "The United States of America - Welshmen hold in sacred regard the land and the language of their birth, but yield to no people on earth in love and fidelity to the glorious home of their choice - should a foreign foe menace her repose and her safety demand the sacrifice, the lives and

---

[1]Ibid.

[2]Ibid., December 7, 1836, p. 2.

[3]The Emigrant and Old Countryman, December 7, 1836, p. 2.

fortunes of her Cambrian citizens would be devoted, and their blood freely shed in her support. Song - The Star Spangled Banner."[1]

The Star Spangled Banner was also used during the festivities of the Druids in New York City. (The Druids are an ancient Order devoted to social enjoyment). On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the establishment of the Order of Druids in New York City, an anniversary dinner was given in New York on February 23, 1837, at which the second of the seven regular toasts was given to "The memory of Washington. Song, Star Spangled Banner."[2]

The Scotsmen in this country also used the Star Spangled Banner on the anniversaries of their great poets, Lord Byron and Robert Burns. During the celebration of the birth of Lord Byron on Thursday, January 22, 1835, held at the Lancashire House in New York City, in the presence of his admirers a toast was offered to his memory, after which a Lament for Byron, written especially for this celebration by John Graham, was sung to the Star Spangled Banner air by S. Stewart "with feeling and effect."[3]

Similarly, on the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of another Scottish bard, Robert Burns, on January 26, 1835, his admirers prepared at the Blue Bonnet House, Frankfort Street, New York City, an impressive

---

[1]The Emigrant, March 11, 1835, p. 2.

[2]The Emigrant and Old Countryman, March 22, 1837, p. 2. In ancient Gaul, the superstitious Druids painted their bodies blue to repel the forces of evil. Each year, they reveled and caroused in rites of love as the first tender shoots of spring rose from the earth. Many centuries later the memory of Saint Valentine came to be celebrated on February 14, and in the course of time the two events merged into one. During the medieval period, on the Saint's Name Day, mystical and fraught with omens, sweethearts were selected by drawing lots. Later on the Order of Druids was primarily devoted to social enjoyment in this country.

[3]The Emigrant, January 28, 1835, p. 3.

ceremony at which toast number three was offered to "The United States," and the tune of "The Star Spangled Banner" was sung with words by John Graham.[1]

Although in the above two cases the lyrics were different, nevertheless each was sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner.

Key's lyrics were however invariably used, as evident from the celebrations of Byron's and Burns' anniversaries held in New York City in 1838. During the annual observance of Lord Byron's birth, celebrated by a public dinner in New York City on January 22, 1838, one of the toasts was to "The United States of America," and the Star Spangled Banner was used. Similarly, at the annual festival in memory of Scotia's favorite bard, Robert Burns, observed on Thursday, January 25, 1838, by the Burns Club at the Blue Bonnet House in New York City, the Star Spangled Banner is mentioned as having been sung with the toast devoted to the United States, as follows: "The United States: May her star-spangled banner and the flag of Britannia, united by the ties of love and relationship, always wave together in the van of human improvement. Song - Star-spangled banner."[2]

In addition to these national or ethnic observances, the Star Spangled Banner was also frequently used at testimonial dinners given to honor public figures. One such testimonial was the public dinner

[1] Ibid., February 4, 1835, p. 2.

[2] The Emigrant and Old Countryman, January 31, 1838, p. 2.

given, on the occasion of his return to his native city of Philadelphia on July 20, 1825, to former U. S. envoy to Great Britain and then Secretary of the Treasury, Richard Rush, in the presence of distinguished guests, among whom was General Lafayette, then visiting Philadelphia. According to one account "the evening was most agreeably spent," and the "toasts and sentiments were delivered, enlivened by the music of the Marine Band," which played many patriotic tunes. Of the thirteen toasts delivered, toast number seven was offered to "Greece, the Phoenix Nation - may her soil teem with armed men to exterminate her oppressors. Music - Anacreon in Heaven. Toast number twelve was offered to "The Barndywine - freighted with return cargo of La Bonne Mere. Music - The Star Spangled Banner."[1] At another public dinner given in honor of Chapman Johnson by the citizens of Augusta, Ga., on Wednesday, August 2, 1826, thirteen toasts were drunk, of which number seven was to "Our Soldiers: May they always temper their swords in the flame which burns on the altar of patriotism. The metal will not be impaired, but strengthened; and the polish, if not dazzling, will be steady and durable. Star-Spangled Banner."[2]

As time went on the Star Spangled Banner was frequently made a theme for patriotic poems. On Wednesday, August 6, 1834, the New York Sun published a poem, "The Star Spangled Banner," by C. W. D'Oyley,[3]

---

[1] Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, July 23, 1825, p. 2.
[2] Richmond Enquirer, August 4, 1826, p. 1.
[3] The Sun, August 6, 1834, p. 4.

and the same newspaper nine days later reprinted from the Pittsburgh Saturday Evening Visitor another poem entitled "An Apostrophe to the Star-Spangled Banner."[1]

The spirit of patriotism also inspired the nautical peace play, "The Star Spangled Banner," which was performed by a cast of Don Rimeiro, Thorne; Tom Jefferson, J. R. Scott; Isreal Manoah, J. H. Amherst; Rose Wantly, Mrs. Flynn, and on the evenings of February 13, 14 and 15, 1837, at the National Theatre in New York.[2]

On May 25, 1844 there began, at Nashville, Tenn.,a weekly publication called the Star Spangled Banner, which was issued regularly until after the Presidential election of 1844. It supported the Democratic ticket of James K. Polk and George M. Dallas.[3]

A fine bill of entertainment was given at the Bowery Theatre, on Friday evening, May 8, 1846, for the benefit of the actor Davenport, which included the drama The Star Spangled Banner, with Mr. Davenport as Go-ahead Tom, Mr. McKeon as Lord Howard and Mrs. Madison as Julia Howard.[4] This play was staged before "a crowded house," and one newspaper refers it as "the celebrated nautical drama of The Star Spangled Banner."[5] This drama was again represented on the following evening and "in usual good style."[6]

---

[1]Ibid., August 15, 1834, p. 4.

[2]Cf. The Herald (New York, N.Y.), February 13, 1837, p. 3; February 14, 1837, p. 3, and February 15, 1837, p. 3.

[3]Vol. I, No. 1, of the Star Spangled Banner was issued on May 25, 1844; however,a preliminary issue of this publication was brought out on April 8, 1844, informing readers about its program and intentions.

[4]The New York Herald, May 8, 1846, p. 3.

[5]Ibid., May 9, 1846, p. 2.

[6]The New York Herald, May 9, 1846, p. 3, and May 10, 1846, p. 2.

Around 1848 an arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner for voice and piano was published by Oliver Ditson in Boston.[1]

The spirit of patriotism continued to flourish, and reached a considerable height following the conflict with Mexico. We should perhaps remind ourselves of that robust statement of Samuel Johnson, that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel"[2] and indeed how true was his statement proved, when by 1850 the Nativists formed the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, which grew within five years into the Know-Nothing Party. This was perhaps the only time the patriotic sentiment of the Star Spangled Banner has been used for a wrong purpose, perhaps even by well-meaning citizens.

The re-opening of the summer season at Niblo's Garden in New York on Monday, May 13, 1850, began with the presentation of a new operatic drama, Home. The impressive performance was introduced by "the National Ode of the Star Spangled Banner," sung by Miss Mary Taylor, Miss Barton, Mr. Leach, and the whole company.[3] Even at this time the Star Spangled Banner was described as "the National Ode."

As early as 1828 the Star Spangled Banner was used upon the anniversary of the Battle of North Point. Thus, on the anniversary of that battle and the bombardment of Fort McHenry, on Friday, September 12, 1828, the Baltimore Theatre gave a performance of the national drama Plains of

---

[1] The Star Spangled Banner. Written by F.S. Key, Esq. Arranged with an accompaniment for the piano forte. (Boston: Published by Oliver Ditson, n. d.), pp. 1-3.

[2] Cf. Boswell's Life of Johnson. Edited by George Birkbeck Hill. Vol. II. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1887), p. 348.

[3] Cf. the advertisement announcing the opening of the summer season at Niblo's Theatre which appeared in The New York Herald, May 12, 1850, p. 3, and May 13, 1850, p. 3. The advertisement also appeared in the New-York Daily Tribune, May 13, 1850, p. 5.

Chippewa for the benefit of the widows and orphans of those who fell in the defense of the city of Baltimore. The programme also announced "End of the play, the 'Star Spangled Banner,' by Master Mercer, (his second appearance)."[1]

In 1854 the "Defenders of Baltimore," the remnant of the veterans who gallantly fought at the Battle of North Point, were invited to the city of Alexandria, Va.,to celebrate their anniversary on September 12, 1854. Following an impressive parade conducted "through some of the principal streets" of Alexandria they marched to the Marshall House, where T. T. Hill introduced to the guests George Washington Parke Custis, "who, as usual, made one of his happy speeches." Then according to a newspaper account, "At the dinner, many sentiments were drunk, and songs sang. Among them the Star Spangled Banner, by the Old Defenders, each of whom had prepared himself with the words to music...."[2]

During the celebration in Alexandria, Va., of February 22, 1855, commemorating the birth of George Washington, the Star Spangled Banner was played by an armory band composed of German citizens. According to a newspaper account, "On arriving at the church and becoming seated, the 'Cornet Band' played an excellent piece of music, 'The Star Spangled Banner,' which was happily received, by the dense crowd of ladies and gentlemen in the hall...."[3] Indeed, the newspaper continued, "The Cornet

---

[1]Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, September 12, 1828, p. 1.
[2]Alexandria Gazette, September 13, 1854, p. 3.
[3]Richmond Daily Dispatch, February 23, 1855, p. 2.

Band, in the service of the military, on Thursday last, made better music than we ever heard it, when on parade before....Composed, as this band is, of German citizens, all of whom are great lovers of music...."[1]

As time went on,so grew the popularity of the Star Spangled Banner. A Chicago publisher, H. M. Higgins, brought out an issue of the song in the Middle West. No copy exists, but Mr. Joseph Muller possesses a song sheet of the Star Spangled Banner from the series of twenty-six numbers, among which it was issued. The date of the copyright deposit is 1857.[2]

Curiously, no copy of the Star Spangled Banner has been reported in California, where it certainly must have been brought during the gold-rush days.[3]

---

[1] Ibid., February 24, 1855, p. 2.
[2] Muller, op. cit., p. 29.
[3] Ibid.

X. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The greatness of a nation may be shown in several ways: in its courage, in its purpose, in its moral responsibility and in its cultural and scientific eminence. Ultimately, the source of any nation's greatness is in the individuals who represent the living substance of the nation. This implies a challenge and a responsibility.

During the turbulent days of 1860 and 1861 the country experienced the internal shocks which eventually resulted in the Civil War. The movement that led to the organization of the Confederate States of America was begun in South Carolina. It was this state which seceded from the Union on the 20th of December 1860, when Major Robert Anderson was stationed with his men at Fort Moultrie. On December 22, 1860, the Charleston Mercury expressed the belief that the garrison would not be strengthened and that the people would obey the call to war, and take both forts Moultrie and Sumter.[1]

On December 27, 1860, Major Anderson removed his command from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, marking his action by a fervent and impressive prayer. An eyewitness of this event, Captain Abner Doubleday, described the transfer as follows: "Major Anderson, who was a very religious man, thought it best to give some solemnity to our occupation of Fort Sumter by formally raising the flag, at noon, with prayer and military ceremony

[1]The Charleston Mercury, December 22, 1860, p. 1.

The band played 'The Star-spangled Banner,' the troops presented arms, and our chaplain, the Rev. Matthias Harris, offered up a fervent supplication, invoking the blessing of Heaven upon our small command and the cause we represented. Three cheers were then given for the flag, and the troops were dismissed."[1] Major Anderson and his men went upon their knees before they unfurled to the breeze the flag of their country, and the band played the Star Spangled Banner.

Shortly after, on December 27, the people of Charleston, looking seaward, saw Fort Moultrie in flames and the Star Spangled Banner flying over Fort Sumter. Their anger and indignation were perhaps best expressed in a statement which appeared in the Charleston Mercury condemning Anderson's action and stating: "His act must be repudiated by the government."[2]

Major Anderson's action received considerable approval throughout the country. During the rally for the Union held on Saturday, January 5, 1861, at National Hall in Philadelphia, the assemblage cheered for Major Anderson and the Union and hissed and scorned traitors and secessionists. Though the band played many patriotic songs, the Star Spangled Banner was "the greatest favorite, and the people seemed never to tire listening to and applauding it. Again and again it was called for and given by the musicians." Following the speeches of Messrs. William D.

---

[1]Abner Doubleday, Reminiscences of Forts Sumter and Moultrie in 1860-'61. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1876), pp. 71-72. Captain Doubleday was a commissioned officer of the First United States Artillery, serving under Major Robert Anderson.

[2]The Charleston Mercury, December 29, 1860, p. 1.

Lewis, and J. Murray Rush, as a newspaper accounted noted, there were "Loud cries for 'The Star Spangled Banner,' 'Give us the glorious old Star Spangled Banner again'," and "The band in the gallery struck up 'The Star Spangled Banner,' which was listened to in breathless silence, and vociferously applauded at its conclusion."[1]

When Abraham Lincoln attended his first opera at the Academy of Music in New York City on Wednesday, February 20, 1861, during the intermission of Giuseppe Verdi's Un Ballo in Maschera, the President-elect received a most impressive expression of devotion from the audience; according to a newspaper account

> the scene went up and discovered the whole force of the Opera troupe on the stage with their unrolled musical scrolls, preparing to enchant their audience with the deservedly beloved national hymn, "The Star Spangled Banner." With one of the artistic flourishes of Muzio's magic baton the harmonious tones of the accompaniment trembled through the orchestral instruments and resounded through the house. The audience were inclined to applaud even this first faint foreshadowing of the anthem's stirring strains; but they were prevented by the advance of Miss Hinkley to the front, who, turning to Mr. Lincoln's box, and yet partially facing the audience, sang in her clear, sweet voice the first stanza of the popular hymn. The chorus was taken up in a most spirited manner by the whole troupe, and it seemed to want very little to induce every one in the audience to join. Just before the first verse was begun there were cries of 'All up,' to which the audience unanimously responded, and all with common consent rose to their feet. Mr. Lincoln and his attendants were about the last to rise, and not long after he was on his feet the chorus was concluded amid rapturous applause, as the words were echoed: -

---

[1]The Daily Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia, Pa.), January 7, 1861,

> The star spangled banner - Oh! long may it wave.
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.
>
> A splendid Union American banner, blazing with the full glory of the thirty-three stars, was dropped from the proscenium with an effect that words can scarcely convey. The enthusiasm and excitement of the people was unbounded, and though Mr. Lincoln was passive and collected, there could be no doubt that he was greatly affected by the solemnity of the manifestation.
>
> The second verse of the Anthem was sung by Miss Phillips, and so on through the song alternately with Miss Hinkley. The last verse was sung with great pathos and feeling, and at the conclusion the applause that followed was indeed a flattering tribute to the talented artists who so well did their part.[1]

Prior to the inauguration of President Lincoln, Northern sentiment in Washington was expressed by people whistling "Yankee Doodle," the Star Spangled Banner and other national airs.[2]

The Star Spangled Banner was included in the official music for the inauguration ceremonies of President Lincoln, being played shortly after Mr. Lincoln was sworn in as President by Chief Justice Taney. According to a newspaper account, "After delaying a little upon the platform, Mr. Lincoln, and Mr. Buchanan, arm in arm, and followed by a few privileged persons, proceeded at a measured pace to the Senate

---

[1]The New York Herald, February 21, 1861, p. 1. Miss Adelaide Phillips (1833-82) was born in England and came to this country at the age of seven. At the suggestion of Jenny Lind, she began an operatic career, in Boston in 1850. Her Italian debut under the name of Fillippi was in 1853. Her New York debut was in Il Trovatore in 1856. She was reputed to be an excellent singer. For the life and career of Miss Phillips see R.C. Waterston, Adelaide Phillips, a Record. (Boston: A. Williams and Co., 1883), passim. Miss Hinkley was a prominent concert and opera star of that time.

[2]Mrs. E. F. Ellet, The Court Circles of the Republic, or the Beauties and Celebrities of the Nation: Illustrating Life and Society Under Eighteen Presidents; Describing the Social Features of the Successive Administrations from Washington to Grant...Illustrated with Original Portraits, splendidly Engraved on Steel. (Hartford, Conn.: Hartford Publishing Co., 1869), p. 516.

Chamber, and there to the President's Room, while the Band played 'Hail Columbia,' 'Yankee Doodle' and the 'Star Spangled Banner.' In a short time the procession was reformed, and in state, the President and the Ex-President were conducted to the White House."[1]

It would be a mistake to assume that the Star Spangled Banner was at this time purely a song associated with Northern sentiment. Even the Savannah Republican "called upon the Confederate Congress to re-erect the stars and stripes as their national flag, and resume upon the Southern lyre those glorious old tunes, 'Hail Columbia' and the 'Star-Spangled Banner.'"[2] At the presentation of the Flag by the ladies of Alexandria, to the Mount Vernon Guards, a volunteer militia organization of Alexandria, Va., on March 25, 1861, the band played the Star Spangled Banner.[3] Even the Charleston correspondent of the Daily Richmond Examiner appealed as early as April 4, 1861: "Let us never surrender to the north the noble song, the 'Star-Spangled Banner.' It is Southern in its origin, in sentiments, poetry, and song; in its associations with chivalrous deeds, it is ours; and the time, I trust, is not remote when the broad stripes and brilliant stars of the Confederate flag of the South will wave triumphantly over our capitol, Fortress Monroe, and every fort within our borders."[4] Nevertheless, fourteen days later, on April 18, the Star Spangled Banner was publicly burned in Mississippi.

---

[1]Cf. The New-York Times, March 5, 1861, p. 1.
[2]Quoted in Preble, op. cit., Vol.II, p. 508.
[3]Alexandria Gazette, March 26, 1861, p. 3.
[4]Quoted in Preble, op. cit., p. 510.

On April 26, 1861, the Boston Evening Transcript reported this incident as follows:

> A despatch from Mississippi reports that in Amite county the excitement knew no bound on the 18th instant. After receiving the news of the Old Dominion's secession, the people would not tolerate a vestige or a memento of the detested Federal Union. The old Star Spangled Banner was a special object of their fury. It was seized, denounced in bitter terms as a symbol of bitter tyranny, and burnt in the public square this evening in the presence of a crowd of spectators.
>
> The chief town in this county rejoices in the name of 'Liberty.' [1]

On April 12, 1861, the Civil War began, as the Confederate forces opened fire on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, S. C. On the following day the U.S. Flag at Fort Sumter was lowered and the Federal troops surrendered.

There are some works which state that the Star Spangled Banner was played during the surrender of the Federal troops of Fort Sumter to the Confederates.[2] The present writer has checked the original sources for this episode at the National Archives, but was unable to find any reference to the Star Spangled Banner as having been played on that occasion. Furthermore, The Charleston Daily Courier of April 13-15, 1861, which described the events of the surrender of Fort Sumter and its related actions in detail, does not mention such an episode.[3]

---

[1] Boston Evening Transcript, April 26, 1861, p. 2.

[2] For example, the previously mentioned government pamphlet entitled Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Maryland, prepared by Harold Lessem and George C. Mackenzie, on page 25, has a statement to the effect that the Star Spangled Banner was played at Fort Sumter "when the American flag was lowered in token of surrender by the Federal forces."

[3] The Charleston Daily Courier, April 13-15, 1861, passim.

During the bombardment of Fort Sumter there was present the Regimental Band of the First Artillery.[1] The man who lowered the U. S. flag when Major Anderson surrendered the fort was Quartermaster-sergeant William H. Hamner, later Lt. Col. William H. Hamner. In his reminiscences, which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on the occasion of his eighty-first birthday on May 12, 1919, Hamner states that there was a fife and drum corps in the Union garrison, which played "Yankee Doodle Dandy" as Anderson and his men left the fort following the surrender to the Confederacy. He makes no reference to the Star Spangled Banner having been played during the surrender.[2]

On the evening of Saturday, April 13, 1861, Francis W. Pickens, Governor of South Carolina, in his speech to his people made the following statement:

> I can here say to you it is the first time in the history of this country that the stars and stripes have been humbled. It has triumphed for seventy years, but, to-day, on the 13th day of April, it has been humbled, and humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina. The stars and stripes have been lowered before your eyes this day, but there are no flames that shall ever lower the flag of South Carolina while I have the honor to preside as your chief magistrate. And I pronounce here, before the civilized world, your independence is baptized in blood, your independence is won upon a glorious battlefield, and you are free now and forever, in defiance of a world in arms [3]

---

[1] Doubleday, op. cit., p. 179.

[2] The Times (Los Angeles, Cal.), May 12, 1919, Part II, p. 5. Col. Hamner also stated that "Fort Sumter never was surrendered. It was evacuated."

[3] The complete text of Governor Pickens' speech appeared in The Charleston Tri-Weekly Courier, April 16, 1861, p. 2.

It should be remembered that Governor Pickens served between 1835 and 1843 as a member of Congress, and in 1858 as Minister to Russia. Consequently his statement that a proud flag, which had never been humiliated before by any great world power and which had triumphantly waved for seventy years, had to be lowered before a small but distinguished state, South Carolina, has more than passing interest.

The news from Fort Sumter caused a sensation throughout the country. People everywhere expressed their loyalty to the Union and the masses enthusiastically sang the Star Spangled Banner and other patriotic songs.

When Rossini's opera Moses in Egypt was given on Saturday evening, April 13, 1861, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, at the close of the third act Mr. Wyman, one of the directors of the Academy, came before the curtain and announced that according to a dispatch just received, Fort Sumter had been reinforced and that the Stars and Stripes still waved over it. Because of this happy news, Mr. Wyman announced, Miss Hinkley, one of the principal singers of that evening, had agreed to sing the Star Spangled Banner at the close of the opera. Hearing this the audience showed its patriotic feeling, and as one newspaper reported, "The first part of this announcement was received with three distinct rounds of cheers, and a scene of great excitement prevailed for several minutes. This was renewed when Miss Hinkley came forward to sing the favorite national air, and but one feeling appeared to pervade the audience, that of rejoicing that the gallant Anderson had been relieved. It is

needless to say that the director, the charming vocalist, and the audience, were deceived as regards the facts concerning Fort Sumter."[1]

Similarly, in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, according to a dispatch dated April 18, 1861, "Both houses of the Legislature met in convention at the hall of House this morning, to hear the 'Star Spangled Banner' sung. The refrain was joined in by all the members and galleries amid the widest cheering and enthusiasm. The song was afterwards sung in the Senate, and in both cases the members and spectators seemed mad with patriotic devotion."[2]

On April 17, 1861, Virginia seceded from the Union, and was soon followed by other States. Referring to the motto of South Carolina, "Animis Opibusque Parati," meaning "the people had a mind to work," a Charleston newspaper explained that "The motto of South Carolina is no idle legend, but is a faithful index to the feelings and purpose and determination of every son and daughter of Carolina."[3] And indeed it was such for the whole Confederacy.

From Biblical times we know that Joshua caused the walls of Jericho to tumble by playing upon trumpets.[4] The invention of brass bands came with the Greeks and Romans, who clashed their shields together as they went into battle. The ancient English yeomen were not only skilful with the bow but also with the bugle; a "Blower" and "one who

---

[1]The New York Herald, April 14, 1861, p. 8.
[2]Ibid., April 19, 1861, p. 5.
[3]The Charleston Tri-Weekly Courier, April 18, 1861, p. 1.
[4]Joshua 6: 1-9, 13-16, 20-21.

draws the long bow" actually had synonymous meanings. The medieval troubadours (in Germany they were known as Minnesinger) were active in the crusades, while cavaliers and roundheads fought for monarchy and democracy with long and short metres. As the Marseillaise became the columbiad of France so it can be said that the Star Spangled Banner eventually assumed the same position in this country.

The Civil War armies were known not only as "singing armies," but also armies accompanied to war by numerous bands of accomplished musicians. While "Lorena" became the great sentimental song of the Southern Confederacy the Star Spangled Banner became the favorite of the Union forces.

From the very beginning of this conflict the Star Spangled Banner was sung and played extensively throughout the country, in some cases even as a recruitment device. Circus impresario P.T. Barnum, combining his sense for business with patriotic duty, on April 17, 1861, tried to engage a New York ex-alderman, offering him $1,000 for the period of four weeks, to sing the Star Spangled Banner daily at his museum, both afternoon and evening. However the ex-alderman reluctantly declined the tempting offer in consideration, as supposed, of his other numerous patriotic engagements![1]

On Tuesday evening, April 16, 1861 at a meeting at Military Hall, the Bowery, New York City, attended by about five hundred enthusiastic citizens of the Tenth Ward for the purpose of forming a Volunteer League,

---

[1]New York Daily Tribune, April 18, 1861, p. 8.

"The Star-Spangled Banner was ...sung - the people rising and joining in the chorus."[1]

Shortly before the Seventh Regiment of the New York National Guard left New York City for Washington on Friday afternoon, April 19, 1861, an inspection took place at Lafayette Place attended by an enthusiastic crowd of thousands of people who "sang at a tune, which was, after persistent effort, ascertained to be that of the 'Star-Spangled Banner'....The Adjutant then handed over the command of the regiment to the Colonel; the drum-major wheeled his band into line; the stirring strain of the National air elicited the national cheers; the command to move was shouted from officer to officer, and amid cheering, cries of 'God bless you,' the waving of flags and handkerchiefs and the display of the most intense enthusiasm, the Seventh started upon the march down Broadway." When they finally reached Cortland Street, cheered by an enthusiastic crowd, the regiment boarded the ferry, and from this ferry depot "As the boat steamed across the river it was saluted with cheers from the crowded wharves and buildings, and by the ringing bells and the sounding of whistles from the craft on the river, to which the band responded by playing the 'Star Spangled Banner' and 'The Girl I Left Behind Me.'" Their arrival at Jersey City was a scene of excitement, and finally "the gates leading into the depot were thrown open, and the troops marched in, the band playing the 'Star Spangled Banner,' and the whole house sending forth unbounded applause."[2] The Regiment then left for Washing-

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] The New York Herald, April 20, 1861, p. 2.

reaching Philadelphia at 1 A.M. on Saturday and leaving that city at 4 P.M. of that day for Washington, via Annapolis.[1]

The cheers of the crowd also accompanied the departure of the New York Sixth Regiment on Sunday, April 21, 1861; when the band played the Star Spangled Banner the crowd cheered the music enthusiastically.[2]

According to one correspondent describing the departure of the New York Seventy-First Regiment on the steamship Cuyler, April 22, 1861: "At fifteen minutes to six P.M. we weighed anchor, and in company with the steamship Columbia, we started on our way. Three cheers were given for the Union, three more for the (thirty-four) Stars and (13) Stripes, and another trio for the city of New-York, the boys following with the national anthem, 'The Star Spangled Banner.'"[3]

The Boston Evening Transcript, in an editorial entitled "What We Are Fighting For," said among other things: "For the Union, for civil Government, for Law, for Civilization, for Humanity - for everything that is dear and holy. Grant that the rebellion is revolution; grant that many concerned in it or favoring it are acting honestly and under a terrible error and misapprehension; grant this; it still remains true that the rebellion, its leaders interpreting it, bears the character we have attributed to it. Jefferson Davis is in arms against every

---

[1] Ibid., April 21, 1861, p. 4.
[2] Ibid., April 22, 1861, p. 1.
[3] Ibid., April 30, 1861, p. 5.

principle of the best civilization of the age; and it is that civilization we are fighting for. The Star Spangled Banner symbolizes it; and Gov. Pickens openly boasts that he has humbled that for the first time."[1]

Around 1861 the Star Spangled Banner was issued with English and German texts by Nic. Muller, Printer, 48 Beekman Street, New York City. At the top of the text there appears a motto, "The Union Must and Shall Be Preserved!" followed by "The Star Spangled Banner, The Song of the Patriot."[2] There is no doubt that this joint English-German text was issued primarily for the use of the German soldiers in the Union army. It is also evident that its German soldiers must have been hastily done, because of its poor quality.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, incensed over the firing on the flag at Fort Sumter, wrote an extra stanza to the Star Spangled Banner. There is no way to ascertain when this extra stanza first appeared and where, but it was shortly after the surrender of Fort Sumter, and apparently in an inaccurate version, as on Monday evening, April 29, 1861, the Boston Evening Transcript had already printed a corrected version of Holmes' stanza with the following comment:

> The National Song. The following splendid verse, written by Oliver Wendell Holmes, as an addition to the song of the 'Star Spangled Banner,' having been inaccurately printed, we give a corrected copy:

---

[1]Boston Evening Transcript, April 26, 1861, p. 2.

[2]See Appendix E.

Verse by Oliver Wendell Holmes.

When out land is illumined by liberty's smile,
If a foe from within strike a blow at her glory,
Down, down with the traitor that dares to defile
The flag of her stars and the page of her story!
By the millions unchained when our birthright was gained,
We will keep her bright blazon forever unstained!
And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
While the land of the free is the home of the brave![1]

During the ceremonies held at Ward School No. 38 in New York City on Monday afternoon, April 29, 1861, the children and teachers of this grammar school sang the Star Spangled Banner.[2] Similarly at the second meeting of the New York Ladies' Relief Union held on Tuesday afternoon, April 23, 1861 in Dr. Cheever's Church, "the organ, under the direction of its able conductor, struck up in powerful yet plaintive melody, 'The Star Spangled Banner,' during the singing of which the ladies all rose and joined effectually in the music."[3]

The Star Spangled Banner was a favorite tune not only of the civilian population, but also of the military bands of the Union army.

Upon the arrival of the Sixth Massachusetts regiment in Washington, according to a letter written by Dexter F. Parker on April 22, 1861, following the taking of the oath of allegiance to the Union with other companies and while each company was heading for its quarters, "just as we entered the building, all of us sung the chorus of the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' and seven hundred men re-echoed in the capitol the soul-stirring lines: 'The star-spangled banner, O long may it wave, O'er

---

[1]Boston Evening Transcript, April 29, 1861, p. 2.

[2]The New York Herald, April 30, 1861, p. 5.

[3]Ibid.

the land of the free and the home of the brave.'"[1]

The danger threatening the Union continued to arouse patriotic consciousness; as another member of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment observed from Washington: "We don't sing anything but national songs, and the harmonious strains of the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' and good old 'America,' may constantly be heard up from the various company quarters."[2]

When the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment moved in early May to Elk Ridge Landing, Md., a letter of Dexter F. Parker dated May 10, 1861 observed that

> Last evening was a gala one for the regiment. The ladies in a village lying in the valley some hundred rods below us, flung to the breeze the 'stars and stripes,' and just as it reached the top of the flagstaff, three hundred or so of us made Elk Ridge Valley ring with cheers, such as only soldiers situated as we are, can give; and after two hundred voices sang, with cheers and shouts intermingled, the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' 'Columbia,' the 'Gem of the Ocean,' and 'God Save America,' and need I say we made the hills and valleys ring with these glorious songs and our National Anthem. At nightfall there was uncommon activity in the camp, for the 'Baltimore roughs' threatened to come down and give us an 'evening call,' and every man was ready for the devils at any hour they chose to come. [3]

The next move of the Sixth Massachusetts was to Federal Hill, near Baltimore, on the night on May 13, 1861, where close to its campfires it passed the night in rain, the men singing every song they

---

[1]Abijah P. Marvin, History of Worcester in the War of the Rebellion. Edition, With Additions and Corrections. (Worcester: Published by the Auth 1880), pp. 50-51.

[2]Ibid., p. 52.

[3]Ibid., p. 54.

knew, when up the flagstaff on the hill, illuminated by the flashing of the lightning, they saw "running to the top the star-spangled banner, and such cheers as then rent the air you cannot imagine,"[1] said Parker's letter.

On Thursday afternoon, May 9, 1861, a concert under the direction of Harvey B. Dodworth was given at the Washington Navy Yard barracks by the band of the Seventy-First New York Regiment, which was then stationed at the Yard. The concert, which was attended by the President and Mrs. Lincoln, included in its program the Star Spangled Banner with full chorus.[2] In the early stages of the Civil War Dodworth's band contributed significantly to the musical repertoire of Washington.

When President Lincoln, with Secretaries Seward and Smith and Postmaster General Blair attended, on Wednesday afternoon, May 22, 1861, a ceremony at the Post Office, where the loyal employees had purchased a large flag and raised it as a demonstration of their loyalty, the Hartford Cornet Band played the Star Spangled Banner as the President raised the flag to the top of the pole. When the entire ceremony ended, the band again played the Star Spangled Banner and "Yankee Doodle," while many employees joined in singing.[3]

On Thursday, May 23, 1861, President and Mrs. Lincoln witnessed a ceremony of the New York Seventh Regiment, during which the New York

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] The New York Herald, May 10, 1861, p. 1.

[3] Daily National Intelligencer (Washington, D.C.), May 23, 1861, p. 1; The New York Herald, May 23, 1861, p. 1.

ladies presented a flag to the regiment[1] while the band played the Star Spangled Banner.[2]

During the Fourth of July celebration of 1861 a parade was held in Washington, reviewed on a platform by President Lincoln, General Scott, and other dignitaries. When the parade ended near the Treasury Building, President Lincoln raised the flag, while a band played the Star Spangled Banner and the N. Y. Seventy-First Regiment stood as guard of honor.[3]

The Star Spangled Banner was also included in the Fourth of July 1861 celebration of the Jersey Blues, The Second New Jersey Brigade in Washington, D.C.[4]

On Saturday evening, July 6, 1861, Mrs. Meda Blanchard gave a concert at Willard's Hotel in Washington, attended by President and Mrs. Lincoln. When she sang the Star Spangled Banner the audience responded enthusiastically and "became most rapturous and unbounded." According to the Washington Evening Star, "This song appeared to arouse

---

[1]Colonel Emmons Clark, History of the Seventh Regiment of New York 1806-1889. Vol. II.(New York: Published by the Seventh Regiment, 1890), p. 24.

[2]The New York Herald, May 24, 1861, p. 1.

[3]Daily National Intelligencer, July 6, 1861, p. 3.

[4]The Evening Star, July 5, 1861, p. 3.

all the patriotic feeling of the hall, and even our apparently stoical President and worthy 'premier' seemed to be recalled to the perils of our whole beloved country, of which the flag is the emblem."[1]

On August 7, 1861, during the ceremonies in the City Hall, at which the Mayor of Worcester, Mass., George F. Hoar, presented a flag made by the ladies of the city to the newly formed Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, "the regimental band played 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' with fine effect."[2]

The Star Spangled Banner was also sung following the Battle of Wilson's Creek in Missouri, on August 10, 1861, during which General Nathaniel Lyon was killed. An eyewitness belonging to the Iowa First, which was in Gen. Lyon's, column wrote:

> The battle of Wilson's Creek may he called a victory or a defeat; but one thing is certain, our army, and among them our First Iowa regiment, had the satisfaction of eating our rations, shaking each other by hand, and singing the 'Star Spangled Banner,' on the same ground upon which we fired the first gun in the morning.[3]

Similarly, during the presentation of the flag to the Twenty-first Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers on August 23, 1861, the band played the Star Spangled Banner "as the flag was waved before the audience, amid the most deafening plaudits."[4]

---

[1] The Evening Star, July 8, 1861, p. 3.

[2] Marvin, op. cit., p. 84.

[3] Henry O'Connor, History of the First Regiment of Iowa Volunteers. (Muscatine Printed at the Faust Premium Job Printing House, 1862), pp. 12-13.

[4] Marvin, op. cit., p. 91.

When a question of limiting the number of bands in the army arose, the New York Herald strongly opposed such a measure. Music for the soldiers was felt by this newspaper to be such a very important element that the paper said, on the subject of brass band music for the army:

> "Good martial, national music is one of the great advantages we have over the rebels. They have only bands of guerrillas and bridge burners, and are as destitute of musical notes as they are rich in shinplasters. They have not even one good national tune, if we except the 'Rogue's March,' for 'Dixie' belongs exclusively to our Dan Bryant. 'Hail Columbia,' 'Yankee Doodle,' the 'Star Spangled Banner,' and airs of that sort, they left behind them with the other good things of the Union; and, in spite of every effort, England cannot be persuaded to lend them a little 'Rule Britannia.' Having thus no music in their souls, they are, as Shakspeare says, only fit for treason, rebellion, stratagems, masked batteries, spoils and knaveries. Now, are we going to relinquish our musical advantage and lower ourselves to the key of the rebels? Is the Harp of Erin to be hung upon the willows? Is the Teutonic element to indulge only in swei lager, and give up its cornets-a-piston? Far from it. We might better give up Washington."[1]

One eyewitness, describing the sight of the Union Army marching into Culpeper, Va., observed:

> "Regiments were pouring by all the roads and lanes into the main street, and the spectacle of thousands of bayonets, extending as far as the eye could reach, was enhanced by the music of a score of bands, throbbing all the same moment with wild music. The orders of officers rang our fitfully in the din, and when the steel shifted from shoulder to shoulder, it was like looking down a long sparkling wave. Above the confusion

---

[1]The New York Herald, January 11, 1862, p. 4. This article was also reprinted in the Cincinnati Daily Commercial, January 15, 1862, p. 1.

> of the time, the various nativities of volunteers roared their national ballads. 'St. Patrick's Day,' intermingled with the weird refrain of 'Bonnie Dundee,' and snatches of German sword-songs were drowned by the thrilling chorus of the 'Star-Spangled Banner.' Then some stentor would strike a stave of 'John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave,' and the wild, mournful music would be caught up by all, - Germans, Celts, Saxons, till the little town rang with the thunder of voices, all uttering the name of the grim old moloch, whom - more than any one save Hunter - Virginia hates. Suddenly, as if by rehearsal, all hats would go up, all bayonets toss and glisten, and huzzas would deafen the winds, while the horses reared upon their haunches and the sabres rose and fell."[1]

A letter written by a correspondent of Company A from the camp of the 37th Indiana Volunteers, at Bacon Creek, Ky., dated January 31, 1862, describes the misfortune this regiment experienced when its commander and chaplain were placed under arrest:

> Our 'unfortunate' regiment is still buffeted by the storms of heaven and the inhumanity of man. The whole of the present month has been wet, disagreeable and unhealthy. Night before last we had two or three inches of snow, which is now slowly melting, rendering our camp one vast 'slough of despond.' After two weeks of the democratic reign of Lieut. Col. Gazlay, he was placed in arrest, and Maj. Hall, the present commander, although a civilian, seems to regard Col. Hazzard as a model soldier. Our Chaplain is also in arrest, and is undergoing trial by

---

[1]George Alfred Townsend, Campaigns of a Non-Combatant, and His Romaunt Abroad During the War. (New York: Blelock & Co., 1866), pp. 248-249.

> a court martial. This is very unfortunate, for he is a magnificent vocalist, and enlivened many of our dull hours, by singing the Star Spangled Banner, with some comical variations, but since his arrest he seems to have no music in his soul. [1]

Although it is not known what "comical variations" this unfortunate regimental chaplain sang, apparently his singing of the Star Spangled Banner greatly cheered the sometimes lonely lives of these soldiers.

According to a letter of Col. Bausenwein of the 58th Infantry Regiment, Ohio Volunteers, which he wrote on February 18, 1862, from Fort Donelson, Headquarters of the 58th Regiment, to C. P. Buckingham, Adjutant-General of Ohio, he mentions that the regimental band had played the Star Spangled Banner, "our national air."[2]

The effect of the music of the Star Spangled Banner is also described by a correspondent with the Army of the Potomac reporting an incident which took place in June of 1862, in General Daniel Butterfield's brigade. Because of a standing order against the playing of band music in the camp, which had been in effect for several months, there had been no band to inspire the soldiers in their battles. When an order came for Morell's division to recapture a hill the men, despite their weariness after four sleepless days of battle and exposure to the heat, lined up for this task, tired and

---

[1] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, February 4, 1862, p. 1.
[2] Ibid., February 28, 1862, p. 2.

exhausted. At this sight Captain Thomas J. Hoyt, a member of General Butterfield's staff, assembled all the regimental bands at the head of the brigade, and they started to play the Star Spangled Banner. Men from one regiment to another immediately caught the spirit, and cheered so that General McClellan, who had just ridden through the field was astonished by their outburst.[1]

The Star Spangled Banner was also sung during the capture of New Orleans under rather interesting conditions. When General Benjamin F. Butler, following the destruction of the Confederate Navy, entered the City, he was welcomed by the insults of the local mob, who called epithets at him such as "beast," "Shiloh!," "Bull Run!" etc. Butler, ignoring these outbursts, marched in front of his regiments to the music of the Star Spangled Banner to the St. Charles Hotel, which became his headquarters.[2]

When the St. Charles was taken over for General Butler a very interesting scene occurred:

> As the frugal repast in the St. Charles was drawing to a close, a band on the balcony in front of the building, in full view of the crowd, struck up the Star Spangled Banner, filling the void immensity of the dining-room with a deafening noise. The band continued to paly during the evening, the crowd standing silent and sullen.[3]

---

[1]Frank Moore, The Civil War in Song and Story, 1860-1865. (New York: P.F. Collier, 1889), p. 546.

[2]Josef Čermák, Dějiny občanské války s připojením zkušeností českých vojínů. - History of the Civil War With Appendix of Experiences of Czech Soldiers. (Chicago: Tiskem a nákladem Augusta Geringera, 1889), p. 132.

[3]James Parton, General Butler in New Orleans. History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862: With An Account of the Capture of New Orleans, and a Sketch of the Previous Career of the General Civil and Military. 17th Edition. (Boston:Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882), p. 290.

A very picturesque incident also occurred during the take-over of Fort Macon, North Carolina, by the Union Army on April 26, 1862, when the fort was surrendered by the Confederate forces.[1] It was recorded that, "When the Southern flag was struck, and the national standard took its place, an old man with a long white beard, leaped upon the ruined rampart with a silver bugle in his hand, and joyously blew the notes of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'"[2]

From the very beginning of the Civil War the Chicago Board of Trade had done an excellent job in raising money and encouraging enlistments. While it was in session on Wednesday evening, July 23, 1862, the Lombard brothers "sang with thrilling effect the 'Star Spangled Banner,' in the chorus of which they were joined by the entire assembly."[3]

While Mrs. Lincoln was visiting New York City, staying in the Metropolitan Hotel, on Saturday evening, October 25, 1862, about three thousand people gathered outside the hotel and repeatedly cheered her and Generals Scott, McClellan, and Anderson. Between 9:30 and 10:30 P.M. the band from the U.S.S. North Carolina delivered a concert outside her window which included the Star Spangled Banner, "Hail Columbia" and other tunes. As the concert ended Mrs. Lincoln appeared and waved graciously to the people.[4]

---

[1]The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Prepared Under the Direction of the Secretary of War, by Bvt. Lieut. Col. Robert N. Scott, Third U.S. Artillery, and Published Pursuant to Act of Congress Approved June 16, 1880. Series I, [illegible] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 294.

[2]C.A. Browne, The Story of Our National Ballads. Revised and enlarged edition. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1931), pp. 70-71.

[3]Chicago Daily Tribune, July 24, 1862, p. 4.

[4]The New York Herald, October 26, 1862, p. 1.

Miss Clara Sidnal, the celebrated concert singer, in her first appearance in America on Wednesday evening, April 1, 1863 at Willard's Hall in Washington, D.C., included the Star Spangled Banner in her programme.[1]

During this time the National Amusement Institution located at Pennsylvania Avenue and Ninth Street in Washington, staged a "Programme of Extraordinary Attraction," which included "The Star Spangled Banner, Our National Ensign, Pure and Simple, Its Voice is Ever of Union and Liberty, of the Constitution and the Laws, and Long May it Wave O'er the Land of the Free, and the Home of the Brave."[2]

The Chicago Brothers, Julius and Frank Lombard, came to Mississippi in May of 1863 to sing in the lines before Vicksburg.[3] Their programme included ballads and patriotic songs, among them the Star Spangled Banner, as "these songs were better than rations or medicine to many a poor homesick private, and brought healthy sentiments and inspirations in place of morbid unhealthy ones."[4]

Although one of the sources says that the Star Spangled Banner was played when the Union forces captured Vicksburg after a six weeks'

---

[1] Daily Morning Chronicle (Washington, D.C.), March 31, 1863, p. 3.

[2] Cf. Their programme in the Daily Morning Chronicle, March 30, 1863, p. 3, March 31, 1863, p. 3, and April 1, 1863, p. 3.

[3] George F. Root, The Story of a Musical Life. An Autobiography. (Cincinnati: Published by The John Co., 1891), pp. 132-133.

[4] Benjamin P. Thomas, Ed., Three Years With Grant. As Recalled by War Correspondent Sylvanus Cadwallader. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 97.

A very picturesque incident also occurred during the take-over of Fort Macon, North Carolina, by the Union Army on April 26, [illegible] when the fort was surrendered by the Confederate forces.[1] It was recorded that, "When the Southern flag was struck, and the national standard took its place, an old man with a long white beard, leaped upon the ruined rampart with a silver bugle in his hand, and joyously blew the notes of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'"[2]

From the very beginning of the Civil War the Chicago Board of Trade had done an excellent job in raising money and encouraging enlistments. While it was in session on Wednesday evening, July 23, 1862, the Lombard brothers "sang with thrilling effect the 'Star Spangled Banner,' in the chorus of which they were joined by the entire assembly."[3]

While Mrs. Lincoln was visiting New York City, staying in the Metropolitan Hotel, on Saturday evening, October 25, 1862, about three thousand people gathered outside the hotel and repeatedly cheered her and Generals Scott, McClellan, and Anderson. Between 9:30 and 10:30 P. the band from the U.S.S. North Carolina delivered a concert outside her window which included the Star Spangled Banner, "Hail Columbia" and other tunes. As the concert ended Mrs. Lincoln appeared and waved graciously to the people.[4]

---

[1]The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies. Prepared Under the Direction of the Secretary of War, by Bvt. Lieut. Col. Robert N. Scott, Third U.S. Artillery, and Published Pursuant to Act of Congress Approved June 16, 1880. Series 1, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 294.

[2]C.A. Browne, The Story of Our National Ballads. Revised and enlarged edition. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1931), pp. 70-71.

[3]Chicago Daily Tribune, July 24, 1862, p. 4.

[4]The New York Herald, October 26, 1862, p. 1.

Miss Clara Sidnal, the celebrated concert singer, in her first appearance in America on Wednesday evening, April 1, 1863 at Willard's Hall in Washington, D.C., included the Star Spangled Banner in her programme.[1]

During this time the National Amusement Institution located at Pennsylvania Avenue and Ninth Street in Washington, staged a "Programme of Extraordinary Attraction," which included "The Star Spangled Banner, Our National Ensign, Pure and Simple, Its Voice is Ever of Union and Liberty, of the Constitution and the Laws, and Long May it Wave O'er the Land of the Free, and the Home of the Brave."[2]

The Chicago Brothers, Julius and Frank Lombard, came to Mississippi in May of 1863 to sing in the lines before Vicksburg.[3] Their programme included ballads and patriotic songs, among them the Star Spangled Banner, as "these songs were better than rations or medicine to many a poor homesick private, and brought healthy sentiments and inspirations in place of morbid unhealthy ones."[4]

Although one of the sources says that the Star Spangled Banner was played when the Union forces captured Vicksburg after a six weeks'

---

[1] Daily Morning Chronicle (Washington, D.C.), March 31, 1863, p. 3.

[2] Cf. Their programme in the Daily Morning Chronicle, March 30, 1863, p. 3, March 31, 1863, p. 3, and April 1, 1863, p. 3.

[3] George F. Root, The Story of a Musical Life. An Autobiography. (Cincinnati: Published by The John Co., 1891), pp. 132-133.

[4] Benjamin P. Thomas, Ed., Three Years With Grant. As Recalled by War Correspondent Sylvanus Cadwallader. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 97.

bombardment,[1] there is actually no evidence that this in fact occurred.

---

[1]Edwin C. Bearss in his Decision in Mississippi. Mississippi's Important Role in the War Between the States. (Jackson, Mississippi: Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States, 1962), says on page 445: "By this time, other contingents of Logan's division joined 45th Illinois and the 4th Minnesota. The soldiers, unable to restrain themselves any longer, started cheering wildly. In celebration of the occasion the bands struck up a series of stirring airs - 'Yankee Doodle,' 'Hail Columbia,' 'Star Spangled Banner' - and closed with the nostalgic tune, 'Home Sweet Home.' While the bands played, the troops paraded on the Courthouse, which except for one hit on the cupola was unscathed. then stacked their arms while awaiting further orders. These were not in coming. The men of the division, except for the 45th Illinois were assigned to provost duty and fatigue details, retraced their steps and occupied the Rebel fortification." To substantiate this statement Bearss cites as his source Frank Moore, op. cit., p. 306, and Joseph Stockton War Diary (1862-5) of Brevet Brigadier General Joseph Stockton. (Chicago, Ill.: Printed for Distribution by John T. Stockton, 1910), without page references. Moore's book describes on pages 305-306 "The Surrender of Vicksburg," without mentioning that the Star Spangled Banner, "Yankee Doodle" and"Hail Columbia" had been played, while Stockton on page 69 his War Diary, under entry of July 5, 1863 describes the activities of the previous day as follows:"...How anxiously they and we felt as to what Pemberton's reply to Grant would be, and when about half past nine on the 4th we saw the stars and stripes float from the fort we had stormed unsuccessfully, the air was rent with cheers and how relieved we all felt. Orders soon came for us to get ready to march into the city. Logan's division in the advance and the 45th Illinois in the advance of the army owing to their gallantry in storming Fort Hill. The day was a terrible hot one. We packed kanpsacks and were soon ready to march. It was hard work but soon we got on the Jackson road and were inside the rebel lines. We marched through long rows of arms, stacked on both sides of the road and their late owners sitting or standing quietly by them.. The march was a terrible one and notwithstanding that it was marching into Vicksburg. I never saw so many men affected by the heat. When we reached the Court House I saw our glorious banner floating from its dome where only in the morning the rebel flag had been waving to the breeze. Our men could restrain themselves no longer and gave one long, loud cheer. We marched around the Court House, which is a fine large building, and then halted, stacked arms while waiting for further orders." In this case also there is no mention of the Star Spangled Banner and other tunes having been played or sung. Bearss most probably confuses the banner or flag with the Star Spangled Banner, the tune.

The practice of performing the Star Spangled Banner during the Fourth of July celebration did not fall into disuse during the Civil War. The national celebration of American Independence on July 4, 1863, had special importance in Washington. An elaborate programme was held on the White House grounds, and during the impressive ceremony Mayor Wallach announced the outcome of the battle of Gettysburg, "which was received with the wildest enthusiasm by the crowd, who gave three times three and a tiger. The cheers were succeeded by the 'Star Spangled Banner' by the U.S. Marine band."[1] Even though the Confederate singers in Baltimore had been arrested, the program for July 4, 1863, was widely supported and also included the Star Spangled Banner and "Hail Columbia."[2] To commemorate the national jubilee of 1863, the Star Spangled Banner, "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail Columbia" were played by the orchestra at the new Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, and when the Star Spangled Banner was repeated by the entire company the audience joined in.[3] While General George G. Meade was being serenaded at his headquarters, his wife in their residence on Pine Street in Philadelphia received the same honor, when at 11 P.M., July 5, 1863, a large crowd, including the Mayor, came to her residence to cheer her, and Birgfeld's Band played the national airs, including the Star Spangled Banner.[4]

---

[1] The Evening Star, July 6, 1863, p. 3.

[2] The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), July 6, 1863, p. 4.

[3] Daily Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 6, 1863, p. 3.

[4] The Philadelphia Inquirer, July 6, 1863, p. 4; The Evening Post (New York, N.Y.), July 6, 1863, p. 4. Adolph Birgfeld was then business manager and director of German opera at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia.

While the draft produced riots, as for example in New York City, in other places it aroused patriotic demonstrations. It was reported that at the conclusion of the draft held on July 27, 1863, in the Third Ward in Philadelphia, after the names had been drawn by the blind vocalist, Mr. B. Parvin, the latter sang the Star Spangled Banner, the entire gathering responding and joining him in the full chorus. The Philadelphia Press wrote: "The singing of the Star-Spangled Banner at such a time and place is significant. It may be considered as the musical seal of condemnation of sympathizers traitors."[1]

On Friday morning, October 9, 1863, the members of the Colored Odd Fellows paraded in Washington to the White House to honor the President, its band playing the air, "Red, White and Blue" and the Star Spangled Banner, but President Lincoln did not appear to welcome them, being engaged in a cabinet meeting.[2]

On the night before Lincoln delivered his now famous Gettysburg Address, the music which filled the town of Gettysburg reflected a spirit of celebration, with tunes such as "We Are Coming, Father Abraham," "John Brown's Body," the Star Spangled Banner, and "Bonnie Blue Flag"[3] being played. To the New York World, this lively night made an unfavorable impression. The paper stated that: "It was perhaps all done without malicious intention, but seemed in bad taste and out of place."[4]

---

[1]The Press, July 28, 1863, p. 2.
[2]The Evening Star, October 9, 1863, p. 2.
[3]The Philadelphia Inquirer, November 21, 1863, p. 2.
[4]The World, November 21, 1863, p. 1.

The Star Spangled Banner was also sung during the public meeting in Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Mass., on November 21, 1863, which were held to raise troops from Worcester.[1] In another immense gathering called for that purpose in Mechanics Hall on November 28, 1863, Rev. Edward A. Walker in his eloquent speech "offered to the first volunteer who should come forward, a piece of the original 'Star-spangled Banner.' A volunteer, by the name of Thomas Gloster, claimed the relic. As he enrolled his name, three times three cheers were given with great enthusiasm."[2]

The Star Spangled Banner was played by the band at the second anniversary meeting sponsored by the U. S. Christian Commission, held in Washington on February 2, 1864, and attended by President and Mrs. Lincoln.[3]

At the invitation of the Sanitary Commission, President Lincoln arrived in Baltimore after 6 P.M. on April 18, 1864, to be present at one of the fairs which this group sponsored.[4] There copies of Col. Alexander Bliss' volume Autograph Leaves of Our Country's Authors were on sale; this volume contained an introduction by John P. Kennedy and its first two contributions included the Star Spangled Banner and President Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg. According to the newspaper account it was a "unique volume," since there was "scarcely anything in the Fair of more enduring interest."[5]

---

[1] Marvin, op. cit., p. 179.
[2] Ibid., pp. 181-182.
[3] The Evening Star, February 3, 1864, p. 3.
[4] American and Commercial Advertiser (Baltimore, Md.), April 19, 1864.p.4.
[5] Ibid., April 20, 1864, p. 1.

Shortly before noon on Thursday, June 16, 1864, President Lincoln arrived in Philadelphia to attend the fair there. He was welcomed upon his arrival by an enormous crowd, and his carriage, with the Jefferson Cornet Band in the vanguard, proceeded slowly to the Continental Hotel. As it passed the fire station the fire bells were rung, while at the recruiting station the band played the Star Spangled Banner.[1] Following a banquet, speeches and visits to the Union League House and the National Union Club, the President returned to the Continental Hotel, where he was awaited by a large crowd. Then came fireworks and again the band played the Star Spangled Banner and other tunes.[2]

During the Civil War the soldiers of both sides, North and South, would very often taunt each other through pointed songs and band music. The Czech-born Josef Paidr, who served with the 26th Wisconsin Regiment in General William T. Sherman's Army in Georgia during July of 1864, reports in his reminiscences that before Atlanta the advance posts of both North and South shouted insults at each other, and when the rebel band played "Yankee Doodle" to incite the soldiers of the Union Army, the band of Paidr's unit answered with the song, "We'll Hang Jeff Davis On A Sour Apple Tree."[3]

---

[1] The Daily Evening Bulletin, June 16, 1864, p. 5.

[2] The New York Herald, June 17, 1864, p. 1; The Daily Evening Bulletin, June 17, 1864, p. 2.

[3] Čermák, op. cit., p. 336.

The musical programme of the Marine Band under the direction of Francis Scala during the summer of 1864 involved regular Saturday afternoon promenade concerts in Washington on the lawn of the Presidential mansion, which frequently included medleys of operatic and patrictic music, domestic and foreign.[1] For example, the programme for Saturday afternoon, June 4, 1864, consisted of:

1. Grand March (Le Prophète)
2. Medley Quick Step of American Airs
3. Overture (La Dame Blanche)
4. Finale, second act (Polutio)
5. American Quadrille
6. Waltz (Il Bacio)
7. Mrs. Sprague's Polka
8. Trombottim (Schottish)
9. Brilliant Galop
10. Song - When in the Silent Night
11. Star Spangled Banner
12. Yankee Doodle[2]

These Saturday afternoon concerts on the Presidential grounds were closely observed by the press and the public. When the flagpole at the music stand was left bare for a few weeks, the Washington Sunday Morning Chronicle pointed out that the reason for this action was that the "grand melody of the 'star-Spangled Banner,' and the fine air of 'Rally Round the Flag' had been omitted" from the July 30, 1864, musical program.[3]

A citizen writing to The Daily Morning Chronicle and signing his letter as "A Lover of the Dear Old Flag," asked why there was a music stand and a flagpole with no flag flying. In his opinion the flag should be displayed, because only then "'The Star Spangled Banner' and 'Rally

[1]The Daily Morning Chronicle (Washington, D.C.), June 4, 1864, p. 2.
[2]The Sunday Morning Chronicle (Washington, D.C.), June 5, 1864, p. 2.
[3]Ibid., July 31, 1864, p. 3.

Round the Flag' will go to our hearts with increasing sweetness."[1]

As a result of this complaint it was ordered that the flag should be flying on the following Saturday, August 6, 1864, so that the Marine Band would no longer play around a bare flagpole. One newspaper remarked with satisfaction that "our beloved flag was hoisted to the general gratification of the audience, which was manifestly more select than usual."[2]

Furthermore, Commissioner of Public Buildings Major B. B. French ordered that a flagpole be erected at the Capitol for the display of the flag over the music stand when the band played its regular Wednesday afternoon concerts in the Capitol grounds.[3]

An interesting incident also occurred involving a soldier in a Confederate prison during the national jubilee of 1864. According to the recollections of Joseph Ferguson, late Captain of the First New Jersey Volunteers, the Fourth of July, 1864, celebrations held at the prison camp at Macon, Ga., made that day one of the happiest days he had spent in prison. According to him:

> After roll-call, when the count was made, and the officers were standing in groups around the prison yard, a Captain Todd, a very tall man, of the 8th New Jersey Volunteers, placed in his hat a small silk flag, four by six inches, which had been presented to him by a lady of Jersey City, and which he had up to this time kept secreted

---

[1] The Daily Morning Chronicle, July 30, 1864, p. 2.
[2] The Sunday Morning Chronicle, August 7, 1864, p. 3.
[3] The Daily Morning Chronicle, August 27, 1864, p. 2.

> from the rebels. No sooner was the banner displayed that it was welcomed with three hearty cheers, which said, 'We still love our country; there are no traitors here.' An officer struck up the "Star Spangled Banner," which was sung in a fine, manly voice, with artistic taste, every one present joining in the chorus, with the full power of the lungs.
>
> O! say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
> What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming;
> Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight,
> O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?
> And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
> Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.
> O! say, does the Star spangled banner still wave [1]
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

Thus in time of danger the spirit of patriotism aroused by the Star Spangled Banner was able to help sustain men under the awful conditions of Confederate Civil War jail.

The Civil War, like all of America's prolonged conflicts also coincided with the necessities of the Presidential campaign. That of 1864 brought with it the usual campaign songs; for example one of the Democratic songs was "A Song For Our Banner. By Sidney Herbert. Arranged from a Patriotic Song. Air - 'Star-spangled Banner.'" [2] At the same time there were two Lincoln Republican campaign songsters, which did not include any song sung to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner.[3]

[1] Joseph Ferguson, Life-struggles in Rebel Prisons: A Record of the Sufferings, Escapes, Adventures and Starvation of the Union Prisoners. With an introduction by Rev. Joseph T. Cooper, D.D. (Philadelphia: James M. Ferguson, Publisher, 1865), p. 108.

[2] Sidney Herbert, McClellan Campaign Melodist: A Collection of Patriotic Campaign Songs in Favor of the Constitution and the Union, the Election of General McClellan, the Restoration of the Federal Authority, and the Speedy Extermination of Treason. Fifth edition. (New York: B.W. Hitchcock, 1864), p. 322.

[3] These were: The President Lincoln Campaign Songster. (New York: T.H. Dawley, 1864), passim and The Lincoln and Johnson Union Campaign Songster. (Philadelphia: A. Winch, 1864), passim.

At the time of the Democratic Convention in Chicago the campaign music reached its peak. According to Noah Brooks, "Chicago was wild... with brass bands and cheering Democrats,"[1] and the delegates were entertained at the Wigwam by outstanding bands playing the Star Spangled Banner, "Yankee Doodle" and other tunes.[2] The Democrats of course wanted to have McClellan elected as President, and they supported him fully. One of their principal claims to the Star Spangled Banner was the fact that the daughter of Francis Scott Key was the wife of the Vice-Presidential candidate on the McClellan ticket, George H. Pendleton.

The front page of the Chicago Times on Friday morning, September 9, 1864, reprinted an article from the N.Y. News which asked:

> What will the Lincolnites who use this song as a cover for their want of patriotism now do? for it belongs to the democracy and we propose to reclaim it. The wife of George H. Pendleton is the daughter of the author of that best of national songs and as the heir at law of Francis S. Key is the candidate of the democracy, the song belongs to the democratic party; and when again in power, they will end the war, restore the white man to liberty and then once more:
>
> "The Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.[4]

The Republicans, seeing the Democrats pressing their claim, did not want to remain in the background. During the Republican gathering in Philadelphia on Thursday evening, October 6, 1864, a rather unusual

---

[1]Noah Brooks, Washington, D.C., In Lincoln's Time. Edited, with an Introduction by Herbert Mitgang. (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 16.

[2]The Chicago Times, August 30, 1864, p. 3; New-York Daily Tribune, September 1, 1864, p. 1.

[3]The Chicago Times, September 9, 1864, p. 1.

[4]Ibid.

feature was introduced with the appearance of a girls' glee club called the "Union Glee Circle." This girls' glee club was "composed exclusively of accomplished your ladies," who "sang in a beautiful manner, 'Rally Round the Flag' and the 'Star Spangled Banner.'" According to one newspaper account this was "a novel feature at political meetings."[1]

The Democrats, who also did not want to remain behind, arranged another extravaganza for Wednesday evening, October 19, 1864, at the Hall of the Keystone Club on Walnut Street in Philadelphia. At this patriotic gathering thirty-four young ladies, representing thirty-four states and dressed in red, white and blue, appeared on the platform and "were greeted with the most uproarious applause, the band striking up the 'Star Spangled Banner.'" Then these thirty-four ladies sang the patriotic song "The City of Liberty" with such gusto that it had to be repeated.[2]

The picture of the war, particularly after the elections of November 8, 1864, seemed brighter for the Union. Nashville was taken on December 15, 1864, and on Christmas Day of that year President Lincoln received from General Sherman the following present:

> I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah with 150 heavy guns & plenty of ammunition & also about 25000 bales of cotton.[3]

---

[1] The Daily Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia, Pa.) October 7, 1864, p. 1.

[2] The Daily Age (Philadelphia, Pa.), October 20, 1864, p. 2.

[3] This was a dispatch which Sherman telegraphed to President Lincoln. Cf. The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII. Roy P. Basler, Editor, Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, Assistant Editors. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), p. 182.

For this gift the grateful President sent his sincere thanks.[1]

Meanwhile in Savannah on Christmas Day, the band of the Thirty-Third Massachusetts Regiment celebrated this victory by a public concert in Pulaski square, and played to the delight of the Negro population, tunes such as "John Brown's Body," "Yankee Doodle," the Star Spangled Banner and "Dixie."[2]

By the spring of 1865 the long war was coming to an end. On Monday morning, April 3, 1865, the Union troops moved into Richmond, and while the Stars and Stripes were raised on the Capitol the bands played the Star Spangled Banner and other patriotic tunes.[3] Seeing the old flag and hearing the old familiar tunes the Richmond people slowly came to realize that the Star Spangled Banner "was a requiem for buried Southern hopes."[4]

The news of the fall of Richmond caused much excitement and loosed a grand carnival of rejoicing throughout the country. In Chicago business was suspended, there were processions and fireworks displays, and the bands played the Star Spangled Banner.[5] The enthusiasm of the people was particularly evident in New York City, where groups of people sang the Star Spangled Banner, "Rally 'Round the Flag" and "John Brown."

---

[1]Ibid., pp. 181-182.

[2]Adin B. Underwood, The Three Years' Service of the Thirty-Third Mass. Infantry Regiment 1862-1865, and the Campaigns and Battles of Chancellorsville, Beverly's Ford, Gettysburg, Wauhatchie, Chattanooga, Atlanta, The March to the Sea and Through the Carolinas in Which it Took Part.(Boston: A. Williams & Co. Publishers, 1881), p. 254.

[3]New York Daily Tribune, April 6, 1865, p. 1.

[4]Rembert W. Patrick, The Fall of Richmond. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960), p. 69.

[5]Chicago Tribune, April 4, 1865, p. 4.

One observer noted that the last two lines of Key's poem were constantly repeated "with a massive roar from the crowd and unanimous wave of hats at the end of each repetition."[1] The popular excitement was also great in Philadelphia. At the Arch Street Theatre, on April 3, 1865, the Star Spangled Banner was played by the orchestra at the opening of the performance while "the audience rose to their feet with loud applause. . . the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, forming a most inspiring scene."[2] On Tuesday morning, April 4, 1865, the members of the Union League assembled in large numbers near Independence Hall in Philadelphia to thank the Lord for the blessings bestowed on the Union cause by the latest military victories. At the conclusion of the address by Rev. Dr. Brainerd, a prayer was offered by Rev. Phillips Brooks. As the prayer was concluded, "Rev. Dr. Nevin called on the vast assemblage to join in singing the Doxology, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow,' but the band through mistake, struck up the Star Spangled Banner and afterwards the vast audience sang the Doxology."[3]

In the course of these events, two bands of refugee musicians, mostly German, who had escaped from Southern regiments and had arrived in New York on the steamer Sedgwick on Sunday, April 2, 1865, joined the general jubilee following the fall of Richmond, by playing on Monday, April 3, 1865, at the New York State Soldiers Depot in New York City a programme of patriotic music including the Star Spangled Banner and "Hail Columbia."[4]

---

[1]Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, Eds., The Diary of George Templeton Strong. The Civil War: 1860-1865. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952), p. 574.

[2]The Philadelphia Inquirer, April 4, 1865, p. 8.

[3]Ibid., April 5, 1865, p. 2.

[4]New-York Daily Tribune, April 4, 1865, p. 5.

On Palm Sunday, April 9, 1865, the famous surrender of Gen. Lee to General Grant at Appomattox, Va., took place. The Civil War was over and the spirit of holiday ruled in Washington the following day, Monday, April 10, 1865, a day of great excitement, enthusiasm and rejoicing. The bands played and the people cheered and celebrated.[1] Early in the morning the employees of the Treasury Department marched to the grounds of the White House just as President Lincoln was breakfasting, and serenaded him with the Star Spangled Banner.[2]

The rejoicing in Detroit was also enthusiastic, and on Monday afternoon April 10, 1865, "thousands of people assembled on the Campus Martius and sang praises to God, the Star Spangled Banner, while a splendid brass band added to the enthusiasm by playing a number of patriotic airs."[3] In New York City the news of Lee's surrender was received with similar excitement and thanksgiving. At Trinity Church a solemn service of thanksgiving was held on Tuesday, April 11, 1865, in which the minister in his sermon praised President Lincoln "for his wisdom, his modesty, his firmness and his magnanimity" and stressed the idea of charity and forgiveness, while the choir sang "Gloria in Exclesis" and the organ played a selection of national airs[4] which included the Star Spangled Banner in fortissimo.[5]

---

[1]The New York Herald, April 11, 1865, p. 1.
[2]Brooks, op. cit., p. 209.
[3]New-York Daily Tribune, April 12, 1865, p. 1.
[4]The New York Times, April 12, 1865, p. 8.
[5]Nevins and Thomas, op. cit., p. 581.

On April 11, 1865, President Lincoln made his last public speech, as he spoke about the reconstruction of the South in an address to a group of citizens assembled before the White House. Three days later he was shot by John Wilkes Booth at Ford's Theater. On April 19, 1865, the funeral services for the assassinated President were held in the East Room of the White House. It was difficult for the nation to reconcile itself to its loss, but suffering and pain are the price of success in this world and in the next. Thus the joyous news of victory was darkened by that of Mr. Lincoln's assassination, as the Nation mourned the man who had made so great a contribution to its unity. One meaningful incident occurred in the Pacific on a ship bound for San Francisco, on which the famous pianist and composer Louis M. Gottschalk was a passenger. When the news of the assassination reached the ship the passengers gathered for a memorial service for Mr. Lincoln, during which some Italian singers, accompanied on the piano by Mr. Gottschalk, sang the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," and Miss Adelaide Phillips sang the Star Spangled Banner. According to Gottschalk, "The enthusiasm aroused is without doubt less owing to our music than to the actual circumstances."[1] Thus Miss Phillips had the privilege of once more singing the Star Spangled Banner for Mr. Lincoln. The first time she had sung it was on February 20, 1861, when Mr. Lincoln attended his very first opera in New York City, Verdi's Un Ballo in Maschera, and Miss

[1]Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Notes of a Pianist. Edited by his sister Clara Gottschalk. Translated from the French by Robert E. Peterson, M.D. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1881), p. 361.

Phillips had sung the Star Spangled Banner with the rest of the opera company,[1] while the last time was more than four years later on the occasion of this tragedy. It was indeed a fine tribute to a man who during his entire life, one could say, lived according to the words of St. Paul: "Dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum" - "While we have the chance, we must do good to all."[2]

On April 14, 1865, the fourth anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter, the same flag which had been lowered in 1861 was raised, once more at an impressive ceremony. During this ceremony, for which about three thousand people were present at the fort, the Star Spangled Banner was sung. The flag was raised by Major, now General Anderson, who also gave a short talk, and the entire audience sang the Star Spangled Banner. Then the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher gave the principal address. Some of former officers of Major Anderson who had served with him during those crucial days at Fort Sumter, Generals Abner Doubleday and Norman J. Hall and Chaplain Matthias Harris, were among the prominent persons who were present on this commemorative day, ironically the very day on which President Lincoln was shot.[3]

---

[1]See Supra, pp. 164-165.

[2]Galatians 6:10.

[3]The Charleston Courier, April 15, 1865, p. 2; Newark Daily Advertiser (Newark, N.J.), April 18, 1865, p. 2.

XI. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER BETWEEN 1865 AND 1889; ITS CONTINUED GROWTH IN POPULARITY DURING THE POST-CIVIL WAR ERA, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE TREND TOWARD ITS OFFICIAL RECOGNITION.

Richard Grant White, in his work on patriotic songs published in 1861, writes that the loyal Americans who assembled following the bombardment of Fort Sumter wished to sing, but had no song which would be suitable for such an occasion. "'The Star Spangled Banner' had been growing in favor in the loyal States from the beginning of the secession movement, and was played continually by all military and orchestral bands and sung often at concerts and private musical gatherings. But as a patriotic song for the people at large, as the National Hymn, it was found to be useless," White writes.[1] The people stood silent, said White, while in some cases the Star Spangled Banner was sung by a single voice or, as in most cases, was played by a band.[2] This statement is not actually true, as can be seen from a perusal of the previous chapter of the present work. White published his book in 1861, the year in which the Civil War started and could not realize the extent of the popularity which the Star Spangled Banner would win during that mortal conflict. As a matter of fact he was only very slightly familiar with the currency the Star Spangled Banner enjoyed prior to the Civil War throughout the country, perhaps with the sole exception of the New England states.

---

[1]Richard Grant White, National Hymns. How they are written and how they are not written. (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1861), pp. 17-18.

[2]Ibid., p. 19.

Since its beginnings the United States had never had an official national anthem, although attempts had been made to create one. National institutions, individuals, and the government had sponsored prize contests for the best entries of words and music for a national hymn; for example in 1806 A. Wilson won a gold medal of fifty dollars' value for his entry in a contest sponsored by the Militia Military Association of Philadelphia. His song contained the words:

> "While Europe's mad Pow'rs o'er the ocean are ranging
> Regardless of right, with their blood-hounds of war..."

In spite of these grotesque lyrics, Raynor Taylor of Philadelphia adapted this song to one of his marches.[1]

Similarly Oliver Oldschool's monthly, The Port Folio, frequently offered premiums for patriotic songs. In 1813 Edwin C. Holland of Charleston, S.C., won first prize for a Naval song, "The Pillar of Glory." A second Naval song by Holland, "Rise Columbia, Brave and True," also was published in the same issue. Jacob Eckhard Sr., Organist of St. Michael's Church, set both poems to music.[2]

As mentioned before, the Baltimore music store owner Thomas Carr set Key's poem to music not later than October 19, 1814, but failed to mention the author's name and mispelled the word "patriotic," in the caption. Two errors also appear in the amended editions; first, though the name plates were used except for the title, the dates of the bombard-

---

[1]Muller, op. cit., p. 34.
[2]Ibid.

ment were erroneously given as the 12th and 13th of September, 1814, and secondly, the author's name is incorrectly given as "B. Key." Indeed the incorrect dates of the bombardment and Key's incorrect initial still appear in Thomas Carr's "New Edition" of 1821. Instead of copyrighting their publications of the Star Spangled Banner, the Carrs claimed their right of ownership in notations printed on the bottom of the second page. Often Carr did not receive credit from other publishers who copied and reprinted his revision of the song. The earliest of the "Carr type" editions came from A. Bacon & Co. of Philadelphia in 1814 and 1816; the latest appeared in 1851 from William Hall & Son of New York City.[1]

As early as 1832 the original version of the Star Spangled Banner for small band was arranged by Alexander Kyle at West Point; its score and parts are still in manuscript.[2] This may be one of the earliest preserved arrangements of the Star Spangled Banner used by a military band; although there is evidence that the U.S. Marine Band had played the Star Spangled Banner prior to this date, no earlier arrangements are available.

As previously shown, the Star Spangled Banner had also become a favorite for songs used throughout Presidential and other political campaigns as well as in the Temperance movement.

---

[1]See Supra, pp. 103 and 111-113.

[2]U. S. Marine Band Library File No. 2401.

Firth, Pond & Co. in 1853 published a set of six songs sung by the Alleghanians, a traveling trope of entertainers, that was a parody on both the words and music of the Star Spangled Banner.[1]

Even master showman P. T. Barnum offered a prize of money in the 1850s for the best national song, but it remained unpaid because no one wrote an acceptable proper anthem.[2]

Similarly in June of 1861 a group of patriotic citizens sponsored a prize contest in New York City for the best anthem and inspired tremendous interest, but again no award was made. Some of the twelve hundred entries were cited as worthy of publication, for example, the Rev. John Pierpont's "E Pluribus Unum," a four-stanza poem sung to the air of the Star Spangled Banner.[3]

As described above, Oliver Wendell Holmes was provoked by the firing on the flag over Fort Sumter to write an extra stanza to Key's poem.[4] However, as also mentioned previously, the first known additional stanza to Key's poem appeared in the second edition of a songster published in 1817 in Wilmington, Delaware, celebrating Andrew Jackson's victory in the Battle of New Orleans. Although the auther of this first additional stanza is unknown, it is not impossible that it was Key himself, in view of the latter's great respect and admiration for Jackson.[5]

---

[1] Muller, op. cit., p. 31.
[2] Ibid., p. 35.
[3] White, op. cit., pp. 66-67 and 98-100.
[4] See Supra, pp. 174-175.
[5] See Supra, pp. 116-117.

Holmes' extra stanza can therefore be considered the second effort to provide Key's poem with an additional stanza.

There were other later attempts to change or supplement Key's poem.

The Confederacy at the beginning of the Civil War considered the Star Spangled Banner as its air and flag, despite the fact that the descendants of Francis Scott Key, Confederate sympathizers, refused to sing it, as to them it was the song of their Yankee enemies.[1] It was indeed ironic that Charles Howard, a son-in-law, and Frank Key Howard, a grandson of the creator of the Star Spangled Banner, were held as prisoners in Fort McHenry during the Civil War, shortly after the seizure of Baltimore in May, 1861, by Gen. Benjamin Franklin Butler.[2] New versions of the Star Spangled Banner appeared in the Confederate States, and many Southerners claimed the U.S. banner as their own[3], hoping that the North would choose a new flag.

New arrangements helped popularize the song, and by 1861 the Star Spangled Banner was first among our national songs, both North and South claiming, and sometimes supplying it with emendations of their own. P. P. Werlein of New Orleans, who had printed pirated editions of Daniel Decatur Emmet's "Dixie," is supposed to have printed an edition of the Star Spangled Banner in 1858. However no copy exists

---

[1]Louis C. Elson, The National Music of America and Its Sources. (Boston: L.C. Page and Co., 1900), p. 242.

[2]Harold R. Manakee, Maryland in the Civil War. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1961), p. 84. A good description of prison life at the Fort is presented in the article "Prison Life at Fort McHenry," by Rev. Dr. T.D. Witherspoon, which appeared in Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. VIII, January December, 1880, pp. 77-82.

[3]The North American Review, Vol. 129, No. 5 (November, 1879), p.486.

perhaps because the Union troops under General Butler may have destroyed the copies and plates when they fired some of the local music stores for printing and selling southern patriotic songs.[1]

One antagonistic Southern parody inspired by Key's poem was the four-verse song by St. George Tucker, which was published in Baltimore in 1861 under the title, "The Southern Cross," and at New Orleans as "The Cross of the South," whose lines go like this:

> Oh, say, can you see through the gloom and the storm,
> More bright for the darkness that bright constellation....[2]

The Northern songwriter Edna Dean Proctor decided to revise Key's lines to the original tune, and her poem, after having appeared in various songsters of the time with titles such as "The Stripes and the Stars," and "The Star-Spangled Banner," finally appeared in sheet music form under the title "The Stripes and the Stars" issued by Brainard and Co. in Cleveland. Although the Higgins publishing house in Chicago reissued her version with a new musical arrangement by J. P. Webster and under the title "New Star-Spangled Banner," this composition has sunk into complete oblivion.[3]

When the Union regimental bands, following the Battle of Mill Springs, Ky., which took place on January 19-20, 1862, began to play the Star Spangled Banner and other patriotic tunes it was observed that the "tears started to the eyes of many of the rebel prisoners at the well remembered strains."[4]

---

[1]Muller, op. cit., p. 29.

[2]Ibid., p. 29.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Elias Nason, A Monogram on Our National Song. (Albany: Joel Munsell,

Similarly it has been recorded that, during the march on Bethel, "It was near noon, when the Zouaves, in their crimson garments, led by Colonel Duryea, charged the batteries [at Bethel] after singing The Star Spangled Banner in chorus."[1]

At the time of the Civil War the Bandmaster of the Seventh Regiment Band of New York City, Claudio S. Grafulla, prepared for the Post Band at Port Royal, S.C., a band arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner, set in E-flat, as it was played during the Civil War conflict. In 1961 Grafillas' arrangement was scored for contemporary band by Donald Hunsberger and published by the Eastman School of Music.[2] But except as an historical example of the Star Spangled Banner as played during the Civil War one cannot see any practical use for it.

There is no doubt that during the Civil War the popularity of the Star Spangled Banner continued to grow, thanks not only to the Union Army bands but also to the wide public which sang it on patriotic occasions. Following this military conflict it continued to be used at patriotic functions down through the years.

During the celebration of the 90th anniversary of National Independence on July 4, 1866, held in an impressive ceremony in the square in Philadelphia, under the shadow of Independence Hall, the

---

[1] The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. X, No. LIX (September 1862), p. 346.

[2] The Star Spangled Banner. An instrumental setting in Eb by C.S. Grafulla (1810-1880). Scored for Contemporary Band by Donald Hunsberger. (Rochester, N.Y.: Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1961)

Star Spangled Banner was sung "in glorious style by the Handel and Haydn Musical Society, assisted by the band."[1]

During the New York celebration of the Fourth of July, 1866, the chimes of Trinity Church were heard at various intervals. It is recorded that "The pieces performed were numerous and of the usual national type. The 'Star Spangled Banner,' 'Flag of Our Union,' 'Yankee Doodle,' etc., were distinguished for their appropriateness and accuracy of execution...."[2]

During the presidential campaign of 1868 the Star Spangled Banner was included in the Republican songster for Grant and Colfax.[3] Following the four regular stanzas of Key's poem are the following verses, which became quite historic:

Chorus - Not for Sam, not for Sam,
If he knows it not for Salmon!
Not for Sam, no, my lamb,
Not for Salmon, o, dear, no!

There's a fellow called Ulysses Grant,
He's a sort of chap, is he,
A fighting, lathering, tanning chap,
Who seems to just suit me.
I like a leader sure to win,
Who never knew defeat;
And the beauty of this U.S.G.
Is this - he can't be beat!

Spoken: It's altogether likely he'll blow up those other candidates higher than he did Vicksburg or Richmond, Va.

---

[1]The Philadelphia Inquirer, July 5, 1866, p. 2.

[2]The New York Herald, July 5, 1866, p. 2.

[3]The Grant and Colfax Songster: Comprising a Choice Selection of New and Popular Songs and Ballads for the Campaign. (New York: Beadle and Company, Publishers, 1868), p. 24.

Chorus - All for 'Lys, all for 'Lys
If he knows it, for Ulysses;
Yes, yes, yes, all for 'Lys, [1]
For Ulysses, oh, dear, yes!

At the Peace Festival held in Boston on Tuesday, June 15, 1869, the musical programme included the Star Spangled Banner "with its novel arrangement and its telling accompaniments, beyond the musical ones, of bells and cannon, kindled a burst of enthusiasm. It was rung out with vigorous tone, and the external accessories certainly gave it noble and thrilling effect."[2]

Evidently the most talked about musical pieces of the Peace Jubilee were the Star Spangled Banner and "The Anvil Chorus." Commenting on the triumphant success of this Peace Jubilee as a whole, one newspaper pointed out:

> But the numbers that most effectually aroused the enthusiasm of the people were the Star Spangled Banner and the Anvil Chorus from 'Il Trovadore.' Tempestuous applause and ten thousand waving handkerchiefs greeted both these stirring performances, and encores followed. The national air was given, first by the basses in unison, then by the tenors in unison, then by the sopranos and altos in duett, [sic] followed by the tenors and basses in duett.[sic] The chorus by the combined forces was 'stunning.' The cannon outside, fired by use of the electric wire, from the conductor's stand, coming in on the chords in good time and with exhilarating effect. The anvil part in the 'Trovatore' chorus was successfully done by one hundred firemen in red shirts. The artillery firing was successfully introduced in this piece also. [3]

---

[1] Ibid., p. 25.
[2] Boston Daily Evening Transcript, June 16, 1869, p. 2.
[3] Worcester Daily Spy, June 16, 1869, p. 2.

This is perhaps the first time in which cannon were introduced in the performance of the Star Spangled Banner. On Thursday evening, May 25, 1871, the Brooklyn Choral Union gave an impressive musical festival at the Brooklyn Skating Rink, during which Miss Kellogg sang the Star Spangled Banner with artillery accompaniment and "awakened a very demonstrative enthusiasm." It was observed that the Star Spangled Banner "with Kellogg, the instrumentalists and the artillery, awoke the fire of other days and formed a fitting conclusion to a musical festival that far surpassed that of a similar character in the New York Skating Ring."[1]

A newspaper advertisement announcing the opening of the new "Mrs. F. B. Conway's Brooklyn Theatre" with the comedy Money, informed the public that "At the rising of the curtain the National Ode of the Star Spangled Banner will be sung by the entire Company."[2] When the theatre opened on Monday evening, October 2, 1871, at 8 P.M., "the curtain went up and discovered the strength of the company standing upon the stage. 'The Star Spangled Banner' was sung, Miss Minnie Conway, Miss Emma Howson and Mr. Eugene Clarke leading, and it was greeted with rapturous applause."[3]

On Tuesday evening, April 28, 1874, E. Muzio conducted a benefit performance before a capacity audience at the Academy of Music in New York City. His impressive programme included scene from the second act

---

[1]The New York Herald, May 27, 1871, p.10.
[2]The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, October 2, 1871, p. 1.
[3]Ibid., October 3, 1871, p. 2.

of Rossini's William Tell, sung by Signor Companini, Mme. Christine Nilsson with chorus and orchestra in Verdi's "Hymn of Nations," and Miss Annie Louise Carry in the Star Spangled Banner. According to The New York Herald, following Miss Nilsson's appearance, "Then Miss Cary came forward and sang the 'Star Spangled Banner' in such a manner that a unanimous recall instantly followed."[1]

The Star Spangled Banner received special attention throughout the country on the Fourth of July 1876, the centennial anniversary of a glorious date.

While during the ceremonies held at Independence Square in Philadelphia the band played "Hail Columbia,"[2] the Star Spangled Banner was included on the programme for the afternoon of July 4, 1876, for the dedication of the Centennial Fountain on the Centennial Grounds by the Catholic Temperance Societies,[3] and it was observed that the Star Spangled Banner aroused "soaring inspiration."[4] Particularly well patronized on July 4, 1876, the day of the opening, was the Main Building on the Centennial Grounds, where "The organs therein were kept piping away at the Star Spangled Banner, Yankee Doodle and Hail Columbia the live-long day."[5]

---

[1] The New York Herald, April 29, 1874, p. 9.

[2] The Evening Telegraph (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 4, 1876, p. 1. It was written regarding the ceremonies on Independence Square that "The opening of the ceremonies was a grand overture, entitled the Grand Republic, and founded [as the programme announced] on our national air, Hail Columbia. Its author was George P. Bristow, of New York." Cf. for this The Times (Philadelphia, Pa.) July 5, 1876, p. 1.

[3] The Evening Telegraph, July 4, 1876, p. 8.

[4] The Times, July 5, 1876, p. 1.

[5] Ibid.

The celebration in honor of the Centennial Fourth held in Union Square in New York City in the presence of the Mayor, other distinguished guests and a great mass of public, was very impressive, and every portion of the square was filled. According to one account, "As soon as the vast concourse of people got settled, the singing society struck up The Star Spangled Banner, My Country, 'tis of Thee, and many other martial and patriotic airs contained in the programme."[1]

During the Centennial celebration of National Independence held at the Academy of Music in New York City on Tuesday morning, July 4, 1876, "the programme concluded with singing The Star Spangled Banner, in the chorus of which the entire audience joined standing."[2] This impressive performance of the Star Spangled Banner was rendered by the New York Centennial Saenger-Verbund,[3] a New York City German singing society.

The Centennial was also observed in various New York churches. During the services held at Grace Church in New York City on July 4, 1876, the chimes, under the direction of S. R. Warren, Jr., pealed forth a medley of patriotic airs, such as "The Star Spangled Banner, God Save the Queen, Battle Hymn of the Republic, and Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean."[4]

---

[1] Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, July 4, 1876, p. 4.
[2] The New York Herald, July 5, 1876, p. 2.
[3] New-York Daily Tribune, July 5, 1876, p. 1.
[4] Ibid., p. 2.

Also during the Centennial services held at the Gospel Tent of the Rev. S. H. Tyler, Jr., at 34th Street near 6th Avenue in New York City on July 4, 1876, following an opening prayer by Mr. Humpstone and an eloquent oration delivered by General E. H. Tremaine, the congregation sang "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," The Star-Spangled Banner, "Hold the Fort," and "All Hail the Power of Jesus' name."[1]

Music was also very much evident in the New York City parks. During the Centennial celebrations the New York City Department of Parks decided that music should be played in the afternoon of July 4 in various parks throughout the City. Large crowds assembled to hear the music in all the parks. According to a newspaper account,

> All were orderly and well conducted, and whenever a patriotic air was performed it usually received the credit of an encore. It was a noticeable fact, however, that the selections were so arranged as not to excite too great a flow of patriotism, Hail Columbia, Star-Spangled Banner and Yankee Doodle being interspersed with the choicest of operatic gems. It was but a short time after the music ceased when the display of fireworks ordered by the City Fathers was commenced.[2]

Some of the numerically strongest ethnic groups participated in this national jubilee; for example during the Centennial Anniversary celebration observed on July 4, 1876, by the German Societies at Elm Park, New York, "the Star Spangled Banner was sung by the large concourse, accompanied by the orchestra."[3]

---

[1]The New York Herald, July 5, 1876, p. 3.
[2]Ibid.
[3]New-York Daily Tribune, July 5, 1876, p. 2.

On the occasion of the Centennial observance one paper stated:

> With few exceptions the American people were proud to a fault of their Union, and idolized its starry symbol, and none more than the people of Maryland. The genius of one of her sons (Key) faithfully reflected her sentiment and that of the whole country in the magical strains of The Star Spangled Banner. [1]

During the Centennial anniversary at Cumberland, Md. and Towsontown, Md., the Star Spangled Banner was also sung.[2]

An impressive ceremony commemorating the Centennial celebration took place at the Metropolitan M.E. Church in Washington, D.C. Following a prayer and an oration delivered by Senator Wright of Iowa, "The Star Spangled Banner was then rendered by Mrs. John C. Fisher in such a manner as to elicit hearty applause."[3]

During the special morning Centennial services held at the First Congregational Church in Washington, D.C., the Star Spangled Banner was sung as the solo by Mr. Paul.[4]

The Centennial celebrations in Cincinnati "were concluded by the singing of the Star Spangled Banner."[5] According to one account:

> the chorus from the schools sang Oh! say can you see, each member of the chorus waving a flag in time to the music and singing as if life depended upon it. The audience arose by one consent and stood looking and listening. Old men and women wept at the sight, and younger people brushed tears from their cheeks. When the singing closed and the saucy boys and pretty white-robed girls who had been delighting so much took

---

[1] Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, July 4, 1876, p. 1.
[2] Ibid., July 6, 1876, p. 4.
[3] The Evening Star, July 5, 1876, p. 4.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Cincinnati Daily Gazette, July 5, 1876, p. 3.

> their seats and begun to flip a torpedo occasionally on the stage, the audience broke out into a fury of enthusiasm.[1]

At Covington, a suburb of Cincinnati, the Star Spangled Banner was "sung with accompaniment of the band and amid the firing of cannon" in observation of the Centennial.[2]

The Centennial Fourth at Hamilton, Ohio, began when "A sunrise gun was fired and the Star Spangled Banner was played by the Apollo Band in the cupola of the Court-house at sunrise."[3]

During the celebration of the Centennial Fourth at St. Patrick's Hall in New Orleans on July 4, 1876, "the hall was filled to repletion with a fine audience of both sexes. The band struck the patriotic and soul-stirring air, The Star Spangled Banner. Capt. Tenbrink introduced the Rev. M. Markham, who made an eloquent prayer...."[4]

On the Centennial Fourth of July celebration at the Northern Hospital for the Insane in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, an impressive programme was presented, of which the finale was the Star Spangled Banner. According to a correspondent of the Milwaukee Daily Sentinel,

> The farce was remarkably well performed, most of the players being patients. The musical numbers were also rendered with fine effect.... The entertainment was attended by about 250 of the inmates of the institution, and a more orderly and appreciative audience could not have been desired. It cannot be doubted that the effect upon the patients was most beneficial.[5]

---

[1] The Cincinnati Enquirer, July 5, 1876, p. 1.
[2] Cincinnati Daily Gazette, July 5, 1876, p. 3.
[3] Ibid., p. 2.
[4] The New-Orleans Times, July 5, 1876, p. 1.
[5] Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, July 6, 1876, p. 2.

At the observance of the Centennial Fourth in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, "the Manitowoc Frerr Sängerbund sang beautifully the Star Spangled Banner."[1]

As the years went on the Star Spangled Banner became a joint American heritage. It continued to be widely used among the population, and particularly during public functions.

During the 1880 campaign, one of the Republican campaign songs, "Garfield and Our Flag," was sung to the air of the Star Spangled Banner.[2] Four years later, in 1884, one of the campaign songs, entitled "The Starry Old Flag" by J. S. Ellis was also sung to the Star Spangled Banner air.[3]

Similarly, the Prohibition Home Protection Party in 1884 used as one of its campaign songs, "The Foe of Church and Freedom," to the air of the Star Spangled Banner.[4]

On Tuesday evening, May 6, 1884, a large testimonial entertainment under the chairmanship of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher took place at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn, for the purpose of aiding the Southern Veteran Soldiers' Home. Prominent entertainers participated, and the Star Spangled Banner "was sung by Miss Emma Thursby, accompanied on the piano by Maurice Strakosch."[5]

---

[1] The Milwaukee Daily News, July 8, 1876, p. 1.

[2] The National Republican Campaign Songster, 1880. Garfield & Arthur. (Syracuse, N.Y.: William O. Moffitt, 1880), pp. 17-18.

[3] J. S. Ellis, Campaign Songs for 1884. Leaflet No. 1. (Fostoria, O.: Copyright 1884, by J. S. Ellis), p. 1.

[4] Horace B. Durant, Prohibition Home Protection Party Campaign Songs. (Claysville, Pa.: Published by Mrs. H. Abraham Durant, 1884), pp. 28-29.

[5] The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, May 7, 1884, p. 2.

In spite of its prominence among patriotic tunes, the Star Spangled Banner had as yet no special status. It was the Navy Department, which in 1889 took a step away from custom and conferred official status on the Star Spangled Banner, by prescribing that it be played for the morning Color ceremony. This was the first official step on the long road leading to formal recognition of the Star Spangled Banner as the National Anthem on March 3, 1931.

XII. ADOPTION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER BY THE NAVY AND THE ARMY

The Star Spangled Banner's first official recognition came from the Navy Department, when on July 26, 1889, Secretary of the Navy B. F. Tracy issued General Order No. 374, by which the Star Spangled Banner was adopted for band music at morning Colors, and "Hail Columbia" for evening Colors.[1]

On October 18, 1889, Secretary Tracy issued a special order directing John Philip Sousa, the Bandmaster of the U.S. Marine Band, to compile for Departmental use the national and patriotic airs of all nations.[2] A year later in 1890 when the work appeared[3] it immediately became a standard work throughout the world.

According to the Army and Navy Register's announcement of June 28, 1890, "The Marine Band has been ordered to conclude its concerts with a rendition of a national air. This is a custom strictly observed in other countries, and the appropriateness of the observance will be readily appreciated."[4]

Shortly after, on July 8, 1890, Secretary Tracy wrote to the Commandant of the Marine Corps requesting him to "Please direct that

---

[1]See Appendix F.

[2]John Philip Sousa, Marching Along. Recollections of Men, Women and Music. (Boston: Hale, Cushman & Flint, 1928), p. 107.

[3]John Philip Sousa, National, Patriotic, and Typical Airs of All Lands, With Copious Notes. (Philadelphia: H. Coleman, 1890). Compiled by Authority of the Secretary of the Navy, 1889, for the Use of the Department., passim.

[4]Army and Navy Register, June 28, 1890, p. 418.

the Marine Band will play the National Air of the United States at the close of every public performance."[1]

In 1893 the Navy Department took additional step regarding the Star Spangled Banner; according to Article 157 of the U.S. Naval Regulations, 1893, the Star Spangled Banner was prescribed to be played at both morning and evening Colors aboard ships and at naval stations. An additional point in these Navy Regulations is the fact that it refers to the Star Spangled Banner as the "national air."[2]

It is an established fact that the U.S. Marine Band played a very important role in the popularization of the Star Spangled Banner. The excellence of this band was recognized from its very beginning in January of 1799, but it was during the leadership of John Philip Sousa that the glory of this famous musical organization reached the national level and indeed reached over the national boundaries, while he was serving as its eighteenth Leader between October 1, 1880, and July 30, 1892. It was he who in April, 1891, initiated the Marine Band's national tours, and he himself tells us how this custom was brought about by a judicious application of wisdom and diplomacy. Depicting President Harrison in a merry spirit, he writes as follows:

> My years in Washington had taught me that if you wish to see the President, see his wife first. So I asked for Mrs. Harrison. She liked the idea of our tour, and promised to speak to the President about it. Next morning I was summoned to see the President. As I entered the room, he arose, shook hands cordially, and leading me to one of the windows which faced the Potomac River, he said, 'Mrs. Harrison tells me that you are anxious to

---

[1]Marine Band Chronology From 1798. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[2]See Appendix G.

> make a tour with the band. I was thinking myself of going out of town, and '- with a smile - ' it would be tough on Washington if both of us were away at the same time. I have thought it over, and I believe the country would rather hear you than see me; so you have my permission to go! [1]

The Marine Band tour started on April 1, 1891, at Bridgeport, Conn., continued to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kentucky, Indiana, Pennsylvania and ended on May 4, 1891, with a night concert in Lincoln Hall in Washington, D.C.[2]

Being a musical organization that officiated at all national functions, the U.S. Marine Band necessarily played a key role in spreading knowledge of the Star Spangled Banner throughout the country.

On Sunday evening, April 12, 1891, the Band under Sousa's direction gave a concert in Detroit. According to a newspaper account, "The program closed with the band rising and playing The Star Spangled Banner. The audience, however, remained seated, Detroit not having yet caught on to the patriotic fashion of the east, where the audience rises when the national anthem is played. The custom was inaugurated by Michigan's favorite soldier son, Gen. Custer, and it was his hope to see it adopted throughout the land."[3]

---

[1] Sousa, Marching Along, pp. 97-98.
[2] Marine Band Tours 1891-1940. U.S. Marine Band Library File.
[3] The Evening News (Detroit, Mich.), April 13, 1891, p. 3.

On Tuesday, April 21, 1891, the Band reached Lincoln, Nebraska. On the afternoon of that day a reporter from the Daily Nebraska Journal interviewed Sousa in the lobby of the Hotel Lincoln. One of his question was what Mr. Sousa considered our national air, to which Mr. Sousa without hesitation replied, "Hail Columbia." "Some years ago," remarked Mr. Sousa, "I received a letter from General Boulanger, then minister of France, asking me to send him the score of the national air of this country. I gave the matter a great deal of attention and finally settled upon 'Hail Columbia,' because it was composed by Fyles, a German American, and was dedicated to General Washington. The words were written by Judge Hopkinson of Philadelphia. Since receiving General Boulanger's note I have had a similar request from the British government, and as a result 'Hail Columbia' was used as the national air of the United States at the queen's jubilee."[1] Nevertheless the Star Spangled Banner in Arnold's arrangement, was played by the Band during the concert given that evening at the Funkee Opera House in Lincoln.[2]

Similarly, at the evening concert given at the Coliseum in Omaha on April 22, 1891, by the Band under Sousa's direction, which was attended by "an enormous audience," one newspaper remarked that "The Contest, by Godfrey, a polka staccato by Mlle. Decca and the Star Spangled Banner completed the varied and enjoyable musical menu."[3]

---

[1] Daily Nebraska State Journal (Lincoln, Neb.), April 22, 1891, p. 4.
[2] Ibid., p. 5.
[3] Morning World-Herald (Omaha, Neb.), April 23, 1891, p. 4.

Theodore A. Sevenhuysen, Sr., who served with the Marine Band from 1884 to 1914, remembered many years later that at "Colors," after the effective date of the 1893 Navy Regulation, was the first time when the Band stood for the first time during the playing of the Star Spangled Banner.[1] However his memory might be misleading in this respect, as it has been given that the Band stood at the Detroit concert of April 12, 1891.[2] Often during the Spanish-American War, Sevenhuysen raised and lowered the "Colors" at the Marine Barracks, Eighth and Eye Streets, S.E., while the Band played the Star Spangled Banner and the other Marines stood at attention.[3]

So far no regulation had existed in the Army providing that its personnel stand during the playing of the Star Spangled Banner. The first steps toward instituting this custom were taken in 1895. According to U.S. Army Regulations, 1895, Section 450:

> At every military post or station the flag will be hoisted at the sounding of the first note of the reveille, or of the first note of the march, if a march be played before the reveille. The flag will be lowered at the sounding of the last note of the retreat, and while the flag is being lowered the band will play The Star Spangled Banner.[4]

According to U.S. Naval Regulations, 1896, Sec. 158, Article 1, the Star Spangled Banner was prescribed for morning Colors, while Article 2 prescribed for sunset Colors the tune "Hail Columbia."[5]

---

[1]U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[2]See Supra, p. 220.

[3]U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[4]Regulations for the Army of the United States 1895 With Appendix Separately Indexed, Showing Changes to January 1, 1901. (Washington:Government Printing Office, 1901), p. 58.

[5]See Appendix H.

On April 12, 1897, the Army, with the approval of the Secretary of War, issued General Order No. 22, serving as information and guidance for all concerned. It read as follows:

> On Memorial Day, May 30, at all Army posts and stations, the national flag will be displayed at half staff, from sunrise till midday, and immediately before noon the band, or field music, will play a dirge, Departed Days, or some appropriate air. At the conclusion of this memorial tribute, at noon, the flag will be hoisted to the top of the staff and will remain there until sunset. When hoisted to the top of the staff the flag will be saluted by playing one or more of the national airs. In this way fitting testimonial of respect for the heroic dead and honor to their patriotic devotion will be appropriately rendered. [1]

Amoris patriae nutrix, carmen - Song is the nurse of patriotism, is the old maxim, and indeed this also proved to be true in the period under study.

The Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, in its meeting held on November 18, 1896, in Philadelphia, adopted a Resolution stressing the desirability of playing the Star Spangled Banner at all theatrical performances, in order thus to encourage patriotism and loyalty. Similarly the Philadelphia Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in its meeting of March 2, 1898, adopted a similar Resolution expressing its belief that the Star Spangled Banner should be played at theatres and other places of popular resort, at which the audience would be asked to rise. It further resolved to ask

---

[1] General Orders, No. 22, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General's Office, April 12, 1897, p. 1, in General Orders and Circulars, Adjutant General's Office, 1897. (Washington: Government Printing Office), 1898.

other chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution in other states to join this movement.[1]

But even prior to these moves, Miss Janet E. H. Richards, addressing the Daughters in Washington in January of 1897 had stressed that America had too many national hymns but no National Hymn. In her forceful speech she begged the Daughters to help settle the question of the recognition of the Star Spangled Banner as the National Anthem, pointing out that, "in this soul-stirring hymn we have embodied a sentiment which will serve all true Americans for all occasions. . . . Let us, the Daughters of the American Revolution, accept and always recognize it as the National Anthem, and if necessary let us petition the Congress of the United States to so recognize and designate it by special enactment that henceforth it may be conceded to be, from among all rivals, the American National hymn," she urged.[2]

On February 15, 1898, the United States battleship Maine blew up in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, while at anchor there. Shortly following this incident, in which 260 officers and men of the Maine were killed, one newspaper reported that "the orchestra in Daly's Theater, New York, switching from a popular air of the day, swung into 'The Star Spangled Banner,' men and women rose to their feet. Cheers that spoke of the souls present roared through the house for minutes, and never, it has been said, was such a scene witnessed in days of peace."[3] The Havana

---

[1]R. G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No.

[2]New-York Daily Tribune, January 15, 1897, p. 5.

[3]The Washington Herald, January 13, 1908, p. 2.

incident awoke the sense of national pride. According to the Washington Evening Star of March 14, 1898:

> The third entertainment for the benefit of the Maine fund was given at the Grand Opera House last night, the affair attracting an audience that for patriotism went ahead of any gathering that has been seen in this city for some time. Everything in the program bearing on the present relations between this country and Spain or on the terrible reason that brought the concert into existence was received with greatest amount of enthusiasm, while the last number, 'The Star Spangled Banner,' brought every one in the house to his or her feet on the instant....[1]

The Spanish-American War soon followed, when on April 24, 1898, Spain declared war on the United States, after having received an American ultimatum demanding her withdrawal from Cuba, and on the following day, April 25, 1898, the United States declared war against Spain.

On May 1, 1898, an American Naval force under Commodore George Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, following which the Spanish flag was lowered at 5:43 P.M., to be replaced by the Stars and Stripes. During this ceremony, at which the American flag was raised over Manila, for the first time, the band of one of the regiments played the Star Spangled Banner.[2]

According to Rear-Admiral J.N. Miller, Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, U.S.N., during the formal transfer from Spain and the United

---

[1]The Evening Star, March 14, 1898, p. 16.

[2]George Dewey, Autobiography of George Dewey Admiral of the Navy. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), p. 280.

States of the Hawaiian Islands at noon of Friday, August 12, 1898, at which the Flagship U.S.S. Philadelphia was designated to assist in the ceremonies of raising the American flag, the band of the Philadelphia played the Star Spangled Banner.[1] The Spanish-American War produced one good result, in that even those people who were not yet familiar with the first verse of the Star Spangled Banner now began to sing it. In fact the patriotic spirit reached such a level that the Omaha Bee cautioned:

> Patriotism is, without doubt, a good thing, and it is very prevalent; indeed, so much so that it does not need to be stimulated by 'Marching Through Georgia' and the 'Star Spangled Banner' every time a note of music is heard. Music is an art and a program for a musical performance should be a work of art and not an aggression of incongruities.[2]

The Star Spangled Banner was still being included in various patriotic songsters. In 1894 for example, it appeared in a German translation published in Baltimore.[3] In comparison with the previously mentioned German edition of the Star Spangled Banner which appeared around 1861[4] this Baltimore translation done by Eduard F. Leyh, is superior, as it maintains the original meter and is easily understood.

---

[1] J. N. Miller to The Secretary of the Navy, August 14, 1898. "Operations in the Pacific Ocean, Not Including Operations Under Commander in Chief Asiatic Station. (1) Miscellaneous Operations," in Appendix to the Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, 1898. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), p. 146. The entire report of Rear Admiral Miller on the hoisting of the United States flag over the Hawaiian Islands is included in Ibid., pp. 145-147.

[2] Omaha Bee, May 3, 1898, p. 2.

[3] See Appendix I.

[4] See Supra, p. 174 and Appendix E.

On the other hand, in the 1861 translation one hardly recognizes the rhythm, the similes are labored and farfetched, and the grammatical construction is so complicated that the meaning is lost. Both translations, 1861 and 1894 are definitely products of the 19th Century, as the spellings indicate. For a good many years now words such as Abendrot, Heimat, Taten etc. have no longer been spelled with an "h" after the final "t".

In 1897 the Star Spangled Banner was included in the Patriot's Song Book, which was prepared by demand of the various Lodges of the Order of American Patriots.[1] A year later, in 1898, the Star Spangled Banner appeared with its aforementioned additional verse by Dr. O. W. Holmes in the Patriotic Naval Songster, published by Charles H. Walsh in Philadelphia.[2]

On May 19, 1898, Mr. L. E. Lovejoy of Tampa, Florida, at the request of Governor Bloxham, submitted a petition of prominent citizens to the Secretary of War, requesting that Army bands, as well as the bands attached to the volunteer service, be instructed to play the national tunes, the Star Spangled Banner and "America" in their original forms only, and to avoid playing them in medleys.[3]

Mr. Lovejoy's letter was endorsed on May 26, 1898, by the Major General Commanding the Army, identified only by the initials N. M. C., on May 28, 1898, by Assistant Adjutant General J. C. Gilmore, and approved

---

[1]The Patriot's Song Book of Popular and Patriotic Airs With Music and Many Original Songs for the Patriots of America. (Chicago: Coin Publishing Company, 1897), pp. 23-24.

[2]Patriotic Naval Songster. (Philadelphia: Charles H. Walsh, 1898), pp. 6-7.

[3]Lovejoy to the Secretary of War, May 19, 1898. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[4]The present writer has found it impossible to determine this officer's full name.

on May 31, 1898, by the Secretary of War. On June 2, 1898, copies of Mr. Lovejoy's petition with its endorsements were sent to all Commanding Generals of troops in the field with a request to note and return.[1]

The United States Marine Band was engaged for a couple of weeks at the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition in Omaha, Nebraska, where it participated in the opening of this Exposition on June 1, 1898, as well as in other concerts. According to the Omaha Morning World-Herald "The playing of the Marine band elicited the most enthusiastic applause and was the subject of comment in all parts of the ground."[2] The newspaper welcomed the band in the following terms:

> The United States Marine band is here. It is the genuine, original, simon pure United States Marine band, the best in the world. And when it played the national airs yesterday how the people cheered and clapped their hands. It was inspiring to hear the vast multitude applauding 'Dixie' - for 'Dixie' is a national air now - for it proved that the points of the compass are not now considered when we speak of our country. And it was inspiring to see the people stand when the glorious strains of 'Star Spangled Banner' floated out upon the air."[3]

At this time it was not the custom for the civilian population to stand during the rendition of the Star Spangled Banner of of any other national tune, nor was the population required by law to stand

---

[1]See 1st Indorsement, May 26, 1898, Major General Commanding the Army, A.E.C.; 2nd Indorsement, May 28, 1898, Assistant Adjutant General J.C. Gilmore; 3rd Indorsement, May 31, 1898, Adjutant General H.C. Corbin (on behalf of the Secretary of War) in R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[2]Morning World-Herald, June 2, 1898, p. 2.

[3]Ibid., p. 4.

or to uncover. The Marine Band played in a Sunday performance in April 1898 at Omaha under its Leader William Santelmann,[1] and according to the Morning World-Herald:

> Sunday night's concert given by the Marine band was attended by a large and enthusiastic audience. Leader Santelmann has endeared himself to the hearts of the people by his prodigality in the matter of encores. And he has gratified Omaha people in one respect. The Marine band always ends its concerts by playing 'The Star Spangled Banner.' Sunday night, when the members of the band arose to render the closing number, the audience did not know what was coming. But when the strains of the national anthem floated out upon the breeze the entire audience arose and remained standing until the anthem was concluded. The time may come when Americans, whether indoor or out, will show their patriotism by standing uncovered when the national anthem is rendered.[2]

Thus this newspaper predicted that the custom of standing uncovered would be established, as indeed it was, eventually becoming a law. On June 16, 1898, the Marine Band concert at the Exposition was closed with the "Voice of Our Nation" and the Star Spangled Banner; one newspaper commented that it was "pleasing to note the unanimity with which the audience rises during the closing numbers in honor of the country's national hymn."[3]

---

[1]On November 1, 1892, John Philip Sousa was relieved as Leader of the U.S. Marine Band by Francisco Fanciulli, who served until October 31, 1897, when he was succeeded by William H. Santelmann. Santelmann served as Leader from March 3, 1893, until April 30, 1927. Cf. for this U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[2]Morning World-Herald, June 7, 1898, p. 4.

[3]Ibid., June 17, 1898, p. 5.

As of January 25, 1899, there was no statute defining the National Anthem, although there did exist the following pertinent provisions of the Navy and Army Regulations: U.S. Navy Regulations, 1896, Section 158 Articles 1 and 2, and U.S. Army Regulations, 1895, Section 450.[1]

On May 10, 1899, the Army, by direction of the Secretary of War, issued General Order No. 92, by which General Order No. 22 of April 12, 1897, was amended as follows:

> On Memorial Day, May 30, at all Army posts and stations, the national flag will be displayed at half staff from sunrise till midday, and immediately before noon the band, or field music, will play a dirge, "Departed Days," or some appropriate air, and the national salute of 21 guns will be fired at 12m. at all posts and stations provided with artillery. At the conclusion of this memorial tribute, at noon, the flag will be hoisted to the top of the staff and will remain there until sunset. When hoisted to the top of the staff the flag will be saluted by playing one or more of the national airs. In this way fitting testimonial of respect for the heroic dead and honor to their patriotic devotion will be appropriately rendered.[2]

On September 29, 1900, the Army issued General Order No. 125, which read as follows:

> The absolute and unqualified devotion of those in the military service to the welfare of their country is an indispensable requisite and constitutes the very soul of an efficient army. Hence, patriotism will be inculcated and promoted in every possible way, and all persons in the military service will be expected

---

[1] See Supra, p.222. Cf. also Secretary of the Navy to Mrs. Roger M. Sherman, January 25, 1899. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4944-4950.

[2] General Orders, No. 92, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General's Office, May 10, 1899, p. 1 in General Orders and Circulars, Adjutant General's Office, 1899. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900).

> and required to be informed, as far as possible, of the principles upon which our Government is founded, of the advantages and benefits enjoyed under the Constitution, and the responsibilities which it imposes upon them, as well as of the beneficent achievements which constitute our military history.
>
> The national holidays will be celebrated with appropriate ceremonies, including the reading of the Declaration of Independence, Washington's Farewell Address, or the Constitution of the United States, and such other exercises as will tend to promote respect and reverence for the institutions of our country.
>
> As the flag is the symbol of our nationality, it will be held in sacred regard and given every care and protection at all times.
>
> The ceremony of 'Escort of the Colors' should be so conducted as to render it one of the most impressive to the soldier, especially to the young recruit, of all the functions in which he is required to participate. Proper salutes will be observed by all persons in the military service, not under arms, during the raising and lowering of the national emblem.
>
> Good martial music contributes immeasurably to the contentment and welfare of troops and inspires in them a valiant and patriotic spirit, which is most essential; hence, it will be encouraged, especially vocal music, which will include the singing of the national anthems and patriotic hymns and songs.
>
> The playing of a national or patriotic air as a part of a medley is prohibited. [1]

This General Order for the first time provides that "The playing of a national or patriotic air as a part of a medley is prohibited."

---

[1]General Orders, No. 125, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General's Office, September 29, 1900, p. 1 in General Orders and Circulars, Adjutant General's Office, 1900. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901).

U.S. Army Regulations, 1901, Paragraph 512, prescribed that

> At every military post or station the flag will be hoisted at the sounding of the first note of the reveille, or of the first note of the march, if a march be played before the reveille. The flag will be lowered at the sounding of the last note of the retreat, and while the flag is being lowered the band will play The Star Spangled Banner. [1]

Basically as of January [illegible] no General Orders had been issued by the Army and Navy in regard to the use of the Star Spangled Banner as the official national song, aside from the regulations which required that the Star Spangled Banner be played at the lowering of the flag at Retreat. Nor had any special air yet been prescribed by regulation, or recognized by the War Department as official.[2]

The custom of the Navy in this regard was expressed in Paragraphs 102 and 159 of its Navy Regulations, issued on July 30, 1903, as General Order No. 139, which stated:

> 102. (2) All officers and men shall stand at attention whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is being played, unless engaged in duty that will not permit them to do so. The same respect shall be observed towards the national air of any country, when played in the presence of official representatives of such country.
>
> 159. (1) The following ceremonies shall be observed at 'colors' on board ships in commission and at naval stations. The field music and the band, if there be one, shall be present. At morning 'colors' the

---

[1] Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1901 with Appendix, Separately Indexed, Showing Changes to December 31, 1902. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 69.

[2] Assistant Adjutant General to Lucy P. Scott, January 16, 1903. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

> drum shall give three rolls and the bugle sound three flourishes, all officers and men shall face the ensign and stand at attention, and sentries under arms shall come to the position of present. At the end of the third roll the ensign shall be started up and hoisted briskly to the peak or trunk and the band shall play 'The Star Spangled Banner,' at the conclusion of which all officers and men shall [illegible] during the ceremony.
> (2) The same ceremonies shall be observed at sunset 'colors;' the ensign to be started from the peak or trunk, and the 'Star Spangled Banner' to begin at the end of the third roll. The ensign shall not be lowered hurriedly.[1]

Along with the actions of the military there came also displays of interest from various patriotic organizations, requesting official recognition of the Star Spangled Banner by the armed forces.

Mrs. Robert C. Barry, President of the U.S. Daughters of the War of 1812 for the State of Maryland, on September 15, 1903, requested in a letter that the War Department ordain that the Star Spangled Banner be adopted by the Army as the National Anthem.[2] She was sent the following reply to her request:

> the Army has for several years given official recognition to the anthem named, by prescribing in Army Regulations that when the flag is lowered from the staff at Retreat, the Band shall play 'The Star Spangled Banner,' and all persons in the military service who are present are required to render proper salutes. It is not the prerogative of the War Department to ordain what shall be the national anthem, but the official recognition given by the War Department to

---

[1]See General Order No. 139, Navy Department, Paragraphs 102 and 159, July 30, 1903, p. 1.

[2]Barry to the Secretary of War, September 15, 1903. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

> 'The Star Spangled Banner' is believed to be an important factor in the education of the people towards its universal recognition, and its possible ultimate adoption by Congress or the President as the national anthem.
>
> The recent action by the Navy Department in joining official recognition to this anthem, is in harmony with the former action of the War Department, but it extends the scope by requiring proper respect to be observed whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played.
>
> The question of making a corresponding extension applicable to the Army is now under consideration, and the result will be embodied in a new edition of the Army Regulations now in progress of revision.[1]

Similarly, Mr. Charles Van Dorn, Superintendent of the Sangamon County Schools, Springfield, Illinois, in a letter of November 1, 1903, to the Secretary of War, stated he had been informed that the Government had recently adopted the Star Spangled Banner as a National song, and would therefore very much appreciate having a history of such adoption, as he needed the information for the benefit of his school work.[2] In his reply to Mr. Van Dorn, the Acting Adjutant General informed him, by direction of the Secretary of War, that the Government had not adopted a national anthem or national air, but that a paragraph had recently been added to the Navy Regulations which reads as follows:

> (2) All officers and men shall stand at attention whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is being played, unless engaged in duty that will not permit them to do so. The same respect shall be observed towards the national air of any country, when played in the presence of official representatives of such country.

---

[1]Acting Adjutant General, War Department to Mrs. Robert C. Barry, September 28, 1903, R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

[2]Van Dorn to Secretary of War, November 1, 1903. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

The letter further stated that the War Department was considering a similar regulation for the Army.[1]

As there is no record in the Record Division, War Department, referring at that time to the adoption of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem, it appears from the letter of the Acting Adjutant General to Mr. Van Dorn that the Government indeed had not then adopted it as such. But from the information of the Adjutant General's office it does appear that the matter of adoption of the Star Spangled Banner was then under consideration by the General Staff.[2]

In her undated letter to the Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of War, which was received at the War Department with date as of December 16, 1903, Mrs. Mary B. H. Williams, Chairman, S.S.B. Committee, The Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Philadelphia, wrote strongly in favor of the adoption of the Star Spangled Banner as the National Anthem.[3] In his reply to her the Assistant Secretary of War pointed out that the U.S. Government had not adopted by law a national anthem or national air, but referred her to Paragraph 512 of the U.S. Army Regulations, 1901, and to Paragraph 102 of the Navy Regulations, 1903.[4]

---

[1]Acting Adjutant General to Van Dorn, November 9, 1903. R.G. 94 Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[2]Memorandum for the Chief Clerk, from J.B.R., December 19, 1903. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

[3]Williams to Root, n.d. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[4]Assistant Secretary of War to Mrs. Williams, December 24, 1903. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

An important development for the future of the Star Spangled Banner occurred in the Navy Department in the Spring of 1904. On March 22, 1904, the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, H.C. Taylor, recommended to the Secretary of the Navy that Article 159, Navy Regulations, be changed to require the playing of the Star Spangled Banner at evening as well as morning "colors" on board ship and at naval stations, and that the Star Spangled Banner be adopted as the national air, at least on board vessels of the U.S. Navy. Specifically the changes to Article 159 concerned Paragraph 1, recommending exclusion in the last line of "when it reaches the peak or trunk," and substitution of the words "at the conclusion of the national air," and in Paragraph 2, lines 3 and 4, eliminating the words "Hail Columbia," and substituting for them "the Star Spangled Banner," and on the fourth line changing the comma (,) to a period (.) and excluding all the following material. It was the belief of the Bureau of Navigation that only one air, that is the Star Spangled Banner, should be played officially on American ships, in order to avoid confusing foreigners who were frequently puzzled, upon hearing both the Star Spangled Banner and "Hail Columbia," as to which really was the official air. The Bureau further recommended that in case of favorable action to its request on the part of the Navy Department, the State Department should be requested to notify foreign governments that the Star Spangled Banner had been officially adopted as the national air.[1]

---

[1]Taylor to the Secretary of the Navy, March 22, 1904. R.G. 80. General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 3980-182, 1904.

On March 24, 1904, Taylor's request was referred by the Chief Clerk, by direction of the Secretary of the Navy, to the Judge Advocate General of the Navy Department, for recommendation and report.[1]

The Judge Advocate General, on March 25, 1904, reported that in his opinion it was within the scope of the authority of the Navy Department nor of the Executive branch of the Government to designate any particular air, as the "national air," as proposed by the Bureau of Navigation; that such a matter would require Congressional action. He was, however, favorable to the suggestion that one American patriotic air should be played at morning and evening "colors," and that it was within the authority of the Navy Department to designate such an air to be played, but he expressed doubt that the Star Spangled Banner would be acceptable for use upon all occasions, principally because of the third verse ("And where is that hand...or the gloom of the grave.") It was therefore his personal opinion that "Hail Columbia" or "O Columbia: the Gem of the Ocean" was a far more appropriate and inspiring air for both morning and evening "colors" than the Star Spangled Banner.[2]

Despite the negative reaction of the Judge Advocate General, Secretary of the Navy William H. Moody, on March 29, 1904, replied to the recommendation of the Chief, Bureau of Navigation that, while he

---

[1]Chief Clerk to Judge Advocate General, Memo of March 24, 1904. R.G. 80. General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 3980-182, 1904.

[2]Judge Advocate General to the Office of the Secretary, Navy Department, Memo of March 25, 1904. R.G. 80. General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 3980-182, 1904.

could not designate any particular air as a national air, which was the task of Congress, he would approve an amendment to the Navy Regulations providing that the Star Spangled Banner only should be played at colors, morning and evening.[1]

On April 2, 1904, the Bureau of Navigation submitted to the Secretary an amendment to the Regulations providing for the playing of the Star Spangled Banner at morning and evening colors on board ships.[2] This amendment was approved on April 8, 1904,[3] and instructions were sent to the Service regarding the procedure to be followed at colors on April 22, 1904.[4]

At this time, when the War Department began receiving letters from the public regarding the status of the Star Spangled Banner, the Secretary of War regularly insisted that no General Orders had been issued by the War Department pertaining to the recognition of the Star Spangled Banner as a national anthem, referring them to Paragraph 512 of the U.S. Army Regulations, 1901, and to Paragraph 102 of the Navy Regulations, 1903.[5]

---

[1]Moody to the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, March 29, 1904. R.G.80. General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 3980-182, 1904.

[2]U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[3]See 4th Endorsement, No. 3980-182 of the Acting Secretary of the Navy, dated April 8, 1904. R.G. 80. General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 3980-182, 1904.

[4]See instructions, dated April 22, 1904, sent by Acting Secretary of the Navy, Chas. H. Darling to Commanders-in-Chief, Commanders of Squadrons, Commandants of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, and Commanding Officers of Vessels. R.G. 80. General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 3980-182, 1904.

[5]Cf. e.g. replies from the Assistant Adjutant General to S.E. Badger, March 14, 1904, to George Lancaster, March 28, 1904, and to Mrs. F.A.Aiken, June 6, 1904. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

There was no doubt, however, that the War Department had taken note of at this time the recent action of the Navy Department to give official recognition to the Star Spangled Banner, and was considering its possible application to the Army. Its decision was embodied in the new revised edition of the Army Regulations, 1904, which a....:

> Paragraph 382. The national or regimental color or standard, uncased, passing a guard or other armed body will be saluted, the field music sounding 'to the color' or 'to the standard.' Officers or enlisted men passing the uncased color will render the prescribed salute; with no arms in hand, the salute will be made by uncovering.
>
> Paragraph 383. Whenever 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is played by the band on a formal occasion at a military station, or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their capacity, all officers and enlisted men present will stand at attention. The same respect will be observed toward the national air of any other country when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such country.[1]
>
> Paragraph 441. At every military post or station the flag will be hoisted at the sounding of the first note of the march, if a march be played before the reveille. The flag will be lowered at the sounding of the last note of the retreat, and while the flag is being lowered the band will play 'The Star Spangled Banner.' The national flag shall he displayed at a seacoast or lake fort at the commencement of an action and during a battle in which the fort may be engaged, whether by day or at night. [2]

Thus Paragraph 383 provides for the induction of particular respect for the Star Spangled Banner.

---

[1] Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1904. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 59.

[2] Ibid., p. 66.

Similarly, Infantry Drill Regulations, 1904, included the following stipulations:

587. The national or regimental color or standard, uncased, passing an armed body is saluted, the field music sounding to the color. Officers or enlisted men passing the uncased color render the prescribed salute; with no arms in hand, the salute is made by uncovering; the headress is held in the right hand opposite the left shoulder, right forearm against the breast.

588. Whenever The Star Spangled Banner is played by the band on a formal occasion at a military station, or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, all officers and enlisted men present stand at attention. The same respect is observed toward the national air of any other country when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such country.

604. Assembly: the signal for companies or details to fall in.
Adjutant's call: the signal for companies to form battalion; also for the guard details to form for guard mounting on the camp or garrison parade ground; it follows the assembly at such interval as may be prescribed by the commanding officer.
To the color: is sounded when the color salutes; it is also used as the signal for the battalions to form regiment. [1]

It will be noted that the provisions of Paragraph 588, Infantry Drill Regulations, 1904, are identical with those of Paragraph 383 of Army Regulations, 1904.

---

[1] Infantry Drill Regulations, United States Army. Revised 1904. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 203 and 206.

However Paragraph 441 of the Army Regulations, 1904, caused some confusion, and on September 1, 1905, Major H. L. Roberts of Fort Brown, Texas, requested that he be informed whether it would be proper, in the absence of a band, to have played by the field music "To the color" while the flag is being lowered at retreat. Brigadier General J.M. Lee, Commanding General, Department of Texas, forwarded Major Roberts' letter to the Adjutant General Secretary, U.S. Army, in Washington, D.C., recommending that the use of the call 'to the color' as herein described be prescribed at those posts where there is no band." Furthermore he stated that:

> The ceremony of lowering the flag at retreat is much more impressive when accompanied by suitable music, and it is thought that the sounding of 'to the color' will be a very fair substitute for the Star Spangled Banner when the latter cannot be played. In this connection attention is invited to Paragraph 588, Infantry Drill Regulations, 1904, and the decision is requested as to whether officers and enlisted men out of ranks and not under arms should not only stand at attention but uncover during the playing of the Star Spangled Banner. The uncovering is a customary mark of respect, and its omission by those in the military service is always a cause of unfavorable comment among civilians. [2]

As may be recalled , according to Paragraph 441 of Army Regulations, 1904, "The flag will be lowered at the sounding of the last note of the retreat, and while the flag is being lowered the band will play 'The Star Spangled Banner.'"[3]

---

[1]Roberts to Military Secretary, Department of Texas, September 1, 1905. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File, 83767, Box No. 617.

[2]J. M. Lee, Brigadier General, Commanding, Headquarters, Dept. of Texas, San Antonio, 1st Indorsement, Sept. 5, 1905. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[3]See Supra, p. 239.

Similarly, in Paragraph 604 of Infantry Drill Regulations, 1904, the call "To the Color" is prescribed to be sounded as a signal for the battalions to form regiment; also when the colors are saluted in the ceremony of "Escort of the Color."[1]

Furthermore, Paragraph 382 of Army Regulations, 1904, provided that "The national or regimental color or standard, uncased, passing a guard or other armed body will be saluted, the field music sounding 'to the color' or 'to the standard.'"[2]

On the basis of these considerations it was believed that the sounding of "to the color" by the field music was consequently the recognized salute to the National flag, and as such it was thought most appropriate for use in the ceremony for lowering the flag at retreat, when there was no band to play "The Star Spangled Banner," and therefore that Paragraph 441 of Army Regulations, 1904, should be amended to that effect.[3]

Concerning the question "whether officers and enlisted men out of ranks and not under arms should not only stand at attention but uncover during the playing of the Star Spangled Banner," as recommended in the endorsement of the Commanding General, Department of Texas, paragraph 383, Army Regulations (588 Infantry Drill Regulations), it provided:

---

[1]See Supra, p. 240.

[2]See Supra, p. 239.

[3]See "Memorandum Report: Subject: Paragraph 441 A.R." submitted by J.T. Kerr, Colonel, General Staff, Acting Chief First Division, Washington, October 11, 1905. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

> 383. Whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played by the band on a formal occasion at a military station, or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, all officers and enlisted men present will stand at attention. The same respect will be observed toward the national air of any other country when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such country.

It was stressed that "This regulation is clear," and that "the requirement to uncover while standing, at attention was purposely omitted." The only problem involved with the question of uncovering as prescribed by Army Regulations was the question of the salute for the uncased color by officers and men with no arms in hand. It was not felt to be a problem of particular concern in any case whether the uncovering was a suitable military salute. At the same time, because the public might view such an omission as reflecting a lack of proper patriotic feeling, it was believed that some mark of respect should be shown during the playing of the Star Spangled Banner, in addition to standing at attention. It was recognized that in foreign armies throughout the world officers as well as men not only stood at attention but also rendered a hand salute while their national anthem was being played. This military custom was considered more appropriate than the civilian manner of uncovering while the national anthem was being pla[illegible].[1]

It should be remembered that Article 159, U.S. Navy Regulations, prescribed that, during the ceremonies conducted at morning and evening "colors," officers as well as enlisted men should face the ensign and

---

[1]See "Memorandum Report: Subject: Paragraph 441 A.R." submitted by J. T. Kerr, Colonel, General Staff, Acting Chief First Division, Washington, October 11, 1905. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

stand at attention, and that they should salute at the conclusion of the Star Spangled Banner, played by the band at the end of the ceremony.[1]

While this method was considered preferable to uncovering, its drawback was that it was not as effective psychologically as the practice of keeping the hand up during the period when the Star Spangled Banner was played, for the simple reason that when the music was ended, attention was relaxed. In consequence the salute might perhaps go unnoticed, and the general effect was as though no respect had been shown other than standing at attention. In various places the practice prevailed for civilians of standing and uncovering when the Star Spangled Banner was played, and the appropriate equivalent for the military men was to stand at attention and retain the hand at salute.[2]

Some bands also practiced the custom of repeating certain of the strains of the Star Spangled Banner, consequently prolonging it unduly. The music as written requires the repetition of the first strain and it is customarily so played, although there were bands which also repeated the last strain and it was thought that such repetition should be prohibited.

It was recommended that these suggestions be put into effect by amending paragraphs 383 and 441 of the next Army Regulations.[3]

---

[1]See Supra, pp. 232-233.

[2]See "Memorandum Report: Subject: Paragraph 441 A.R., " submitted by J.T. Kerr, Colonel, General Staff, Acting Chief First Division, Washington, October 11, 1905. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[3]Ibid.

The recommendations of Col. Kerr for amending paragraphs 383 and 441 were approved, and appeared in the next order of the Army Regulations, namely General Orders, No. 170, on October 15, 1905, reading as follows:

> 383. Whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played by the band on a formal occasion at a military station, or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, all officers and enlisted men present will stand at attention, and if not in ranks will render the prescribed salute, the position of the salute being retained until the last note of 'The Star Spangled Banner.' The same respect will be observed toward the national air of any other country when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such country. Whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played as contemplated by this paragraph, the air will be played through once without the repetition of any part, except such repetition as is called for by the musical score.
>
> 441. At every military post or station the flag will be hoisted at the sounding of the first note of the reveille, or of the first note of the march, if a march be played before the reveille. The flag will be lowered at the sounding of the last note of the retreat, and while the flag is being lowered the band will play 'The Star Spangled Banner,' or, if there be no band present, the field music will sound 'To the Color.' When 'To the Color' is sounded by the field music while the flag is being lowered the same respect will be observed as when 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played by the band. The national flag shall be displayed at a seacoast or lake fort at the commencement of an action and during a battle in which the fort may be engaged, whether by day or at night.[1]

Furthermore, Col. Kerr recommended that orders be issued to amend Paragraph 588, Infantry Drill Regulations, 1904, to correspond with Paragraph

[1]General Orders, No. 170, October 15, 1905, Paragraphs 383 and 441, pp.1-2 in General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1905. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906).

383 of Army Regulations as amended, and also to amend Paragraph 604, Infantry Drill Regulations, to prescribe that the signal for the battalions to form regiment would be "adjutant's call" rather than "to the color."[1]

Special marks of respect were rendered to the National ensign when hoisted or lowered on a U.S. transport. According to Paragraph 509 of Field Service Regulations:

> The colors will be hoisted at guard mounting and lowered at retreat under direction of the guard, which will be formed at the time, and the band in both cases playing 'The Star Spangled Banner.' All persons on deck will face the colors and stand at 'attention.' If unarmed, officers and soldiers will salute with the right hand at the visor during the last bar of the music.[2]

But even after General Orders No. 170 was issued on October 15, 1905, it still was not clear as to what was the proper method of saluting on certain occasions when the Star Spangled Banner was played. On January 6, 1906, E.P. Pendleton, Major, 29th Infantry, Commanding Post of Fort Douglas, Utah, requested from the Military Secretary in Washington, through military channels, information concerning the amendment of Paragraph 383 of the Army Regulations, published in General Orders, No. 170, War Department.[3]

Major Pendleton was informed that "it was the intention to prescribe in the amendment of par. 383, A.R., published in G.O. 170, War Department,

---

[1]See "Memorandum Report: Subject: Paragraph 441 A.R.," submitted by J.T. Kerr, Colonel, General Staff, Acting Chief First Division, Washington, October 11, 1905. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[2]Field Service Regulations, United States Army. Prepared by the General Staff, under the direction of the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army. Published by Authority of the Secretary of War. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 151.

[3]Pendleton to The Military Secretary, January 6, 1906. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

1905, that the hand should be raised to the head dress in the position of salute when the playing of the Star Spangled Banner begins, on the occasions and under the circumstances specified, and that it should be retained in that position until the air is concluded when the salute should be finished."[1]

There is no doubt that the influence of military example on civilians regarding the honor to be shown the Star Spangled Banner was an important consideration in the amendment which appeared in Paragraph 383 of Army Regulations, but this amendment did not solve the problem of civilian flag etiquette. It came to a head on March 10, 1906, when J.R. Williams, Major, Military Secretary, Headquarters Department of Mindanao, Zamboanga, P. I., requested that a memorandum on certain special honors be forwarded to the War Department for consideration and any action which might be deemed expedient.[2]

His request was forwarded to the Military Secretary, Philippines Division, Manila, P.I. A question had arisen as to whether or not the Navy and Army Regulations were identical on this subject. It was stressed that while the Army Regulations did not apply to civilians, the Filipino people had been taught (perhaps by the military) to remove their hats when the National Air was played.[3] It was the opinion of the General Staff, Headquarters Philippines Division, that Paragraph 382 A.R., 1904,

---

[1]See "Recommendations" prepared in Memorandum Report, January 13, 1906, by J.T. Kerr, Colonel, General Staff, Acting Chief, First Division, to The Military Secretary; Approved, January 26, 1906, by J.C. Bates, Major-General, Chief of Staff. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[2]Williams to The Military Secretary, March 10, 1906. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[3]See 2nd Indorsement, Military Secretary, Headquarters Philippines Division, Manila, P.I., March 22, 1906. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

should be amended to prescribe the saluting of the color or standard when it passed officers and men other than those forming a guard or other armed body, in such a way as to correspond with Paragraph 587 of Infantry Drill Regulations. Furthermore, Paragraph 441 A.R. should be amended to provide that, in addition to the respect paid during the playing of the Star Spangled Banner, the individual saluting shall, when not in ranks, face the [illegible] distinguishing this mark of respect from the honor paid to the national air. In addition it was recommended that Paragraph 509, Field Service Regulations, and Paragraph 256, Army Transport Regulations, be amended so they would not be in conflict with Paragraph 383, A.R., because then the conflict made them inoperative.[1]

These recommendations were adopted, and appeared in General Orders, No. 130 on July 16, 1906 as follows:

Honors to 'Star Spangled Banner.'

vii... Paragraph 509, Field Service Regulations, is amended to read as follows:

509. The colors will be hoisted at guard mounting and lowered at retreat under direction of the guard, which will be formed at the time, the band in both cases playing 'The Star Spangled Banner,' or, if there be no band on board, the field music sounding 'to the color.' All persons on deck will face the colors and stand at 'attention,' and officers and enlisted men, if not in ranks, will salute as prescribed in paragraphs 383 and 441, Army Regulations.

[1]See 3rd Indorsement, Leonard Wood, Major General, U.S. Army, Commanding, Headquarters Philippines Division, Manila, March 27, 1906. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

viii.. Paragraph 256, Army Transport Service Regulations, edition 1905, is amended to read as follows:

256. The colors will be hoisted at guard mounting and lowered at retreat under the direction of the guard, which will be formed at the time, the band in both cases playing 'The Star Spangled Banner,' or, if there be no band on board the field music playing the color. All persons on deck will face the colors and remain at the position,' and officers and enlisted men, if not on guard, will salute as prescribed in paragraphs 440 and 441, Army Regulations.[1]

On December 15, 1906, Paragraph 588 of Infantry Drill Regulations, 1904,[2] was amended by General Orders, No. 201.[3]

It will be recalled that the changes made in General Orders, No. 170 of 1905, were based on a memorandum report by the First Division, General Staff, Acting Chief First Division. Since then there had arisen dissatisfaction with the prescribed practices. Consequently, on September 18, 1907, Major General A.W. Greely, Commanding General Department of Columbia, recommended that Paragraph 383, Army Regulations, as amended by General Orders, No. 170, War Department, 1905, relative to standing at attention and facing the flag with the hand on the visor, be amended so as to conform to the practice of the Navy,[4] which as previously mentioned was expressed in Paragraphs 102 and 154 of Navy Regulations, 1903.[5]

---

[1]General Orders, No. 130, July 16, 1906, p. 16 in General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1906. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907).

[2]See Supra, p. 240.

[3]General Orders, No. 201, December 15, 1906, paragraph 588, p. 13 in General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1906. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907).

[4]Greely to The Adjutant General, War Department, September 18, 1907. 8.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[5]See Supra, pp. 232-233.

An inquiry was sent out to eight Department commanders throughout the country, and their replies unanimously endorsed Gen. Greely's proposal.[1] As a result it was recommended that Paragraph 383, Army Regulations, as amended by General Orders 170, War Department, 1905, Paragraph 441, Army Regulations, as amended by General Orders 130 Department, 1906, and Paragraph 588, Infantry Drill Regulations, as amended by General Orders 201, War Department, 1906, be amended to conform to the custom in the Navy.[2] They subsequently appeared in General Orders, No. 246, December 16, 1907,[3] and General Orders, No. 247, December 17, 1907.[4]

Paragraph 383 of General Orders, No. 246, 1907, and Paragraph 588 of General Orders, No. 247 prescribed that

> Whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played by the band on a formal occasion at a military station, or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, all officers and enlisted men present will stand at attention, such position being retained until the last note of 'The Star Spangled Banner.'[5]

---

[1]See 2d Indorsement, Headquarters Department of Texas, San Antonio, Oct. 25, 1907; 2d Indorsement, Headquarters Department of Lakes, Chicago, October ., 1907; 2d Indorsement, Headquarters Department of the East, Governor's Island, N. York, November 4, 1907; 2d Endorsement, Headquarters Department of Dakota, St. Paul, Minn., October 30, 1907; 2d Indorsement, Headquarters Department of the Colorado, Denver, Colo., October 30, 1907; 2d Indorsement, Headquarters Depart. of the Gulf, Atlanta, Ga., October 30, 1907; 2nd Indorsement, Hdqtrs. Dept. of Missouri, Omaha, Neb., November 2, 1907; 2d Indorsement, Headquarters Departm. of California, November 12, 1907, in R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[2]See Memorandum from Assistant to the Chief of Staff to the Acting Secret. of War, November 23, 1907. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[3]See Appendix J.

[4]See Appendix K.

[5]See Appendix J and Appendix K.

Army Regulations for 1908 provided the following stipulations for bands and courtesies and ceremonies in the playing of the Star Spangled Banner:

Article XXIX: Bands

259. Commanding officers will require bands to play national and patriotic airs on appropriate occasions. The playing of 'The Star Spangled Banner' as a part of a medley is prohibited.[1]

Article XLI: Honors

384. Whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played by the band on a formal occasion at a military station, or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, all officers and enlisted men present will stand at attention, such position being retained until the last note of 'The Star Spangled Banner.' The same respect will be observed toward the national air of any other country, when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such country. Whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played under circumstances contemplated by this paragraph, the air will be played through once without repetition of any part, except such repetition as is called for by the musical score.

Article XLI: Ceremonies

441. At every military post or station the flag will be hoisted at the sounding of the first note of reveille, or of the first note of the march, if a march be played before the reveille. The flag will be lowered at the sounding of the last note of the retreat, and while the flag is being lowered the band will play 'The Star Spangled Banner,' or, if there be no band present, the field music will sound 'to the color.' When 'to the color' is sounded by the field music while the flag is being lowered the same respect will be observed as when 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played by the band, and in either case officers and enlisted men out of ranks will face toward the flag, stand

---

[1]Regulations for the Army of the United States 1908. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), p. 51.

> at attention, and render the prescribed salute at the last note of the music. The national flag will be displayed at a seacoast or lake fort at the beginning of and during an action in which the fort may be engaged, whether by day or by night. [1]

A question still unsolved was as to the proper demeanor of civilians when the Star Spangled Banner was played at formal and informal occasions.

On June 17, 1908, the Commanding General, Division of the Philippines, Maj. Gen. John F. Weston, referring to General Orders, No. 246, War Department, 1907, reported that it had been the custom in the Philippine Islands since their ocupation for officers and men to stand at attention, hats off, during the playing of the Star Spangled Banner, upon formal and informal occasions, and because of this tradition he recommended that the custom be continued. [2]

It should be stressed that in the Philippine culture uncovering was considered the highest form of respect, and while the rules in General Orders, No. 246 of 1907 were confined to the military, this custom was in practice among both military personnel and civilians.

It was thought that the honors to be paid to the national air on formal occasions in standing at attention during the rendition of the air, as prescribed by Paragraph 384, Army Regulations, 1908, was more military. The same ceremony was prescribed for Retreat in Paragraph 441,

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 68 and 76.

[2] Weston to The Adjutant General, U.S. Army, June 17, 1908. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

Army Regulations, 1908, by which "officers and enlisted men out of ranks will face toward the flag, stand at attention, and render the prescribed salute at the last note of the music." It was believed that it would be improper to uncover during the rendition of the Star Spangled Banner, and accordingly it was recommended that no changes be made in the honors prescribed by Army Regulations, 1908, to be paid to the national air on formal occasions. Concerning informal occasions, it was thought that the custom of standing uncovered while the National air was being played was a proper expression of patriotic sentiment, which should be encouraged. As this custom was not subject to regulation by the War Department, it was deemed within the authority of the Commanding General of a particular area to adhere to local custom related to the honor of the Star Spangled Banner on informal occasions.[1]

On October 12, 1908, the Commanding General, Division of the Philippines, issued a circular calling attention to the fact that Paragraph 384, Army Regulations, 1908, concerning the playing of the Star Spangled Banner by band, applied strictly to formal occassions, and that to preserve the highest respect for the National air among the civil element of the population, it was held that, on all informal occasions when the Star Spangled Banner was played, all officers and enlisted men present should rise and remain standing at attention, uncovered, until the national air was finished.[2]

---

[1] See Memorandum for the Secretary of War: Subject: Honors to be paid to the national air on informal occasions, August 22, 1908, prepared by the Assistant to the Chief of Staff, approved on September 1, 1908, by the Acting Secretary of War. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 23767, Box No. 617.

[2] Cf. Circular No. 35, Headquarters Philippines Division, Manila, P.I., October 12, 1908. In R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 23767, Box No. 617.

An interesting footnote to this trend is a letter from a veteran campaigner of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War who at that time held a commanding position which prevented him from signing his name except through military channels, wrote, as an American citizen, on September 14, 1908, an unsigned letter to the President of the United States regarding uncovering of the head by officers and soldiers of the U.S. Army during the playing of the Star Spangled Banner. He said,

> In 1898 the Army was instructed to uncover when the hymn was played, and the people were only too glad to honor it by doing the same, and it was a grand sight to see the masses respond gladly to the example set by the soldiers. Then the army were directed not to uncover, but to stand at salute. Another order since issued now directs them to stand /at/ attention and salute at the last note. This is all right as far as the army is concerned, but the people do not understand it, and at a recent encampment when a boy uncovered his chum said dont /sic/ do that, they dont /sic/ do it any more, look at those officers they dont /sic/ uncover. Mr. President, let the army educate, not restrain the people in their reverence of anything that is for our country, and let us return to the religious reverence of the Anthem of our country which should represent to us what the Angelus does to foreign countries. [1]

Paragraph 795 of General Orders, No. 205, issued on December 16, 1908, provided the following stipulations:

> Whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played by band on a formal occasion at a military station, or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, all officers and enlisted men present will stand at attention, such position being retained until the last note of 'The Star Spangled Banner.' The same

---

[1] Veteran to The President of the United States, September 14, 1908. [illegible] 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

> respect will be observed toward the national air of any other country, when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such country. Whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played under circumstances contemplated by this paragraph, the air will be played through once without repetition of any part, except such repetition as is called for by the musical score.[1]

On December 17, 1909, the War Department issued Circular [illegible], providing the following two conditions under which officers and enlisted men of the army were to stand at attention during the playing of the Star Spangled Banner,

> 1. When the air is played by a band on a formal occasion, other than retreat, at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, in which case officers and enlisted men stand at attention throughout the playing of the air.
>
> 2. When the flag is lowered at retreat and aboard transport when the flag is hoisted at guard mounting. In this case part of the ceremony is the playing of 'The Star Spangled Banner' (or 'To the Color' when there is no band) and another part is the salute to the flag. All officers and enlisted men out of ranks stand at attention facing the flag while the air is being played and at the last note of the music salute in the prescribed manner. Sentinels on post in the vicinity of a place where the ceremonies mentioned above are taking (the) place follow the rule for soldiers out of ranks, provided their duties are not such as to prevent their doing so; in the first case, standing at attention facing outward from their post throughout the playing of the air, and in the second case, standing at attention facing the flag until the last note of the music and then rendering the salute prescribed for the weapon with which they are armed.[2]

---

[1] General Orders, No. 205, December 16, 1908, p. 1 in General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1908. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909).

[2] Circular No. 87, War Department, December 17, 1909, p. 1 in General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1909. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910).

Army Regulations for 1910 contained three paragraphs, in which the playing of the Star Spangled Banner as part of a medley was prohibited, respect was required to be shown when the Star Spangled Banner was played, and finally, the Star Spangled Banner was to be played at the lowering of the flag. Their texts are as follows:

> 264. Commanding officers will require bands to play national and patriotic airs on appropriate occasions. The playing of 'The Star Spangled Banner' as a part of a medley is prohibited.
>
> ...
>
> 389. Whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played by the band on a formal occasion at a military station, or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, all officers and enlisted men present will stand at attention, such position being retained until the last note of 'The Star Spangled Banner.' The same respect will be observed toward the national air of any other country, when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such country. Whenever 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played under circumstances contemplated by this paragraph, the air will be played through once without repetition of any part, except repetition as is called for by the musical score.
>
> ...
>
> 446. At every military post or station the flag will be hoisted at the sounding of the first note of the reveille, or of the first note of the march, if a march be played before the reveille. The flag will be lowered at the sounding of the last note of the retreat, and while the flag is being lowered the band will play 'The Star Spangled Banner,' or, if there be no band present, the field music will sound 'to the color.' When 'to the color' is sounded by the field music while the flag is being lowered the same respect will be observed as when 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played by the band, and in either case officers and enlisted men out of ranks will face toward the flag, stand at attention, and render the prescribed salute at the last note of the music. The national flag will be displayed at a seacoast or lake fort at the beginning of and during an action in which the fort may be engaged, whether by day or by night. [1]

---

[1] Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1910. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), pp. 55, 72 and 80.

Army Regulations for 1913 included the following paragraphs relative to the Star Spangled Banner:

284. Commanding officers will require bands to play national and patriotic airs on appropriate occasions, but playing of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' as a part of a medley is prohibited.

...

... whenever 'The ... Banner' is played as a military ... in any place where persons are present in their official capacity or present unofficially but ..., all officers and enlisted men present ... stand at attention, facing toward the ..., retaining that position until the last note of the air, and then salute. With no arms in hand the salute will be the hand salute. The same respect will be observed toward the national air of any other country, when it is played as a compliment to official representatives contemplated by this paragraph, 'The Star Spangled Banner' will be played through without repetition of any part that is not required to be repeated to make the air complete.

...

947. At every military post or station the flag will be hoisted at the sounding of the first note of the reveille, or of the first note of the march, if a march be played before the reveille. The flag will be lowered at the sounding of the last note of the retreat, and while the flag is being lowered the band will play 'The Star Spangled Banner,' or, if there be no band present, the field music will sound 'to the color.' When 'to the color' is sounded by the field music while the flag is being lowered the same respect will be observed as when 'The Star Spangled Banner' is played by the band, and in either case officers and enlisted men out of ranks will face toward the flag, stand at attention, and render the prescribed salute at the last note of the music. The national flag will be displayed at a seacoast or lake fort at the beginning of and during an action in which the fort may be engaged, whether by day or by night. [1]

---

[1] Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1913. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), pp. 63, 79, and 87.

> 440. On Memorial Day, May 30, at all Army posts and stations, the national flag will be displayed at halfstaff from sunrise till midday, and immediately before noon the band, or field music, will play some appropriate air, and the national salute of 21 guns will be fired at 12 m. at all posts and stations provided with artillery. At the conclusion of this memorial tribute, at noon, the flag will be hoisted to the top of the staff and will remain there until sunset. When hoisted to the top of the staff, the flag will be saluted by playing one or more appropriate airs. In this way fitting testimonial of respect for the heroic dead and honor to their patriotic devotion will be appropriately rendered. [1]

Finally, the Army Regulations for 1913 were amended by Changes No. 50, Army Regulations, January 8, 1917, Paragraph 264 of which provided:

> 1. The composition consisting of the words and music known as 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is designated the national anthem of the United States of America.
> 2. Provisions in these Regulations or in orders issued under the authority of the War Department requiring the playing of the national anthem at any time or place shall be taken to mean 'The Star-Spangled Banner' to the exclusion of other tunes or musical compositions popularly known as national airs.
> 3. Commanding officers will require bands to play national and patriotic airs on appropriate occasions. The playing of the national anthem of any country as part of a medley is prohibited. [2]

This action on the part of the War Department was an extremely important step toward the eventual recognition of the Star Spangled Banner as the National anthem. An interesting comparison in this development toward official recognition on the part of the military may be seen from the following two

---

[1] Ibid., p. 87.

[2] Army Regulations, Changes No. 50, War Department, January 8, 1917, p. 1. Cf. also Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1913, Corrected to April 15, 1917. (Changes, Nos. 1 to 55), (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), p. 70.

examples. Paragraph 441 of Army Regulations, 1904, reads that "the band will play 'The Star Spangled Banner,'"[1] while paragraph 437 of Army Regulations, 1913,[2] as amended by C.A.R. 50 of January 8, 1917, not only designates the Star Spangled Banner as "the national anthem of the United States of America," but also orders that the band play the national anthem, by specifically stating that "the playing of the national anthem at any time or place shall be taken to mean 'The Star-Spangled Banner' to the exclusion of other tunes or musical compositions popularly known as national airs."[3]

The Navy Department, following the Army example, took steps toward the formal designation of the Star Spangled Banner as the National Anthem through a change in Navy Regulations dated February 14, 1917, Paragraph 1172 of which prescribed:

> Whenever 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is played on board a vessel of the Navy, at a naval station, or at any place where persons belonging to the naval service are present in their official capacity, or present unofficially but in uniform, all officers and enlisted men present shall stand at attention, facing toward the colors, or, if no colors, the music, retaining that position until the last note of the air, then, if covered, salute. The same respect will be observed toward the national air of any other country when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of that country. When played by a naval band under the circumstances contemplated by this paragraph, 'The Star-Spangled Banner' shall be played through without repetition of any part not required to be repeated to make the air complete.[4]

---

[1] See Supra, p. 239.

[2] See Supra, p. 257.

[3] See Supra, p. 258.

[4] See Changes in Navy Regulations and Naval Instructions No. 5, Navy Department, February 14, 1917, Paragraph 1172.

In spite of this recognition by the Army and Navy of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem, in the opinion of the Judge Advocate General, set forth as of November 12, 1917, there was no law on a national level against the misuse of the national anthem. Indeed there was "no Federal legislation regulating the playing of the National Anthem, although some States had statutes forbidding its playing as a part of a medley."[1]

These Army and Navy regulations were binding only upon the personnel of the naval and military services.

[1]See Bulletin No. 72, War Department, December 24, 1917, p. 11 in General Orders and Bulletins, War Department 1917. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918).

XIII. PUBLIC REACTION TO THE MILITARY RECOGNITION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

Although the Star Spangled Banner had thus been officially recognized by the military, even after a century of its existence it had not yet won official Congressional action. With its growing popularity there arose resentment, as is usual in life. As early as 1861 one of its earliest critics was Richard Grant White, author of a book on patriotic songs.[1] According to him the Star Spangled Banner

> As a patriotic song for the people at large, as the National Hymn...was found to be almost useless. The range of the air, an octave and a half, places it out of the compass of ordinary voices; and no change that has been made in it has succeeded in obviating this paramount objection, without depriving the music of that characteristic spirit which is given by its quick ascent through such an extended range of notes. The words, too, are altogether unfitted for a national hymn. They are almost entirely descriptive, and of a particular event....The lines are, also, too long, and the rhyme too involved for a truly popular patriotic song. The rhythm, too, is complicated, and often harsh and vague....In fact, only the choral lines of this song have brought it into general favor.
>
> 'And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.'
>
> But even in regard to this, who cannot but wish that the spangles could be taken out, and a good, honest flag be substituted for the banner!

---

[1] See Supra., p. 201, footnote 1.

> 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' though for these reasons so utterly inadequate to the requirements of a national hymn that the people stood mute while in some instances it was sung by a single voice, or in most cases it was only played by a band, is yet far the best of the three songs which, for lack of better, have until now been called American national airs. Of the other two, Yankee Doodle has the claim of long association, and will probably always retain a certain degree of a certain kind of favor. But no sane person would ever dream of regarding it as a national hymn...'Hail Columbia' is really worse than 'Yankee Doodle!'[1]

It is apparent that during the course of its existence the song had been criticized on the grounds the music was borrowed, its melody had an awkward range, and its meter made the poem difficult to memorize. Some people even asserted that its words conveyed sentiments foreign to real Americanism.

What is a national tune and what is a national hymn? The great Czech composer, Antonín Dvořák, discussing the traits of American music in 1895, wrote the following:

> The two American traits which most impress the foreign observer, I find, are the unbounded patriotism and capacity for enthusiasm of most Americans....It is a proper question to ask, what songs, then, belong to the American and appeal more strongly to him than any others?...One might as well as condemn the 'Hungarian Rhapsody' because Liszt could not speak Hungarian. The important thing is that the inspiration for such music should come from the right source, and that music itself

---

[1]White, op. cit., pp. 18-22.

> should be a true expression of the people's real feeling. To read the right meaning the composer need not necessarily be of the same blood, though that, of course, makes it easier for him. [1]

Dvorak, then, would not feel it necessary that the music of the national anthem of a country be the work of a native of that country in order for that music to be valid for its purpose.

In spite of these criticisms, however, the Star Spangled Banner of course survived, and as has been seen, became one of the most frequently used patriotic airs among the citizenry of the country, perhaps largely because it celebrates the preservation of the Flag as a symbol of liberty, law and order, rather than exalting rulers, as do the Austrian and British anthems, or being a call to arms, as the "Marseillaise." [2]

What holds true for the music holds also for the poetry, and one of the main reasons why Key's poem as well as the Anacreon tune appealed to the average American was its patriotism.

Key himself apparently never wrote the history of his song's composition or publication. However, on June 24, 1834, the Senate for the first time in its history refused to approve a nomination, that of Roger B. Taney as Secretary of the Treasury by President Andrew Jackson. Taney, realizing the situation, declined the nomination. [3]

---

[1] Antonin Dvořák, "Music in America," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. XC, No. 537 (February, 1895), pp. 429-434. Dvořák, a sound scholar of American music, was between 1892-95 the director of the National Conservatory of Music in New York City.

[2] Muller, op. cit., pp. 31 and 34.

[3] Tyler, op. cit., pp. 221-223.

Shortly after the Whig Senate rejected Taney's nomination a great number of Jackson Republicans honored Mr. Taney with a public dinner on Thursday afternoon, July 24, 1834, at the Columbian Gardens in Baltimore; however, no record indicates that Mr. Key was present among the invited guests.[1] On Wednesday, August 6, 1834, the Jackson Republicans of Frederick County gave Mr. Taney another public dinner in the Court House Yard, at which Mr. Key was present, and was honored with a toast:

> Francis S. Key - a friend of the Administration, and an incorruptible patriot; - worthy of being honored wherever genius is admired or Liberty cherished, as the author of 'The Star Spangled Banner.'[2]

In his lengthy reply Key emphasized the services of Andrew Jackson to his country and the importance of patriotism in general, and proposed at the end a toast to "the real authors" of his song, "The defenders of the Star-Spangled Banner. - What they would not strike to a foe; they will never sell to traitors."[3] His remarks were received with applause and enthusiasm. This is the only recorded occasion on which Key publicly referred to his authorship of the Star Spangled Banner. Key died of pleurisy on January 11, 1843, at the residence of his son-in-law, Charles Howard. The Baltimore Sun commented on this event in its editorial as follows:

---

[1] An account of this dinner was first published in the Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser, July 25, 1834, p. 2, and July 26, 1834, p. 2. It also appeared in The Maryland Gazette (Annapolis, Md.), July 31, 1834, pp. 2-3, and in the Richmond Enquirer (Richmond, Va.), August 5, 1834, pp. 1-2.

[2] Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Advertiser, August 18, 1834, p. 2.

[3] Ibid. It should be stated here, that the Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Advertiser reprinted the account of this dinner from the Frederick Citizen, which was not itself available for the author's consultation.

> Mr. Key is well known as the author of the spirited and beautiful National Song - 'The Star Spangled Banner' - and, if he had no other claim to the admiration and respectful remembrance of posterity, that, alone, would make his name to survive as long as American freedom shall live. The enthusiasm of the patriot, combined with the inspiration of the poet, enabled him to express the love of country in glowing strains that would have honored the purest men of the most renowned days of the [illegible]

Key was buried in Baltimore, and in 1866, in compliance with his Will, his body was brought to Mount Olivet Cemetery for reburial in Frederick, Md.

One more aspect to be considered is that the word anthem is derived from the Greek ἀντίφωνα through the Saxon antefn, which was originally related in meaning to the Greek cognate, referring to a liturgical practice involving alternate singing between two choirs. Since the 16th Century the word anthem has been more loosely used, referring generally to a musical piece of sacred or patriotic character, involving an element of gladness or praise. And was not the Star Spangled Banner an anthem of American patriotism of the 19th Century? Its popularity was without doubt enormous; it was sung by people everywhere. Also bands, both here and abroad, included it in their repertoire. For example Lieut. Dan Godfrey and his British Guards Band, which arrived in New York on Saturday, March 4, 1899, on the Lucania, on Tuesday afternoon, March 7, 1899, gave a concert in the East Room of the White House in the presence of President and Mrs. McKinley and wives of the Cabinet members. In the program was included the Star Spangled Banner. This was the inauguration of the first [illegible] tour of the United States to be undertaken by an English military band.[2]

---

[1] The Sun, January 13, 1899, p. 7.

[2] The Indianapolis Journal, March 8, 1899, p. 3.

The popularity of the Star Spangled Banner outside the United States was particularly great in other parts of the English-speaking world because of the absence of a language barrier, as well as a desire for friendly relations between the United States and the English motherland. According to a correspondent of the New Times, writing from Wellington, New Zealand, on February 16, 1899, "It is worthy to note that throughout the colonies 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is both played and sung at a great many public functions, and there is no idea so popular as that of an alliance with America."[1]

During the Presidential campaign of 1900 the Star Spangled Banner was used as a campaign song in both the Republican[2] and Democratic[3] campaigns.

On March 11, 1901, the U.S. Marine Band began a tour of various parts of the country which lasted until April 14. On Wednesday afternoon, March 27, the Band under Lieutenant Santelmann played at Gen. Benjamin Harrison's funeral. At the grave, in the Crown Hill cemetery, the band played its tribute to the late former President who had enjoyed it so much while serving in Washington. According to a newspaper account,

> A solemn hush fell over the assembled multitude when the seventy-four splendid-looking men, clad in light blue fatique uniforms, wearing white belts and regulation forage caps, marched with solemn, martial tread to the Harrison lot and then counter-marched so as to bring them in a position immediately facing the monument.

---

[1] The New York Times, March 19, 1899, p. 14.

[2] W.G. Thomas, McKinley Campaign Songster for 1900, For Male Voices. (Logansport, Ind.: The Home Music Company, 1900), pp. 24-25.

[3] Logan S. Porter, Bryan Campaign Songster for 1900, for Male Voices. (Logansport, Ind.: The Home Music Company, 1900), pp. 24-25.

> Without a word the leader waved his baton and the admirably drilled body of musicians gave forth the entrancing melody of 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' played with fitting modulation. When the last sweet strains of the patriotic number had died away the familiar notes of 'Rock of Ages' floated out on the crisp air and the people assembled stirred involuntarily as they remembered that this was one of General Harrison's favorite hymns....A feature of the occasion that seemed to appeal with peculiar force to all who appreciated it was that after a few bars of 'The Star-spangled Banner' had been played the sun, which previously remained concealed behind forbidding clouds, broke forth in a burst of dazzling effulgence. It was one of those instances where nature seems to smile approval upon some particularly pleasing deed of man.[1]

On the evening of the same day the Band gave a concert before a capacity audience in Tomlinson Hall in Indianapolis, which, according to newspaper report "was opened in a picturesque and pleasing manner by the rendition of the rendition of the national anthem, 'The Star-spangled Banner,' and the effect of such an air played by men wearing military uniforms was to bring the audience to its feet as one person."[2] Another Indianapolis newspaper commented on the Tomlinson Hall concert that "The national anthem, 'The Star Spangled Banner,' fittingly opened the program."[3]

On Friday evening, April 5, 1901, the Band played in Minneapolis, and according to one newspaper, "'The Star Spangled Banner' opened the program, followed by 'Stars and Stripes Forever' as an encore. Both were received with greatest enthusiasm."[4]

---

[1]The Indianapolis Journal, March 28, 1901, p. 3.

[2]Ibid.

[3]The Indianapolis Sentinel, March 28, 1901, p. 6.

[4]The Minneapolis Tribune, April 6, 1901, p. 8.

In its opening concert on Tuesday night, April 16, 1901, at the Light Guard Armory in Detroit, played before two thousand people, the Band opened its programme with the Star Spangled Banner. "As was fitting the first number was the 'Star Spangled Banner,' played by the men standing on their feet until the last note was played," said the newspaper.[1]

However, when the Band played its final Detroit concert on Wednesday night, April 17, 1901, the paper reported that:

> Although the band showed its patriotic training by standing while 'Hail Columbia' was being played, the audience failed to show as good taste and remained seated. Later on, when 'America' came in a Santelmann medley, two boys in the gallery stood up, and it was not until the familiar strains of the 'Star Spangled Banner' crashed out, at the concert's very end, that the audience came to its senses and rose to its feet. Lieut. Santelmann and his band looked mildly surprised when the audience failed to honor the national airs, but there was nothing they could do about it.[2]

The Star Spangled Banner was also included in the programme of the second concert of the twentieth "National Sangerfest des Nordostlichen Sangerbundes," held in Baltimore on June 14, 1903.[3]

We have seen that from 1901 the U.S. Army, through paragraph 512 of its Army Regulations, had prescribed that during the lowering of the flag from the staff at Retreat, the band was required to play the Star

---

[1] The Detroit Free Press, April 17, 1901, p. 3.

[2] Ibid., April 18, 1901, p. 3.

[3] Cf. Festchöre für das 20ste National-Sängerfest des Nordöstlichen Sängerbundes Inhaltsverzeichniss. Baltimore, Md., June 14, 1903. (New York: Copyright 1902 by G. Schirmer (for 1903)), p. 73.

Spangled Banner, and that military personnel were required to render proper salutes.[1] The Navy Department, through Paragraphs 102 and 159 of its Navy Regulations issued on July 30, 1903, in harmony with the prior action of the War Department, had also extended its rules by requiring proper respect to be observed whenever the Star Spangled Banner was played.[2] These actions of the War Department and the Navy Department were primarily directed to military and naval personnel, but they also had the purpose, as previously stated, of educating the public towards its universal recognition and working towards its eventual adoption by Congress as the national anthem.

Particularly following the action of the Navy Department of July 30, 1903, the public seemed confused on this point, but in general it was considered that the Star Spangled Banner had been recognized as the national anthem of this country. This was however a misconception.

The New-York Daily Tribune in its editorial of September 16, 1903, mistakenly interpreted the Navy Department's recognition as an official Government's adoption of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem. The paper considered this a wise step, as it felt that now "there will be no more confusion on that important point among Uncle Sam's sailor men."[3]

---

[1] See Supra, p. 232.

[2] See Supra, pp. 232-233.

[3] New-York Daily Tribune, September 16, 1903, p. 8.

Similarly the magazine Outlook, in its editorial of October 3, 1903, entitled "The National Anthem," in referring to the decision of the Army and the Navy to recognize the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States, felt that until the country had some more inspiring poetic and musical expression, the Star Spangled Banner would have to do, since there must be agreement as to what the anthem was, in order to avoid embarrassing situations.[1]

Strong opposition against the decision of the Army and Navy to recognize the Star Spangled Banner came from one writer, Lucia Ames Mead, who in her letter to the editors of Outlook vigorously criticized the Army and Navy for their action. She took particular issue with the phrase of the song, "conquer we must, for our cause it is just," feeling that it would be "a matter of serious importance if children throughout our land are taught that" phrase. She implied that this recognition was not a matter for the Army and Navy to decide for all of the people because as she put it "the decision of the small body of army and naval officials, though somewhat influential in shaping public opinion, can settle nothing."[2]

As indicated above, this controversy regarding the recognition of the Star Spangled Banner by Army and Navy was actually irrelevant, as there had been in fact no decision legally binding on the citizenry.

---

[1] The Outlook, Vol. 75, No. 5 (October 3, 1903), p. 245.

[2] Cf. her letter "Our National Anthem" in The Outlook, Vol. 75, No. (November 7, 1903), p. 616.

As previously described, it was the Bureau of Navigation which on March 22, 1904, recommended to the Secretary of the Navy the adoption of the Star Spangled Banner as national air and that it be played at morning as well as at evening colors.[1] It should be remembered in this connection that, since the time of Secretary Tracy's order of July 26, 1889, the Star Spangled Banner had been used at morning colors and "Hail Columbia" at evening colors.[2] It had been the opinion of the Judge Advocate General on March 25, 1904, that it was within neither the scope nor the authority of the Navy Department, nor within that of the Executive Branch of the Government, to designate any particular air, as proposed by the Bureau of Navigation, as official, since such action was purely within the authority of the Congress. The Judge Advocate also had expressed his personal belief that airs such as "Hail Columbia" or "O Columbia: the Gem of the Ocean" were much more suitable than the Star Spangled Banner to be played at both morning and evening colors.[3] Nevertheless the Secretary of the Navy, on March 29, 1904, had replied to the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation that, while he could not designate any particular air as a national air, he would approve an amendment to the Navy Regulations providing that the Star Spangled Banner only should be played at colors. An amendment to the Regulations submitted to the Secretary of the Navy on April 2, 1904, by the Bureau of Navigation, providing for the playing

---

[1]See Supra, p. 236.
[2]See Supra, p. 218.
[3]See Supra, p. 237.

the Star Spangled Banner at morning and evening colors and t ard ·tips, had been approved on April 8, 1904, and implemented on April 22, 1904.[1]

There are some works which state that it was [illegible] Dewey who in 1904 interested President Theodore Roosevelt in starting a movement to recognize the Star Spangled Banner as our national anthem and that it was Dewey who secured from the Secretary of the Navy the above-described order by which the Star Spangled Banner was introduced in the Navy for morning and evening colors.[2] The evidence given previously in this study indicates that this was not the case; it was the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, H. C. Taylor, who initiated the action which led finally to the regulations establishing the Star Spangled Banner for morning and evening colors on April 22, 1904. There is nothing in the official correspondence, no documentation indicating an interest on the part of Admiral Dewey in starting a movement to recognize the Star Spangled Banner.

---

[1] See Supra, pp. 237-238.

[2] Charles Francis Stein, Jr. in his book Our National Anthem The Star-Spangled Banner: Its History and Significance. (Baltimore: Published by the Wyman Park Federal Savings & Loan Association, 1964) on page 28 says: "A movement to have the poem offically recognized as the National Anthem of our country was begun by Admiral Dewey who in 1904 ordered it played by all naval bands at 'colors' in the morning and evening. Admiral Dewey interested President Theodore Roosevelt in the cause." Similarly Edward S. Delaplaine in his work Francis Scott Key and the National Anthem. (Washington, D.C.: Wilson Apes Press, 1947), on p. 9 states: "As far as back as 1904 Admiral Dewey, by appeal ing to President Theodore Roosevelt, secured an order from the Secretary of the Navy requiring The Star Spangled Banner to be played at both morning and evening colors throughout the United States Navy."

It is also improbable that Dewey would indeed have received Roosevelt's support for recognition of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem, since the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the hymn by Julia Ward Howe, long associated with the cause of freedom and justice, had been a favorite of the President. In one of his own books the Battle Hymn of the Republic is quoted in full.[1]

> Last Saturday, in the late afternoon, when it had grown a little cool, I was riding with two of my aides, Captain Fitzhugh Lee, and Captain Archie Butt of your own State and my Mother's State of Georgia. The mare I was on by the way was named Georgia, and a good mare she is, too, well-behaved, and a good jumper. We were taking our horses out to exercise them over some jumps. We had just been listening to the really superb singing of citizens of German birth or parentage, who were about to go abroad to appear at certain courts and elsewhere in Europe, and who had wisht to sing in the White House as farewell before starting on their foreign journey. Among other things they had, at my request, sung 'Dixie' (as well as the Old Kentucky Home and the Suwanee River). While riding we were talking over the fact that 'Dixie' was far and away the best tune (and the best military tune, that we knew, not even excepting Garry Owen), and that it had won its way until it was the tune which would bring everybody to his feet with a yell in any audience in any part of the country; and we were bemoaning the fact that there never had been any words which were in any way adequate to the tune, and dwelling on the further fact that it was such a fine battle tune--the best battle tune of our army. Captain Butt then added that just as 'Dixie' stood alone among tunes, so we had in Julia Ward Howe's great 'Battle Hymn of the Republic' the very finest and noblest battle hymn possest by any Nation of the world, a hymn that in loftiness of thought and expression, in both words and tune, lent

---

[1]Cf. Theodore Roosevelt, America and the World War. Fear God and Take Your Own Part. The Works of Theodore Roosevelt. National Edition, Vol. XVIII. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 198.

> itself to choral singing as no other battle hymn did in any country; and he added that there was not a sectional line in the hymn, not a word that could awaken a single unpleasant thought in the mind of any American, no matter where he lived and no matter on which side he or his father, had fought in the great war. I told him I entirely agreed with him, and that, just as 'Dixie' was becoming the tune which when played excited most enthusiasm among Americans everywhere, so I hoped that sooner or later all Americans would grow to realize that in this 'Battle Hymn of the Republic' we had what really ought to be a great National treasure, something that all Americans would grow to know intimately, so that in any audience anywhere in the land when the tune was started most of the audience should be able to join in singing the words. We then grew to wondering if this good result would ever be achieved, and we thought it would be worth while to write to you. We know that any such movement can come, if at all, only because of genuine popular feeling, and with small regard to the opinion of any one man or any particular set of men; and it can only come slowly in any event; but we thought it might be helped on a little if what we had to say was published in your magazine. I append a copy of the Battle Hymn. [1]

In another letter of November 19, 1908, to Richard Watson Gilder, he states:

> I was reading Trevelyan's Macaulay again last evening, and on page 298 of the new edition I came on his comment on the people who think they can have a literature written to order. Don't you think that this applies to national anthem to order? July Ward Howe's 'Battle Hymn of the Republic" is an inspiration of genius. No other nation has so fine a poem for its national anthem, and there is a first-class tune for it--a great popular tune. There really is not a word of sectionalism in the poem. We practically have 'Dixie' as a national tune everywhere. There isn't the slightest reason why we should not have Julia Ward Howe's hymn as our national anthem. It is mere waste of time to get people of set purpose to write such an anthem. [2]

---

[1] The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt. Selected and edited by Elting E. Morison. Vol. VI. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 1075-1076.

[2] Ibid., p. 1366.

These two letters, altbough written in 1908, give us a good idea of Pres. Theodore Roosevelt's feelings on the subject of a national anthem. There is no official record or personal correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt which indicates that he had been approached in 1904 by Admiral Dewey on the Star Spangled Banner.

There have been many attempts in the past to change or supplement the original text of Key's poem. It was the State of Indiana which first acted against the perversion of the words of Key's poem, and whose Legislature called for the restoration of the original text in the school books, realizing that the revised version was an impudent interpolation. This happened on Thursday morning, February 16, 1905, when Mr. Harry C. Hubbard of Marion County, Indiana, submitted to the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana the following Resolution:

> Whereas, In certain school books circulated for use in the public schools of the State the national anthem, 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' has been changed and mutilated to suit the whims and caprices of certain critics; and,
>
> Whereas, The immortal verses of Francis Scott Key are dear to the American heart and should be forever enshrined in the hearts of the American people, children of our schools, and their noble sentiments inculcated into the rising generation; therefore, be it Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That none of the text books alluded to, which contain the mutilated verses of the national anthem be permitted to be used or to circulate in the public schools of Indiana, and that the State Board of Education is hereby instructed to take proper action in the matter to prevent the use of such books in the public schools of this State, and that the Clerk of the House of Representatives is hereby instructed to furnish a certified copy of this resolution to the chairman of the State Board of Education.

> Books in which the anthem is mutilated:
>
> Fourth Reader, Columbus Series; published by Schwartz, Kirwan & Lyman, 42 Barclay street, New York.
>
> History Reader for Elementary Schools, by Prof. L. L. W. Wilson; published by the McMillan Company.
>
> In addition to these there are several school song books in which the anthem is changed and the verse mentioned omitted
>
> The question being on the adoption of the resolution.
>
> It was agreed to, and the Clerk was ordered to transmit the same to the Senate for action thereon. [1]

Hubbard's resolution was received in the Indiana Senate on March 1, 1905 under Engrossed House Concurrent Resolution No.1, stating:

> Be it resolved, by the House of Representatives, the senate concurring, That none of certain text books alluded to which contain the mutilated verses of the national anthem, be permitted to be used or to circulate in the public schools of Indiana, and that the State Board of Education is hereby instructed to take proper action in the matter to prevent the use of such books in the public schools of this State, and that the clerk of the House of Representatives is hereby instructed to furnish a certified copy of this resolution to the chairman of the State Board of Education. [2]

Since no final action was taken in the Senate, the Resolution failed, and thus this first attempt, on the part of the Indiana Legislature, to restore the original text of the Star Spangled Banner in the school books resulted in failure.

---

[1] Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana During the Sixty-Fourth Session of the General Assembly, Commencing Thursday, January 5, 1905. Regular Session. (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1905), pp. 1191-1192.

[2] Journal of the Indiana State Senate During the Sixty-fourth Session of the General Assembly Commencing Thursday, January 5, 1905. Regular Session. (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1905), pp. 1543-1544.

A similar attempt was made in the State of New York. On March 23, 1905, The New York Times announced that Professor Leslie J. Tompkins of New York would introduce in the Assembly a Bill on the following day, March 24, which would restore the third verse of the Star Spangled Banner.[1]

In its editorial of March 24, 1905, The New York Times expressed its belief that Prof. Tompkins' attitude was hasty and ill-advised, reflecting not only upon New York City School Superintendent William H. Maxwell, but also upon the school curriculum of the city. "The chief trouble with the 'Star-Spangled Banner' as a National Hymn is not with the words, but with the tune. It is unsingable by a chorus of ordinary voices....Most of the singers forget the words; scarcely any of them can manage the tune," declared the editorial, which furthermore stressed that the proposed changes "should be made, in order to make the National Anthem popularly practicable, and incorporated in the editions set forth for the use of the public schools."[2]

In an article in the Times on the music of the Star Spangled Banner, an anonymous correspondent pointed out that the range of the tune, which is an octave and one-half, was beyond the capabilities of the average voice, and consequently the Star Spangled Banner was defective as a National Anthem.[3]

---

[1] The New York Times, March 23, 1905, p. 6.
[2] Ibid., March 24, 1905, p. 8.
[3] Ibid., April 2, 1905, Part IV, Second Magazine Section, p. 2.

James Clancy, in a letter to the Times, however expressed the wish that the Star Spangled Banner would be kept as written. He refuted the Times article of April 2, stating that the musical difficulty of the tune would also apply to the Declaration of Independence. "Very few school children or even adults can commit to memory the Declaration of Independence. But that is no reason why it should be condensed," he stated. Speaking from personal observation he pointed out that "our schools have ignored the National anthem. With our Superintendents, Principals, and many teachers 'God Save the King' has the call." He also pointed out that the yearly salaries for special teachers and music supervisors in New York City amounted to $84,680. "If the boy and girl graduates cannot sing 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' cui bono?" [sic] he asked.[1]

On April 11, 1905, the New York State Assembly unanimously passed the Tompkins Bill for an unamended Star Spangled Banner, which, according to the Albany correspondent of the New York Times, was regarded as "one of the measures aimed at the fads of Superintendent Maxwell."[2]

Superintendent Maxwell in his reply stated that, contrary to the Times correspondent's implication, the Star Spangled Banner had not in fact been revised in the school editions nor had any ban been issued by him.[3]

---

[1] Ibid.; no doubt in this quotation the Latin expression cui bono (frequently translated "What's the use?") is intended.

[2] Ibid., April 12, 1905, p. 2.

[3] Cf. his letter in The New York Times, April 13, 1905, p. 10.

It is then not surprising that at this time some musical publishers in this country had published garbled versions of the Star Spangled Banner. A letter sent to the New-York Daily Tribune warned its readers on these garbled versions, one of which inserted lines referring to the Civil War, thus recalling the unhappy division of 1861-'65:

> Not as North or as South in the future we'll stand,
> But as brothers united throughout our broad land.

and advised them that they should get copies of the original, and not a counterfeit.[1]

On Sunday, September 30, 1906, the U.S. Marine Band gave a concert at the Hippodrome in New York City under Lieut. Santelmann. Congressman William Sulzer, introducing the Band to the audience called it "of all bands in all lands the finest." The programme was rich and impressive but the highest enthusiasm of the audience came when the Star Spangled Banner was played. "The audience, which had been very appreciative all through, was roused to enthusiasm, and rose to its feet and cheered when the first notes of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' were heard," reported one newspaper.[2]

A strong reaction against the Star Spangled Banner came again however on November 2, 1906, when The North American Review in an editorial entitled "For a New National Hymn," vigorously attacked it in the following terms:

---

[1] New-York Daily Tribune, June 25, 1906, p. 7.

[2] The New York Times, October 1, 1906, p. 7.

> Will not some one kindly compose a new national hymn? We should dislike to lose 'The Star-Spangled Banner' chiefly because of its patriotic origin on board an American frigate during a British bombardment, and we love to recall such incidents as that in Castle Garden, when Daniel Webster, to the distress of his wife, and the delight of the audience, set the example of rising, which has since become common, and, by main strength and with mighty voice, joining in the chorus with Jenny Lind. But, after all, only the words are American, the atrocious music being that of 'Anacreon in Heaven,' composed by an Englishman. It is therefore distinctively national only in part, and after nearly a century of trying service might well be laid upon the shelf. A yet more efficient reason for seeking a substitute is found in the fact that the American people have been trying in vain for nearly a century to sing it. Despite the general cultivation of voices, the endeavor of an audience to-day to respond to the demand upon their patriotic spirit continues to be as pathetic as it has ever been desperate. Even our loyal navy takes 'America' in place of 'The Star-spangled Banner' at evening colors. From time to time the suggestion is made that this substitution be generally made, but here again objection arises from the fact that only the words of 'America,' too, are American....For double-quick marching 'Yankee Doodle' continues to be satisfactory and 'Hail, Columbia' is not without merit; but 'America' is of too common use among the nations and 'The Star-spangled Banner' too throat-rending; so again we ask, Will not some one kindly present us with a new distinctively American national hymn? [1]

The editorial, in addition to being biased, was also incorrect on several points, of which the most important was the statement that at that time (in 1906), the Navy was using the tune "America" for the evening colors. This tune had never been used by the Navy for any colors, morning or evening. As may be recalled, the Navy as early as 1889 introduced the Star Spangled Banner at morning colors and "Hail Columbia"

[1] The North American Review, Vol. 183, No. 7 (November 2, 1906), pp. 947-948

at evening colors, and this custom continued until 1904, when through the new regulations effective April 22, 1904, the Star Spangled Banner was introduced into both morning and evening colors. It seems then that the Star Spangled Banner was a favorite bone of contention among the pseudo-patriots, who saw in it, particularly in its melody, an un-American element. However the opposition to the Star Spangled Banner was balanced by an at least equal enthusiasm for it, particularly during the concerts of the U.S. Marine Band.

On Tuesday, April 16, 1907, the Band under Lieut. Santelmann played two splendid concerts at Bangor, Maine, and in its programme the Star Spangled Banner was included, as the "National Anthem."[1] In reviewing this concert the Bangor Daily Commercial mildly chastised the Bangor residents for their lack of patriotism. The story stated:

> Then came the finale, the Star Spangled Banner. The Band rose as one man to their feet. A few persons in the audience struggled to their feet also, probably having read somewhere that it was the proper thing to do, then the rest of the audience struggled up from their seats, but apparently with small intent to do honor to the National Anthem. Most of them were looking for their hats and coats and while they evidently had a sort of half respect enough not to make for the door, if Lieut. Santelmann's back had not been squarely turned he must have thought that Bangor was very, very far from Washington.[2]

Similarly during the concert which the Band gave before an enthusiastic audience on Tuesday evening, April 23, 1907, in Manchester, N.H., the public did not seem to display a proper patriotic feeling,

---

[1] The Bangor Daily News, April 17, 1907, p. 2.
[2] Bangor Daily Commercial, April 17, 1907, p. 12.

an impression which led one newspaper to remark:

> Meanwhile there had been several encores, and in addition to those named there was the 'Pfieff [sic] Lied,' by Strauss, an amusing paraphrase of 'Bedelia' and the 'Flag of Victory' march, so there had been a full evening of music when the band arose to play the 'Star Spangled Banner.' It must be confessed that when the United States Marine band played what really is the national anthem last night there was a noticeable movement towards the door. Apart from the desire to hear the music, which was grand, one would almost think that everybody might have stood with the band and showed this simple respect for the flag.[1]

It seems that the patriotic behavior of the Manchester citizens improved somewhat at the concert held the following day, so that in its editorial the Manchester Union could state that, "The closing piece performed by the United States Marine band in this city was 'The Star Spangled Banner.' The audience rose, and for the most part stood respectfully in their places until the piece was finished. There were marked exceptions, however."[2]

Despite the song's increasing popularity and recognition, it was only in 1907 that a scholarly investigation of the Star Spangled Banner's history was undertaken. At the request of President Theodore Roosevelt, who was in turn prompted by the request of a public school music teacher for an authoritive work on the national airs, the Library of Congress was entrusted with the preparation of such a work. According to a newspaper comment,

---

[1] The Manchester Union, April 24, 1907, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., April 25, 1907, p. 6.

> This report, it is understood, will not be published as authoritative, but it is probable that after the findings are finally passed upon some parts of it will be made public. In considering the many songs which have become national in character, the authorities of the Library will have a big task to work out.[1]

Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, assigned this task to Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, Chief of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, who in 1909 produced his volume relating to the four most popular American patriotic songs: the Star Spangled Banner, "Hail Columbia," "America" and "Yankee Doodle." The book presents the various versions of both texts and music, historical discussions of the songs, and a critical examination of the literature and evidence relating to them.[2]

Another result of the recognition bestowed on the Star Spangled Banner was an influx of offers from various individuals of their own compositions as candidates for a new national anthem. During 1909 and 1910 the enormous volume of these offers was particularly evident; they included titles such as "When Our Fleet Comes Sailing Home," "There's a Fleet on the Sea from the Land of the Free," "Uncle Sam's Prayer," "America's Bell of Freedom Around the World," "God save the President," "Our Flag and Its Virtue," "Oh Uncle Samuel," etc., etc. According to the established practice of the Navy Department, all these songs were referred to the Leader of the Marine Band, William H. Santelmann, for

---

[1] The Washington Herald, January 13, 1908, p. 2.

[2] Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, comp., Report on "The Star-Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," "America," "Yankee Doodle," (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), passim.

examination, report and recommendation, and then politely refused by the Navy Department as unsuitable to become a national song. They invariably had little musical merit, and neither their sentiment nor their music warranted official recognition.[1] One of them, for example, a hymn entitled "God save the President" submitted by a pastor of a Congregational Church in Maine, completely lacked originality, and its music was found to be similar to that of the Russian National Hymn.[2] On the other hand the music of the song entitled "Uncle Sam's Prayer," submitted by an émigré Englishman from New York City, was found to be identical with the Star Spangled Banner and consequently refused, as a free rendering of this song would not comply with the regulations governing the rendition of the National Anthem.[3] Though discouraged at first the author did not give up, and on April 25, 1910, he sent another of his musical compositions entitled "Bwana Tumbo" to be played by the Navy Band when Mr. Roosevelt returned to Washington, but this composition was found to be unsuitable for use in a formal reception for Mr. Roosevelt,[4] and the Secretary of the Navy duly advised him of this fact.[5]

These few selected examples illustrate the difficulties the Navy Department had to experience with these overzealous authors.

---

[1]Cf. offers for new national songs in R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4950, 1909, 1910.

[2]Cf. 4th Endorsement of Wm. H. Santelmann to the Commanding Officer, Marine Barracks, May 28, 1909. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4950, 1909.

[3]Secretary of the Navy to James Meakins, March 16, 1909. R.G.80. Correspondence File 4950, 1909.

[4]Cf. 4th Endorsement of Wm. H. Santelmann to the Commanding Officer, U.S. Marine Barracks, May 11, 1910. R.G.80. Correspondence File 4950, 1910.

[5]Secretary of the Navy to Meakins, May 16, 1910. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4950, 1910.

While the controversy over a new national song seemed t be growing, there appeared in Omaha, Nebraska, the second enlarged edition of Národní Zpěvník Česko-Americký - Czech-American National Songster. This Czech-language songster contained all the American patriotic songs and Civil War songs as well as common songs such as "Home Sweet Home." Both Czech and English words are given for each song, even "Yankee Doodle." Song number 57 was The Star Spangled Banner in English, followed by its Czech translation, number 58 entitled "Hvězdnatý prapor."[1] The translations of all these songs were specially prepared for the Czech immigrants in this country by a well-known Czech-American poet, Father Alois Janda. In comparison with the previously mentioned German translations of the Star Spangled Banner this Czech translation, with all four stanzas, appears to be better, perhaps as Janda was himself an accomplished poet.

It is probable that a still earlier Czech translation was used by the great brass bands which played at political meetings, the "Kmečníks," for one, and the "Great Western Band," a particular favorite of President McKinley, founded and directed by Hrubý of Cleveland, the father of the celebrated Hrubý family, which is vitally involved, in its third and fourth generations, in Cleveland musical activities to the present time.

---

[1] See Appendix L.

While the Star Spangled Banner was enjoying public affection throughout the country as well as official military support, a new controversy started regarding the original authorship of the tune. In 1910 John Henry Blake presented evidence which not only attempted to eliminate John Stafford Smith as the composer of the original music of the Star Spangled Banner, but also opened up the whole question of its authorship, advancing theories of its origin as variously Irish, French, or American.[1]

On Sunday, August 3, 1913, there began in Buffalo a four-day convention of the two largest German Catholic organizations in the country, the German Catholic Central Verein and the New York Staatsverband, attended by delegates from throughout the country representing a membership of more than 150,000. At this convention Mr. Paul Prodoehl, on Tuesday afternoon, August 5, 1913, representing Baltimore and acting as Chairman of the Civic Committee, offered a Resolution proposing the Star Spangled Banner as the proper national song of the United States, while condemning the use of "America" as a national anthem.[2]

The resolution was adopted by the convention; however it provoked public resentment. The Buffalo Morning Express commented that "Any organization is very foolish to offend the fine patriotic sentiment which has grown up around the hymn America."[3] The Philadelphia's Public

[1]John Henry Blake, American National Anthem "Star Spangled Banner" Made "Singable" for the Voices of the People. History of the Origin of the Words. Music Written for the Information and Use of the American People. With Modern Music Setting for all Voices and all Instruments. (New York: Published by John Henry Blake, 1912), pp. 3-4.

[2]Buffalo Morning Express, August 6, 1913, p. 7.

[3]Ibid., p. 1.

Ledger , in its editorial of August 7, 1913, commented:

> Are those who object to the origin of 'America's' tune aware that the melody of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' was originally a rousing drinking song, entitled 'To Anacreon in Heaven,' and that where we sing of the rocket's red glare and bombs bursting in air the bacchanalians chanted: 'Voice, fiddle and flute, no longer be mute?' [1]

According to the New York Evening Sun editorial of August 7, 1913, no one "has any doubt at all about the English origin of the tune to which we sing 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'" The editorial pointed out once again that the real difficulty with the Star Spangled Banner as a popular air was that "it was too great a range for the compass of the average voice." Regarding the lyrics the editorial declared that, "in neither case are they so supremely happy as to render future experiments superfluous." Consequently the editorial interpreted this expression of preference of the German Catholic Central Verein for the Star Spangled Banner as a move which had "got out of the frying pan into the fire." [2]

A correspondent with initials M. K., commenting in America, a Catholic weekly review, on the statement of the Evening Sun, declared the Sun to be in error, and as proof he quoted Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood, who in his article published in the Ave Maria magazine on July 6, 1912, stated that the song was not English at all, but that it was Irish, most probably composed about 1730 by Turlough O'Carolan. Since the words of "To Anacreon in Heaven" had originated in Ireland prior to 1770, but as time went on little had been slightly changed in subsequent reprints, it had nevertheless

---

[1] Public Ledger, August 7, 1913, p. 8.

[2] The Evening Sun, August 7, 1913, p. 10.

the characteristics of the last Irish bard, O'Carolan. The beginning of the legend of the English origin of the air had started with Chappell, and had been propagated by Mr. Sonneck of the Library of Congress Music Division. Since Dr. Flood had exposed the error of these two gentlemen, Chappell and Sonneck, the Evening Sun consequently missed the point.[1]

Father H. T. Henry in his article, "The Air of the 'Star-Spangled Banner,'" attempted to prove that there was no real basis for Dr. Flood's claim of an Irish origin of the tune, and that the article in Ave Maria was misleading. Though Father Henry expressed his belief that the words of "Anacreon" were probably a product of Tomlinson with tune by Smith, he also considered the possibility of an Irish origin of the tune.[2]

In the fall of 1913 Miss Henrietta G. Baker, Supervisor of Music in the public schools of Baltimore, demonstrated a new mode of singing the Star Spangled Banner. Only the music and the often-objected-to fourth verse had been revised. Miss Baker, with the assistance of some of the leading musical men in the city, had attempted to make the words and music "go together better," without spoiling the harmonies of the familiar tune. The new version assists in overcoming the high F that usually results in a "hideous anti-climax." The proponents of the revision desired to popularize this new version as much as possible before the Centennial Exposition of the Star Spangled Banner, "so that the way Baltimore sings the anthem may become the accepted way to sing it everywhere."[3]

---

[1] America. (A Catholic Review of the Week)., Vol. IX, No. 19 (August 16, 1913), p. 450.

[2] H.T. Henry, "The Air of the 'Star-Spangled Banner.'" Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, Vol XXIII, No. 4. (December, 1913), pp. 289-335.

[3] The Evening Sun (Baltimore, Md.), November 3, 1913, p. 4.

The strongest attack, on the military recognition of the Star Spangled Banner came from The Advance, a magazine devoted to Congregationalism. In its editorial published on February 19, 1914, The Advance vigorously denounced this proposal for the following three reasons: "First, it is unsingable; secondly, it is unintelligible except as related to a particular incident in the life of an individual not otherwise associated with our country's history in any notable way; and thirdly, the movement to elevate the 'Star Spangled Banner' into first place as our national hymn is in the interests of a sectarian movement to displace 'America.'" The editorial continued, "The War Department has a right to order the 'Star Spangled Banner' to be played by its bands on any occasion when it deems it fit that a national anthem should be played. The 'Star Spangled Banner' is worthy thus to be played and it is a national air suitable for such rendering, but it is not the national air and if the War Department should attempt to make it so it would exceed its authority."[1]

The Rev. Dr. William E. Barton, editor of The Advance, in his letter to President Woodrow Wilson of March 3, 1914, elaborated further upon the reasons the War Department should not declare the Star Spangled Banner our national air. He perceived in it a composition which was not suitable for popular singing, and consequently no congregation on earth could sing it effectively. Furthermore, "it grows out of a particular and individual experience having in it no special fact of heroism, but only telling when

[1]The Advance, Vol. LXVI, No. 2520 (February 19, 1914), p. 774.

it is interpreted by a series of footnotes that a particular American citizen at the end of an anxious night was glad to see the American flag the next morning. The song is unintelligible until it is explai... Finally, Dr. Barton opposed it because its origin breathed a spir... of hatred and bitterness which was not in keeping with the f... which the United States now had towards Great Britain. Dr. Barton particularly felt the lines, "No refuge can save The hireling and slav..., to be "not lines worthy to be perpetuated as expressive of our attitude toward Great Britain." He stressed that the Star Spangled Banner was an effective orchestral piece as a solo under certain conditions, and that its chorus had its good points for popular uses, but he expressed douht that many people could see the differences between endings which varied with the different stanzas, but which were so nearly alike, with the consequence that the chorus was seldom if ever properly sung. For these reasons Dr. Barton believed that the Star Spangled Banner should be honored as one of our national airs, but an attempt to make it the national air would not be based on any adequate reason.[1]

In another letter sent to the Secretary of War, Dr. Barton pointed out that 'The attempt to make the 'Star Spangled Banner' the national air of America is successful and deserves to succeed in so far as its rendering by an orchestra is concerned, but it is altogether futile to attempt to make it in any way a substitute for 'America' as a number for

[1]Barton to Wilson, March 3, 1914. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

congregational singing, and there are good reasons why it should not be attempted."[1]

But again the worries of The Advance and of Dr. Barton were baseless, as the War Department in fact lacked the authority to establish the Star Spangled Banner as the National Anthem of this land, such an act being the sole responsibility of the Congress. Designation of the Star Spangled Banner by the War Department and the Navy Department for morning and evening colors certainly showed a preference for this tune, but in their actions these departments were only recognizing what by common consent had been recognized and selected by the people as their preference. Nevertheless the action of the military and naval authorities had an enormous effect on the people at large, and undoubtedly influenced the decisions which later led to the eventual recognition of the song by Congress as a National Anthem of this land in 1931.

In 1914 a new edition of Sonneck's book was issued, this time on the Star Spangled Banner only, and in this work Sonneck devoted himself to a scholarly discussion, from the musical standpoint of the Star Spangled Banner, and greatly enlarged his historical evaluation of this tune.[2] There is no doubt that, by this scholarly presentation of the origin and current status of the Star Spangled Banner, additional prestige was conferred upon it.

---

[1]Barton to the Secretary of War, March 3, 1914. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File. Box No. 617.

[2]Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, The Star Spangled Banner. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), passim.

In the meantime preparations were underway for the commemoration of the centennial anniversary of the writing of the Star Spangled Banner. The original flag, measuring 42 by 30 feet, which flew at Fort McHenry in 1814 and inspired the verses of Francis Scott Key, had been preserved. The Star Spangled Banner Flag House Association, which has its headquarters in the old home of Mary Young Pickersgill, at 844 East Pratt Street, Baltimore, Md., holds a receipt for the labor of Mary Young Pickersgill, who made the flag. How long it took her to make the flag is not known; however, it is known that on August 19, 1813, she received $405.90 for her work, and that she used 400 yards of first-quality hand-woven wool bunting. Mrs. Pickersgill's daughter Caroline wrote a letter to Mrs. William Stuart Appleton, youngest daughter of Lieutenant Colonel George Armistead, who commanded Fort McHenry in 1814, telling why the flag was so durable, even though it had been penetrated by fragments from exploding bombs, explaining that her mother had reinforced the topping or heading of the flag.[1]

The first known photograph of the Star Spangled Banner was taken in 1874 in the Boston Navy Yard.[2]

Following the bombardment of Fort McHenry, the flag which inspired the composition of our national anthem was presented to Lieutenant Colonel Armistead. Later it came into the possession of his daughter, Georgianna

---

[1]Quaife, Weig and Appleman, op. cit., 68-69.

[2]See Appendix M.Cf. also Preble, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 732, who discusses this photograph.

Armistead, and finally her son, Mr. Eben Appleton, of New York City. The Star Spangled Banner had been on loan from Mr. Appleton to the Smithsonian Institution since 1907. In his letter of December 12, 1912, to Charles D. Walcott, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Mr. Appleton, grandson of Armistead, formally presented the flag as a gift to the Smithsonian, with the stipulation that it should never be removed under any circumstances, so that "any American Citizen who visits the Museum with the expectation of seeing the flag [may] be sure of finding it in its accustomed place."[1] This was the main reason the flag could not be lent for the National Star Spangled Banner centennial celebration held in Baltimore in September of 1914.

In 1914 a process of permanent preservation of the flag began under the direction of Mrs. Amelia Fowler, who with the help of her assistants restored the flag, by quilting it to a backing of unbleached Irish linen.[2] The flag was subsequently displayed in the North Hall of the Arts and Industries Building of the Smithsonian. At this time the flag, whose present dimensions are 30 by 34 feet, is displayed in the central hall of the Museum of History and Technology of the Institution.[3]

During the National Star Spangled Banner celebration held in Baltimore on September 12, 1914, at which the unveiling of the Armistead Monument and an address by Secretary of State Bryan, representing President Wilson, took place, there were thousands of people present at Fort McHenry.[4]

---

[1]Eben Appleton, Esq. re: Star Spangled Banner, Accession No. 54876, Office of the Registrar, Smithsonian Institution.

[2]See Appendix N.

[3]See Appendix O.

[4]The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), September 13, 1914, pp. 7 and 12; Baltimore American, September 13, 1914, pp. 9-11A.

Similar pageants on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the writing of the Star Spangled Banner were staged in other parts of the country, a particularly impressive pageant being staged at Madison, Wisconsin.[1]

In 1917 the Star Spangled Banner was included in a pamphlet with the anthems of the other Allied nations of France, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, Russia, Japan, Sertia, Mongenegro, Rumania, Portugal and Cuba.[2]

By the time of World War I the chorus of opposition from certain circles to the military recognition of the Star Spangled Banner seemed somewhat abated, because the tune, in addition to being good martial music, was also patriotically motivated, and both of these facts contributed to the contentment and welfare of the troops and inspired in them a valiant patriotic spirit, which was of course most essential. Hence the playing, and especially the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and other patriotic tunes were actively encouraged during the First World War.

---

[1]Ethel T. Rockwell, Star-Spangled Banner Pageant. Staged in the Capitol Park at Madison, Wisconsin in Celebration of the One-Hundredth Anniversary of the Writing of this National Song by Francis Scott Key. (Madison, Wisconsin: Tracy & Kilgore, Printers, 1914), passim.

[2]Flags and Anthems of the Allied Nations. (Cincinnati: The Schultz Printing Works, 1917), n. p.

XIV. PROPOSED STANDARDIZATION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

On November 19, 1908, Lieut. Colonel A. E. Balfour, Commandant of the British Royal Military School of Music, sent to the U. S. Embassy at London copies of the national anthem of the United States and that of Hawaii as they were then played by the bands of the British Army, requesting that any alterations or additions to them be noted.[1] His request was transmitted by the Ambassador in London to the Secretary of State[2] and finally to the Secretary of the Navy,[3] who in turn referred it to the Leader of the Marine Band, William H. Santelmann, who reported that the national anthem of Hawaii was the same as that of tha United States, and that the national anthem of the United States was the Star Spangled Banner, of which he was enclosing a revised copy.[4] Both the information and the copy were sent to the Secretary of State.[5]

In 1910 the War College Division thoroughly investigated the question of standarizing the Star Spangled Banner, submitting various scores to the different Army bands. The reaction was in favor of John Philip Sousa's National Patriotic and Typical Airs of all Lands for Full Military Bands be furnished to Army bands, and that Sousa's arrangement of the

---

[1]Balfour to the Secretary, U.S. Embassy, November 19, 1908. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4950, 1908.

[2]Reid to Root, November 20, 1908. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4950, 1908.

[3]Acting Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy, December 9, 1908. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4950, 1908.

[4]Cf. 4th Endorsement of Wm. H. Santelmann to the Commanding Officer, Marine Barracks, January 8, 1909. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4950, 1909.

[5]Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, January 13, 1909. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4950,, 1909.

Star Spangled Banner be officially adopted.[1] A monthly monetary allowance to bands for the purchase of music was established under provisions of General Orders, No. 67, War Department, 1911, on the basis of which, on August 15, 1911, the Secretary of War directed the Depot Quartermaster in Philadelphia to purchase sixty-eight sets of John Philip Sousa's National, Patriotic and Typical Airs for distribution to the sixty-eight Army bands.[2]

On May 8, 1916, a "Proposed Ordinance," which had originated in the Maryland Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, was introduced in the City Council of Baltimore, according to which the Star Spangled Banner would be properly honored in public places. In letters to the President of the United States and to Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, Layton F. Smith of the Maryland Society, Sons of the American Revolution, requested their views as to the merits of the proposed measure.[3] In reply it was stressed that the War Department had

> impliedly recognized 'The Star Spangled Banner' as such in general orders and regulations, and in doing so appears to have recognized that by common consent [it] has been selected as the National Anthem by the people themselves. A similar recognition has also been accorded this air by the Navy Department. Such being this attitude towards the Star Spangled Banner, this Department cannot but commend any steps that will tend to its general recognition throughout the country as

---

[1]Joseph E. Kuhn, Brigadier General, General Staff, Chief of War College Division to the Chief of Staff, Memorandum of April 3, 1917, Subject: National Air; suggested official standard score. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[2]See Memorandum from Major General Chief of Staff to The Adjutant General, August 15, 1911. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[3]Smith to The President, May 12, 1916, and Smith to Baker, May 12, 1916. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

> the National Anthem and that will prevent its desecration. The Department, therefore, is in entire sympathy with the proposed ordinance, and it is not to be doubted that the spirit prompting such a measure will tend to foster and to spread sentiments of patriotism among our people. [1]

Apparently no complaints were made concerning the Sousa band version. For Army orchestras, as opposed to bands, however, no standard score existed. As may be recalled, the only direction which would be applicable to orchestras as well as bands would have been paragraph 264 of Army Regulations, 1913, amended by C.A.R. 50, January 8, 1917, which provided that the Star Spangled Banner should not be played as part of a medley.[2] It therefore appeared certain, by Spring of 1917, that among the Army orchestras there would be some variations in performance, so long as the Star Spangled Banner was not played in an "unbecoming manner."[3]

The Department of the Navy, on March 12, 1917, solicited the views of the War Department on the suggestion of the Commanding Officer of the Naval Training Station at Newport, R. I., that a Board of Musicians from the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps convene to decide on an official score of the Star Spangled Banner for band and orchestra.[4] In reply the War Department wrote that it was considering furnishing official copies of the score to military and civilian musical organizations. Present Army policy was to use the Sousa version contained in National, Patriotic

---

[1]The Adjutant General to Smith, May 17, 1916. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

[2]See Supra, pp. 257-258.

[3]Joseph E. Kuhn, Brigadier General, General Staff, Chief of War College Division to the Chief of Staff, Memorandum of April 3, 1917, Subject: National Air; suggested official standard score. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[4]Secretary of the Navy to Secretary of War, March 12, 1917. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

and Typical Airs of All Lands for Full Bands. Even though no official score had been adopted, the playing of the Star Spangled Banner by Army bands had been standardized. Though no standardization for orchestral performance existed, Army commanders would not permit the Star Spangled Banner to be played as part of a medley or in [illegible] manner." The War Department was however willing to cooperate with effecting a more general standardization.[1]

There was a variety of differences as to the correct version of the Star Spangled Banner, and bandmasters, conductors, and arrangers were using so many different versions that confusion had resulted. Even the firm of Carl Fischer, Music Publishers in New York City, were so confused that they approached the Marine Band for information concerning the arrangement or publication which the Marine Band used.[2] At that time the Band had been using, as of 1917, the version of the Star Spangled Banner as arranged by Sousa and published in Sousa's National, Patriotic and Typical Airs... for military band, excluding the last part with the clarinet variation.[3]

In April of 1917 The New York American desired to print for free distribution an authorized version of the Star Spangled Banner, and Lieut. Santelmann furnished for this purpose a corrected copy of the version which the U.S. Marine Band had been playing under his baton. The paper

---

[1]Secretary of War to Secretary of the Navy, April 3, 1917. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

[2]Saenger to Santelmann, April 19, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[3]Leader, Band U.S. Marine Corps to Saenger, April 20, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

was however holding up its printing until this version would be officially confirmed. W. P. Anderson, Circulation Manager of the newspaper, on April 20, 1917, approached Secretary of War Baker through telegram, asking him for confirmation of the corrections of this version.[1] In reply, H. P. McCain, Adjutant General, as directed by the Secretary of War, informed Mr. Anderson that National, Patriotic and Typical Airs of All Lands for Full Bands as compiled by John Philip Sousa "is the arrangement authorized for Army bands."[2] Nevertheless, the newspaper went ahead with its project, and a copy of the Star Spangled Banner which Lieut. Santelmann had furnished to the New York American, appeared in this newspaper's Sunday supplement, The American Weekly on June 3, 1917.[3]

Early in April 1917 Edwin Lichtfield Turnbull made a new orchestral arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner. As a martial fanfare before closing of the anthem he introduced two bugle calls in counterpoint, the "Salute to the Color" and the "Call to Arms" played by trumpets and accompanied by a roll of drums. The arrangement was scored for 3 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, tympani, 3 snare drums, bass drum, cymbals, triangle, and the usual strings.[4]

On May 17, 1917 Lieut. Santelmann recommended that a standard or specified arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner be adopted for use by service bands.[5]

---

[1]Anderson to Baker, April 20, 1917. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

[2]McCain to Anderson, April 20, 1917. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

[3]New York American The American Weekly, June 3, 1917, p. 12.

[4]Cf. "Prefatory Note," signed by Edwin Lichtfield Turnbull, Baltimore, April 2, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[5]Santelmann to The Major General Commandant, U.S.M.C., May 17, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

His recommendation was favorably indorsed by the Major General Commandant, who referred the matter to the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation for consideration.[1] Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, in a third indorsement, referred the matter ultimately to the War Department.[2]

By authority of the Quartermaster General it was decided that Frank Damrosch, Director of Institute of Musical Art in New York City, who was then officially connected with the Army School for Band Leaders at Governors Island, be consulted in regard to the adoption of the score as suggested by Lieut. Santelmann.[3]

On June 15, 1917 Mr. Damrosch was officially approached for his recommendation by authority of the Depot Quartermaster.[4] Mr. Damrosch's opinion was that Lieut. Santelmann's arrangement was not satisfactory and recommended that it not be adopted as the official version of the U.S. War and Navy Departments.[5] In view of Mr. Damrosch's opinion, the office of the Quartermaster General recommended against the adoption of Lieut. Santelmann's score.[6]

---

[1]The Major General Commandant to The Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, May 19, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[2]Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of War, May 28, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[3]William E. Horton, Lieut. Col. Q. M. Corps, to the Depot Quartermaster, New York, June 12, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[4]Acting Quartermaster to Damrosch, June 15, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[5]Damrosch to Major C. Nixon, July 2, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[6]William E. Horton, Lieut. Col., Q.M. Corps., to The Adjutant General of the Army, July 5, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

On July 26, 1917, Mr. William C. White, Assistant Principal, Department Military Music, Institute of Musical Art, at Fort Jay, Governor's Island, in compliance with Mr. Damrosch's request and with the order of Mr. Arthur A. Clappe, the Principal of the Institute of Musical Art at Fort Jay, sent a copy of a musical score of the Star Spangled Banner prepared by Dr. Walter Damrosch, Director of the New York Symphony Orchestra and brother of Frank Damrosch, to Lieut. Col. William E. Horton in Washington, D.C.[1]

Dr. Damrosch's score was ultimately referred to the Superintendent, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, to be studied by the U.S. Military Academy Band, with the purpose of ascertaining whether it should be published and distributed among the various Army bands, and made the only authorized version for use by the Army.[2] On October 15, 1917, Col. Horton, the Quartermaster General, was able to report to the Adjutant General of the Army that "In view of the opinion by the Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, which is adverse to the score of the Star Spangled Banner, as submitted by Mr. Damrosch, this office concurs in his recommendation that the score of the music as rendered by the U.S. Military Academy band, be adopted as the official version for all bands of the Army of the United States."[3]

---

[1] White to Horton, July 26, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[2] Quartermaster General to Superintendent, U.S. Military Academy, July 27, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[3] Quartermaster General to The Adjutant General of the Army, October 15, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

It seems that the arrangement prepared by Mr. P. Egner, of the U.S. Military Academy, was also sent by the Quartermaster General to Frank Damrosch for evaluation and that he in turn forwarded it to Fort Jay, where Mr. Clappe and the Recruit Practice Band connected with the Bandmaster's School of the Institute of Musical Art. ... played Egner's arrangement together with the arrangement of Walter Damrosch. On October 27, 1917, Mr. Clappe reported to Frank Damrosch that "I unhesitatingly pronounce the arrangement made by Mr. Walter Damrosch as the better of the two, both from the point of view of musicianly workmanship and general utility."[1] On October 27, 1917, Frank Damrosch reported the result to the Quartermaster General in Washington, enclosing a copy of Clappe's letter. Mr. Damrosch stated further that, "Mr. Clappe reported to me over the telephone that he thought Mr. Egner's arrangement was somewhat amateurish and in parts over-elaborated, thereby forfeiting the simplicity and dignity which a national song should possess."[2]

During World War I two authorized versions of the Star Spangled Banner were prepared. The first version was prepared at the request of the Bureau of Education of the U.S. Department of the Interior, where a Committee had been formed to prepare a standard version of the Star Spangled Banner for concerts bands.[3] This Committee on National

---

[1]Clappe to Damrosch, October 27, 1917, U.S. Marine Band Library File.
[2]Damrosch to Clappe, October 27, 1917. U.S. Marine Band Library File.
[3]U.S. Marine Band Library File.

Songs comprised of Messrs. Will Earhart as Chairman, and Messrs. Walter Damrosch, Arnold J. Gantvoort, O. G. T. Sonneck, and John Philip Sousa as members, worked for several months in 1917 on a standardization of the Star Spangled Banner, during which they went over all questions related to the lines, music, and notations of the song, and finally recommended to the authorities the Marine Band version. With the consent of the Committee this version was harmonized by Walter Damrosch. According to John Philip Sousa, Lieutenant, U.S.N.R.F., then stationed at the U.S. Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Illinois, the work of this Committee was quite tedious and lengthy, and it had "gone over the matter of standardization of the Anthem in the most thorough and painstaking manner."[1] Finally the Committee decided on the version harmonized by Walter Damrosch and arranged for band by John Philip Sousa. It was copyrighted in 1918 by G. Schirmer, Inc., of New York City.[2]

The second version of the Star Spangled Banner was prepared by a Committee of Twelve, comprised of Messrs. John Alden Carpenter, Frederick S. Converse, Wallace Goodrich, and Walter R. Spalding, representing the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities; Messrs. Hollis E. Dann, Peter W. Dykema and Osbourne McConathy representing the Music Educators National Conference, then known as the Music Supervisors' National Conference; Messrs. Clarence C. Birchard, Carl Engel, William

---

[1]For comment and report on this committee see the letter of John Philip Sousa to W.A.Moffett, Commandant, U.S.Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Illinois, dated November 8, 1917. U.S.Marine Band Library File.

[2]U.S.Marine Band Library File. Cf. also a letter dated February 5, 1918, from Walter F. Smith, Second Leader of the U.S.Marine Band, to J.C.Boykin, Editor, Bureau of Education, U.S. Department of the Interior, regarding Smith's suggestions and comments upon the harmonization of the Star Spangled Banner, and Mr. Boykin's reply of February 8, 1918, in Ibid.

Arms Fisher, Arthur Edward Johnstone, and E.W. Newton, representing the music publishers, who prepared a Service Version of the Star Spangled Banner for the Army and Navy song and band book. The Committee of Ten had as Chairman Peter W. Dykema of the University of Wisconsin. The joint publishers of the first sheet music edition were Oliver Ditson Company of Boston, Chas. H. Ditson & Co., New York, and Lyon & Healy, Chicago.[1]

Despite the fact that both of these Committees worked separately and on an individual basis, their final versions were quite similar.

[1]See Music Supervisors' Journal, Vol. V, No. 2 (November, 1918), pp. 23-24; Journal of Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Music Supervisors' National Conference Held at St. Louis, Missouri, March 31-April 4, 1919, pp. 145-147.

V. THE EFFORTS TO ADOPT THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER AS THE NATIONAL ANTHEM OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

a. ATTEMPTS TO PRESERVE FORT McHENRY AS A MEMORIAL

From 1836 to the present time the Federal Government has been the sole owner of the property consisting of Fort McHenry, hallowed in the eyes of Americans as the place where the original "Star Spangled Banner" was watched so anxiously by Francis Scott Key.

On March 25, 1906, a Baltimore newspaper wrote that "Fort McHenry is practically to be abandoned by the military authorities, only two or three men being left there to care in a general sort of way for the guns and other Government property."[1] This story brought immediate action on the part of the State of Maryland. In a letter to the Secretary of War, dated March 30, 1906, the Adjutant General of Maryland, Major General Clinton L. Riggs, requested information, in view of the prospective abandonment of Fort McHenry, as to (a) the possible use of the drill ground at that post by various organizations of the Maryland National Guard, (b) the possible setting aside of a part of the military reservation as a site for a wharf and store-house for the Maryland Naval Brigade.[2]

In answer to his letter General Riggs was informed that, after the withdrawal of the garrison, "it will be practicable for organizations of the Maryland National Guard to use the Fort McHenry drill ground for drill purposes, under such restrictions as are customary with respect to

---

[1] The Sun, March 25, 1906, p. 16.

[2] Riggs to Secretary of War, March 30, 1906. R.G.94. A.G.1115778, Box 4442.

the use of public property." Furthermore, the War Department was willing to grant the authorities of the State of Maryland a revocable license to erect a wharf and store-house on a suitably located parcel of the reservation at Fort McHenry.[1]

Under date of May 24, 1906, Governor Edwin Warfield of Maryland, referring to the above actions, requested that the following property at Fort McHenry be set aside for the use of the Naval Brigade, Maryland National Guard:

1. The wharf for landing purposes,
2. The drill field,
3. One of the barracks buildings,
4. One store-house,
5. The rifle range.[2]

In answer to his request the Governor was informed that "the power to set aside any portion of a military reservation or any buildings thereon for use other than by the United States is vested exclusively in the Congress." Furthermore it was pointed out that the letter from the Military Secretary of the Army to the Adjutant General of Maryland dated April 28, 1906, was to the effect that application for a revocable license for the State of Maryland to use the drill ground and to build a wharf and a storehouse on a specifically described parcel of the mili-

---

[1]W. P. Hall, Military Secretary to The Adjutant General, State of Maryland, April 28, 1906. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778. Box 4442.

[2]Warfield to The Secretary of War, May 24, 1906. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115[illegible] Box 4442.

reservation at Fort McHenry, after the withdrawal of the regular garrison, would be favorably considered by the War Department.[1]

On July 11, 1906, General Riggs, by direction of Governor Warfield, accordingly submitted a letter making application for a lease to the State of Maryland, revocable at any time, and for a nominal consideration, of (1) the wharf for landing purposes, (2) Barracks No. 1, (3) the old Commanding Officer's stable, (4) the coal sheds, (5) the drill ground and (6) the rifle range.[2] Action was taken on this letter according to which "The application of the State of Maryland for a lease, for a period not exceeding five years, revocable at any time, for the use of the wharf, barrack building, old commanding officer's stable, coal sheds, drill ground, and rifle range at Fort McHenry by the Naval Brigade, Maryland National Guard, will be approved when the present garrison at that post is withdrawn."[3]

In a letter of July 27, 1906, the Adjutant General acknowledged receipt of the above letter, and, by direction of the Governor of Maryland, filed an application so that action might be taken on the lease when the post was abandoned, further making request that in the meantime provision be made by which the Maryland Naval Brigade could use the wharf, drill ground, target range, and buildings previously specified, if not needed by the garrison now at that post, and all subject to the condition that the commanding officer of U.S. troops stationed there

---

[1]Assistant Secretary of War to Warfield, June 19, 1906. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[2]Clinton L. Riggs to The Assistant Secretary of War, July 11, 1906. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[3]Military Secretary to The Adjutant General, State of Maryland, July 16, 1906. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

should retain the powers of a commanding officer over the reservation and that the privileges granted to the Maryland Naval Brigade be revocable at any time.[1]

The Commanding Officer, Fort McHenry, in a letter of July 23, 1906, replying to a letter from the Military Secretary of July 18, 1906, reported that the wharf in question was not large enough for the work now required, and could not be used by the Maryland Naval Brigade without material and great detriment to the military service; that barracks No. 1 was then being used as a storehouse for quartermaster's supplies, and that the building designated as "Commanding Officers Stable" was being used as a fire apparatus house.[2]

Despite these objections the Acting Inspector General, who had gone to Fort McHenry on August 5, 1906, to evaluate the situation, recommended favorable action on the request of the Adjutant General.[3] On the basis of his recommendation the Military Secretary on August 29, 1906, informed the State authorities of Maryland that their application had been granted.[4]

Similarly, the Secretary of Agriculture had requested in a letter of July 27, 1906, that the War Department give permission to the Department of Agriculture to use parts of Fort McHenry for an animal quarantine

---

[1]Rights to Military Secretary, July 27, 1906. R.G. 94. A.G.1115778, Box

[2]See letter dated July 18, 1906, from The Military Secretary, U.S. Army, to The Commanding Officer, Fort McHenry, through Headquarters, Department of the East, and letter of July 23, 1906, from The Commanding Officer, Fort McHenry to The Military Secretary, Governors Island, N.Y.R.G. 94. A.G.1115778, Box

[3]Acting Inspector General to The Military Secretary, U.S.Army, War Department, August 6, 1906. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[4]The Military Secretary to The Adjutant General, State of Maryland, August 29, 1906. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

station; however the Acting Secretary of War, in his reply of August 20, 1906, indicated the intention of the War Department to lease the Fort to the State of Maryland after it was vacated by the troops. The Acting Secretary of War also suggested that certain activities of Fort McHenry could be located so that they would not interfere with the use of the military reservation by the State of Maryland, and stressed that the use of the land would be impractical until the garrison was abolished. To this the Secretary of Agriculture replied on September 13, 1906, that, after surveying the ground of Fort McHenry, he believed that enough space was available without any interference with the planned use of the buildings by the Maryland Naval Brigade.[1]

On November 30, 1906, the Assistant Secretary of War signed a lease of the Military Reservation of Fort McHenry to the State of Maryland, excepting several buildings which were to be in the custody of the Secretary of War. The lease, which was revocable, was for the period of five years, to begin on April 1, 1907, or thereafter, as soon as the Fort was vacated by the military. Furthermore, by this agreement the State of Maryland received permission to use the wharf, barrack building No. 3, old C.O. stable, drill ground and rifle range for the Naval Brigade of the Maryland National Guard prior to the time that the lease would become operative. On March 7, 1907, the Proceedings of a Board of Officers to select buildings at Fort McHenry which were to be retained by the United States were sent to The Military Secretary.[2]

---

[1]See 1st Indorsement, Chief of Coast Artillery, December 7, 1908. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[2]See 3d Indorsement, War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General, April 22, 1907. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

In the meantime, on October 4, 1906, the War Department had decided that the 39th Company at Fort McHenry was to be transferred to Fort DeSoto, effective on or about March 31, 1907, and Fort McHenry turned over to the Engineering Department;[1] however, by February 26, 1907,[2] the above decision was temporarily suspended.

In accordance with the terms of the agreement of November 30, 1906, the annual rental fee for certain rights at Fort McHenry to the State of Maryland was one dollar. The first annual payment was sent by Clinton L. Riggs, Maryland Adjutant General, to the Secretary of War on March 22, 1907.[3]

Subsequently, the lease and license executed on November 30, 1906, were revoked and a new lease, also revocable at the will of the Secretary of War, was signed on June 12, 1907, by the Acting Secretary of War and the Adjutant General of Maryland, by which the post of Fort McHenry, except for certain buildings, was leased to the State of Maryland for a period of five years beginning on the first day of April, 1907, or as soon thereafter as the post of Fort McHenry was vacated by the troops.[4]

Thus the lease had already been accomplished in fact, but could not come into official effect until the troops left. This uncertainty caused Commander H. M. Cohen, S.B.M. Young Camp, No. 1, United Spanish War Veterans

---

[1]General Orders, No. 169, War Department, October 4, 1906, pp. 1-2.

[2]General Orders, No. 39, War Department, February 26, 1907, p. 1.

[3]Cf. a letter of acknowledgment for this payment of March 29, 1907, Robert Shaw Oliver, Acting Secretary of War to General Clinton L. Riggs, A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[4]See 1st Indorsement, Chief of Coast Artillery, December 7, 1908, A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

in Baltimore, on April 12, 1907, to write to the War Department for information as to the disposition to be made of the Post of Fort McHenry by the military authorities.[1] According to the Adjutant General, Henry P. McCain, it was believed that Fort McHenry was to be retained as a military reservation by the U.S. Government for [illegible] time, and the question of the disposition was conditioned until the artillery was moved out of the Fort.[2]

In November of 1907 a proposal for the turning over of the reservation of Fort McHenry to the City of Baltimore as a park was suggested in the Baltimore press.[3] This was nothing new; such a proposal had been discussed many times in previous years. But this time there was an additional problem, since, according to the terms of the agreement of November 30, 1906, and June 12, 1907, the State of Maryland was to use the Fort for State purposes only and had no right to sublet it to any third party. Although the matter at this stage was only newspaper comment and represented no official movement on the part of the State of Maryland, it aroused the Commanding Officer at Fort McHenry, Major E.W. Hubbard, on November 24, 1907, to request clarification of the uncertain status of the Fort.[4] It was believed that the subletting of the Fort to the City of Baltimore would complicate matters by introducing a second authority, and it was stressed that the lease had been granted for the benefit of the Maryland

---

[1]Cohen to Adjutant General's Office, War Department, April 12, 1907. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[2]McCain to Cohen, April 23, 1907. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[3]The Sun, November 9, 1907, p. 7 and November 20, 1907, p. 9.

[4]Hubbard to The Adjutant General, U.S. Army, through Hdqrs. Artillery District of Baltimore, November 24, 1907. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

National Guard and the Maryland Naval Brigade, and therefore that its utilization as a park for the City of Baltimore would be improper. As the lease was revocable at will at any time by the Secretary of War, the Commanding Officer of Fort McHenry was advised that any improper action on the part of the State of Maryland should be reported by him to the Secretary of War.[1]

On June 20, 1908, The General Society of the War of 1812, at its biennial meeting held in Baltimore, passed a Resolution for the continuance of Fort McHenry as a permanent garrisoned post of the United States,[2] as a result of which, on September 11, 1908, the Secretary General of the Society, Calvin Lord, sent from his Boston home letters to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of War informing them of the Resolution and asking them for their best consideration.[3] Though it was believed that the retention of a permanent garrison at Fort McHenry was unfeasible, as the Fort no longer formed a part of the modern coastal defenses of the United States,[4] the Adjutant General, acknowledging both the letters to the President and the Secretary of War on November 2, 1908, informed Mr. Lord that the Resolutions passed by the Society would receive due consideration.[5]

---

[1]See Memorandum for the Assistant Secretary of War, from Assistant to the Chief of Staff, Maj. Gen. W.D. Duwall, December 28, 1907, approved by Robert Shaw Oliver, Acting Secretary of War, December 30, 1907.R.G. 94.A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[2]See "Preamble and Resolutions Passed By The General Society of the War of 1812 in the United States At Its Meeting in the City of Baltimore, June the 20th, 1908." R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[3]Lord to the President, September 11, 1908,and Lord to the Secretary of War, September 11, 1908. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[4]See 2d Indorsement, Chief of Coast Artillery, War Department, Office of Chief of Coast Artillery, Washington, October 29, 1908.R.G.94. A.G.1115778, Box 4442.

[5]Metain to Lord, November 2, 1908. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

A similar Resolution for the permanent maintenance of Fort McHenry as a garrison post was adopted at the November 1908 meeting of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and a letter from the President of the Society, Edward Clarence Battis, was sent to the Secretary of War.[1] Both of these Resolutions were based on the assumption that, with the discontinuance of Fort McHenry as a garrison post, the flag would no longer be displayed at the Fort. In the words of the concluding Resolution of the Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the American Revolution:

> it is the earnest desire of this Society that Fort McHenry should be permanently maintained as a garrisoned post of the United States Army, to the end that the national ensign shall be daily displayed from its historic bastion.[2]

On October 29, 1908, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, Brig. Gen. G. F. Elliott, sent a memorandum to the Secretary of War requesting that Fort McHenry be turned over to the Navy Department for the use of the Marine Corps when the Coast Artillery companies were withdrawn.[3] Approval of this request was recommended by the Chief of Coast Artillery.[4] However the action of the Secretary of War upon this request was negative, the decision being made that upon the discontinuance of Fort McHenry as a garrison for Coast Artillery, the Fort was to be turned over to the

---

[1]Battis to the Secretary of War, November 27, 1908. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Elliott to the Secretary of War, October 29, 1908. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[4]See 1st Indorsement, Chief of Coast Artillery, December 7, 1908. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

Army Quartermaster's Department for use as a reserve supply depot.[1]

Another request came on July 19, 1909, when the Secretary of Commerce and Labor requested from the War Department that a tract of land of about two acres be transferred from Fort McHenry to the Department of Commerce and Labor to be used by the Light-House Board as a site for a depot. On July 22, 1909, his request was referred for report to the Commanding General, Department of the East.[2] The decision came on October 30, 1909, when Acting Secretary of War Robert Shaw Oliver informed the Secretary of Commerce and Labor that his request was denied, as the entire reservation of Fort McHenry was needed for military purposes.[3]

On July 5, 1911, Senator Rayner of Maryland introduced in the Senate a joint Resolution "Providing for the appointment of three engineers to make plans for a national park at the site known as Fort McHenry, and for other purposes."[4] The resolution was not passed.

Shortly after his designation by the Governor of Maryland as Chairman of the Fort McHenry National Park Committee, General Clinton L. Bilgis, who had previously served as the Adjutant General of Maryland, before calling his Committee together or taking any action in the matter,

---

[1]Adjutant General to the Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps, January 8, [illegible]. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[2]Assistant Secretary of War to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, July 22, 1909. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[3]Shaw to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, October 30, 1909. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[4]U.S. Congress, Senate, Providing for the Appointment of Three [illegible] to Make Plans for a National Park at the Site Known as Fort McHenry, and for other Purposes, 62d Cong., 1st Sess., 1911, S.J.R. 40, p. 1.

requested on September 20, 1911, that he be informed of the intention of the War Department with regard to the preservation of Fort McHenry.[1]

In his reply to Gen. Riggs, Acting Secretary of War Robert Shaw Oliver wrote that one company of Coast Artillery then stationed at Fort McHenry was to be eventually tranferred elsewhere; but that it was the intention of the War Department to retain the Fort permanently, because of its value for military purposes.[2]

On April 15, 1912, Senator Rayner introduced in the Senate a Bill providing for the preservation of Fort McHenry and the government grounds therewith for military purposes and for its use as a military museum.[3] This Bill was reported on July 13, 1912, by the House Committee on Military Affairs, with a recommendation for its passage.[4]

On August 14, 1912, Carmi A. Thompson, Secretary to the President, by direction of the President, sent the Bill to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, asking him if he knew of any objections to the Bill's approval.[5] The Secretary of War had no objection to approval of the Act.[6]

---

[1]Riggs to Oliver, September 20, 1911. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[2]Oliver to Riggs, September 29, 1911. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[3]U.S. Congress, Senate, To Perpetuate and Preserve Fort McHenry and the Grounds Connected Therewith as a Government Reservation Under the Control of the Secretary of War and to Authorize its Partial Use as a Museum of Historic Relics, 62d Cong., 2d Sess., 1912, S. 6354, pp. 1-2.

[4]U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, Report No. 995 To Preserve Fort McHenry [To Accompany S. 6354], 62d Cong., 2d Session, 1912, House Calendar No. 285, p. 1.

[5]Thompson to Stimpson, August 14, 1912. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[6]Stimpson to the President, August 15, 1912. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

By July 10, 1912, the Secretary of War had decided that the 141st Company, Coast Artillery Corps, should be relieved from duty at Fort McHenry and ordered be transferred on or about July 20, 1912, to Fort Strong, Mass. With the departure of the 141st Company the post was to be [illegible] over to a caretaker [illegible] by the Quartermaster's department.[1]

By Section 29 of the Public Building Act, approved on March 4, 1913, certain land embraced within Fort McHenry was set aside and designated as a site for an immigration station to be constructed at Baltimore.[2]

On April 3, 1913, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury requested that the War Department take the necessary action to transfer this property to the custody of the Treasury Department and that the transfer papers be accompanied by a map of plat showing the location, dimensions, boundaries and surroundings of the land in question.[3]

The erection of the immigration station at Baltimore in the portion of Fort McHenry set aside for that purpose was entrusted to the Treasury Department, and it became soon evident that a period of one year would be necessary to erect the buildings and prepare them for occupancy. While this project was being undertaken the Immigration Service, then under

---

[1] See Memorandum from Leonard Wood, Major General, Chief of Staff to The Adjutant General, July 10, 1912. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442. On transfer of the 141st Company see also Special Orders, No. 165, War Department, July 19, 1912.

[2] See Public, No. 432, 62d Cong., 3d Session in U.S., Statutes at Large, XXXVII, Part I, Chap. 147, Sec. 29, pp. 888-889.

[3] Assistant Secretary, Treasury Department to The Secretary of War, April 3, 1913. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

the Department of Labor, was facing serious difficulties in the conduct of immigrant examinations at the Port of Baltimore. Those newly arrived immigrants who were required to be detained, were sheltered and provided for by the steamship companies in a building at Locust Point, where healthy and sick were put together, causing deplorable conditions in housing as well as sanitation. The Commissioner of Immigration in Baltimore, Bertram N. Stump, called these inadequate facilities to the attention of General Clinton L. Riggs, Chairman of the Fort McHenry National Park Commission, who heartily favored and supported the conversion of the hospital building at Fort McHenry to temporary use by the Immigration Service, until the new immigration station could be completed.[1] To find a temporary relief for this situation Secretary of Labor W.B. Wilson,on December 20, 1913, requested from the Secretary of War permission to use the hospital building at Fort McHenry "for the purpose of accommodating sick immigrants, until such time as the Treasury Department officials can complete the immigration station at Baltimore in accordance with existing legislation."[2]

The seriousness of the situation required early action, and therefore on January 14, 1914,Secretary Wilson requested from the Secretary of War immediate action on his request.[3]

---

[1]Riggs to The Secretary of War, December 17, 1913. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[2]Wilson to the Secretary of War, December 20, 1913.R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[3]Wilson to the Secretary of War, January 14, 1914. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

On January 16, 1914, Secretary of War Lindley M. Garrison informed the Secretary of Labor that his request for temporary use of the hospital building at Fort McHenry was granted but with the understanding that the period of use would be about one year.[1]

On February 2, 1914, Congressman Linthicum introduced in the House of Representatives a Bill to authorize and direct the Secretary of War to grant permission to the City of Baltimore to occupy and use Fort McHenry as a public park, subject to the provisions of Section 3 of the proposed Bill, setting aside a sixty-foot wide strip of land at the Fort as a site for an immigration station.[2] On May 26, 1914, a law was passed granting the use of the Fort McHenry Reservation to the City of Baltimore[3] and turning over Fort McHenry to the City for park purposes. This event was carried out in a public ceremony at Fort McHenry on June 27, 1914.[4]

As previously stated, the clearing of the immigration site at Fort McHenry was to be done expeditiously,[5] but the removal of the buildings from the portion set aside by Congress was actually very slow, and it was evident from a letter of January 25, 1915 from the Superintendent of Public Parks of the City of Baltimore, William S. Manning, that the

---

[1]Garrison to Wilson, January 16, 1914. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box [illegible].

[2]U.S. Congress, House, Authorizing the Secretary of War to Grant the [illegible] of the Fort McHenry Military Reservation, in the State of Maryland, to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, Making Certain Provisions in Connection Therewith, Providing Access to and From the Site of the New Immigration [illegible] Heretofore Set Aside, and Appropriating Certain Money, 63d Cong., 2d Sess., H.R. 12806, pp. 1-4.

[3]See Public No.108 in U.S. Statutes at Large, XXXVIII, Part 1, Chap. [illegible], pp. 382-383.

[4]Baltimore American, June 28, 1914, pp. 4 6-7.

[5]See Reference letter from Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to the Secretary of War, January 13, 1915. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box [illegible]

Board of Park Commissioners planned to do nothing on this matter until the spring of 1915.[1]

By April 26, 1915, the Secretary of the Park Board, J.V. Kelly, reported that a decision on the removal of the buildings might come at a meeting of the Board on May 4, 1915.[2]

The impression which Commissioner of Immigration Stump had was that there was a serious dispute between the Mayor's office and the Park Board regarding the removal of the old Canteen building on the grounds of the Fort, and that according to the Mayor's indication nothing could be done about this for at least half a year. Consequently Commissioner Stump recommended that the Government remove the building if it stood as an obstacle to the improvement of the site.[3]

On May 3, 1915, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, B.R. Newton, by direction of the Secretary, requested that the War Department demand early action on the removal of the old canteen building from Fort McHenry.[4] The War Department complied in this demand on May 21, 1915,[5] and Mayor James H. Preston promised that the building would be removed during the month of June.[6]

---

[1]Manning to E.P. Silkman, 2nd Lieut., Ft. Howard, Md., January 25, 1915. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[2]Kelly to Stump, April 26, 1915. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[3]Stump to Assistant Secretary, Treasury Department, April 27, 1915. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[4]Newton to the Secretary of War, May 3, 1915. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[5]Assistant Secretary of War to The Mayor, City of Baltimore, May 21, 1915. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[6]Preston to Breckinridge, May 22, 1915. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

On September 9, 1915, the Secretary of Labor approached the Secretary of War on the subject of a request of the Baltimore Dray Docks & Ship Building Company for consideration of a proposition to change the location of the immigration station to another part of Fort McHenry, so that the present site might be transferred to them (subject to Congressional action authorizing such a change), requesting the views of the War Department in this matter.[1] However, according to a report of September 25, 1915, prepared by the Chief of Staff and approved on September 25, 1915, by the Secretary of War, the War Department was not willing to approve such a change.[2]

A protest against the change in location and the consequent delay in the construction of the immigration station at Locust Point appeared in the Baltimore Sun,[3] and was the subject of inquiry by Congressman Linthicum on September 11, 1915.[4]

Neither the proposed transfer of a part of the reservation of Fort McHenry to the Department of Agriculture, nor the proposition to establish

---

[1]See the letter of Secretary of War of September 14, 1915, to the Secretary of Labor, acknowledging his letter of September 9, 1915. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[2]See Memorandum for the Secretary of War of September 25, 1915, prepared by the Chief of Staff and approved by the Secretary of War on September 25, 1915; See also letter from John C. Scofield, Assistant and Chief Clerk, War Department to the Secretary of Labor, September 28, 1915; John C. Scofield to Congressman Linthicum, September 28, 1915. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[3]The Sun, September 8, 1915, p. 14.

[4]See letter of September 28, 1915, from John C. Scofield to J. Chas. Linthicum. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

detention center at the Fort, nor the placing of a tract of land at the disposal of the Light-House depot were ever realized.

Consequently, on December 16, 1915, Congressman Linthicum introduced in Congress a Joint Resolution by which the Government would be authorized to cede to the State of Maryland temporary jurisdiction over certain lands of the Fort McHenry Military Reservation.[1] A Resolution of similar nature was introduced in the Senate on March 3, 1916, by Senator Lee of Maryland.[2]

The Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, the Hon. James Hay, and the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, the Hon. George E. Chamberlain, sent their respective Resolutions to the War Department, requesting its views on the proposed legislation. On February 11, 1916, the War Department reported favorably on the proposed measures, H. J. Res. 68[3] and S. J. Res. 109.[4] The resolution in question was finally passed by a joint session of Congress on April 3, 1916.[5]

---

[1]U.S. Congress, House, To Cede to the State of Maryland Temporary Jurisdiction Over Certain Lands in the Fort McHenry Military Reservation, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, pp. 1-3.

[2]U.S. Congress, Senate, To Cede to the State of Maryland Temporary Jurisdiction Over Certain Lands in the Fort McHenry Military Reservation, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, pp. 1-3.

[3]H.L. Scott, Major General, Chief of Staff, Acting Secretary of War to James Hay, Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives February 11, 1916. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442. This was also reported in House Report No. 211, 64th Cong., 1st Sess.

[4]Secretary of War to the Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, March 9, 1916. R.G. 94. A.G. 1115778, Box 4442.

[5]See Public Resolution No. 12, 64th Congress, 1st Session, in U.S. Statutes at Large, XXXIX, Part 1, Chap. 57, p. 46.

b. CONGRESSIONAL BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS TO MAKE THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

In the previous pages there have been discussed the various endeavors to preserve Fort McHenry, the site of the Star Spangled inspiration, for posterity as a shrine dedicated to the memorable events of the War of 1812. It is not surprising that similar steps were being taken in the Congress to introduce legislation which would recognize the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the land. Indeed, between 1910 and 1931, the year in which the Star Spangled Banner finally received Congressional recognition as the national anthem, several Bills and Resolutions were introduced in the Congress by public demand. It was Congressman William I. Griest of Pennsylvania, who on February 3, 1910, introduced in the House of Representatives a concurrent Resolution enabling the printing of ten thousand copies of Sonneck's report on the Star Spangled Banner, "Hail Columbia," "America," and "Yankee Doodle."[1]

On July 24, 1912, Congressman George Edmund Foss of Illinois introduced in the House of Representatives a Joint Resolution "To adopt a national air for the United States of America," providing specifically for the use of the Star Spangled Banner at official functions and ceremonies, foreign and domestic.[2]

---

[1] U.S. Congress, House, Providing For the Printing of Ten Thousand Copies of the Report on The Star Spangled Banner, Hail Columbia, America, and Yankee Doodle, 61st Cong., 2d Sess., 1910, H. Con. R. 34.

[2] U.S. Congress, House, To Adopt a National Air for the United States of America, 62d Cong., 2d Sess., 1912, H.J.R. 342, pp. 1-2.

As early as January 30, 1913, Congressman J. Charles Linthicum wrote a letter to the Secretary of War requesting information as to whether any anthem had been adopted or was then regarded by the War Department as an official anthem in its rules or regulations relating to military drills or maneuvers.[1] In reply to Congressman Linthicum's request, the Major General, Chief of Staff, prepared a memorandum for the Secretary of War, noting various orders, authorities, and regulations pertaining to the military use of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem.[2]

On January 30, 1913, Congressman Jefferson M. Levy introduced in the House a Joint Resolution recognizing the Star Spangled Banner as the official anthem of the land;[3] however Levy's Star Spangled Banner Bill never got further than the House Judiciary Committee. On April 7, 1913, Congressman Levy again introduced a Joint Resolution in the Congress to recognize the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States.[4] In a letter to Secretary of War Lindley M. Garrison, Congressman Levy enclosed a copy of his Bill and asked the Secretary to express his views as to its propriety.[5] In the absence of the Secretary of War, Major-General Chief of Staff W.W. Wotherspoon, Acting Secretary

---

[1]Linthicum to the Secretary of War, January 30, 1913. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

[2]Major General, Chief of Staff, to Secretary of War, Memorandum, Subject: Military National Anthem, February [no day given], 1913. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767. Box No. 617.

[3]U.S. Congress, House, Recognizing "The Star Spangled Banner" as the Official Anthem of the United States of America, 62d Cong., 3d Sess., 1913, H.J.R. 391, p. 1.

[4]U.S. Congress, House, Recognizing "The Star Spangled Banner" as the Official Anthem of the United States of America, 63d Cong., 1st Sess., 1913, H.J.R. 21, p. 1.

[5]Levy to Garrison, August 28, 1814. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

of War, replied that it was not a general policy for the Secretary of War to give an opinion pertaining to any legislative enactments unless requested by the Committee of Congress which dealt with that particular Bill, and since Mr. Levy's Bill had not yet been referred, the Secretary could not express his views in this respect.[1] Levy's bill was subsequently referred to the Committee on [illegible], where it remained.

On July 14, 1914, Congressman James Washington Logue of Pennsylvania introduced in the House of Representatives a Joint Resolution "Designating the 'Star-Spangled Banner' as the national anthem."[2] Although Mr. Logue's Joint Resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, no action was taken on it.

Similarly on August 13, 1914, Congressman O'Shaunessey, R.I., introduced in the House of Representatives a Joint Resolution "To make The Star-Spangled Banner the national anthem of the United States of America,"[3] but his bill also remained in the Committee on the Library, to which it had been referred.

On April 25, 1914, the Daughters of the American Revolution, in their Continental Congress held in Washington, D.C., passed a Resolution requesting the Congress to adopt the Star Spangled Banner, a poem by Francis Scott Key and set to music by Samuel Arnold, as the national anthem of the country.[4]

---

[1]Wotherspoon to Levy, August 31, 1914. R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box 617.

[2]U.S. Congress, House, Designating the "Star-Spangled Banner" as the National Anthem, 63d Cong., 2d Sess., 1914, H.J.R. 301, p. 1.

[3]U.S. Congress, House, To Make the Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, 63d. Cong., 2d Sess., H.J.R. 321, p. 1.

[4]See Rulings of the National Board of Management and Continental Congress, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, January 1913 to January [illegible] Statute Book III, Ruling 288, p.42. Cf. also Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D.C., [illegible], 1914, p. 422.

Acting upon this request, Senator Smith of South Carolina introduced in the Senate on February 17, 1915, a Joint Resolution "Adopting 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' words of Francis Scott Key and music of Samuel Arnold, as the national anthem."[1] On that same day the Resolution was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, where it remained.

On December 6, 1915, Congressman George Murray Hulbert of New York introduced in the House of Representatives a Bill to make the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem of the United States of America, which was also referred to the Committee on the Judiciary,[2] with no action taken. On the same day Congressmen O'Shaunessey, R. I., on a move introduced in the House a Joint Resolution "To make The Star-Spangled Banner the national anthem of the United States of America."[3] This Bill was also referred to the Committee on the Library, where it remained.

On January 5, 1916, Senator Clapp of Minnesota introduced in the Senate a Joint Resolution "Adopting 'The Star Spangled Banner,' words by Francis Scott Key and music by Samuel Arnold, as the national anthem."[4] It was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, with no further action taken.

---

[1] U.S. Congress, Senate, Adopting "The Star-Spangled Banner," Words of Francis Scott Key and Music of Samuel Arnold, as the National Anthem, 63d Cong., 3d Sess., 1915, S.J.R. 240, p. 1.

[2] U.S. Congress, House, To Make "The Star Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1915, H.R. 437, p.1.

[3] U.S. Congress, House, To Make The Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1915, H.J.R. 41, p. 1.

[4] U.S. Congress, Senate, Adopting "The Star Spangled Banner," Words by Francis Scott Key and Music by Samuel Arnold, as the National Anthem, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, S.J.R. 61, p. 1.

Similarly Congressman Edward Thomas Taylor of Colorado introduced, on January 21, 1916, in the House of Representatives a Bill "To make 'The Star-Spangled Banner' the national anthem of the United States of America,"[1] which once more was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary with no action taken.

On January 31, 1916, Congressman David Patterson Dyer of Missouri introduced in the House a Joint Resolution "Proposing a national anthem."[2] In his Resolution he asked for adoption as the national anthem of a piece entitled "The U.S.A.," by Henry McEuen Jones. As in previous cases his Resolution was referred to the Committee on the Library with no action taken.

On March 24, 1916, Congressman Dyer introduced in the House another Joint Resolution "Proposing a national anthem,"[3] and this time he was for the Star Spangled Banner as the anthem. His Resolution was referred to the Committee on the Library with no action taken.

Similarly on April 2, 1917, Congressman Hulbert of New York introduced in the House of Representatives another Bill "To make 'The Star Spangled Banner' the national anthem of the United States of America,"[4] which was again referred to the Committee on the Judiciary where no action was taken.

Two days later, on April 4, 1917, Congressman Taylor of Colorado introduced in the House a Bill "To Make 'The Star-Spangled Banner' the national

---

[1]U.S. Congress, House, To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, H.R.

[2]U.S. Congress, House, Proposing a National Anthem, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, H.J.R. 124, pp. 1-2.

[3]U.S. Congress, House, Proposing a National Anthem, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, H.J.R. 188, pp. 1-2.

[4]U.S. Congress, House, To Make "The Star Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 65th Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. 3, p. 1.

them of the United States of America."[1] His Bill was also referred o the Committee on the Judiciary where it died.

On August 1, 1917, Congressman Henry Ivory Emerson of Ohio introduced n the House a Joint Resolution "To make the words of 'The Star- nner,' as written by Francis S. Key, and the music, as arranged by ancis P. Kilfoyle, the national anthem."[2] Francis P. Kilfoyle was from leveland, Ohio; what music he arranged is not known. The Resolution referred to the Committee on the Library with no action taken. Thus, tween 1910 and 1917 eleven Congressmen and Senators introduced a total f fifteen Bills and Resolutions sponsoring the Star Spangled Banner as e national anthem of the land, but with no success whatever, as no tion was taken on any of them.

In October of 1917 Congressman Hulbert of New York sent a copy of the ill which he had introduced on April 2 of that year to Mr. Alfred J. Carr, esident, Maryland Society of the War of 1812, in Baltimore. Mr. Carr k the matter up with his Society, which passed Resolutions endorsing e Bill, and sent copies of its Resolutions to the Senators and Repre- ntatives of Maryland. Shortly afterward Mr. Carr, in an interview with ngressman Hulbert, was told by him that the Committee to whom the Bill d been referred had not acted on it, because, as several members had stated, re was not enough public sentiment in support of the Bill.[3] Shortly there-

[1] U.S. Congress, House, To Make 'The Star-Spangled Banner' the National them of the United States of America, 65th Cong., 1st Sess., 1917, H.R. 1714, p.1.

[2] U.S. Congress, House, To Make the Words of 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' as itten by Francis S. Key, and the Music, as Arranged by Francis P. Kilfoyle, the tional Anthem, 65th Cong., 1st Sess., 1917, H.J.R. 134, p. 1.

[3] Carr to Holloway, March 27, 1918, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic rine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

after Mr. Hulbert resigned his Congressional seat to assume a position as Dock Commissioner in New York City, and no one undertook to continue his work on the Bill.

Documentary evidence proves that the Maryland Society, United States Daughters of 1812, stand pre[illegible]mers in the movement for recognition of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem. In laying the foundation for their campaign, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway, President, and Mrs. James B. Arthur, Corresponding Secretary, approached many prominent men and women and received promises of support from all over the country. After securing this support they turned for assistance to the Hon. J. Charles Linthicum Member of Congress for the State of Maryland, and leader in the campaign to preserve Fort McHenry as a national monument.

In a letter of March 22, 1918, the Society requested Congressman Linthicum to introduce a Bill in the Congress asking protection of the Star Spangled Banner and its designation as the National Anthem of the United States of America.[1]

Mr. Linthicum immediately replied that he would "introduce such a Bill within a few days, after which the fight must be waged until a successful conclusion."[2]

On April 10, 1918, Congressman Linthicum introduced in the House a Bill

---

[1]See Appendix P.

[2]Linthicum to Holloway, March 30, 1918, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

to make the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem of the Land.[1] On the following day Linthicum informed Mrs. Holloway in a letter of his action, and stressed that it would be a good idea to secure endorsements of the largest possible number as "we must impress the Committee and the House of Representatives with the fact that the citizens of our country desire action and are anxious to have the 'Star-Spangled Banner' adopted as our national anthem."[2]

Similarly on April 17, 1918, Congressman Louis T. McFadden of Pennsylvania introduced in the House a Joint Resolution proposing adoption of the Star Spangled Banner, words by Francis Scott Key and music by Samuel Arnold as the national anthem[3] but his Resolution failed to elicit favorable action.

In a letter of May 14, 1918, Congressman Linthicum reported to Mrs. Holloway that action had not yet been taken on his Resolution. Congressman McFadden's Resolution had evidently produced some newspaper comment, so that Linthicum also advised Mrs. Holloway in his letter, "Don't let Mr. McFadden's newspaper article annoy you."[4] The controversy had evidently arisen over the fact that Congressman Linthicum's Bill asked for recognition of the Star Spangled Banner as national anthem with words by Francis Scott Key and music by John Stafford Smith, while Congressman

---

[1]U.S. Congress, House, To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., 1918, H.R.11365, p. 1.

[2]Linthicum to Holloway, April 11, 1918, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[3]U.S. Congress, House, Adopting 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' Words by Francis Scott Key and Music by Samuel Arnold, as the National Anthem, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., 1918, H.J.R. 280, p. 1.

[4]Linthicum to Holloway, May 14, 1918, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

McFadden's Resolution asked for its recognition with words by Francis Scott Key and music by Samuel Arnold.

On December 12, 1919, Congressman John Thomas Watkins of Louisiana introduced in the House a Bill to make the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem.[1] His Bill was referred to the Committee on the Library, where it died.

On December 9, 1920, Congressman Watkins re-introduced his Bill in the House,[2] but it had as little success as the previous one.

The Star Spangled Banner Bill was reintroduced on April 19, 1921, by Congressman Linthicum as H. R. 4391, to declare the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem.[3] Mrs. Holloway expressed her congratulations to Mr. Linthicum on the introduction of his Bill and pledged her organization's full support.[4] However the Bill remained in the Judiciary Committee and there was no hope that action would be taken on it because of the large volume of pressing legislation under consideration during that session of Congress.[5]

On June 16, 1922, Congressman McFadden introduced in the House H.J. Res. 349 on behalf of the Star Spangled Banner,[6] which was identical with

---

[1] U.S. Congress, House, To Make the Star-Spangled Banner the National ... 66th Cong., 2d Sess., 1919, H. R. 11131, p. 1.

[2] U.S. Congress, House, To Make the Star-Spangled Banner the National An... 66th Cong., 3d Session, 1920, H.R. 14858, p. 1.

[3] U.S. Congress, House, To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 67th Cong., 1st Sess., 1921, H.R. 4391,

[4] Holloway to Linthicum, April 20, 1921, Fort McHenry National Monument ... Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[5] Linthicum to Holloway, March 30, 1922, Fort McHenry National Monument ... Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[6] U.S. Congress, House, Adopting 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' Words by Francis Scott Key and Music by Samuel Arnold, as the National Anthem, 67th Cong., ... 1922, H.J.R. 349, p. 1.

the Resolution he had introduced on April 17, 1918; however, this later Resolution enjoyed as little success as the previous one.

On the following day, June 17, 1922, Congressman Benjamin Lewis Fairchild of New York introduced in the House a Bill to legalize the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem as well as to punish any disrespect to the anthem or to the national flag.[1]

A move to legalize the Star Spangled Banner also came from Congressman Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, New York, who on December 10, 1923, introduced in the House a Joint Resolution to make the Star Spangled Banner the official anthem.[2] Shortly after he had introduced his Resolution in the House, Congressman Celler stated in an interview that, "while the Civil War gave many refrains, only 'Dixie' has survived with any continued vigor, and that had been embraced by the South and was too sectional to become national." Even though the Star Spangled Banner was difficult to sing, and had even been described as unmusical, Congressman Celler pointed out that the people had carried it in their hearts from the very beginning of its existence, and that consequently, as he put it, "such are-worn choice seems irrevocable and until another anthem shall have been adopted let us proclaim 'The Star Spangled Banner' as our national anthem."[3]

---

[1]U.S. Congress, House, To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, and to Punish Any Disrespect To Said National Anthem or to the National Flag of the United States of America, 67th Cong., 2d Sess., 1922, H.R. 12061, pp. 1-2.

[2]U.S. Congress, House, Proposing the Adoption of the Star Spangled Banner as the National Anthem, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., 1923, H.J.R. 69, p. 1.

[3]U.S. Army Recruiting News, January 1, 1929, p. 15.

Still another move to legalize the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem came on January 7, 1924, when Congressman William Irvine of Pennsylvania introduced in the House a Joint Resolution "Adopting the Star Spangled Banner, words by Francis Scott Key and music by Samuel Roberts as the national anthem,"[1] but his Resolution was referred to the Committee [illegible].

In the opinion of [illegible], however, neither Congressman Linthicum's Bill, H.J. Res. [illegible], nor that of Congressman Swoope, H.J. Res. 126, covered the situation which [illegible] desired.[2]

On January 30, 1924, Congressman Linthicum introduced another Bill to make the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem.[3]

On March 18, 1924, Congressman Swoope introduced in the House a Joint Resolution "Adopting The Star-Spangled Banner, words by Francis Scott Key and music by John Stafford Smith, as the national anthem," but his Resolution likewise died in the Committee on the Library, to which it had been referred.[4]

On March 20, 1924 at 10 A.M., the House Judiciary Committee under Chairman Graham began to hear arguments on H.R. 6429, introduced by Congressman Linthicum of Baltimore, and H.J. Res. 80, introduced by Congressman Celler, Brooklyn. While Congressman Linthicum called for a Bill, as "the adoption

---

[1] U.S. Congress, House, Adopting the Star Spangled Banner, Words by Francis Scott Key, and Music by Samuel Roberts, As the National Anthem, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., 1924, H.J.R. 105, p. 1

[2] Linthicum to Holloway, January 23, 1924, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Pendon Ross Holloway Papers.

[3] U.S. Congress, House, To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. [illegible]

[4] U.S. Congress, House, Adopting "The Star-Spangled Banner" [illegible] Words and Music by John Stafford Smith, as the National Anthem, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., H.J. Res. 227, p. 1.

[5] U.S. Congress, House, Committee on the Judiciary, Hearings [illegible], 68th Cong., 1st Sess., [illegible], pp. 1-2.

of a national anthem is much like the adoption of a flag,"[1] Congressman Celler, introducing his Resolution, remarked that "I think it must take an interior course," and that Congressman Linthicum's "proposition does not rise to the dignity of a statute or bill."[2]

During the hearing Congressman Celler's Resolution, which did not mention any particular music, was endorsed primarily by the American Legion,[3] while Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway's organization and other patriotic groups strongly supported Linthicum's Bill.[4] But owing to uncontrollable circumstances both Celler's Resolution and Linthicum's Bill died with the closing of the First Session of the 68th Congress.

On April 19, 1924, Congressman Benjamin Lewis Fairchild reintroduced the Bill in the House as H.R. 8801 "to Make 'The Star-Spangled Banner' the national anthem of the United States of America, and to punish any disrespect to said national anthem or to the national flag of the United States of America,"[5] which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary where it died.

A similar fate met the Bill which Congressman Linthicum introduced on December 7, 1925, on behalf of the Star Spangled Banner.[6]

---

[1] Ibid., p. 5.
[2] Ibid., p. 6.
[3] Ibid., p. 21.
[4] Ibid., p. 26.
[5] U.S. Congress, House To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, and to Punish any Disrespect to Said National Anthem or to the National Flag of the United States of America, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., 1924, H.R. 8801, pp. 1-2.
[6] U.S. Congress, House, To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner"the National Anthem of the United States of America, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., 1925, H.R. 195, p. 1.

On the same date, December 7, 1925, Congressman Fairchild again introduced his Bill as H.R. 57,[1] upon which it was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, where it died.

On December 8, 1925, Congressman Swoope introduced in the House a Joint Resolution "Adopting the Star-Spangled Banner, words by Francis Scott Key and music by Samuel Roberts, as the national anthem."[2] This Resolution was referred to the Committee on the Library where no action was taken.

On December 14, 1925, another move proposing the adoption of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem came from Congressman Celler,[3] but his Resolution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, resulted in no action.

On November 21, 1927, Congressman Linthicum informed Mrs. Holloway that he had again prepared a Bill to make the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem, and that he would introduce it when the Congress convened December 5, 1927.[4] His pledge was gratefully received by Mrs. Holloway, who in her reply to him stated, "For the fifth time I gratefully acknowledge your letter which brings the good news on Dec. 5 you will reintroduce the bill

---

[1]U.S. Congress, House, To Make the Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, and to Punish any Disrespect to Said National Anthem or to the National Flag of the United States of America, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., 1925, H.R. 57, pp. 1-2.

[2]U.S. Congress, House, Adopting the Star-Spangled Banner, Words by Francis Scott Key and Music by Samuel Roberts, as the National Anthem, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., 1925, H.J.R. 50, p. 1.

[3]U.S. Congress, House, Proposing the Adoption of the Star-Spangled Banner as the National Anthem, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., 1925, H.J.R. 71, pp. 1-2.

[4]Linthicum to Holloway, November 21, 1927, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

requested by our Maryland Daughters of 1812 - to make the Star Spangled Banner as our National Anthem of the U.S.A....let us hope for success with this bill...."[1] On December 5, 1927, Congressman Linthicum reintroduced his Bill, H.R. 206, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.[2] During the 70th Congress, which convened in December of 1927, Co. Linthicum made every possible effort towards having his Bill reported by the Committee on the Judiciary and passed, but it was impossible for him to do anything with his legislation during that Congress.

On February 22, 1928, Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York introduced, on behalf of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, a Resolution[3] asking for the adoption of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem. His Resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, where it died. J. C. Billman, National Historian of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, tried to explain what was felt to be the failure of Congressman Fish to push the Bill as follows: "While widely known and intensely interested, he was engaged in so many activities that he could not devote much time to this particular cause."[4] The actual fact, however, seems to be that Congressman Fish's Bill lacked the support of patriotic organizations in general and of Mrs. Holloway in particular.

---

[1]Holloway to Linthicum, November 22, 1927, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[2]U.S. Congress, House, To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 70th Cong., 1st Sess., 1927, H.R.206, p. 1.

[3]U.S. Congress, House, Declaring the "Star-Spangled Banner" to be the National Anthem, 70th Cong., 1st Sess., 1928, H.J.R. 213, p. 1.

[4]John C. Billman, The Star Spangled Banner. (Kansas City, Missouri: Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, 1932), p. 5.

On January 8, 1929, Joint Resolution No. 1 was introduced in the Maryland House of Delegates,[1] and approved and signed on March [illegible], 1929, as Joint Resolution No. 3 by both Houses of the Maryland State Legislature.[2] This Resolution called upon the Congress to declare the Star Spangled Banner to be the National Anthem of the United States of America.

Supported by the efforts of Mrs. Holloway and her friends, Congressman Linthicum was ready for further action; in his letter of April 9, 1929, he reported to Mrs. Holloway the following:

> In conformity with your request and that of your friends and supporters generally of the Star Spangled Banner bill, I have filed for re-introduction at the opening of the next session of the 71st Congress, which begins on Monday next, April 15th, a bill asking Congress to make the Star Spangled Banner the National anthem by Congressional enactment....Let me at this time thank you and your organization for the splendid and continued support which has been given to this measure since the first introduction. I believe we have a very good chance of having it favorably reported at the December session of Congress. Just as soon as the date of hearing is determined, I will see that you are duly notified.[3]

On April 15, 1929, Congressman Linthicum reintroduced in the House his sixth Star Spangled Banner Bill, H.R. 14, which finally survived.[4]

---

[1]State of Maryland, House of Delegates, Recommending to the Congress of the United States that the "Star-Spangled Banner" be declared to be the National Anthem of the United States of America, January 8, 1929, Joint Resolution No. 1,

[2]See "No. 3. A Joint Resolution Recommending to the Congress of the United States that the 'Star Spangled Banner' be Declared to be the National Anthem of the United States of America," Approved March 8, 1929 in Laws of the State of Maryland Made and Passed at the Session of the General Assembly Made and Held at the City of Annapolis, on the Second Day of January, 1929, and Ending on the [illegible] Day of April, 1929. Published by Authority. (Baltimore: King Bros., Inc., State Printers, 1929), pp. 1422-1423.

[3]Linthicum to Holloway, April 9, 1929, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[4]U.S. Congress, House, To Make The Star-Spangled Banner the Anthem of the United States of America, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., 1929, H.R. 14, p. 1.

On April 22, 1929, Congressman Celler again introduced in the House of Representatives a Joint Resolution "Proposing the adoption of the Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem."[1] His Bill was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary where it died.

A similar measure to legalize the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem was introduced in the Senate on April 23, 1929, by Senator Arthur Raymond Robinson of Indiana,[2] but with no success. His Bill was referred to the Committee on the Library, where no action was taken.

In the meantime Linthicum's measure was endorsed by various organizations in New York, Baltimore, and other parts of the country, all of which strongly urged the Bill's adoption.[3] The Daughters of the American Colonists, in their closing session in Washington on April 24, 1929, approved the Bill.[4]

On January 31, 1930, hearings before the House Judiciary Committee began, during which Linthicum's Bill was discussed.[5] Mrs. Holloway could not be present at the hearings due to ill health, and her statement was read by Mrs. N.L. Dashiell, President of the Maryland State Daughters of 1812.[6] At the hearings Congressman Linthicum praised Mrs. Holloway for her outstanding work over a period of twenty years, when as Chairman of the Star Spangled Banner Bill she had carried the cause throughout Maryland and the Nation.[7]

---

[1] U.S. Congress, House, Proposing the Adoption of the Star-Spangled Banner as the National Anthem, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., 1929, H.J.R. 47, pp. 1-2.

[2] U.S. Congress, Senate, To Make the Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., 1929, S. 573, p. 1.

[3] The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), April 16, 1929, p. 14.

[4] The Evening Sun (Baltimore, Md.), April 24, 1929, p. 3.

[5] U.S. Congress, House, Committee on the Judiciary, Hearings on H.R.14 Legislation to Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem, 71st Cong., 2d Sess., 1930, passim.

[6] Ibid., p. 4.

[7] Ibid., p. 3.

One of the objectionable features of the Star Spangled Banner was deemed to be its alleged difficulty in singing, and therefore one of the principal objects of its partisans was to prove its "singability." When Mrs. Elsie Jorrs-Reilley of Washington began to sing the Star Spangled Banner with the Navy band in the presence of the Committee, as she reached "the twilight's last gleaming," the entire audience became aware of another soprano, Mrs. Grace Evelyn Bouldin of Baltimore, who, carried away by sentiment, raised her voice to sing. It undoubtedly made a strong impression on the Committee that a lady in the audience was able to carry the high notes, as the Committee reported favorably on the Bill, paving the way for the Star Spangled Banner's official adoption.[1]

On February 6, 1930, Linthicum's Bill was reported with amendments and was referred to the House Calendar.[2] The Star Spangled Banner campaign was still on, and Linthicum's Bill was passed by the House of Representatives on April 21, 1930. It was sent to the Senate, where it was read twice, on April 21, 1930, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, from which it was discharged and referred to the Committee on the Library, from which again on January 26 (Calendar day, February [illegible], 1931, it was reported by Mr. Fess without amendment.[3] There was a danger now that if the Bill should not pass before March 1931, it would again

---

[1] The Evening Sun (Baltimore), March 16, 1931, p. 8.

[2] U.S. Congress, House, To Make The Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, 71st Cong., 2d Sess., 1930, H.R. [illegible] /Report No. 627/, p. 1.

[3] U.S. Congress, Senate, To Make The Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, 71st Cong., 3d Sess., 1931, H.R. [illegible], Calendar No. 1501, p. 1.

die. Therefore a massive campaign was launched to petition the Congress for action on the measure before it ended its session. As in the case of the previous Bills which Linthicum had introduced in the Congress over a period of thirteen years since 1918, this one also was indorsed and reindorsed by Governors, Senators, Congressmen, Mayors, educators, clergymen, relatives of Francis Scott Key, patriotic and fraternal organizations, as well as citizens from all walks of life throughout the country. The fight in the Senate was led by Senator Millard E. Tydings of Maryland, who was successful in his efforts to have the Linthicum's Bill passed before the Senate adjourned,[1] but Tydings nobly gave the principal credit for the Bill's passage to another fellow Marylander, as he wrote to Mrs. Holloway: "You are aware, though, that the chief credit for the passage of this bill rests with Representative Linthicum, who introduced it and fought long and valiantly for it."[2]

On March 3, 1931, the Bill making the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem was adopted by the Senate[3] and went to President Herbert Hoover for signature. Mr. Hoover signed it the same day. With President Hoover's signing of the Bill the Star Spangled Banner became the national anthem by law, as it was in spirit.

[1]For the story of Senator Tyding's persistent and successful efforts to have the Star Spangled Banner Bill finally passed, see U.S. Congressional Record, 71st Cong.,3d Sess., 1931, Vol. 74, Part 7, pp. 6963, 6972 and 6973-6974.

[2]Tydings to Holloway, March 18, 1931, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[3]U.S. Congress, An Act To Make The Star Spangled Banner The National Anthem of the United States of America, Public,No. 823, 71st Cong., 3d Sess., p.1.

William Tyler Page, Clerk of the House of Representatives immediately notified Mrs. Holloway by telegram of the passage of the Star Spangled Banner Bill,[1] and Congressman Linthicum also telegraphed to Mrs. Holloway that he was "glad to report Star Spangled Banner bill passed the Senate this afternoon and goes to President."[2]

The Baltimore Evening Sun commenting on the event in its editorial, said:

> Congress has taken official action making 'The Star-Spangled Banner' the national anthem, and by the time these lines meet the eye of the reader the President will probably have signed the bill, making it the law of the land.
>
> It must be pleasing to all Marylanders to have a Maryland song thus honored, and yet the occasion is not yet quite one for unreserved joy. Unofficially, 'The Star-Spangled Banner' has long been recognized as the national anthem, so nothing much is added to its dignity by this act of Congress. On the other hand, now that it has official standing, we formally prophesy that not six months will pass before some one comes forward with a proposal to inflict pains and penalties upon those who do not accord the song what the proposer regards as a proper measure of respect.
>
> That is to say, 'The Star-Spangled Banner' will now become another excuse for badgering people who do not conform to the patrioteers' idea of decorum; and this seems a somewhat unfortunate prospect for a fine old Free State song.[3]

A newspaper cartoon which appeared following the Congressional vote showed Uncle Sam puzzled, with the following heading: "I wonder If They'll Make Me Learn The Words Now?"[4]

---

[1]Page to Holloway, March 3, 1931, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[2]Linthicum to Holloway, March 3, 1931, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[3]The Evening Sun, March 4, 1931, p. 21.

[4]The Sun (Baltimore), March 5, 1931, p. 12.

The Star Spangled Banner became the national anthem one hundred and twenty-six years after its composition and one hundred and fifty-five years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

The adoption of the Star Spangled Banner was a real triumph for Mrs. Holloway, who had worked hard for it, finally to see her dream realized. She was the moving spirit of the whole campaign and largely responsible for the action of the Congress.[1]

---

[1]For likeness of Mrs. Holloway see Appendix Q.

XVI. CRITICISM AND DEFENCE OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

While the fight for official recognition of the Star Spangled Banner was being led in the Congress, public opinion reflected both affirmative and negative reactions to the song. The long delay in Congressional enactment of this measure, largely due to apathy, created a situation in which both criticism and defence of the measure on the part of the press as well as individuals and organizations could arise.

As early as 1916 a group of authors and editors gave a dinner in New York at which they successfully launched a campaign in support of the "American Creed," and suggested at the same time that a prize of $5,000 be offered for the writing of a national anthem. Mr. Matthew Page Andrews, a Baltimorean who attended this dinner, announced that there already was a national anthem, the Star Spangled Banner, a song which was accepted by the people and which could not be put aside by whichever group.[1]

Some of the defenders of the Star Spangled Banner thought that wider respect for the tune might be created through the passing of ordinances which would regulate the etiquette to be observed by the citizenry when the Star Spangled Banner was performed. The municipal ordinance which was originated by the Maryland Society of the Sons of the American Revolution and introduced in the City Council of Baltimore on May 8, 1916,[2] was finally

---

[1]Andrews to Holloway, May 3, 1921, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[2]See Supra, p. 296.

passed by the City on July 24, 1916, making it a misdemeanor to fail to stand during the rendition of the Star Spangled Banner.[1] However, this measure intended to enhance respect for the Star Spangled Banner, actually provoked a certain amount of hostility. While some editorials from various parts of the country saw in this new ordinance "the folly of trying to instill patriotism by law, to create reverence by statute," the bad feeling inspired by this type of regulation may have given rise to the pessimistic prophecy of the Sun editorial of March 4, 1931.[2] Due to widespread negative reaction it was thought that this ordinance should be allowed to become a dead letter by the municipal authorities; one high official of the Blatimore City Government stated, "there will be no prosecutions under this ordinance."[3]

A similar action was taken by New York City, where the Board of Aldermen on December 19, 1916, proposed an ordinance to restrict the indiscriminate singing or playing of Star Spangled Banner, and at the same time proposed a flag ordinance, according to which the flag was to fly on all city-owned buildings on legal holidays.[4]

Although there was no legal obligation requiring civilians to stand while the Star Spangled Banner was played, it was considered imprudent and discourteous not to do so, and such an omission sometimes provoked public resentment. When a former reporter for the Socialistic newspaper The New York Call, Frederick S. Boyd, was dining on Friday evening, April 6, 1917,

---

[1]The New York Times, July 25, 1916, p. 7.
[2]See Supra, p. 340.
[3]The New York Times, September 3, 1916, Section 2, p. 3.
[4]The New York Times, December 20, 1916, p. 12.

at Rector's restaurant in New York City with Miss Jessie Ashley and Miss May R. Towle, they remained seated and refused to stand while the Star Spangled Banner was being played. Their action angered other diners, who severely beat Boyd and asked all three to leave the resta. When they refused they were escorted outside, where Boyd was [illegible] a policeman, charged with disorderly conduct and taken to Night Court before Magistrate Corrigan, who found him guilty of disorderly conduct and released him on a suspended sentence.[1]

Similarly in those tense war times, the investigating committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, at their national convention at the Hotel McAlpin in New York City, on August 28, 1917, accused Episcopal Bishop David H. Greer of forbidding the playing of the Star Spangled Banner in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, "because it created an enthusiasm for war which he did not like."[2] In a telegram sent from Bar Harbor, Me., Bishop Greer denied the charge of having barred the Star Spangled Banner from the Cathedral, pointing out that "It is customary to play and sing patriotic hymns and anthems at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, and that practice will be continued." William Voorsanger of Pittsburgh, Pa., Secretary of the VFW's Committee on Resolutions, in his comment on the bishop's telegram, declared it to be ambiguous, as it reflected specific mention of the "national anthem," merely stating generally that patriotic hymns and anthems were customarily played and sung in the Cathedral.[3]

---

[1] Ibid., April 7, 1917, p. 3.
[2] Ibid., August 29, 1917, p. 9.
[3] The New York Times, August 30, 1917, p. 11.

There were musical directors as well as established concert singers who refused to play or sing the Star Spangled Banner for a variety of reasons, and this also provoked public resentment. On Tuesday, October 30, 1917, the Board of Police Commissioners in Providence, R.I. withheld the granting of a license for an upcoming Sunday concert by the opera singer Mme. Frieda Hempel, pending a promise that she would include the Star Spangled Banner in her programme.[1] The decision of the Police Commissioners was based on the fact that during her last Spring recital at Providence, Mme. Hempel had declined to include the song in her programme, stating that she did not know it. "If she does not know it she must learn it by Sunday if she hopes to appear then," said the Chairman of the Commission. On Tuesday evening, October 30, 1917, Mme. Hempel, through her New York representative, issued a statement denying that she had refused to sing the Star Spangled Banner, and stating that she knew the song, and that she would include it in her Providence concert.[2]

Demands were made by a group of women that the Star Spangled Banner be played at the concert given in Providence, R.I., on Tuesday night, October 30, 1917, by the Boston Symphony Orchestra. When the anthem was not played, the Rhode Island Defense Council strongly criticized its conductor, Dr. Karl Muck, for his failure to heed this request.[3] The founder and patron of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Major Henry L. Higginson, an

---

[1]The Evening Bulletin (Providence, R.I.), October 31, 1917, pp. 1 and 7.
[2]The New York Times, October 31, 1917, p. 13.
[3]The Evening Bulletin (Providence, R.I.), October 31, 1917, pp. 1 and 7.

the following day announced that the orchestra would be disbanded and Symphony Hall sold if the public demand for the playing of the Star Spangled Banner continued, stating that "These people...think they will test the loyalty of these men by making them play the antbem,"[1] while Dr. Muck's comment was, "Why will people be so silly? Art is a thing by itself and not related to any particular nation or group. It would be a gross mistake, a violation of artistic taste and principles for such an organization as ours to play patriotic airs."[2]

Dr. Muck's statement provoked a flurry of public polemics, as well as general indignation. The Providence Journal, in its editorial entitled "The Case of Dr. Karl Muck" declared:

> As Conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra he has grossly offended every patriotic American by his refusal to render our national anthem. His attitude toward his audience in Providence on Tuesday evening was one of studied contempt....There is no room for a man like Muck on the concert stage of America. He has no business conducting the Boston Symphony. We are at war with his country and we cannot tolerate his defiance and outrage of American patriotism. Dr. Muck should be withdrawn at once and forever from the American stage and placed where he belongs, -- behind bars in an internment camp. 3

Dr. Walter Damrosch commented on the excitement caused by Muck and the Boston Symphony in the following terms:

---

[1]The Boston Globe, November 1, 1917, p. 5.

[2]The New York Times, November 1, 1917, p. 10.

[3]The Providence Journal, November 1, 1917, p. 8. This editorial was also reprinted on the editorial page of another Providence newspaper, The Evening Bulletin, November 1, 1917, Second Section, p. 6.

> Dr. Muck naturally does not care to conduct the national hymn at the present time, and I confess I should not enjoy hearing him do so. Considering his citizenship and his feeling regarding our war, this would be an act of hypocrisy. It seems to me that the issue could be easily met by having an assistant conductor lead the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 'The Star-Spangled Banner' mands [sic] [1]

However Damrosch at the same time critized Muck for his lack of objectivity, saking:

> Does Dr. Muck really believe that the national anthem should be played only by 'military bands and ballroom orchestras'? He chooses to ignore the fact that the national anthem is the symbol of our patriotism and loyalty at a time when our nation is at war, and even though he is an 'enemy alien' the Boston Symphony Orchestra is, or should be, most decidely an American organization and ready to play our national anthem on any occasion when the patriotic emotions of its public demand it. [2]

On November 1, 1917, the Directors of the St. Louis Sympbony Orchestra voted hat the Star Spangled Banner should be played at every concert. The director f the orchestra, Max Zach, had previously strongly objected to the playing of he Star Spangled Banner at every symphony concert, because in his opinion it as not artistically in harmony with the concert program; however, he was willing [3] at it be played at popular concerts.

But the public demand was increasing, and agitation started among the mbers of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, which sponsored a series

---

[1] The New York Times, November 2, 1917, p. 13.
[2] Ibid., November 3, 1917, p. 22.
[3] Ibid., November 2, 1917, p. 13.

of concerts by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, to force Dr. Muck to play the Star Spangled Banner at the Brooklyn concerts.[1]

The question of the wisdom of playing the Star Spangled Banner at symphony concerts was subject also to public polemic. In the opinion of David Stanley Smith, Professor of Music at Yale University, the playing of the Star Spangled Banner was not at all appropriate at symphony concerts, because as he put it: "The national anthem is never presented with more appropriateness than before audiences that have gathered for serious reflection. It begins to offend only when it is used as a cloak of respectability over general cheapness of entertainment: and it is in the field of mere amusement that its use might well be curtailed."[2]

Addressing the members of League for Political Education in Carnegie Hall on November 3, 1917, Dr. Henry van Dyke declared that Dr. Muck should be forced to play not only the Star Spangled Banner, but also "Yankee Doodle" and "Dixie," while in his speech before the Brooklyn Institute at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on that same Saturday night, November 3, 1917, Professor William Starr Myer of Princeton University commented on Muck's refusal in these terms: "His excuse is that it is not up to the same standard of art as the other music. To my sense of things 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is good music. It expresses one of the noblest of the human emotions, patriotism, and I feel that that is a higher emotion than any that may be expressed in the

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Cf. his letter to The Editor of The New York Times dated November 2, 1917, in The New York Times, November 4, 1917, Section 2, p. 2.

Ninth Symphony of Beethoven."[1]

Meanwhile a former Governor of Maryland, Edwin Warfield, volunteered to lead the Baltimore citizenry in the prevention of a scheduled concert of the Boston Symphony under Dr. Muck in Baltimore.

Following a warning by the Grand Jury to the Baltimore police on November 5, 1917, the concert of the Boston Symphony under Dr. Muck was barred because of fear of public demonstrations.[2]

Commenting on the police decision, Ex-Governor Warfield issued a statement saying:

> Whether the commissioners had acted or not, Muck would never have reached the theatre, and he will never conduct another concert in Baltimore. We never had any objection to the orchestra. We would have been willing for the concert to take place if somebody else had conducted. The man we were after was the Prussian who said, 'To hell with your flag and your national anthem.' We were after the man who said our 'Star-Spangled Banner' was not fit to be included in an artistic program.[3]

In the eyes of Director Randolph of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, however, "cancellation of the concert [was] nothing short of a catastrophe."[4]

As the controversy increased, Major Henry L. Higginson issued a statement on November 4, 1917, in which he shouldered all responsibility and asserted that Dr. Muck was blameless in the Star Spangled Banner incident.[5]

---

[1] The Evening Sun (Baltimore, Md.), November 3, 1917, p. 14.
[2] The Evening Sun (Baltimore, Md.), November 5, 1917, p. 14.
[3] The New York Times, November 6, 1917, p. 13.
[4] Ibid.
[5] The Boston Herald and Journal, November 5, 1917, p. 3.

In its editorial commenting on the affair the New York Times thought that "the best advice that could be given to all concerned can be condensed into the inelegant but perspicuous locution, 'Forget it!'"[1] But the people could not accept this good advice and could not forget. During a visit to Public School 45 at 139th and Hoffman Streets in New York City on the morning of November 2, 1917, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt declared that "The sight of these youngsters singing so patriotically reminds me by contrast of Karl Muck, the leader of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, who had refused to play the 'Star Spangled Banner' during his classic program." In the opinion of Mr. Roosevelt, "Any man who refuses to play the 'Star-Spangled Banner' in this time of national crisis, should be forced to pack up and return to the country he came from."[2]

In the meantime Dr. Muck led the Boston Symphony Orchestra in the Star Spangled Banner on Friday, November 2, 1917, in one of the Orchestra's regular Friday afternoon concerts. At this time Major Higginson announced that Dr. Muck "has placed his resignation in my hands....To lose him would be a disaster. The matter rests with me. It will have my earnest consideration."[3]

While some people attacked Dr. Muck, others were supporting him. Stearns Morse, in his letter to the Times, dated November 3, 1917, from Woodsville, N.H., defended Dr. Muck against hasty and unconsidered attacks

---

[1]The New York Times, November 5, 1917, p. 14.
[2]The New York Times, November 3, 1917, p. 22.
[3]The Boston Daily Globe, November 3, 1917, pp. 1 and 2.

which have been heaped upon [him] during the last few days.... He had attended strictly to his business - the interpretations of music which have been an inspiration to many thousands."[1]

On the afternoon of November 6, 1917, in spite of the Baltimore unpleasantness, Dr. Muck received a warm welcome from his music-loving admirers as he stepped onto the stage of the new National Theatre in Washington, D.C., and although it was not included in the programme, he opened the concert with the Star Spangled Banner, during which he and the entire orchestra stood.[2] According to the Washington Post, "A spirited rendition of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' preceded the program and elicited vociferous applause, thus allaying all disquieting rumors to the effect that Dr. Muck would refuse to play our national anthem at his concerts."[3]

However, at the large public rally held on the same Tuesday afternoon, November 6, at the Lyric Theatre in Baltimore, Dr. Muck was denounced as an enemy and a resolution was adopted condemning his refusal to play the national anthem.[4]

An audience of 3,000 people cheered Dr. Muck when he conducted the Star Spangled Banner at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Friday evening, November 9, 1917, on the occasion of the opening of the Boston Symphony Orchestra's annual concert series in Brooklyn Borough.[5]

---

[1]The New York Times, November 9, 1917, p. 12.
[2]The New York Times, November 7, 1917, p. 11.
[3]The Washington Post, November 7, 1917, p. 7.
[4]The Sun, (Baltimore, Md.), November 7, 1917, pp. 14 and 7.
[5]The New York Times, November 10, 1917, p. 11.

By President Woodrow Wilson's enemy alien proclamation issued on November 16, 1917 Dr. Muck was barred from Washington,[1] with the result that the tour of the Boston Symphony Orchestra was disrupted,[2] and the concert scheduled for Washington on December 4, 1917, was ultimately canceled.[3] In spite of pressure, the agents of the U.S. Department of Justice and the D.C. Police refused to lift the ban on Dr. Muck and twenty-two members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.[4] As a result, on December 22, 1917 Dr. Muck and the Orchestra cancelled their engagement for a concert scheduled for February 3, 1918, in Washington.[5]

Upon evaluation of all the available evidence, it seems to the present writer that Dr. Muck was a "victim" of circumstances, merely following his orders as a Director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. As we have seen, although the Star Spangled Banner was popular as a whole throughout the country, there was also a segment of public opinion which opposed it, privately and publicly. Opposition was particularly evident in the New England States, where the New Englanders preferred "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," whose words were written by Samuel Francis Smith of Boston. The New Yorkers, on the other hand favored "America the Beautiful," written by Katherine Lee Bates of Wellesley College, while some elements in the West wished some other patriotic song.[6]

An organized and well financed campaign against official Congressional recognition of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem was started

[1] Ibid., November 20, 1917, p. 4.
[2] Ibid., December 2, 1917, p. 8.
[3] Ibid., December 5, 1917, p. 13.
[4] Ibid., December 20, 1917, p. 3.
[5] Ibid., December 23, 1917, Section 2, p. 5.
[6] The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), October 9, 1921, Part 9, p. 5.

in 1918 by Miss Kitty Cheatham. In her letter of February 11, 1918 to the editor of the New York Times, Miss Cheatham called attention to the fact that some of the verses of the Star Spangled Banner were unsuitable, not only for the present but also for the future, to constitute the national anthem of the land, because as she put it, "To keep alive the emotion which this hymn expresses appears to me to prevent Great Britain and America from being allies in the true sense. We must forget 'those things which are behind' and recognize ourselves as brothers. Through our insistence upon accepting this as our national anthem and teaching it to our children - our future citizens - we, as a nation, are responsible for perpetuating the remembrance of the schism or war, which long ago should have been forgotten..."[1] Answering Miss Cheatham's letter, Mr. John McF. Howie stressed that "the 'Star-Spangled Banner' can be sung now with as much zest against the Germans as it was against the British." He further stated that, "There is nothing the matter with the 'Star-Spangled Banner;' any Englishman will tell Miss Cheatham that."[2] Miss Cheatham continued to develop her theme, first in an article,[3] and subsequently in a pamphlet which she published.[4]

For refusal to rise while the Star Spangled Banner was being played at the Convent Garden Theatre in Chicago on Saturday night, March 9, 1918,

---

[1]The New York Times, February 17, 1918, Section 2, p. 2.

[2]Ibid., February 20, 1918, p. 8.

[3]See her article entitled "Our National Anthem - A Protest" in Musical America, Vol. XXVII, No. 18 (March 2, 1918), p. 28.

[4]See her Words and Music of "The Star-Spangled Banner" Oppose the Spirit of Democracy Which the Declaration of Independence Embodies. (New York: Copyright by Kitty Cheatham, 1918), passim.

a prominent Chicago lawyer, J. Warner Beckstrom, was jailed, and on March 11, 1918 fined $50.00 in Court. He justified his action by stating that he had walked to the theatre directly from his Loop office, and pointed out that "As an American I had a legal right to keep my seat."[1] Similarly Socialist disturbers, while cheering the Bolsheviks, refused to stand when the Star Spangled Banner was played at a meeting held on Sunday afternoon, December 8, 1918, in Faneuil Hall in Boston, at which the members of the Italian Labor Mission to America were the guests.[2]

Among the voices raised to defend the Star Spangled Banner was that of W. Stanley Hawkins, who in a letter dated March 4, 1918, to the Editor of the New York Sun, sent from Camp Dix, N.J., expressed his belief that, if the people would only learn to sing the first and last stanzas of the Star Spangled Banner, there would be no need for a new national anthem. According to him the Star Spangled Banner "should come 'at the close' of our concerts, recitals, symphonies, operas, & c., and should receive the dignified treatment which its meaning deserves. And two verses should always be sung."[3] Similarly on November 21, 1918, a retired Methodist Minister, the Rev. Thomas Allan, revealed in Pittsburgh a letter from his son, Corporal E.W. Allan, of the 319th Infantry, who in his letter to his father told how his regiment had captured a German band of sixty pieces and made them play the Star Spangled Banner as they marched to the prison.[4]

---

[1] The New York Times, March 12, 1918, p. 3.
[2] The Boston Herald, December 9, 1918, pp. 1 and 3.
[3] The Sun, March 5, 1918, p. 8.
[4] The New York Times, November 23, 1918, p. 4.

When the Bavarian Volksfestverein, a German-American organization, decided to resume its musical festivities in the Yorkville Casino at East 86th Street in New York City on Sunday afternoon, April 27, 1919, they included in their roster of performers several hundred U.S. sailors, soldiers and marines, who rendered, among other number, the Star Spangled Banner.[1]

Similarly, when Bishop J. B. Cheshire of North Carolina suggested on October 11, 1919, in the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was then holding its General Convention in Detroit, that the Star Spangled Banner be dropped from the Church Hymnal, he raised a storm of protest. Bishop James H. Darlington remarked that it was beyond his understanding "how any one could object to the singing of the National Anthem in any place."[2]

On the other hand, during the voyage of the S.S. Noordam from Rotterdam to New York, where it arrived on July 29, 1920, an atmosphere of unfriendliness ruled among the 839 passengers, composed mostly of German and American businessmen. According to a newspaper account, "When the American national anthem was played some of the Germans would not stand up. This caused such a row that a fist fight was barely averted. Then when the band struck up 'Die Wacht am Rhein' the Americans were undemonstrative and there was another row."[3]

---

[1] New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, April 28, 1919, pp. 1 and 4.
[2] The New York Times, October 12, 1919, p. 16.
[3] Ibid., July 30, 1920, p. 24.

Elmer C. Mills, in his letter of July 28, 1920, from London to the Editor of the New York Times, revealed that the Star Spangled Banner was not generally known in England:

> This afternoon, at the unveiling of the Lincoln Statue by the Duke of Connaught, after the rendering of the British national anthem, the orchestra played the American anthem. A silk-hatted gentleman turned to me asking if I knew the air being played. He seemed quite suprised when I told him.
>
> Preceding the out-of-door ceremony at the meeting in Central Hall, when Mr. Elihu Root and Prime Minister Lloyd George spoke, in the midsts of Southern melodies 'The Star-Spangled Banner' was played on the big organ with so many variations that I did not recognize it myself until I was told by an English lady.
>
> Why is 'The Star Spangled Banner' so little known?[1]

A sensation was created on Monday evening, May 9, 1921, by Frederic Jessup Stimson of Dedham, Mass., retiring American Ambassador to Argentina, when he walked out of the S.S. Vestris' main salon, to express his resentment at the playing of the Star Spangled Banner as a part of a medley. This incident was learned of when the steamer reached New York on May 11, when the diplomat explained his action as follows: "I walked out in protest against the action of the band in playing the national anthem as part of a medley. This is against the regulations. After the selection had been finished I returned and informed the band master of my objection and he assured me that it would not happen again. The incident is closed."[2]

---

[1] Ibid., August 15, 1920, Section 2, p. 2.

[2] Ibid., May 12, 1921, p. 7.

It seems that the louder and more violent the voices of dissension became, the more supporters of the Star Spangled Banner came forward. In a letter of May 3, 1921, Matthew Page Andrews, Chairman, Executive Council, The American's Creed, expressed to Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway his opinion that, "Undoubtedly, 'The Star-Spangled Banner' should be our National Anthem in name as in fact or practice."[1]

Shortly afterward, on May 21, Congressman T. Frank Appleby of New Jersey introduced a Bill to make the daily singing of the Star Spangled Banner in the House of Representatives compulsory immediately following the Chaplain's prayer.[2] His Bill was accompanied by a statement to the press praising the influence of music as an aid to patriotism in these terms: "The precept and example of the Congress lifting its voice in song at the opening of its daily sessions to the stirring strains of that wonderful anthem, 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' which has been an ornament and strength to our nation, will stir the patriotic impulses and be a daily inspiration to every American."[3]

There is no doubt that the development of the phonograph contributed heavily to the increased popularity of the Star Spangled Banner. As early as 1896 the song was recorded on a two-minute "Standard" Cylinder by the Edison Concert Band.[4] In the following year it was recorded on another two-minute "Standard" cylinder by Frank Stanley,[5] and again in 1910 on

---

[1]Andrews to Holloway, May 3, 1921, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[2]U.S. Congress, House, Amending the Rules of the House of Representatives and providing for the use of "The Star-Spangled Banner" in the daily ceremony and order of business, 67th Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. 97, pp. 1-2.

[3]The New York Times, May 22, 1921, p. 20.

[4]See Disc No. 92 at the Edison National Historic Site.

[5]See Disc. No. 5004 at the Edison National Historic Site.

still another two-minute"Standard" cylinder by the U.S. Military Band.[1]

On Edison Diamond Disc Records the Star Spangled Banner was included on Disc No. 81072, recorded by Thomas Chalmers in June of 1914, on Disc No. 83071, recorded by soprano Anna Case in May 1917, and on Disc No. 50169 recorded by the New York Military Band ca. May 1914.[2]

The Star Spangled Banner was also recorded by Edison Co. on "Blue Amberol" four-minute cylinders. This series includes Disc No. 2692, recorded by Thomas Chalmers, baritone, in October 1915, and Disc No. 2984, a recital by Harry E. Humphrey and the Choir Boys of St. Ignatius of Loyola Church in October 1916.[3]

While the public battle over recognition of the Star Spangled Banner continued, the U.S. Navy also continued to develop its regulations in the direction of official recognition of the song. Navy Regulations for 1920, Chapter 5, Section 1, Article 230, contains the following stipulations:

> (1) The composition consisting of the words and music known as "The Star Spangled Banner" is designated the National Anthem of the United States of America.
>
> (2) Whenever the National Anthem is played on board a vessel of the Navy, at a Naval Station, or at any place where persons belonging to the naval service are present all officers and enlisted men not in formation shall stand at attention facing toward the music (except at colors, when they shall face toward the colors). If in uniform, covered, they shall salute at the first note of the anthem, retaining the position of salute until the last note of the anthem. If not in

---

[1] See Disc No. 10394 at the Edison National Historic Site.

[2] All these records are in the possession of the Edison National Historic Site.

[3] All these records are in the possession of the Edison National Historic Site.

uniform and covered, they shall uncover at the first note of the anthem, holding the headdress opposite the left shoulder and so remain until the last note of the anthem, except in inclement weather the headdress may be slightly raised.

(3) When played by a naval band under the circumstances contemplated by this paragraph, the National Anthem shall be played through without repetition of any part not required to be repeated to make it complete.

(4) The same marks of respect prescribed for observance during the playing of the National Anthem of the United States shall be shown toward the National Anthem of any other country when played upon official occasions.

(5) The playing of the National Anthem of the United States or of any other country as a part of a medley is prohibited.[1]

Following World War I the opposition to the Star Spangled Banner came from two directions, the first being the New Englanders who objected to it because it had not been written by Julia Ward Howe or James Russell Lowell. The second group, much stronger, were the pacifists, who had opposed the Star Spangled Banner for a long time, and who following World War I had been unusually active in propagandizing women's organizations, here and abroad.

Part of the pacifists' objection to the Star Spangled Banner was that it was a war song, extolling military glory, and casting unpleasant reflections on a now friendly country, and that its thought was contrary to the spirit of peace and prosperity to which this country had dedicated itself since Francis Scott Key wrote the song in 1814.[2] On July 29 and 30,

---

[1] United States Navy Regulations, 1920. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), pp. 79-80.

[2] The World (New York), May 26, 1929, p. 1 M.

1922, there was a national peace demonstration with the following slogan: "No More War." Anti-war meetings in New York were held on July 29, at Times Square and Columbus Circle, under the auspices of the Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere.[1]

More heat than light was added to the controversy by the action of Miss Augusta E. Stetson, who attracted much attention by publishing in leading Eastern newspapers advertisements attacking the Star Spangled Banner. Augusta E. Stetson was a Christian Scientist who several years before had been dismissed from the Mother Church in Boston because of charges that she had strayed or departed from the teachings of Mary Baker Eddy.[2] Her objections to the Star Spangled Banner were expressed in an advertisement which appeared on Sunday, June 11, 1922, in the New York Tribune,[3] on June 13 in the Baltimore Sun[4] and on June 13, 1922, in the Washington Post.[5] She strongly urged Americans to repudiate the Star Spangled Banner as their national anthem, because in her opinion it was a "poem born of intense hatred of Great Britain and wedded to a barroom ballad composed by a foreigner." She particularly opposed the third verse, which she quoted in the advertisement and asked, "Do these phrases fittingly express the spirit of America, the nation to whom the longing world looks today for moral and spiritual leadership with Christ as the head?" She saw the Star Spangled Banner as a foe of progress, and asked, "Shall that 'carnal mind,' which St. Paul declared

---

[1] The New York Times, July 29, 1922, p.
[2] Daily News (New York), June 12, 1922, p. 9.
[3] New York Tribune, June 11, 1922, p. 12.
[4] The Sun, June 13, 1922, p. 12
[5] The Washington Post, June 13, 1922, p. 4.

was 'enmity against God,' and which has ever opposed the progress of enlightenment and truth, be longer allowed to express its qualities of hate, sensuality, and bloody violence, through 'The Star-Spangled Banner'? Shall such seeds be planted in the budding minds of America's School children? God forbid!" Her concluding paragraph said, "From the pages of America's historic record, 'The Star Spangled Banner' is to-day being erased, by fiat of God. In its place will be revealed America's true national anthem, written and composed by Americans, penned by Christly inspiration and illumined with spiritual light."[1]

A resolution which was adopted on June 18, 1922, during the regular meeting of the Bronx Memorial and Executive Committee of the "Grand Army of the Republic" in New York City noted Miss Stetson's attack with indignation, stating:

> We protest this pernicious anti-American campaign against our long standing National song, the poetic expression of our patriotic spirit, and we call upon whosoever may be the proper law officers to take such action as may be best to stop further attempts to degrade this poetic story which so soulfully sings of a glorious past and the future hopes of our Republic.[2]

This resolution indeed shows a disposition to fight. In August of 1923 the situation worsened when Harry Barnhart, conductor of the Summer Community Sings at Central Park Mall, on August 23 refused to play the Star Spangled Banner, because as he declared, it had "no legal or official status whatever." He further stated that the song was "gloomy and stimulates hatred," and that "The bill to legalize it, I am informed, was defeated

---

[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, File No. 884, Negative Photostat of the above resolution.

in the last Congress. It is on the same basis legally as 'My Country 'Tis of Thee,' 'America' and the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic.' All these have been sung regularly at our sings. The patriotic note had always been fostered by me and enjoyed by audiences. During the late war, when one of my sons served overseas, I led sings in army camps, and in the past I have conducted 'The Star-Spangled Banner' hundreds of times. But this was when war and fighting were the program. I consider this a serious issue, which establishes the prerogative of any group to use the well-known battle song, 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' for putting over something which is other than a truly American ideal and for bolstering all sorts of propaganda." Because of this he declared, "I shall not continue my concerts unless Commissioner Gallatin withdraws his order." In addressing an audience New York City Park Commissioner Gallatin declared that, "If the anthem was good enough for our soldiers, it is good enough for Central Park." He also pointed out that "There is a standing order that all concerts in city parks must begin with 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' Barnhart, who is an able director, notified me he did not recognize the song as our national anthem and that he did not think it in keeping with his program."[1] As a result of Barnhart's refusal Gallatin cancelled the concert scheduled for the evening of August 23 and substituted for it a concert by the 71st Regiment Band.[2] According to the New York Times' editorial, "The conductor of the New York Community Chorus...gives some well-intentioned but

---

[1]The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), August 24, 1923, pp. 1 and 12.

[2]The New York Times, August 24, 1923, p. 1.

weak reasons for his course. It should have been enough that Park regulations require it so to be played. The conductor attributes to his audiences his own feelings."[1]

Congressman Celler saw in Barnhart's refusal a "mere subterfuge and a cloak to disguise his real feelings in the matter."[2]

And the Baltimore Sun in its editorial entitled "Another Shot at the Old Anthem" flatly commented:

> The Star-Spangled Banner has undergone fiercer bombardments at the hands of Americans of late years than it sustained from the British ships on the occasion of the famous attack that inspired Key's fervent poetic outburst. And it may be remarked that now, as then, "the flag is still there," in spite of both literary and pacifist critics.
>
> The latest protest against what has come to be accepted as our national anthem is voiced in New York, where Harry Barnhart, the community singing leader, has refused to include it in his program. Mr. Barnhart does not base his objection on the alleged literary defects or the musical difficulties of the anthem, but on the ground that it promotes war, hatred and international uncharitableness. He explains his position as follows:
>
> > During the late war, in which one of my sons served over seas, I led sings in the army camps, and in the past I have conducted "The Star-Spangled Banner" hundreds of times when war and fighting were on the progarm. When sung today it necessarily casts a gloom over those who have experienced the death-dealing touch of

---

[1] Ibid., August 25, 1923, p. 6.

[2] Hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Sixty-eighth Congress, First Session on H.R. 6429 and H.J. Res. 69, March 20, 1924. Serial 24. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), p. 7.

> war in the past, and in others stimulates the qualities of national hatred embodied in the text which we are trying to forget and [illegible], that we may go on as a people to better and holier things. My purpose in leading the people in song is to overcome worry, fear, misunderstanding and hatreds, and I believe that unless these hatreds are overcome by joy and brotherhood the world is due for more bloodshed and more wooden crosses.

This is very high ground, but it is too high for the great majority of human beings. In time we may all reach the heights where the moral atmosphere is so rarefied that we will not be able to bear even the suggestion of conflict. But for the present we must consider in our musical diet, as in our physical, human nature as it is. There are millions of people in this country who still think it no shame to be patriotic, and who regard the triumph of American arms in this city, which gave birth to "The Star-Spangled Banner," as an achievement of which to be proud. It is not wholly a song of hate, though it does picture the British invaders of that period in frankly unpleasant language, but it is in its essence a song of rejoicing for deliverance from a great peril, and a glowing symbolization of our flag as the outward and visible sign of the principles of freedom and justice. It does not represent international hate, but national love. It does not menace peace; it merely stands for the ringing expression of the great principles which this country is supposed to embody. We believe Americans could play it and try to sing it in London without a particle of ill will to the British Empire and with no desire to slug the first Britisher who crossed their path.

The "savage breast" ought to be soothed as much as possible with music. But if all music is to be barred which may stir up thoughts or emotions of an unholy kind, that may lead us to wrong our neighbor, or to add to the crosses which other lives must bear, Mr. Barnhart's repertoire in time may be reduced to the idiocy of "Yes, we have no bananas," or to the innocuous aspiration "I want to be an angel and with the angels stand."

> "The Star-Spangled Banner" survives because human nature is still unchanged, and because there are quite a number of Americans still left in the United States."[1]

An editorial entitled "The Star Spangled Banner," which appeared in the St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat on July 4, 1923, defended the anthem, declaring that the words and music were good enough for any real American, and saying:

> In an article several columns in length, printed as an advertisment in a number of Eastern newspapers, Augusta E. Stetson attacks America's flag song, "The Star-Spangled Banner." It is an "outgrown ballad of venom and hatred," she says, "its music borrowed from a ribald English drinking song." "Christian Americans," she says again, "who have imbibed the spirit of Washington and Lincoln, will not learn or sing a song masquerading as patriotic which expresses the lowest qualities of human sentiment--hatred, boastful pride, and murder, typified in 'bombs,' 'blood' and 'pollution.'"
>
> The article is a passionate plea for peace, for the brotherhood of man and for the application of the principles of Christ, to all of which, we are told, "The Star-Spangled Banner" is radically opposed. It is curious that it has taken a century to make this remarkable discovery in a song that during all that time has been the most popular of patriotic airs, not even excepting "America," and has been established in the hearts of Americans as an inspiring expression of unalloyed patriotism. It is true that the air was borrowed from an old drinking song, "Anacreon": everybody knows and loves "The pened to fit the words, but the original song is long since forgotten and the tune is as much an integral part of Key's words as if written expressly for them. Nobody knows or cares anything about "Anacreon"; everybody knows and loves "The Star-Spangled Banner," though some of the words often elude the memory and some of the notes are hard to reach.

---

[1] The Sun, August 25, 1923, p. 6.

It is true also that some of the lines in the third verse [illegible] spirit of animosity against the nation with which we were at war when the poem was composed, a natural feeling under the circumstances. But that verse is rarely sung, and when it is no one ever thinks of its original application. The occasion of the poem long ago passed from remembrance, in so far as its association with the song is concerned. Does any one, we wonder, ever connect its inspiring strains with the war of 1812, or ever feel the slightest stirring of hatred toward any nation under its influence? We are quite sure that the feelings it arouses are those of the purest patriotism. It is not, as Mrs. Stetson says a national anthem in the legal sense, but it is a fully and truly a national anthem as if it were established in the constitution itself. It has become the particular and peculiar song of the flag, the melodious expression of our devotion to that radiant symbol of our nationality and of all the principles of liberty and of righteousness that America and Americanism imply.

And the spirit it imparts is the spirit of Washington and of Lincoln. Was it not through war that they expressed themselves and wrote their names among the highest on the roll of the benefactors of mankind? And was it not love of their country, its people and its freedom that drew them into war for their country's sake? It is that same love that swells the breast of every true American when he hears the strains of "The Star-Spangled Banner." It is not an emotion of war, or of hatred toward any people. It is not in any way inimical to peace, to brotherhood or to Christian principles. It is a feeling of devotion to our beloved land, a devotion that involves its protection when assailed and the righteous promotion of its welfare at all times, but that profoundly desires that her ways be ways of pleasantness and all her paths be peace. When we are no longer concerned that

> "The Star-Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave,"

then, indeed, will America with all it has given to mankind and all that it promises to humanity be lost. [1]

---

[1] St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat, July 4, 1923, p. 12. The editorial was reprinted in the Boston Evening Transcript, July 23, 1923, p. 20.

It was evident from these public statements that the fight for Congressional recognition of the Star Spangled Banner as the National Anthem would be lengthy and bitter.

Because of her flood of propaganda against the Star Spangled Banner Mrs. Stetson was subpoenaed before New York City Deputy Commissioner of Accounts Loudon to answer questions regarding the financial sources for her anti-Star Spangled Banner campaign.[1] Appearing before Mr. Loudon on Wednesday, March 5, 1924, Mrs. Stetson declared according to an Associated Press dispatch that "she spent $16,000 for advertising space in New York newspapers in a campaign to strike the third stanza from the 'The Star Spangled Banner.'" She also stated that "her advertising was prompted by a life ambition to foster peace and good will on earth," and that "The third stanza of Francis Scott Key's poem was subversive to both peace and good will and the music was that of an 'old English song.'"[2]

On March 6, 1924, at a meeting of various patriotic societies held in Baltimore, plans were made to send delegates to Washington when the House Judiciary Committee began its hearings on the proposed measure to make the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem.[3]

As mentioned previously the Judiciary hearings on the Star Spangled Banner began on March 20, 1924.[4] During these hearings the Committee

---

[1]The New York Times, March 6, 1924, p. 9.
[2]St. Paul Dispatch, March 6, 1924, p. 13.
[3]The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), March 7, 1924, p. 3.
[4]See Supra, pp. 332-333.

received communications to the effect that the third stanza of the Star Spangled Banner was a hymn of hate;[1] however Mrs. Stetson also came in for vigorous attack for her opposition to the song.[2]

On March 30, 1924, Mrs. Stetson returned to the attack with additional criticism of the Star Spangled Banner, publishing in the New York Times a full-page advertisement again opposing it and promising to continue so doing.[3] In another paid advertisement which appeared in the same paper on August 5, 1925, Mrs. Stetson again denounced the Star Spangled Banner. Accusing its proponents of "breathing hatred of our Anglo-Saxon brother, Britain " she stated that, "Never has Congress, and never will Congress, legalize Francis Scott Key's ballad, which voices 'bombs bursting in air,' 'blood,' 'the terror of flight and the gloom of the grave,' 'foul footsteps' pollution,' and refers to our Anglo-Saxon brother, Britain, as 'the foe's haughty host.'"[4] This advertisement also appeared on Saturday, August 8, 1925, in the Washington Herald.[5]

In defense of the point of view of Mrs. Stetson and others it must be said that there had been cases in which the Star Spangled Banner had been misused. In Indiana, for example, the Fourth of July celebrations were closely connected with English-baiting. According to Governor Thomas R. Marshall (who favored playing the Star Spangled Banner more often in order to imprint patriotic feeling in the minds of the citizens) when the

---

[1] U.S. Congress, House, Committee on the Judiciary, Hearings on H.R. 6429 and H.J.R. 69, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., 1924, p. 12.

[2] Ibid., pp. 18, 26, 28-29.

[3] The New York Times, March 30, 1924, Section 8, p. 15.

[4] Ibid., August 5, 1925, p. 18.

[5] The Washington Herald, August 8, 1925, p. 5.

General Assembly of the State of Indiana passed an Act requiring that the Star Spangled Banner be sung in its entirety in all schools of the State, he gladly signed this Act, only to find shortly afterward that it would cost the State approximately $100,000 the first year to insure its realization. Since such a sum had not been appropriated, Governor Marshall did not implement the act and thus, according to him, "the act became a mere bit of bombastic legislation." Several months later he was approached by a friend of Irish descent who wanted to know when the Act would be put into effect. When Governor Marshall told him of the financial situation his Irish friend frankly admitted that the Act had been prepared and presented by the Clan of Gael, with no patriotic purpose, but rather with the desire that the Star Spangled Banner be sung in its entirety because "there was one verse in it that gave the British Lion's tail a particularly vicious and nerve-racking twist." Governor Marshall admitted that, while it had done no harm to sign the Bill, had he understood its purpose, that is the reason why the Irish wanted him to sign it, he would have vetoed it.[1] Misuses of the Star Spangled Banner like this, however, were quite unusual and by no means widespread.

For the opponents of the Star Spangled Banner, Mrs. Stetson's attacks were like a rallying call. On June 29, 1926, Mrs. Charles R. Scarborough, Chairman of the Women's Auxiliary of the New York Post Society, announced that the Star Spangled Banner would not be sung at the Independence Day

[1]Thomas R. Marshall, Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall Vice-President and Hoosier Philosopher. A Hoosier Salad. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1925), pp. 126-128.

celebration at the New York Port Society Building at 168 Eleventh Avenue, on the grounds that some of its stanzas were not in accord with contemporary friendly feeling and relations between the United States and Great Britain.[1]

Mrs. Scarborough revealed that because of her position she had received several threatening letters;[2] however there were also voices raised which approved her attitude.[3]

In a letter of July 18, 1926, to the Editor of the New York Times Poultney Bigelow also strongly protested against the use of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem.[4]

A systematic campaign in Washington was conducted to substitute "America the Beautiful" for the Star Spangled Banner. The Hymn Society of America, with Carl Fowler Price as its President, initiated the movement to change the national anthem, as the Society contended that the Star Spangled Banner was based on hatred, while "America the Beautiful" constitute the highest expression of national patriotism. A committee was formed which included James Barnes Pratt of New York, Bishop Frederick B. Fisher of Windham, Mass., and Dr. Reginald L. McAll, President of the National Association of Organists, to prepare a bill for Congress to adopt "America the Beautiful" as national anthem. The Hymn Society of America had among

---

[1] The New York Times, June 30, 1926, p. 3.

[2] Ibid., July 4, 1926, Section 1, p. 12.

[3] Like the letter from G. H. Owen to the Editor of the New York Times in Ibid., July 24, 1926, p. 10.

[4] Ibid., July 22, 1926, p. 18.

its members several of the best-known writers and composers of sacred music in America, and consequently their action was not to be taken lightly.[1]

Naturally, Mrs. Holloway and her organization tried to block the Society's campaign, and Baltimore in general strongly protested the action of the Society, declaring it an "outrageous" act and cruel propaganda. Mrs. Holloway declared that, "if we have to fight, we'll fight to a finish," and further asked the question, while "'America the Beautiful' is a fairly good harvest home hymn, "would any real American consider such a thing as a substitute for 'The Star-Spangled Banner'?"[2]

The Baltimore News, in its editorial entitled "Long May She Wave" on December 15, 1926, had this to say on the subject:

> The latest attack on "The Star-Spangled Banner" should not unduly arouse us. It will be as effective as all such attacks have been--as effective as were the bombs of the foe more than a hundred years ago in Baltimore harbor.
>
> Enemies of "The Star-Spangled Banner" make their fight on very miry ground. They contend that it is not really tha national anthem, that it is a "hymn of hate" and that it is sung to the music of an old drinking song.
>
> To the first charge it is only necessary to quote from the United States Army Regulations, Paragraph 264: "'The Star-Spangled Banner' is designated the national anthem of the United States."

---

[1]The Evening Sun (Baltimore, Md.), December 10, 1926, p. 27.

[2]The Baltimore News, December 14, 1926, p. 15.

> That it is a "hymn of hate" is not true. National anthems are not written to order like a soap advertisement. They are the result of some powerful emotions that stir the human breast. In times of great national peril the intense feeling within some inspired individual bursts forth into words and music--and a national anthem is born.
>
> That it is sung to the music of a drinking song is true, but should that condemn it? Any music which touches a responsive chord in a human heart is likely to be appropriated by many. The music of "Marseillaise" was a song of the Paris gutter, but it has led France to victory and glory on many a battlefield.
>
> The Star-Spangled Banner will continue to wave. [1]

In the meantime the peace movement was gaining importance as a result of the signing of the Treaty of Rapallo, concluded on April 16, 1922, between the German Republic and the Soviet Union, a treaty which in diplomatic history is considered a significant step forward in the normalization of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the rest of the European countries.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Washington, a delegation of women, headed by Elinor Byrnes of New York, asked the Senate subcommittee on January 22, 1927, to pass a Constitutional amendment to make war illegal and to forbid the Federal and State Governments to prepare or carry on any armed combat. They described the War Department as a propaganda machine and the Boy Scout organization as "a kindergarten for war."[2] To Pacifists of this type the Star Spangled Banner was a thorn in the flesh, extolling militarism and perpetuating international rivalry and hatred.

---

[1] Ibid., December 15, 1926, p. 30.

[2] The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), January 23, 1927, p. 12.

Herbert C. Fooks, a Baltimore lawyer, in 1927, discussing in a pamphlet the question of whether the lyrics of the Star Spangled Banner were too derogatory to Great Britain, decided that they were not offensive in this respect.[1]

The National Society of Music Clubs sponsored a contest in which all composers from every State of the Union, Alaska and Hawaii as well as countries such as England, France and India participated; however, none of them succeeded in producing an adequate musical setting for Katherine Lee Bates' poem, "America, the Beautiful." Four nationally known music critics: Dr. Frank Damrosch of New York, Felix Borowski of Chicago, Frederick S. Converse of Boston, and Dean Peter C. Lutkin of Evanston, Illinois, were entrusted with the selection of a hymn which would not only show unmistakable greatness, but would also "sweep people off their feet." A $1,500 prize was offered, but was not awarded. "After giving careful consideration to the (761) offerings, we beg leave to report that although some of the settings showed fine musicianship, no one impressed us as reaching the high standard called for, none were fully adequate to the inspiring text, "declared the judges in their statement. "We therefore, recommended that no award be made."[2]

Commenting on the result, the Washington Sunday Star in its editorial concluded:

> Perhaps this was what was to have been expected. Great works of art are seldom created as the result of prize contests. To sit down and solemnly tell

---

[1] Herbert C. Fooks, The Star Spangled Banner; Its Destiny. (Baltimore: Maryland Society, Sons of the American Revolution, 1927), especially pp. 3-5.

[2] The Washington Post, April 22, 1927, p. 3.

> one's self, 'Now I am about to create something great,' is an inspiration-killing attitude for an artist. A work of art, to have genius in it, must be the innate expression of the creator. That is why the national anthem of France possesses the power to evoke enthusiasm. It was not composed to win a prize of $1,500, but sprang from the burning heart and mind of one man who had something to express, whether he got a cent for it or not. There is no short cut to art creations. No organization can, by offering a 'prize,' inspire creators to their best efforts. National periods of tremendous enthusiasm alone evoke national anthems. They come in their due time, and no man or organization can hurry them. 'The Star Spangled Banner,' therefore, still remains our national song. As a unit, it was born with our creation as a nation, and comes down to us of today with splendid traditions of mighty men clinging to every note. Those notes may be hard to sing, but so was this Republic a work of difficulty. Let the straining of our voices, as we sing, remind us always of the striving of those great heroes of '76. [1]

Arthur Brisbane, writing in his column "Today," commented on the failure of the world-wide contest to secure a new national anthem to replace the Star Spangled Banner as follows:

> Some one, not satisfied with the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' offered $1,500 for a better national tune. Nine hundred and sixty-one composers tried and failed. The Star-Spangled Banner' will continue to make Americans stand up. To do a thing well, you must get excited about it. Socrates, greatest Greek teacher of oratory, said: 'To convince others be yourself convinced.' There will be no improved 'Star-Spangled Banner' until real danger inspires somebody to right song. [2]

And this is perhaps true, because only from great trials in which individuals or nations find themselves are born or created noble and great things.

---

[1] The Sunday Star, April 24, 1927, Part 2, p. 2.

[2] The Washington Herald, April 27, 1927, p. 1.

A reaction against the Star Spangled Banner and other martial music came from the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs, which on November 22, 1927, proposed that songs of this nature be abolished from the public schools "as a constructive aid toward the elimination of war," According to Mrs. Alap Johnson, a Quaker, who originated this idea because she believed that "the abolition of all military references in bringing up children would go far toward preventing wars in future generations."[1] As a result the New Jersey Federation approached Miss Louise Westwood, supervisor of music in the Newark public schools, to eliminate the Star Spangled Banner and all other national songs containing references to war from the school curriculum. This proposition on November 23, 1927, found approval from Miss Westwood, who fully agreed with the members of the Newark Clubs that the Star Spangled Banner made her shudder. According to an Associated Press dispatch from Newark dated November 23, 1927, Miss Westwood also stated that "children grow as they are trained, and unless women interested in the promotion of peace train them mentally as well as physically to abhor war and enmity toward people of other nations, America's peace project will fail to materialize."[2]

"'The Star-Spangled Banner' Can Never Become Our National Anthem" was the headline of an advertisement which Mrs. Augusta E. Stetson placed in the Washington Post on February 27, 1928, since the words of the poem breathed

---

[1] The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), November 23, 1927, p. 7.

[2] Boston Evening Transcript, November 23, 1927, p. 12.

intense hatred of Great Britain and because its music was borrowed from an English drinking song. The article did particularly take exception to the sentiments expressed in the third verse, as they were deemed not to fit into the spirit of America, a country at which the rest of the world looked for Christian spiritual and moral leadership. The article continued:

> Shall we shout, in violent, unsingable cadences, of 'the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,' and refer today to our democratic partner in Anglo-Saxondom - Great Britain - as 'the foe's haughty host,' which 'in dread silence reposes?' Shall that 'carnal mind,' which St. Paul declared was 'enmity against God,' and which has ever opposed the progress of enlightment and truth, be longer allowed to express its qualities of hate, sensuality, and bloody violence, through 'The Star-Spangled Banner?' Shall such seeds be planted in the budding minds of America's school children? God forbid! The spirit of America is not suitably expressed by hatred, nor by the horrors of war, which all nations today are praying may be abolished. America's national anthem, which should be composed, as well as written by Americans, which should express the same noble animus as that which Washington voices, when he said, 'Let us raise a standard, to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hands of God,' and by Lincoln, when he uttered the high resolve that 'this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.'...Again we affirm, America was founded upon spiritual ideals...From the pages of America's historic record, 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is today being erased by fiat of God. In its place will be revealed America's true national anthem, written and composed by Americans, penned by heavenly inspiration and illuminated with spiritual light. [1]

In July of 1928 Mrs. Florence Brooks-Aten of New York City announced a contest for a new national anthem with a first prize of $3,000. The contest sought primarily to bring forth a new and singable national anthem. One

---

[1] The Washington Post, February 27, 1928, p. 4.

Norfolk, Virginia, newspaper commented on the contest as follows:

> Mrs. Florence Brooks-Aten, of New York, who has sponsored many philanthropic enterprises, has offered prizes aggregating $6,000 for a new national anthem for the United States of America. The competition is open to all Americans, whether native-born or not. No reflection is being cast on the present national anthem. It is a good, but what the present movement is designed to obtain is a song that somebody can sing. The first prize in this contest is $3,000, the second $1,000, and 10 prizes of $100 each, while a preliminary contest for words only will be held with 10 prizes of $100 each. The anthem may be the work of one or more individuals.
>
> 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is recognized not only as a beautiful sentiment, but a mechanically beautiful song, but the great difficulty is that few, if any, American citizens except those affiliated with the Metropolitan Opera Company or similar organizations can sing it with any degree of success. And only about one American out of something like 10,000 has more than the most remote idea of what the words are, after the opening stanza.
>
> From the best that can be gathered from the prospectus of Mrs. Florence Brooks-Aten's contest, what is desired is a song that will run along on a fairly even keel, and will fall within the range of the average voice, as well as one with enough tune to make it effective, but at the same time a flexible sort of tune which the average business man may attempt without fear of upsetting the whole scheme of things when he hits a G-sharp instead of a B-flat, as written.
>
> The present national anthem has been a thing that has tried men's souls. The chances are that if you will go out and ask a banker, or a merchant, or a doctor, or almost any average American he won't be able to tell you what our national anthem is. And, again, if you happen to be out in a crowd where there is and orchestra or a band and the orchestra starts playing anything from the 'Marseillaise to the drinking song from 'The Student Prince' you will find the great crowd immediately rising to its feet and standing there in silence....So Mrs.

> Florence Brooks-Aten, who had done a great deal to cement relations between America and Great Britain and who, apparently, has plenty of money to do the cementing, offers prizes for a new national anthem. Norfolk citizens are as eligible to compete as anyone else. She believes that nothing would do more to promote the amity of nations than to produce for America a national anthem that people can sing and that bandmasters can execute on state occasions without throwing all their musicians into a serious state of catalepsy. Anyone who desires to make a try at it may get full information by writing to National Anthem Competition Headquarters, 342 Madison Avenue, New York....[1]

During this time when the Star Spangled Banner was being held unsingable and difficult to play, six bands giving concerts in the Boston City parks: on the Boston Common, Jamaica Pond, Franklin Park, Marine Park, Billings Field and World War Memorial Park-on Sunday afternoon, August 26, 1928, all ended their programs with the Star Spangled Banner..[2]

In another competition for a new national anthem, out of 92 entries San Francisco composer Ernest Bloch won the first prize, in the amount of $3,000, offered by Musical America for a new anthem which he embodied in his symphony, "America."[3]

Bloch's symphony was first performed on Thursday afternoon, December [illegible], 1928, by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra at Carnegie Hall and almost simultaneously presented by other leading orchestras of the country. Mr. [illegible]. Henderson of the New York Sun described the anthem itself as "precisely the

---

[1]Virginian-Pilot and the Norfolk Landmark (Norfolk, Va.), July 22, 192[illegible], Part 2, p. 2.

[2]See Programme for these concerts which appeared in The Boston Globe, [illegible] 25, 1928, p. 8.

[3]The New York Times, November 11, 1928, Section 10, p. 8.

least important part of Mr. Bloch's rhapsody."[1]

Bloch was a Jewish immigrant, who, as one newspaper put it, "For twelve years... has dwelt and worked in America from New York to San Francisco, through vicissitudes, endured and conquered,"[2] to become one of the major composers of the twentieth century.

"The merits of Ernest Bloch's 'epic rhapsody,'" remarked an editorial in the New York Sun following its performance at Carnegie Hall, "are the proper concern of the music critics and of those who hereafter will listen to what has been called with terrifying simplicity, 'America.' But of the anthem which concludes the work it is entirely possible to form some notion, strains unheard. It is the hope of the composer, a program note confesses, that the anthem will become 'known and beloved, that the audience will rise and sing it.' Part of the audience at Carnegie Hall did sing it, encouraged by a sizable chorus." Describing the hissing amid all the applause, the editorial continued: "Possibly hissing is too summary a treatment for substitute anthems. It is impossible to recall any of the innumerable anthems written to take the place of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' that ever won enough notice of any sort to warrant hissing. The music of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' remains formidable; beyond the first verse its words are virtually unknown. In every generation there have been zealots who have spent an inconceivable amount of time and energy on a futile crusade against a song that has compelled

---

[1]The Sun (New York, N.Y.), December 21, 1928, p. 25.

[2]Boston Evening Transcript, December 22, 1928, p. 12.

'Hail! Columbia,' 'America' and 'Yankee Doodle,' among others, to yield place. Composers who might otherwise follow in Mr. Bloch's path should listen to a military band play 'The Star-Spangled Banner' if they want substantial evidence that no new national anthem is needed."[1]

A critic for the Boston Evening Transcript, after hearing Bloch's new work, wrote that "It gathers to hear music; prefers to hear it sitting; discovered no reason to rise because these banalities happen to salute America."[2]

In the meantime, early in January of 1927 the contest sponsored by Mrs. Florence Brooks-Aten announced ten preliminary winners of the competition for words of the new national anthem, all of whom shared a prize sum in the amount of $1,000.[3]

The New York World had this to say about the poem of Edwin Markham, one of the ten preliminary winners of the competition:

> It says some nice things about freedom, and friends, and Florida, and alludes to the Brother Plan, but whether this is some new way to buy Florida real estate, we can not say, not knowing. Nevertheless, we must ask one important question in connection with it, and it is this: What is wrong with the anthem we have got? Having asked the question, we answer it at once: Nothing. 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' no matter which way you regard it, is the one perfect anthem that has ever been written. Words and music blend perfectly, even tho each had a different origin: they are martial, bold and defiant, and cause you to feel proud of your country. Furthermore, such is the

---

[1]The Sun (New York, N.Y.), December 24, 1928, p. 8.

[2]Boston Evening Transcript, December 24, 1928, p. 15.

[3]The New York Times, Janunry 9, 1929, p. 33, and January 13, 1929, Sect. I, p. 5.

> nature of the music, at any rate, that it can not be degraded to the uses that other national anthems have to submit to. It is in three-four time, so that you can not march to it; hence it will never be played for a parade. It can not be sung, even by opera singers; hence it always has to be played by a band, and we are sure that it will always be competently rendered, and not dragged out by ladies' choruses and such organizations. And since it can not be sung, there is no sense in playing it twice, as the second verse would sound just like the first. Hence we get it over quickly, and do not have to stand up with our hats off unduly long. This is probably one reason why the American nation, as a nation, is less afflicted with colds than any nation on the earth.
>
> In short, this anthem, as we have said, is perfect, having not a single flaw. What is the sense, then, of paying $1,000 for another anthem? If Mr. Markham has a sense of the proprieties, it seems to us that he will turn his share of the prize to the American Legion to be used to provide knitted socks for soldiers in the war. [1]

The final contest was to end on February 1, 1929, but on March 15 the deadline was extended to May 15, 1929; the end result was that, in this contest as in previous ones, no decision was reached, although contestants submitted 4,500 manuscripts.

The peace movement in the 1920s reached its peak with the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, also known as the Pact of Paris, signed on August 27, 1928, which outlawed war as an instrument of national policy. In addition this Pact stipulated that all future disputes should be settled by peaceful means. [2]

As a result of the signing of this pact it was believed, particularly by the French pacifists, that the time had now come to talk of the "dis-

---

[1] The World, January 10, 1929, p. 14.

[2] Cf. for this James T. Shotwell, War As An Instrument of National Policy. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929), passim, which deals mostly with the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

armament" of all national anthems which were hellicose. Although the Marseillaise was originally a revolutionary song it was suggested that this French national anthem should be abolished first, since part of the first stanza is a recital of frightening atrocities.

The pacifist reaction reached such a level that one Connecticut clergyman asked his parishioners to exclude several verses of the Star Spangled Banner from their planned Memorial Day ceremony in May of 1929 as being belligerent and harmful to children and consequently out of harmony with the spirit of the day. Carrol Dulaney, in his column "Baltimore Day by Day," condemned the clergyman in the following terms:

> With all due respect to the reverend gentleman, this sounds like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel - a whole package of 'em, in fact. Two of the most famous hymns of the Church, 'Onward, Christian Soldiers' and 'The Son of God Goes Forth to War' have a wallop like that which put Mr. Tunney in the Social Register. The former, too is one of the best marching tunes ever written, as thousands of ex-doughboys will testify. 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is a made-in-Baltimore product and Baltimore is justly proud of it. Long may she wave! [1]

But the Allentown Morning Call in its editorial on Sunday, June 9, 1929, vigorously championed the Star Spangled Banner, stating:

> This country has been ready for it a long time. The song is old enough to have well-developed traditions surrounding it. It has no rival. It is almost universally known in this country. It is regarded as the national anthem even tho there is no official action to this end. Why not put it on the books as such? Eventually it is going to be done. Why not now? [2]

---

[1] The Baltimore News, May 21, 1929, p. 17.

[2] Allentown Morning Call (Allentown, Pa.,), June 9, 1929, p. 6.

In the meantime, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Moscow, the Star Spangled Banner was played in the Soviet Union for the first time since World War I on the evening of July 18, 1929, as a tribute to a group of ninety-nine Americans then on an inspection tour of that country.[1]

As the fight for recognition of the Star Spangled Banner continued, Captain Walter I. Joyce, Director of the National Americanization Committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, at the meeting of General Pershing Chapter of the American War Mothers held on February 26, 1930, at the Hotel Astor, strongly urged legal adoption of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem.[2]

On the other hand educational experts at Teachers College, Columbia University, on February 8, 1930, expressed sharp opposition to the Star Spangled Banner because of its martial flavor, which they felt to be unsuitable for times of peace. Dr. M. B. Hillegas, Professor of Education in the Elementary Education Department, criticized the Star Spangled Banner as inspiring a narrow type of patriotism, stating that "It gives to millions of children who sing it the notion that the only real patriotism is warlike activity." Clyde R. Miller, Director of the Bureau of Educational Service, claimed that the Star Spangled Banner "suggests that patriotism is associated with killing and being killed, with great noise and clamor, with intense hatreds and fury and violence. Patriotism may on very rare occasions involve all of these, but not in everyday life." He further declared the members

---

[1] The New York Times, July 19, 1929, p. 27.

[2] Ibid., February 27, 1930, p. 15.

of his Department to be convinced that "America the Beautiful" was a real patriotic song, which should have precedence over the Star Spangled Banner.[1]

In spite of this controversy, on March 3, 1931, President Hoover's signature on the Congressional Act made the Star Spangled Banner the official national anthem after a delay of 117 years.[2] This time even the best efforts of the ardent pacifists and prohibitionists could not dissuade the Congress from taking this step on the grounds that the Star Spangled Banner had originally been written as a drinking song, or that it was a war-like expression, contrary to the spirit of peace which America and the rest of the world stressed at that time.

---

[1] Ibid., February 9, 1930, Section 2, p. 7.
[2] See Supra, p. 339.

XVII. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER BETWEEN THE TIME OF ITS CONGRESSIONAL RECOGNITION AS THE NATIONAL ANTHEM AND THE PRESENT

A. MILITARY USE (1931 to DATE)

Prior to the Congressional recognition of the Star Spangled Banner as the National Anthem the military alone were responsible for establishing the norms for its proper rendition, as will have been seen from preceding chapters of the present paper.

On September 30, 1923, Mr. P. Balgañon, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Iberian-American Esposition in Seville, Spain, requested from the American Consul in Seville an arrangement for piano and band of the American National Anthem, to be used during the Exposition as well as at official functions such as receiptions, reviews, etc., during the period between that date and the opening of the Exposition in 1926.[1] His letter was translated into English and forwarded by Consul William C. Burdett with approval to the Secretary of State,[2] from whence it was forwarded to the

---

[1]Balgañon to American Consul, Seville, September 30, 1923. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4924-746, 1923.

[2]Burdett to the Secretary of State, October 16, 1923. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4924-746, 1923.

Secretary of the Navy with request to transmit such scores of the Star Spangled Banner as the Secretary of the Navy should find suitable for Sr. Balgañon's purpose.[1] Upon receipt of this request steps were taken to procure the orchestration,[2] and finally the music of the Star Spangled Banner for piano and for band was sent by Acting Secretary of the Navy E. W. Eberle to the Department of State,[3] and from there to the American Consul at Seville for transmission to the Committee.[4]

There is no record as to what version of the Star Spangled Banner was prepared by the Navy Department and sent for this occasion. According to Mr. George Gulliksen, who was for a time the original librarian for the Navy Yard Band and later for the United States Navy Band, the version which was sent to Seville was prepared by Chief Musician Frank Gahler, who copied it from Leader's Delight, a compilation arranged by Paul De Ville and published by Carl Fischer of New York. As a matter of fact, according to Mr. Gulliksen, Chief Musician Gahler copied this version whenever a request for the Star Spangled Banner music

---

[1]Third Assistant Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy, December 24, 1923, R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4924-746, 1923.

[2]Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, January 3, 1924. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4924-746.

[3]Acting Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, January 9, 1924. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4924-746.

[4]Third Assistant Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy, January 21, 1924. R.G. 80. Correspondence File 4924-746.

came from school children, groups, organizations, etc.[1]

It is worth noting that even at this time Government officials were designating the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem, even though it had not yet received Congressional recognition. Similar instances, both official and unofficial, will have been noted by the writer throughout this paper.

On October 26, 1923, Congressman H. Garland Dupré approached the Bureau of Navigation with a request for the date upon which the Star Spangled Banner had been adopted as the national anthem by Navy Regulations.[2] He received a reply stating that the Star Spangled Banner had been "formally designated as the National Anthem by a change in the Navy Regulations dated February 14, 1917. Prior to that time'The Star Spangled Banner' was referred to in the Regulations as the National Air and was required to be played on certain occasions of ceremony, including morning and sunset colors." The reply further stated that "At the present time, both the Navy Regulations and the Army Regulations, (Article 230, Navy Regulations, 1920 and Paragraph 264, Army Regulations, 1913)

---

[1]Oral interview by the present writer with Mr. Gulliksen conducted on Wednesday afternoon, November 1, 1967.

[2]Dupré to Bureau of Navigation, October 26, 1923. R.G. 24, File 5540-1015.

provide as follows:

> The composition consisting of the words and music known as 'The Star Spangled Banner' is designated the National Anthem of the United States of America.

"These regulations are binding only upon the personnel of the naval and military services, no anthem, hymn, or musical air having been recognized by any Federal Law as a National Anthem, hymn, or musical air."[1]

In spite of this assurance on the part of the Navy Department the "official score" sent from the Navy Department to Seville was to be used not only at the Exposition, but also at official functions such as receptions, reviews, etc., that is mostly non-military functions. Consequently it is fairly evident that this ambiguous status of the Star Spangled Banner was allowed to exist by the official authorities and perhaps reflected a certain predisposition for this air.

At this time a new Naval band was being formed, which was also to play an important role in the popularization of the Star Spangled Banner. As early as 1916 the 18-piece band aboard the

---

[1]Long to Dupré, November 3, 1923. R.G. 24, File 55410-1015.

U.S.S. Kansas, headed by Bandmaster Totino, was transferred to the Receiving Station at the Washington Navy Yard, Washington, D.C. This band became enormously popular, largely because of its weekly radio-broadcasts which began in 1921 and originated from the Naval Air Station at Anacostia.[1]

In 1925 this band received recognition by a special Act of Congress, which was to make this proud group the permanent official band of the United States Navy. When President Coolidge signed the Act, the very first one he signed after his inauguration on March 4, 1925, the United States Navy Band was formed.[2] Charles Benter, Bandmaster, U.S.N. was designated as the leader of the new Band.

As of September 1926 Benter's National Air Book was issued to replace any publication of the national airs then in use, and by December 30, 1926, it was announced by the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts that Benter's National Air Book, arranged by Leader of the U.S. Navy Band Charles Benter, and which included the

---

[1]U.S. Navy Band Library File.

[2]See Section 17 of the Act of March 4, 1925 (Public No. 611), which provided "That hereafter the band now stationed at the navy yard, Washington, District of Columbia, and known as the Navy Yard Band, shall be designated as the United States Navy Band...." in U.S., Statutes at Large, XLIII, Part 1, Chapter 536, p. 1275.

National Airs of all countries, had been procured for the Naval Service and was available for distribution at the Navy Yard in Philadelphia.[1]

In addition the Bureau of Navigation, in a Circular Letter issued to all ships and stations on January 27, 1927, declared that Benter's National Air Book "will replace all publications now in use and will be used by all bands in rendering National Airs." Furthermore the Commanding Officers were asked for comment regarding changes or errors in the music.[2]

On April 9, 1927, Captain W. D. Puleston, U. S. Navy, Chief of Training Division, asked the Library of Congress on behalf of the Bureau of Navigation "to check up an edition of the Star Spangled Banner with a copy or an original which is unquestionably authentic"; if the Library had such a copy available he also wanted to know if it had "truly the music adopted by law as our national air," and if such was the case that "the unquestionable edition" be compared with the one in the Library of Congress.[3]

---

[1]Charles Morris to Chief of Naval Operations, December 30, 1926, Subject: Benter's National Air Book - Request issue of instruction. R.G. 24, File P 10-4 (62).

[2]See Bureau of Navigation Circular Letter No. 18-27, January 27, 1927. R.G. 24, File P 10-4 (63).

[3]Puleston to Librarian of Congress, April 9, 1927. R.G. 24. File No. P 10 - 4 (70).

Although there was no specific mention of which was "the questionable edition" sent to the Library of Congress, there is no doubt that it was Benter's.

The reply which Captain Puleston received from the Library of Congress informed him thet, while the Star Spangled Banner had never been officially adopted by Act of Congress, it was being used as such under regulations of the Navy and War Departments. The Library did not know what version of the Star Spangled Banner these two departments used, but it was presumed that the Department of the Navy adhered to one which was included in the recently issued collection of national airs which had been prepared by Lieut. Charles Benter.[1] According to Mr. Gulliksen Lieut. Benter's version of the Star Spangled Banner was the same version which Chief Musician Frank Gabler had copied from Leader's Delight, arranged by Paul de Ville.[2]

Then, on April 27, 1927, according to the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, it was reported that the version of the Star

---

[1]Cf. memo on this subject from the Acting Chief, Music Division, Library of Congress, to the Librarian of Congress, April 13, 1927, which was transmitted with letter of April 15, 1927, from the Office of the Librarian to Captain W.D. Puleston. R.G. 24. File No. P 10-4 (70).

[2]Cf. oral interview of the present writer with Mr. Gulliksen conducted on Wednesday afternoon, November 1, 1967.

Spangled Banner included in Benter's National Air Book was not in accord with the Navy Regulations, and it was requested that steps be taken to correct it.[1] The objections were based on the fact that Lieut. Benter had failed to mention "any authority for the change he made in the seventh bar, third note, and for naval use for repetition of the last eight bars" which was "clearly in conflict with Navy Regulations."[2]

In addition to requests to Commanding Officers for possible changes in connection with Benter's National Air Book, on February 8, 1927, requests for similar advice were also made to the Secretary of State and the Director of Naval Intelligence, so that the State Department representatives and Naval attachés could report on any changes in the indigenous national airs in their respective assignments.[3]

As of July 1927 it was reported that the Star Spangled Banner was one of the songs used for community singing during recruit training at the Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Illinois.[4]

---

[1]See First Endorsement from the Chief of Bureau of Navigation to Chief of Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, Subject: Benter's National Air Book, April 27, 1927. R.G. 24. File P 10-4 (63).

[2]See 7th Endorsement from the Chief of Bureau of Navigation to Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, May 19, 1927. R.G. 24. File P 10-4 (63).

[3]Charles Morris, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, to Bureau of Navigation, February 8, 1927. R.G. 24. File P 10-4 (63).

[4]A. T. Bidwell, Commandant, U.S. Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Illinois, to Chief of Bureau of Navigation, July 15, 1927. R.G. 24. File P 10-4 (76).

and at the Naval Training Station, Hampton Roads, Va.[1] Furthermore the Hampton Roads Naval Training Station adhered to the policy that "In the Recruit Receiving Unit each recruit is required to learn and sing the Star Spangled Banner."[2]

It was only on August 19, 1929, that the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation forwarded a copy of the Chinese National Air, previously acquired from the Naval Attache at Peking, to the Commandant of the Navy Yard in Washington with a suggestion that Leader of the Navy Band have it in his file for possible corrections to be made in Benter's National Air Book.[3] A similar request was made when a copy of the Irish National Anthem ("The Soldier's Song") was submitted by the Legation in Dublin through Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson to Secretary of the Navy Charles F. Adams to be included in the corrected Benter's National Air Book.[4]

In 1932 the U.S. Navy Regulations for 1920 were reprinted with no changes regarding the Star Spangled Banner; Chapter 5,

---

[1]H. E. Lackey, Commanding Officer, U.S. Naval Training Station, Hampton Roads, Va., to Bureau of Navigation, July 19, 1927. R.G. 24. File P 10-4 (76).

[2]Ibid.

[3]Chief of Bureau of Navigation to Commandant, Navy yard, Washington, D.C., August 19, 1929. R.G. 24. File P 10-4 (114).

[4]F. A. Sterling (Dublin) to The Secretary of State, Despatch No. 296, September 25, 1930; H.L. Stimson to Charles F. Adams, October 14, 1930; Chief of the Bureau of Navigation to The Commandant, Navy Yard, Philadelphia via The Commandant, Navy Yard, Washington (Attention Leader, Navy Band), October 22, 1930. R.G. 19. File P 10-4 (175).

Section 1 Article 230, paragraph 1 dealt with the designation of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem, paragraph 2 with honors for the national anthem, paragraph 3 with the manner of playing the national anthem, paragraph 4 with observances connected with the national anthem, and paragraph 5 with prohibited performance practices, as, e.g., playing medley.[1]

On May 16, 1932, Charles Benter, Leader of the United States Navy Band, suggested that Sousa's book of national airs was obsolete and should be replaced.[2] According to H.V. Butler, Commandant of the Navy Yard in Washington, Sousa's publication was to be replaced by the National Airs Book, prepared by Lieutenant Benter, and it was also suggested that Benter's book be designated as the authorized edition for all Naval bands.[3] But according to Mr. Gulliksen, Sousa had already admitted to him in 1926 that his book of national airs was obsolete as result of changing world conditions, with new national airs being adopted by new countries, etc.[4]

---

[1]United States Navy Regulations, 1920. Reprinted, 1932, with all changes up to and including No. 14. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), pp. 79-80.

[2]Lender, U.S. Navy Band to Officer-in-Charge, Navy Band, 3rd Endorsement, May 16, 1932. R.G. 24. File P 10-4/ EF 37 (252).

[3]Butler Bureau of Navigation, 4th Indorsement, May 16, 1932. R.G. 24. File P 10-4/EF 37 (252).

[4]Oral interview of the present writer with Mr. Gulliksen conducted on Wednesday afternoon, November 1, 1967.

On the occasion of the Memorial Day observance at the American War Cemetery at Waeregbem, Belgium, it was the custom that the local village supply the band music. At each of these yearly observances the American Vice Consul at Ghent, Belgium, Courtland Christiani, noticed that the band played a different version of the Star Spangled Banner than the one traditionally played in the United States. As a result, on June 7, 1932, he requested from the Secretary of State a set of brass band parts containing the official version of the Star Spangled Banner for presentation to the mayor of the town of Waeregbem for the use of their town band.[1] The Secretary of State forwarded his request to the Secretary of the Navy[2] who complied with it, sending him on July 20, 1932, two sets of music arranged for band and a standardized version of the melody of the Star Spangled Banner for the use of the Flemish school children who sang the American national anthem in English each year.[3]

---

[1]Christiani to the Secretary of State, Despatch No. 218, June 7, 1932. R.G. 24 File P 10-4 (264).

[2]Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy, July 5, 1932. R.G. 24. File P 10-4 (264).

[3]Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, July 20, 1932, R.G. 24, Bureau of Navigation General Correspondence, File P 10-4 (264).

Similarly, in compliance with a request from the Governor of the Province of Istanbul, Turkey, via the American Consul and the State Department, for a copy of the music of the Star Spangled Banner, the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts on August 26, 1932, furnished a complete instrumentation of the Star Spangled Banner for a seventeen-piece band.[1]

The practices of the various services in the playing of the Star Spangled Banner differed.

As of March of 1917 the Marine Band was using the Sousa version with his harmony. This band arrangement had a varied second part, which was omitted for singing, but the piano publication of Sousa's National Airs had it as a song.[2] As mentioned previously, during World War I an authorized Committee on National Songs, which included Mssrs. Earhart, Sonneck, Damrosch, Gantworth and Sousa, completed work on selection of a standardized version of the Star Spangled Banner. The version which the Committee decided upon was that harmonized by Walter Damrosch.[3]

---

[1]Ben S. Gantz, by direction of the Paymaster General to The Director of Naval Intelligence, August 26, 1932. R.G. 24, Bureau of Navigation General Correspondence, File P 10-4 (267).

[2]Leader, Band, U.S. Marine Corps, to Mallinson Randall, Department of Music, The Hill School, Pottstown, Pa., March 1, 1917, U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[3]See Supra, pp. 302-303.

The United States Marine Band, while not agreeing with some of the features of this version, did adopt the harmonies of Walter Damrosch's arrangement in preference to those of the old Sousa arrangement, published in 1889. Damrosch's arrangement, like all or most modern adaptations, made use of more expressive modulations to give color to the harmony. According to Taylor Branson, Leader of the United States Marine Band, writing on September 3, 1931, to Mr. Charles B. Allison, Port Washington, Pa., "This was like the notation we play today, though while we liked Damrosch's harmonization we could not agree to a lot of runningbass figures he had towards the end. The last beat of the 8th measure and the first note of the 9th measure are like the beginning in notation. This must be so for hardly anyone could begin to sing on such a low note as B flat unless he had a bass voice."[1]

A question also arose over the proper interpretation in singing the last few notes of the song. Mr. O.L. Davis, Superintendent of the Smyer Public Schools, Smyer, Texas, in a letter of January 20, 1933, to Congressman Mervin Jones, asked: "should the

---

[1]Branson to Allison, September 3, 1931. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

music be retarded beginning with the note on the word 'free and continuing to the end of the music?"[1] Mr. Davis' letter was forwarded by Congressman Jones to Captain Taylor Branson, Leader of the U.S. Marine Band, for a reply.[2] In his reply Captain Branson stressed that the U.S. Marine Band played the Star Spangled Banner as it should be sung, that is with tempo marking Animato maestoso, instead of Maestoso alone, to prevent slow singing of the hymn. 'We do make a ritenuto rather than a ritardando from the 'free' to the end, that is just a little slackening of the tempo," wrote Captain Branson.[3]

On the other hand the United States Navy Band used the Henry Fillmore manuscript arrangement from 1931-34, and his printed arrangement from 1934 until around 1943.[4]

It should be stressed that early Navy Regulations mentioned that only that part of the national anthem should be performed which was necessary to make it complete. Navy bandmasters interpreted this to mean that no thematic repeats (i.e., of the first eight measures) would occur; thus the Star Spangled Banner was

---

[1]Davis to Jones, January 20, 1933. U.S. Marine Band Library File.
[2]Jones to Branson, January 23, 1933. U.S. Marine Band Library File.
[3]Branson to Davis, January 24, 1933, U.S. Marine Band Library File.
[4]Letter from S. W. Stauffer, Lieutenant, U.S. Navy, Assistant Leader, The United States Navy Band, to the author, August 18, 1967.

performed by custom with the second eight bars omitted. In a succeeding directive, however, it was required that the anthem be played in its entirety,[1] no doubt because the elimination of the repeat of the first eight measures of the melody would make it impossible to sing the words properly.

Other service bands, particularly the United States Army Band, used in the past several arrangements of the Star Spangled Banner, including that of John Philip Sousa, copyrighted in 1918 by G. Schirmer, and that of Major William F. Santelmann, copyrighted in 1941 by the U.S. Marine Corps. Still another arrangement used by the U.S. Army Band was the one prepared by Captain Thomas F. Darcy, former Leader and Commanding Officer of The United States Army Band, copyrighted in 1943 by Irving Berlin, Inc.[2]

The U.S. Air Force Band, then called the Army Air Force Band, was not organized until 1941 or early 1942, by which time the Star Spangled Banner was well accepted. In the playing of the anthem the Air Force Band first used the arrangement in the key of B-flat major harmonized by Walter Damrosch, arranged for band by John

---

[1]Oral statement from Mr. W. B. Kirschner, Music Branch (Pers-G16), Bureau of Naval Personnel, to the author, September 22, 1967.

[2]Letter from Captain Allen C. Crowell, Director, The United States Army Chorus, to the author, August 3, 1967.

Schirmer, Inc. Another arrangement used by the Band was in the key of A-flat major, arranged by Dr. George S. Howard of the Pennsylvania State College, in collaboration with Major Howard Bronson, USA, copyright 1942 by The Pennsylvania State College, printed by Swain's Music House, Mansfield, Pennsylvania.

The copyright of Santelmann's arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner was owned in 1941 by the Marine Corps.[2] A piano-vocal score, as played by the Marine Band, was published by the U.S. Marine Corps in 1942.[3] In the same year the Marine Corps copyrighted an orchestra arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner.[4] However, in a letter from Lieutenant Colonel W.L. Dick of July 9, 1962, to Mr. Abraham L. Kamistein, Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress, it was requested that the above copyrights of the band arrangement, piano arrangement and orchestra arrangement of the national anthem be transferred from the United States Marine Corps to Lt. Col. W.F. Santelmann, USMC (Ret.)[5] which was

---

[1]Letter from Lt. Colonel Arnald D. Gabriel, Commander, U.S. Air Force Band, to the author, August 23, 1967.

[2]See the Star Spangled Banner as played by the United States Marine Band. Band arrangement by William F. Santelmann, Leader, United States Marine Band. Copyright: U.S. Marine Corps, 1941.

[3]See copy of the piano-vocal arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner in the U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[4]See letter from William F. Santelmann, Leader, U.S. Marine Band, Major Sidney N. Raynor, USMC., Depot Quartermaster, Philadelphia, Pa., dated May 7, 1942. In U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[5]Dick to Kaminstein, July 9, 1962. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

done,[1] and Lt. Col. Santelmann was notified of this fact on September 10, 1962, by Lieut. Col. W.F. Doehler, USMC.[2]

On March 4, 1943, George A. Kuyper of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, in a letter addressed to the Manager, U.S. Marine Band, requested the latter's opinion as to the order in which the national anthem of the United States and that of another country should be played at concerts.[3] In reply he was told that, while no official regulation existed regarding the order in which the American and foreign anthems should be played, it was the custom of the Marine Band, at all official functions attended by foreign heads of states, to play their national anthem first and the Star Spangled Banner last. The Division of Protocol of the State Department recommended the same procedure.[4]

In 1943 the U.S. Navy Band discontinued the playing of the Henry Fillmore arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner. Years later Commander Brendler recalled under what circumstances this had come about, when he said: "During the war we played the National Anthem - a Henry Fillmore arrangement. Queen Wilhemina came to visit this country and we were in the White House at that particular time. You (Col. Santelmann) were inside but we were outside giving the honors, and there was some girl by the name of Virginia Pruett who wrote for INS. She came out in the papers the next day saying that the band played the National Anthem with the clanging of the cymbals and the blaring of the trumpets and the President raised his eyebrows. So Admiral McCray, who was then his Naval Aide, called me next day and said, 'Brendler, hereafter when you give honors for the President, he doesn't want to hear that arrangement any more.'"[5]

---

[1]Register of Copyrights to Dick, August 9, 1962. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[2]Doehler to Santelmann, September 10, 1962. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[3]Kuyper to Manager, United States Marine Band, March 4, 1943. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[4]Santelmann to Kuyper, March 8, 1943. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[5]See Transcript of Preceedings of Ad Hoc Committee on "Hail to the Chief" 1 December 1953 (2:05 P.M.), p. 24, in Department of Defense Information, Performance of The National Anthem and "Hail to the Chief" by Service Bands. Library of Congress, Pos. Reel Mus-63.

President Roosevelt's disapproval of the flourishing of trumpets and the clashing of cymbals, called for by the Fillmore arrangement, led to the discontinuance of the playing of this arrangement by the Navy Band. In a memo dated May 5, 1943, from the Chief of Naval Personnel to all Flag and Commanding Officers having Navy Bands, subject "Rendition of National Anthem" the President' disapproval was expressed in the following points:

1. The Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy has commented unfavorably upon the manner in which certain Navy Bands render the National Anthem.

2. The Bureau desires that Commanding Officers concerned take steps to see that the National Anthem is played in the accepted and traditional way, and that no effort is made to jazz or modernize this Anthem. Henceforth, the Carl Fischer arrangement shall be used.[1]

W.F. Loventhal, Commander, U.S. Navy (Ret.), who investigated further the playing of the Star Spangled Banner by the Navy Bands, found "that (a) the Navy School of Music bands play a Thurmond arrangement, (b) the U.S. Army Band a Darcy arrangement, and (c) and the U.S. Marine Corps Band a Santelmann arrangement. In other words, each leader has his own arrangement of the 'Star Spangled Banner.'" Because of this variety he "suggested that the subject

[1]The Chief of Naval Personnel to All Flag and Commanding Officers Having Navy Bands, May 5, 1943. Music Branch File, Bureau of Naval Personnel.

matter might be referred to an Interdepartmental Committee on Music with the end in view of selecting an arrangement which meets with the approval of the President and which could then be promulgated as the Official Arrangement of the National Anthem. The several official bands in the vicinity of Washington could make records of the 'Star Spangled Banner' for submission to the Committee and to the President, if desired, to assist in this selection."[1] An Ad Hoc committee was established at the end of 1943, whose task was specifically to decide upon the official melodic line of the national anthem. In discussing this Committee Captain Santelmann, in a letter dated February 11, 1944, to Effa Ellis Perfield in New York City, described the result of its meetings in these terms: "Recently a conference was called at the Library of Congress, which I attended, to try to come to some agreement as to the proper melodic progression of this melody, and one was adopted which incidentally, is exactly what the Marine Band plays, but due to the intricate procedure necessary to give official recognition to such a melodic line nothing so far has been accomplished."[2]

---

[1]Loventhal to Lieutenant Appleby, Aide to the Chief of Naval Personnel, May 3, 1943. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[2]Santelmann to Perfield, February 11, 1944. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

After the Navy Department discarded the Fillmore arrangement upon President Roosevelt's objections and introduced the Fisher arrangement in its place,[1] it continued to use this version until 1949, when an official Navy arrangement was made.[2]

However, the Star Spangled Banner as played by the U.S. Marine Band and especially arranged by its leader, Captain William F. Santelmann, was gaining popularity. On August 2, 1943, S. Offenbach, Bandmaster, USN, Treasure Island Band, San Francisco, who headed a 23-piece Negro Band, on the recommendation of Rear Admiral Osterhaus, asked Captain Santelmann for a copy of his arrangement (until that time this band had been using Carl Fisher's edition).[3] Offenbach's request was denied, since Capt. Santelmann's version had been made for the Marine Band's exclusive use and had not yet been published; however, since plans were going ahead for its publication, Captain Santelmann promised to send Mr. Offenbach a copy when it should appear.[4] On August 26, 1943, Arthur Rodzinski, Musical Director of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, in a letter to Capt. Santelmann stated that he had heard the Marine Band playing his arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner and liked it so much that he

---

[1]See Supra, p. 402.

[2]Letter from D. W. Stauffer, Lieutenant, U.S. Navy, Assistant Leader, The United States Navy Band, to the author, August 18, 1967.

[3]Offenbach to Santelmann, August 2, 1943. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[4]Santelmann to Offenbach, August 9, 1943. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

wished to have a score so that he could perform it with the New York Philharmonic on its concerts and broadcasts.[1] Captain Santelmann was naturally pleased and sent Mr. Rodzinski a score for full orchestra as well as instrumental parts for a complement as large as the New York Philharmonic.[2]

There is no doubt that the Second World War added to the prestige of the Star Spangled Banner as had the first, because the patriotic motif is always necessary when a nation undergoes a war crisis.

Early in February of 1945 a Filipino revealed that he had entertained Japanese soldiers during the Japanese occupation with a ragtime version of the Star Spangled Banner, which the Japanese politely applauded.[3]

According to a United Press report from Vegesack, Germany, when on the evening of June 19, 1945, the Twenty-ninth Division gave an "Americanization" concert for German civilians, at the end of the concert an officer informed the Germans that the next would be the American national anthem. The Germans reacted promptly, and when the Star Spangled Banner was played, "Every German leaped

---

[1]Rodzinski to Sandelmann [sic], August 26, 1943. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[2]Santelmann to Rodzinski, August 31, 1943. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[3]The New York Times, February 4, 1945, p. L 13.

to his feet and with bared head stood rigid."[1]

The national anthem is used as Honors Music for the President of the United States, and for U.S. Ambassadors and other officials when representing the President at official State functions.

By order of the Secretary of the Army, SR 600-25-1, C2, January , 1953, the performance of the national anthem for the President of the United States, except as directed by the President, was restricted as follows: "the national anthem will be performed as honors to the President when in attendance at all military formations and ceremonies; all functions, formal and informal, held on military installations; and all functions of national and international importance."[2]

The complaint was sometimes made that the Star Spangled Banner was not very often played the same way twice.[3] By fall of 1953 it was reported that there were about 14 to 16 different band arrangements of the Star Spangled Banner in use and that some of them did

---

[1]The New York Times, June 21, 1945, p. 7.

[2]Department of Defense Information, Performance of The National Anthem and "Hail to the Chief" by Service Bands. Library of Congress, Pos. Reel Mus-63.

[3]Proceedings of Ad Hoc Committee on "Hail to the Chief," 10 September 1953, in Department of Defense Information, Performance of The National Anthem and "Hail to the Chief" by Service Bands. Library of Congress, Pos. Reel Mus-63.

not have much unusual merit.[1]

By memorandum from the Director of Personnel Policy, J.P. Wemble, Jr., Rear Admiral, U.S.N., of September 1, 1953, an Ad Hoc Committee composed of band leaders of the military services was formed for the purpose of discussing the proper dignity, rendition and band arrangements of the national anthem.[2] As a result of these meetings the Ad Hoc Committee proposed a directive by which the U.S. Navy Band arrangements of the national anthem and the United States Marine Corps Band arrangements of "Hail to the Chief" were designated the official versions to be used by all service bands.[3] The directives of the Committee were then referred to Major Whiting, Leader of the U.S. Army Field Band. While the recommendations of the Committee concerned themselves with the designation of the U.S. Navy Band arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner, the comments of Major Whiting dealt with the musical expression employed in the second strain. It was pointed out that "the dynamics or musical expression are left to

---

[1]Transcript of Proceedings of Ad Hoc Committee on "Hail to the Chief" 1 December 1953 (2:05 P.M.), p. 22, in Department of Defense Information, Performance of The National Anthem and "Hail to the Chief" by Service Bands. Library of Congress, Pos. Reel Mus-63.

[2]Department of Defense Information, Performance of The National Anthem and "Hail to the Chief" by Service Bands. Library of Congress, Pos. Reel Mus-63.

[3]See TAG Summary Sheet of January 28, 1954, from William E. Bergie, Major General, USA, The Adjutant General, in Department of Defense Information, Performance of the National Anthem and "Hail to the Chief" by Service Bands. Library of Congress, Pos. Reel Mus-63.

the musical ability, interpretation, and discretion of the individual conductor." In addition it was stressed that "the discussions and recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee dealt with the use of the National Anthem at purely military formations, and were not concerned with the audience or civilian vocal participation over which we exercise no control."[1]

On the recommendation of Major Whiting, the Chief of Information, Major General Gilman C. Mudgett, issued the official Department of Army action, which read in part:

a. The Navy Band arrangement of the 'Star Spangled Banner' is concurred in except the dynamic, affecting the second strain.

b. Strong words such as rockets' glare, and bombs bursting should be done fortissimo.

c. It is less difficult for audiences to sing this strain strongly than to do it pianissimo.[2]

Thus in April of 1955 the Navy arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner became the official Department of Defense arrangement for Navy bands.[3]

---

[1]Cf. Memorandum for The Chief of Staff, dated February 10, 1954, Subject: Unification of Performance of "Hail to the Chief," by Service Bands, from William E. Bergie, Major General, USA, The Adjutant General, in Department of Defense Information, Performance of The National Anthem and "Hail to the Chief" by Service Bands. Library of Congress, Pos. Reel Mus-63.

[2]Cf. Gen. Mudgett's memo of February 15, 1954, to the Chief of Staff, in Department of Defense Information, Performance of The National Anthem and "Hail to the Chief" by Service Bands. Library of Congress, Pos. Reel Mus-63.

[3]See Appendix R.

This arrangement also became the official version for the U.S. Marine Band.[1] On the other hand, while the Army Band used this standard Department of Defense version for some time, later on it discontinued this arrangement. The Air Force Band never did use it.[2]

The U.S. Marine Band from the very beginning played and still plays this standard Department of Defense version as follows: "The melody is played throughout by the piccolo, 1st flute, 1st oboe, Bb-clarinets, Eb clarinet, 1st cornets, trumpets, and euphonium. The chord tones are played by the 2nd flute, 2nd oboe, alto clarinet, tenor saxophone, 2nd & 3rd cornets, 1st & 2nd trombone and horns (we also play the counter melody in measure 2 of the second strain). The bass line is played by bassoons, bass clarinet, baritone saxophone, bass trombone and tubas. The drum line is played by snare drum rolls throughout; the bass drum plays one note for each note in the melody line in the first strain, lays out 7 1/2 measures of the second strain, then resumes a one-note beat per melody note."[3]

---

[1]U.S. Marine Band Library File.

[2]Letter from D. W. Stauffer, Lieutenant, U.S. Navy, Assistant Leader, The United States Navy Band, to the author, August 18, 1967.

[3]Written statement from M/Gy. Sgt. Charles H. Walls, Chief Librarian, U.S. Marine Band, July 3, 1968. See also Appendix S.

There was still no uniformity among the various services in the playing of the Star Spangled Banner at this time. The United States Marine Band, as well as the United States Navy Band, had been using the Standard Department of Defense version[1] since 1955, and both of these bands continue to do so even now. The United States Air Force Band since 1958 has used only a manuscript version in the key of A-flat major, arranged by Sgt. Floyd E. Werle. Werle's arrangement provides for use by over seventy different vocal and instrumental combinations and continues to serve Air Force Band purposes. It is said to be simply melodic, without fanfare, and to afford a solemn, dignified presentation, without pomp or bombast.[2] The United States Army Band, which had also used the standard Department of Defense version, has since 1962 used exclusively an arrangement by Sergeants Bramwell Smith and Raymond Kirby, which utilizes the Service Band's herald trumpets and is used with Presidential approval.[3]

---

[1]See Supra, pp. 408-409.

[2]Letter from Arnald D. Gabriel, Lt. Col., USAF, Commander, United States Air Force Band to the author, August 23, 1967.

[3]Letter from Allen C. Crowell, Jr., Captain, Director, The United States Army Chorus, to the author, August 3, 1967.

b. CIVILIAN USE (1931 to DATE)

One of the chief aims of the proponents of Congressional recognition of the Star Spangled Banner was not only to legalize a fact that had long existed, although without official sanction, but perhaps also to awake in Americans a sense of patriotism.

On March 9, 1931, Assemblyman Louis A. Cuvillier introduced in the New York State Legislature a Bill to require the singing of the Star Spangled Banner at all public meetings.[1]

In Washington, D.C., a bronze tablet dedicated to the memory of Francis Scott Key was unveiled on April 27, 1931, in a very impressive ceremony in the Washington Cathedral.[2]

On April 27, 1931, a dinner was given at the Mecca Temple ballroom in New York City under the auspices of the National Americanization Committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the National Star Spangled Banner Association and other patriotic organizations, to commemorate the adoption by Congress of the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States. This event was attended by about 500 guests, among them representatives of patriotic and civic organizations and officers of the Army and Navy, who heard

---

[1] The New York Times, March 10, 1931, p. 21.
[2] The Evening Star, (Washington, D.C.), April 27, 1931, p. A-16.

various speakers, including Congressman Linthicum.[1]

On Sunday, June 14, 1931, Flag Day, the National Society United States Daughters of 1812, State of Maryland, sponsored a ceremony at the War Memorial Plaza honoring the flag and commemorating the signing of H.R. 14 on March 3, 1931, legalizing the Star Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America. During this ceremony Congressman Linthicum presented to Mrs. Holloway the pen used by President Hoover in signing the Bill and a photostat of the signed Bill, in recognition of her work for its passage.[2]

In accepting these gifts Mrs. Holloway expressed her gladness, declaring, "it is very sacred to me to know through your thoughtfulness you procured these gifts, and after the thirteen years of untiring efforts in this work in which we have worked side by side, you think me worthy to receive them, - it touches me deeply. I thank you and can assure you I treasure these historic gems and will ever see they are protected to hand down to posterity to inspire patriotism in the coming generations."[3] The ceremony,

---

[1]Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine File.

[2]The Baltimore News, June 15, 1931, p. 17.

[3]Cf. Typed speech of Mrs. Holloway presented at Flag Day address, June 14, 1931. Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

however, was clouded by an incident in which, when the Confederate flag, carried by a Boy Scout, led the column together with the Stars and Stripes and flag of Maryland, several veterans as well as auxiliary organizations refused to march and participate with the Confederate emblem. Following the ceremony, when questioned about the friction, Mrs. Holloway remarked that "it is a shame to spoil such a beautiful occasion as this with talk of friction."[1] Mrs. Holloway was ready to fight for her Old Glory, when in her letter of June 15, 1931, to the editor of the Baltimore Sun she dismissed the incident as follows: "Today there is no North, there is no South, nor East nor West. We are a 'sovereign nation of many sovereign states, one and inseparable. A perfect Union.' The Stars and Stripes, our country's flag, escorted the Stars and Bars in the pageant June 14, proclaiming to all the world our loyalty to it and all it stands for. We will fight for it; we will defend it against all enemies, and if the call should come, die for it. We feel sorry for a few who have not grown up and carry such petty rancor and hatred in their hearts."[2]

America and the rest of the world faced a very serious economic crisis in 1931. President Herbert Hoover while recognizing in his

---

[1] The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), June 15, 1931, p. 18.

[2] Ibid., June 17, 1931, p. 10. A draft of this letter is also included in Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

speech delivered in Indianapolis on June 15, 1931, these problems, expressed confident hope for the future and looked forward to a time when people would again be prosperous and happy.[1]

Since President Hoover signed the Bill making the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem no efforts have been made to provide legally for the exact words and music of the air. Conflicting sets of words have produced a variety of versions arranged by composers, bandleaders and others and copyrighted without any respect to music or poem.

On Tuesday, February 16, 1932, Carroll Dulaney in his column "Day By Day" sharply criticized a plan for substituting "America" for the Star Spangled Banner during the opening of the Washington Bicentennial Celebration. He specifically said:

> The Washington Bicentennial Celebration will be formally opened by President Hoover in Washington at noon next Monday--Washington's Birthday, according to the calendar in vogue nowadays.
>
> President Hoover will address a joint session of Congress and 'immediately thereafter (I quote from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad circular) when the President will give the signal from the east steps of the Capitol, the singing of "America" will be taken up in all parts of the country and throughout the world,' etc.

---

[1] The Indianapolis Star, June 16, 1931, pp. 1-2.

> With all due respect to the President of these United States, the representatives of the States in Congress assembled and the honorable members of the Bicentennial Commission, I rise to ask; Why "America"?
>
> We have a National Anthem--"The Star Spangled Banner"--born in time of great public stress, sanctioned by popular usage and honored by the Army and Navy for a century, and formally adopted by both houses of Congress. Why not sing it? Why substitute for it a very beautiful and moving hymn, but one which has none of the requisites of a National Anthem?
>
> It looks as if the propaganda directed against Key's great ode by sectionalists and pacifists for fifty years is still effective in some quarters.[1]

After the official Congressional recognition there were attempts to use the Star Spangled Banner for wrong purposes, as when Congressman Claude A. Fuller of Arkansas on May 19, 1932, introduced in the House a Resolution to make knowledge of the words of the Star Spangled Banner a test for employment eligibility. His Resolution would have compelled each Civil Service employee to prove his ability to sing, recite or write from memory the words of the Star Spangled Banner; those who failed to do this would not be certified by the Civil Service Commission as eligible for appointment to any Federal position.[2] Fortunately nothing came of this effort, as his Resolution died in the Committee on the Judiciary, to which it had been referred.

---

[1] The Baltimore News, February 16, 1932, p. 17.

[2] U.S. Congress, House, To promote patriotism by providing that all officers and employees of the United States and the District of Columbia shall know the national anthem. 72d. Cong., 1st Sess., H.J. Res. 392 May 19, 1932, pp. 1-2.

There appeared other voices urging the public to learn the words of the Star Spangled Banner.[1] It was also the opinion of Dr. F. Melius Christiansen, the director of the famous St. Olaf Choir of Northfield, Minnesota, that everybody should learn to sing it since it "is the greatest anthem in the world" and consequently "it is worth mastering."[2] On the other hand, a letter which appeared in The New York Times on July 2, 1933, strongly urged the composition of a new national anthem.[3]

In the meantime the man who had done so much on behalf of the Star Spangled Banner died on October 5, 1932, at the Maryland General Hospital. Thus ended the life of J. Charles Linthicum after an illustrious career of service in Congress, of which he had been a member for twenty-one years.[4]

Soon afterward there arose the possibility that Key's first clean copy manuscript of the Star Spangled Banner might be sold at public auction, a prospect which caused a public furore. This manuscript had been preserved in the family of Judge Nicholson, until finally his grandaughter, Mrs. Rebecca Lloyd Shippen, sold

---

[1] Like the letter from Lily Philippi to the Editor of The New York Times in The New York Times, July 17, 1932, Section 2, p. 2.

[2] Ibid., May 23, 1933, Section 4, p. 6.

[3] Ibid., July 2, 1933, Section 4, p. 5.

[4] The Evening Sun (Baltimore, Md.), October 20, 1932, pp. 1 and 3. For likeness of Congressman Linthicum see Appendix T.

it in 1907 to Henry Walters.[1]

What was the value of this original manuscript? On December 17, 1932, The Baltimore News in its editorial entitled, "Ceases To Have A Price," had this to say concerning the valuation of the Star Spangled Banner manuscript:

> The valuation of the original manuscript of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' by the administrators of the estate of the late Henry Walters was probably a formality, and any other figure would have served as well as $500.
>
> Sentimental values are subject to fluctuations, such as would astonish the Stock Exchange even at a time of the wildest speculations.
>
> A scrap of paper purchased perhaps for a fraction of a cent and carrying no inscription which would command the payment of a dollar may be rendered virtually priceless by a few lines hurriedly scrawled upon it by an inspired pen.
>
> Its market price will vary from time to time, according to the number of persons who happen at the moment to aspire to be its custodian.
>
> Mr. Walters is said to have paid the sum of $25,000 to become the possessor of Francis Scott Key's manuscript. If it were offered again for sale it might command more, or it might command less.
>
> Passing into the possession of the city of Baltimore, this scrap of paper is practically withdrawn from the auction block forever. Therefore, it has ceased to be a commodity and cannot be priced, except for such a purpose as the appraisement of an estate.[2]

---

[1]Sonneck, op. cit., pp. 86 and 89. What happened to the real original Key manuscript nobody knows. Sonneck in op. cit., p. 89, is perhaps correct in assuming that Key himself destroyed it.

[2]The Baltimore News, December 17, 1932, p. 14.

On December 17, 1933, it was announced that this Key Star Spangled Banner manuscript, one of the undisputed assets of the Henry Walters estate, would be sold at public auction on January 5, 1934, at the American Art Association-Anderson Galleries in New York City.[1]

This auction of the original draft of the Star Spangled Banner was of great concern to several individuals and organizations, who were shocked at the idea of a national treasure being sold in this way.

The Star-Spangled Banner Flag House Association called for Monday, December 18, 1933, at 8 P.M., "a special meeting to consider a plan to purchase the Walters manuscript of the National Anthem." A postcard sent out for this meeting bore notes such as "very urgent," and "Please try to be present."[2] Many people offered money for the purchase of Key's manuscript, because, as Mrs. Holloway put it, "This auction has aroused a remarkable amount of enthusiasm and patriotism here." She also stressed that she was "only too anxious to see the document brought to Baltimore, where it belongs" and also indicated that a "representative group of Baltimore men" were taking steps to secure the manuscript.[3]

---

[1]The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), December 8, 1933, pp. 24 and 6.

[2]See Postcard announcing special meeting to consider purchase of the Star Spangled Banner manuscript, December 18, 1933. Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

[3]The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), December 20, 1933, p. 5.

When the auction was held, on January 5, 1934, the manuscript was purchased for $24,000 by the Board of Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery,[1] with the intention that it would never be sold again.[2]

And the supporters and opponents of the Star Spangled Banner continued to blast each other.

On June 29, 1935, Representative Virginia E. Jenckes of Indiana suggested to the Federal Communications Commission that the American short-wave radio broadcasters sign off with the Star Spangled Banner.[3]

According to an Associated Press dispatch the Chicago public school students were ordered to sing the Star Spangled Banner every school day, beginning with Thursday, October 31, 1935.[4]

A letter from K. Sheridan Hays which appeared in The New York Times on December 15, 1935, strongly urged a new national anthem, because in his opinion the Star Spangled Banner had proven to be defective.[5]

---

[1] The Evening Sun (Baltimore, Md.), January 6, 1934, pp. 14 and 16.
[2] The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), January 6, 1934, pp. 5 and 18.
[3] The New York Times, June 30, 1935, Section 10, p. 11.
[4] Ibid., November 1, 1935, p. 23.
[5] Ibid., December 15, 1935, Section 4, p. 9.

Another letter, from a reader with initials S.M.G., even suggested the substitution of "It Ain't Gonna Rain No More" for the Star Spangled Banner. Citing from President Roosevelt's recent statement in a speech that "social and political methods must change continually, else they grow stagnant" the reader pointed out that, "If change, as such, has value, perhaps we might change our national anthem from 'The Star-Spangled Banner' to 'It Ain't Gonna Rain No More.' Our once heart-stirring anthem belongs to an era that is passing."[1]

On April 18, 1936, the National Broadcasting Company declared that it had decided to broadcast the Star Spangled Banner daily. "It's a patriotic move," declared John Royal, program director for NBC. "We have decided to broadcast 'The Star-Spangled Banner' so the people will not forget about it. England does it, so why shouldn't America? The schools sing it, so why shouldn't radio?" he asked.[2]

Former Governor of Florida David Sholtz, speaking at a dinner held at the Hotel Commodore in New York City, at the observance of the sixty-ninth anniversary of New York Lodge 1

---

[1] Ibid., March 27, 1936, p. 20.

[2] Ibid., April 19, 1936, Section 2, p. 8.

of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks on Saturday night, February 13, 1937, urged the singing of the Star Spangled Banner at the end of the movie program in order to stimulate national spirit.[1]

In February of 1938 violinist Jascha Heifetz, editor Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, baritone Lawrence Tibbett, and President of the Poetry Society Padraic Colum met in a room of the Hotel Commodore to discuss a new national anthem which would have no sectionalism, no 'bursting in air' and no high C's which the Star Spangled Banner had and to which they strongly objected.[2]

The New York Times editorial saw in this project a worthy effort by these gentlemen, but at the same time warned that "They are not likely to succeed but they ought to try. If they do not succeed, they may comfort themselves by remembering that it usually takes a revolution or a foreign war to produce a good anthem. The price may be too high. Perhaps we would sing 'The Star-Spangled Banner' if we practiced, and get along without a revolution or a war."[3]

Although the Star Spangled Banner had had its roots among Americans for 125 years, according to a Gallup Poll conducted in

---

[1] Ibid., February 14, 1937, p. 22.
[2] Ibid., February 20, 1938, Section 2, p. 1.
[3] Ibid., February 21, 1938, p. L 18.

early 1939 only about one American out of eight claimed to know the words of all three verses of the air (despite the fact that nobody was required to prove his knowledge) while fifty per cent declared that they knew some of it and thirty-two per cent were unable to name their national anthem.[1]

Frederick Jagel, a tenor with the Metropolitan Opera, was a strong advocate of a new national anthem. He saw in the Star Spangled Banner "an unmemorizable fifty-rate poem" and considered it "an English barroom unsingable melody" and also "vindictive and hodge-podgy." Continuing, he said: "I doubt that a worse anthem could have been selected." He also bitterly attacked the Congress for having appropriated $5,000 for the Star Spangled Banner celebrations held on September 14, 1939, at Fort McHenry.[2]

The war on the European continent seemed to bring the Star Spangled Banner back into popularity, doubtless because of its patriotic motif, and the attacks and opposition against it seemed to diminish.

During May of 1940 a Paris short-wave radio station began to play the Star Spangled Banner, immediately followed by "La

---

[1]This Gallup Poll was published in The Washington Post, March 5, 1939, Section 3, p. B 2.

[2]The New York Times, October 4, 1939, p. L 11.

Marseillaise," at the end of its broadcasts.[1]

On Wednesday, January 29, 1941, the National Symphony Orchestra, with Lucy Monroe, American soprano, recorded in Washington, D.C., for the first time the first edition of the Star Spangled Banner. The Library of Congress furnished a facsimile of this edition for the recording.[2]

When the U.S. Task force commanded by Rear Admiral Robert C. Giffen joined the British Home Fleet on June 11, 1942, to assist in blockade and convoy tasks, an American atmosphere penetrated even the British warships, where each morning the Star Spangled Banner was played after "God Save the King."[3]

It was reported that in five years, between 1937 and 1942, Miss Lucy Monroe sang the Star Spangled Banner 1,500 times.[4] And on Saturday, December 19, 1942, she left a sickbed to lead the audience in the singing of the Star Spangled Banner at the ceremony of the awarding of 533 silver Army-Navy E pins for outstanding industrial production at the RCA offices at 75 Varick Street, New York City. This marked the 2000th occasion which Miss Monroe had sung the Star Spangled Banner

---

[1] Ibid., May 23, 1940, p. L 6.
[2] Ibid., January 30, 1941, p. L 22.
[3] Ibid., June 11, 1942, pp. L 1 and 5.
[4] Ibid., January 22, 1942, p. L 14.

at a patriotic gathering.[1]

According to a United Press dispatch from Callander, Ontario, Canada, dated May 3, 1943, the Dionne quintuplets were unable to learn to sing the Star Spangled Banner because it was too difficult, as a result of which their scheduled singing of the anthem had to be excluded from the next Sunday's quintuplets' ship launching at Superior, Wisconsin.[2]

As early as 1941 composer Igor Stravinsky harmonized and set the Star Spangled Banner for chorus.[3] A year later Stravinsky's harmonization and orchestration of the Star Spangled Banner was transcribed for band by Charles C. Cushing.[4] Then, on Friday,

---

[1]Ibid., December 20, 1942, p. 16.

[2]Ibid., May 4, 1943, p. L 20.

[3]The Star Spangled Banner. Harmonized and set for chorus by Igor Stravinsky. (New York: Mercury Music Corp., 1941), passim.

[4]Charles C. Cushing of the Department of Music, University of California, requested in a letter of March 6, 1942, to Mr. Stravinsky, then at Hollywood, California, the latter's consent to make a band transcription of his harmonization of the Star Spangled Banner. Mr. Stravinsky consented to this via his letter to Mr. Cushing of March 11, 1942. Mr. Cushing played this transcription at the Spring concert of the University Concert Band given in Berkeley on April 12, 1942. On December 22, 1964, Mr. Stravinsky donated his harmonized and orchestrated version of the Star Spangled Banner, as transcribed for band by Mr. Cushing, to the Library of Congress. This version, together with the correspondence, are presently at the Music Division of the Library of Congress.

January 14, 1944, Stravinsky led the Boston Symphony Orcheastra in his own arrangement of the national anthem, which startled the large audience at the Boston Symphony Hall. According to an Associated Press dispatch, "Stravinsky's version of the national anthem overshadowed everything else on the precedent-breaking program. At the start the audience began to sing with the orchestra in customary manner, but soon the odd, somewhat dissonant harmonies of the 61-year-old composer's arrangement became evident. Eyebrows lifted, voices faltered, and before the close practically everyone gave up even trying to accompany the score."[1] Because Massachusetts law forbids rearrangement of the national anthem in whole or in part, Stravinsky was informed that he was liable to a $100 fine; however Thomas F. Sullivan, Boston Police Commissioner, declared that no action would be taken in this matter.[2]

According to a United Press Dispatch from Milwaukee a War Department official announced on April 2, 1942, that the Army, Navy and Marine Corps had approved the previously mentioned Howard-Bronson version of the Star Spangled Banner, a version

---

[1] The New York Times, January 15, 1944. p. L 11.

[2] Ibid., January 16, 1944, p. L 41.

which was designed to bring the high notes down to the average citizen. Major Harold W. Kent, Education Officer, of the War Department's public relations bureau, informed 5,000 music educators at a convention held in Milwaukee that the A-flat version would not only be played by symphony orchestras but also by dance bands, and would encourage audience participation at community sings. He also stressed that "By taking part in a musical enterprise, whether you huff or whether you puff, you are doing something for yourself." He also emphasized that "The elusive quality which we term morale can be stimulated as a positive vital force by group participation."[1]

On Tuesday, February 13, 1945, at 8:30 P.M. the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra, under Reginald Stewart, gave a concert at Constitution Hall in Washington, the programme of which included the Star Spangled Banner "arranged for Orchestra from the first printed copy of the words and music, dated 1814."[2]

On July 6, 1947, the Associated Press reported from Berlin that the playing of the Star Spangled Banner by German orchestras and bands was forbidden except by special authorization of the United

---

[1] The New York Times, April 3, 1942, p. L 17.

[2] Cf. Program for that evening in U.S. Marine Band Library File. It should be stressed here that the score which was included in this programme was the Carr edition with the description "A Pariotic Song. [sic] See Supra, p. 111 and Appendix C.

States Army. The reason for this curb was explained as in order "to insure proper rendition of the national anthem."[1]

During the 150th anniversary of the Marine Band, at a pageant held at the Sylvan Theatre, on the Washington Monument grounds on Saturday, July 10, 1948, the Star Spangled Banner was played in Kyle's arrangement.[2]

During the ceremonies for the opening of the Central American Olympic Games in Guatemala, on Saturday night, February 25, 1950, an incident occurred in which when a Puerto Rican color guard carrying the Star and Stripes took its place, a Guatemalan military band played a dance tune, "La Boriqueña," instead of the Star Spangled Banner, an action which one Guatemalan newspaper explained as a deliberate token of the country's "anti-colonial" policy. The United States Ambassador, Richard C. Patterson, Jr., was "surprised and indignant" at this musical snub and declared that he would register a formal protest with the Guatemalan Government. The Puerto Rican athletes echoed Ambassador Patterson's indignation and emphasized that they would insist that the Star Spangled Banner be played whenever

---

[1] The New York Times, July 7, 1947, p. L 5.

[2] Cf. U.S. Marine Band Library Ledger, Entry for Saturday, July 10, 1948. As previously stated, this version of the Star Spangled Banner had been arranged by Alexander Kyle at West Point (See Supra, p. 203). The score and parts were originally in manuscript. In 1922 the Marine Band put Kyle's arrangement into score.

Puerto Rico won first place in any event to the games.[1] On February 27, 1950, Ambassador Patterson formally protested this incident, and when the Puerto Rican athletes won first and third place in the high jump the flag and music which honored them were the Star and Stripes and the Star Spangled Banner, played by a Guatemalan military band.[2]

In the meantime the original draft of the Star Spangled Banner, which had been purchased at a New York public auction in January of 1934[3] and since that time had been on deposit at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, was purchased by the Maryland Historical Society through the generosity of Mrs. Thomas Courtney Jenkins. The unveiling of this manuscript took place on September 14, 1954, at the Maryland Historical Society, an event which coincided with the 140th anniversary of the writing of the national anthem. The Star Spangled Banner was enshrined in a permanent resting place in the presence of honored guests, among whom were several Key relatives. The President of the Maryland Historical Society, former Senator George L. Radcliffe, declared this event the most important in

---

[1] The New York Times, February 27, 1950, pp. 1 and 11.
[2] Ibid., February 28, 1950, p. L 19.
[3] See Supra, p. 419.

the Society's history. A historical background of the Star Spangled Banner was given by historian and author Dr. Gerald W. Johnson, and World War II hero Admiral W. Hill pointed out the need for the same patriotic spirit in the present times as that which had produced the national anthem. The historic significance of the event was also emphasized by Governor McKeldin and Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro.[1]

In addition to the original draft of the Star Spangled Banner presently owned and displayed at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore,[2] there are at least three known surviving copies in existence written in Key's own hand. About twenty-five years after the composition of his poem, Key sent out three additional handwritten copies, which had variations in some words, as souvenirs to friends. In 1840 Key autographed a copy of the poem which was given to Louis J. Cist and is hence known as the Cist copy;[3] this was acquired by the Library of Congress during fiscal year 1941 - 1942.[4] Then in 1842 Key gave a copy of the Star Spangled Banner to his personal friend General

---

[1] Baltimore, Vol. XLVII, No. 11 (September, 1954), pp. 71 and 80. Cf. also "The Unveiling of the Original Manuscript of the Star-Spangled Banner" in Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. XLIX, No. 4 (December, 1954), pp. 259-262.

[2] See Appendix U.

[3] See Appendix V.

[4] Cf. Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942. (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1943), pp. 118-120.

George Keim, which upon his death was given by his son to the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia.[1] There is also a genuine copy of the anthem in the Georgetown University Archives which Key autographed from Washington on August 29, 1842.[2] Georgetown University received this copy from Mrs. J.A. Nunn, Fort Madison, Iowa, who had inherited it from her father, in February of 1897.[3]

In 1842 Key also presented an autographed copy of the Star Spangled Banner to Mr. James Mahar, who used to work as a gardener at the White House;[4] the late Richard S. Hill felt, perhaps with justification, that the Mahar copy is actually a lithograph.[5] The location of this copy is not presently known. Finally there is the so-called Howard copy, from about 1840,[6] whose authenticity is dubious and whose location is also unknown.

---

[1]See Appendix W.

[2]See Appendix Y.

[3]See letter from Rev. Vincent I. Bellwoar, S.J., Archivist, Georgetown University to the author, August 21, 1967.

[4]Sonneck, op. cit., p. 92; Preble, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 729.

[5]See The Star Spangled Banner; Hearings before (the) subcommittee No. 4 of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Eighty-fifth Congress, Second Session, on H.J. Res. 17, H.J. Res. 517, H.R. 10542, H.J. Res. 558, and H.R. 12231, May 21, 22, and 28, 1958. Serial 18. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 1.

[6]Sonneck, op. cit., p. 92.

When the London Philharmonic Orchestra, under Herbert von Karajan, visited Washington on October 23, 1955, it was warmly received and hailed for its fine performance in Constitution Hall. (Included in its program was a new arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner by Sir William Walton.) According to the New York Times, "The unlisted feature of the program - Sir William Walton's new arrangement of 'The Star Spangled Banner' - may not have been the most rousing rendition of the National Anthem, but it was lively and dignified."[1]

There were a number of different versions of the Star Spangled Banner in common use at this time which varied in punctuation, rhythm, spelling, and other details. The subject of a standard-authorized version of the mentioned anthem was broached in the beginning of 1955, when a group of high-school students approached Congressmen Joel T. Broyhill, Republican of Virginia, with a request for copies of the exact words and music of the Star Spangled Banner. Congressman Broyhill found to his great surprise that there was no official version in existence, nor was there ever a commonly accepted version.[2] The Public Law passed by the Senate on March 3, 1931, and signed by President Hoover on the same day did not specify exactly how the song should be presented. As a result, on June 14, 1955, Congressman Broyhill introduced in the House of Representatives Joint Resolution H.J.

---

[1]The New York Times, October 23, 1955, p. L 23.

[2]The Washington Daily News, May 13, 1956, p. 22.

Res. 341, to provide for Congressional selection of a standard version.[1] Congressman Broyhill's legislative action aroused various patriotic organizations and school children to send letters and resolutions to the Capitol opposing such an action. "It [The Bureau of Education version which Mr. Broyhill specifically advocated] leaves out Francis Scott Key's byline and the entire third stanza," remarked one DAR member, "and, furthermore, in the fourth stanza 'Power' is not capitalized in 'Praise the power that hath preserved us a nation.'!"[2] This complaint and the general negative reaction caused Congressman Broyhill suddenly to junk his Resolution. After additional studies he reintroduced his Bill on January 3, 1957, in the 85th Congress as H.J. Res. 17,[3] but nothing developed.

Broyhill then approached the National Music Council with a request to help him draft a better Bill. The task of this project, which was headed by Richard S. Hill, Head of the Music Reference Section, Library of Congress, was enormous. "It wasn't easy," remarked Mr. Hill. "There are so damn' many versions of the Banner - 271 copyrighted in the Library of Congress. For example, some of the fussier recent editions have a tendency to over-punctuate the opening line, changing Key's 'O' into an 'Oh,' following this with a comma, and adding a wholly superfluous

---

[1]U.S. Cong., House, To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., H.J. R. 341, 1955, pp. 1-3.

[2]The Washington Daily News, May 13, 1958, p. 22. The lady is referring to the Bureau of Education versions. See Supra, pp. 302-304.

[3]U.S. Congress, House, To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 85th Cong., 1st Sess., H.J.R. 17, 1957, pp. 1-3.

exclamation point after the 'say.' Another problem was a question whether there should be more than one 'bomb bursting in air' or many than one 'foul footstep's pollution' since various versions have 'bombs' and 'footsteps.'"[1]

A safeguard for the national anthem was urged by Representative Katharine St. George, Republican of Tuxedo Park, N.Y., who introduced in the House on February 1, 1957, a Bill to prevent the national anthem from being used "for the purpose of stopping a public disturbance."[2]

At the time another incident occurred worthy of mention. When, at the opening of the Frederic Mann Concert Hall in Tel Aviv on October 2, 1957, the Star Spangled Banner was played before Israel's national anthem "Hatikva," the Israeli press vigorously attacked Premier David Ben-Gurion, and the newspaper Lamerhav called this incident "leaning backwards to please guests to the extent of self-defacement."[3]

The movement to establish an official version of the Star Spangled Banner was the subject of discussion at the meeting of the National Music Council held in New York City on December 18, 1957. During this meeting it was decided to seek the introduction

---

[1]The Washington Daily News, May 13, 1958, p. 22.

[2]U.S. Congress, House, To provide an additional rule with respect to the rendering of the national anthem of the United States of America. 85th Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. 4304, 1957, p. 1.

[3]The New York Times, October 4, 1957, p. 3.

of some minor changes and to set an official version of the anthem.[1]

One must remember in this connection that the original copy of the Star Spangled Banner presently owned by the Maryland Historical Society as well as the three additional copies previously discussed[2] differ from each other in certain respects. Key was however consistent in all copies in one detail, the small "p" on "power" in the fourth stanza, i.e., in the line "Praise the power that hath made and preserv'd us a nation."[3] It was therefore the opinion and suggestion of the National Music Council that "power" should not be capitalized but should retain the small "p" as it had been used by Key.[4]

In addition to Rep. Broyhill there were other members of Congress who had in their minds the problem of standardization of the Star Spangled Banner. On January 28, 1958, Congressman Francis E. Dorn, Republican of New York, introduced in the House a Joint Resolution "To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America."[5] Another Star Spangled Banner Bill was introduced on February 5, 1958, by Congressman Carroll D. Kearns, Republican of Pennsylvania.[6]

---

[1] Ibid., December 19, 1957, p. L 33.

[2] See Supra, pp. 428-430.

[3] See Appendices U, V, W and Y.

[4] The New York Times, December 19, 1957, p. L 33.

[5] U.S., Congress, House, To adopt a specific version of the Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, H.J.R. 517, pp. 1-2.

[6] U.S., Congress, House, To prescribe the official version, and the manner of rendition, of the Star-Spangled Banner, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, H.R. 10582, pp. 1-4.

Similarly, on February 19, 1958, Senator Styles Bridges, Republican of New Hampshire, introduced in the Senate a Joint Resolution for adoption of a definitive version of the national anthem.[1]

On the basis of the National Music Council's advice, Congressman Broyhill introduced in the House on March 4, 1958, a new Bill, H.J. Res. 558, with the Council's score and music, but with one exception, that "power' became "Power."[2]

Finally, on April 29, 1958, Congressman Herbert Zelenko, Democrat of New York, introduced in the House a Bill to make Paul Taubman's arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner the official version.[3] Congressman Zelenko's Bill promoted this arrangement by Mr. Taubman, Musical Director of the National Broadcasting Company, on the ground that it lowered, by two tones, the thirteen notes of the melody on the words "And the rockets red glare... gave," and the five notes on "land of the free."[4] In introducing his Bill, Cong. Zelenko stated that the Star Spangled Banner "has always been most difficult to sing, causing most Americans to remain mute during the rendition of the song."[5]

---

[1]U.S. Congress, Senate, To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, S.J.R. 151, pp. 1-2.

[2]U.S. Congress, House, To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., H.J.R. 558, 1958, pp. 1-4.

[3]U.S. Congress, House, To prescribe the official version, and the manner of rendition, of The Star-Spangled Banner, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., H.R. 12231, 1958, pp. 1-3.

[4]Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[5]The Washington Daily News, May 13, 1958, p. 23.

It should be noted that the Star Spangled Banner bills introduced by Senator Bridges and Congressmen Broyhill, Dorn, Kearns and Zelenko all provided for capital "P's" in the word "Power."

The endeavors of the above legislators and particularly of Congressman Broyhill led the Baltimore Sun to ask, "And, if there is to be an official version to what sort of rendition is it to be adapted - voice, high school band, military band, orchestra, or what? One thing is certain, Mr. Broyhill has started something. Maybe it would be better for his resolution to continue to sleep peacefully in the Judiciary Committee."[1]

An opinion on the Star Spangled Banner was also expressed by former President and part-time pianist Harry S. Truman. Interviewed by Edward R. Murrow on the CBS-TV program "See It Now," broadcast on February 2, 1958, President Truman hit the "Missouri Waltz" as bad music and compared it to the Star Spangled Banner. He specifically said, "It's a ragtime song and if you let me say what I think - I don't give a damn about it, but I can't say it out loud because it's the song of Missouri. It's as bad as 'The Star Spangled Banner' so far as music is concerned."[2]

At this time it was the opinion of many people that the original Star Spangled Banner, which flew over Fort McHenry and inspired Francis Scott Key to write the national anthem, should

---

[1]The Sun, February 2, 1958, p. 1.
[2]Ibid., February 3, 1958, p. 3.

be on display at its historic site. Senator John Marshall Butler, Republican of Maryland, in a letter of February 22, 1958, to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. Leonard Carmichael, asked that the Smithsonian transfer this historic flag to a more appropriate place, Fort McHenry;[1] however, nothing materialized from this proposal.

The hearings on H.J. Res. 17, H.J. Res. 517, H.R. 10542, H.J. Res. 558, and H.R. 12231 were scheduled to be opened by a House Judiciary Subcommittee on May 21, 1958. It was the intention of the House Judiciary Committee's Chief Counsel, Murray Drabkin, to bring either the Marine Band or the Air Force's Singing Sergeants to perform at the hearings because "the members have no special competence in reading music and we're all a little leery of handling this particuler song. It's like legislating on religion or motherhood."[2]

During the hearings, which took place on May 21, 22, and 28, 1958, the testimony revealed a great variety of versions and a wide diversity in public performance, practices and in publications. They also aroused disagreement among the various individuals, veterans' organizations and patriotic societies present. Musicians were heard who testified about the changes proposed in the tune to make it easier to sing, while others recommended lowering the

---

[1] Ibid., February 23, 1958, p. 30.
[2] The Washington Daily News, May 13, 1958, p. 23.

key from B flat to A flat or G flat. Many letters from the public were also introduced.[1]

Miss Lucy Monroe, who had so often sung the Star Spangled Banner at patriotic gatherings, in her testimony before the Subcommittee on May 21, 1958, asked the Congress to make it easier to sing. She noted that "audiences have difficulty with the higher notes in the middle section and again in the phrase before the end," and also pleaded that "Paul Taubman's proposed version would make only the smallest changes, leaving the tune as beautiful and stirring as it has always been."[2] On the other hand, representatives of two patriotic organizations defended the original anthem and told the Judiciary Subcommittee on May 28, 1958, that the music and words of the Star Spangled Banner should be left unchanged. Mrs. Charles Carroll Haig of Washington, D. C., representing the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, expressed her organization's concern in these terms: "We can see no necessity for a change. We have been going along all these years, and I think The Star-Spangled Banner is singable, in spite of what people say."[3] When she was told of the several versions made by Key himself and asked which she preferred, she replied, "The ones we have been using all the time....I do not

---

[1]The Star-Spangled Banner Hearings before Subcommittee No. 4 of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Eighty-fifth Congress, Second Session on H.J. Res. 17, H.J. Res. 517, H.R. 10540, Res. 558, and H.R. 12231, May 21, 22, and 28, 1958. Serial 16. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), passim.

[2]Ibid., p. 64.

[3]Ibid., p. 111.

believe in any change. That is all."[1] Francis J. McNamara, representing the Veterans of Foreign Wars, expressed the sense of his group that an official text should be adopted, but that it should use the original words of Francis Scott Key.[2]

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in a letter of June 4, 1959, to Representative Broyhill, stated: "I agree that an official version would be desirable, just as a standard pattern of stars in the flag itself it desirable. I would gladly sign a bill containing such a version" Similarly, the Secretary of Health, Education ans Welfare wrote on December 23, 1957: "Many versions of The Star-Spangled Banner are being used at the present time and this Department feels that there is a need for a simple, direct and unadorned version of our national anthem which would be recognized as an official version." On April 29, 1958, Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker, on behalf of the Department of Defense, made a similar statement.[3]

However, it seems that the conflicting testimony so confused and exhausted the committee that it finally decided to let the whole business drop.

Among the foreign lands publishing the Star Spangled Banner was the Soviet Union, which in 1960 published an arrangement of

---

[1] Ibid., p. 112.

[2] Ibid., pp. 113-125.

[3] Cf. "Statement Concerning House Joint Resolution 4 Introduced by Representative Joel T. Broyhill (R-Va.) To Establish an Official Version of the Star-Spangled Banner," January 9, 1963. Music Branch File, Bureau of Naval Personnel.

the Star Spangled Banner for band with the following remark, "The music is doubtfully ascribed to J.S. Smith."[1]

The Star Spangled Banner, being primarily a song of American patriotism, is usually ignored by the publisher except when in necessity the people turn to it as a means of expression of national spirit. An illustration of this behavior can be seen from an incident during the official luncheon for Nikita S. Khrushchev, then Premier of the Soviet Union, given by New York Mayor Robert Wagner at the Commodore Hotel in New York City on September 17, 1960. The Americans present being carried away by patriotic sentiments fervently sang the Star Spangled Banner, instead of merely listening to its strains as played by the Meyer Davis orchestra. According to a newspaper account, "Russians familiar with American luncheons looked at one another in surprise. Some of the Americans present conceded they had not sung the anthem for years."[2]

Another rather curious incident occurred on the occasion of Khrushchev's official visit to this country. As Khrushchev emerged on Wednesday evening, October 5, 1960, from a reception held at the Rumanian Mission to the United Nations at 60 East Ninety-third Street in New York City, in a house directly across the street an 11-year-old boy played a phonograph record of the Star Spangled Banner, whose melody reached the Soviet Premier through the open window.

---

[1]Star Spangled Banner. Gimn Soedinennych Shtatov Ameriki dlia dukhovogo orkhestra. (Star Spangled Banner. Anthem of the United States for brass orchestra). (Moskva: Muzgiz, 1960), passim.

[2]The New York Times, September 18, 1960, p. L 17.

Suddenly about fifty people standing on the sidewalks began to sing the national anthem. Khrushchev, with a broad grin, began to conduct the anthem, waving his arms vigorously. Just as the Star Spangled Banner ended Khrushchev's limousine arrived to take him to the headquarters of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations.[1]

Interest in the endeavor toward a standard-authorized version of the Star Spangled Banner led Congressman Broyhill to introduce, on February 15, 1962, his new Star Spangled Banner Bill, as H.J. Res. 630.[2] Generally the version proposed by H.J. Res. 630 is based on the handwritten manuscript now in possession of the Maryland Historical Society, with some minor changes, e.g., eliminating Key's use of the apostrophe instead of "e" in many words of his poem, and the ampersand (&) instead of "and." In addition, in the second line, fourth stanza, the word "home" was put in the plural. Also, in the third line, first stanza, a comma was added following the word "fight." In the third stanza, fourth line, the word "footstep's" was changed to "footsteps'." In the fourth line, fourth stanza the word "Power" was capitalized to stress Key's direct reference to God, although in all the other handwritten copies Key uses a small "p".[3]

---

[1] Ibid., October 6, 1960, p. L 16.

[2] U.S. Congress, House, To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 87th Cong., 2d Sess., H.J.R. 630, pp. 1-4.

[3] Ibid.

On Thursday, March 15, 1962, at 10:00 A.M., Congressman Broyhill, with the cooperation of Lieutenant Colonel Hugh J. Curry, Leader of the United States Army Band, arranged a program in Constitutional Hall during which Col. Curry and his Band demonstrated several musical variations of the Star Spangled Banner together with explanatory comments. As Congressman Broyhill was beginning his closing remarks Miss Ottilie Sutro, a 90-year-old retired pianist from Baltimore, rose from her front row seat and commended the Army Band for a fine performance, but stated that Broyhill's version was unsingable. She then illustrated by singing the line "The land of the free and the home of the brave," and pointed out that she had learned this proper rendition of the Star Spangled Banner from a great-grandson of Francis Scott Key. The audience of several hundred people, which included members of the Daughters of the American Revolution as well as high school students, was visibly impressed by her demonstration.[1]

In commenting on the proposed musical form of the Star Spangled Banner as proposed in H.J. Res. 630, B.J. Semmes, Jr., Assistant Chief of Naval Personnel for Plans, writing on behalf of the Chief of Naval Personnel, stated:

> Whether or not a specific version of our national anthem should be decreed in law, or which particular version should be specified, appears to be a matter of national interest and one which should be left to

[1]The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.), March 15, 1962, p. B-1; The New York Times, March 16, 1962, p. L 15; The Washington Post, March 16, 1962, p. B4.

> the desires of the Congress. Accordingly, the Chief of Naval Personnel recommends that the Department of the Navy interpose no objection to subject resolution.[1]

Although H.J. Res. 630, in Section (c) 1, explained that the Bill was not intended to become a sole interpretation but rather to serve as a principal model from which other arrangements could be made,[2] nothing was realized from it. On January 9, 1963, Congressman Broyhill introduced in the House still another Bill calling for the standardization of the Star Spangled Banner[3] which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary where it died.

Up to this date no law has been passed by Congress providing for a standard version of the Star Spangled Banner.

In the meantime the popularity of the Star Spangled Banner continues and with it also the inevitable controversy. Sometimes it is used as a tool for obstructing some disliked legislation. When the Supreme Court outlawed the State of New York Regent's official prayer the school board of the Hicksville Union school District, Hicksville, Long Island, New York, on the evening of June 29, 1962, unanimously decided to substitute the national anthem for the prayer. By board decision the 13,000 pupils of the District were to recite, beginning in September of that

---

[1]Chief of Naval Personnel to Chief of Legislative Affairs, March 19, 1962. Music Branch File, Bureau of Naval Personnel.

[2]U.S. Congress, House, To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 87th Cong., 2d Sess., 1962, H.J.R. 630, p. 2.

[3]U.S. Congress, House, To Adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1963, H.J.R. 4, pp. 1-4.

year when school reopened, a part of the fourth verse of the Star Spangled Banner.[1]

A desire for greater public respect for the Star Spangled Banner led Congressman John W. Wydler, Republican of Nassau County, New York, on August 8, 1963, to introduce in the House of Representatives a Bill requiring all radio and television stations to play the Star Spangled Banner daily when signing on and off the air.[2]

When the communications satellite Syncon II was launched on July 26, 1963, from Cape Canaveral [now Cape Kennedy], Florida, it received the Star Spangled Banner and transmitted it back to earth.[3]

An embarassing situation occurred during the world heavyweight title fight between Cassius Clay and Sonny Liston, which took place at Lewiston, Maine, on Tuesday night, May 25, 1965. In the fight, televised on closed-circuit TV screens in various theatres throughout the country, in which Clay knocked out Liston in one minute, singer Robert Goulet forgot the words of the Star Spangled Banner. Warren Pack, covering this bout for the New York Journal-American before a sellout crowd of 1,500 at the Capitol Theatre in New York City on closed-circuit TV, observed: "Biggest laugh of the night came when that celebrated singer, Robert Goulet sang the National Anthem. There were laughs,- and a few boos -

---

[1]The New York Times, June 30, 1962, p. L 20.

[2]U.S. Congress, House, To amend the Communications Act of 19[illegible] to require that radio and television stations broadcast the national anthem of the United States, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1963, H.R.8010.

[3]The New York Times, July 27, 1963, p. L 1 and 45.

when the camera spotted Goulet using a hand crib to read the words of the Star Spangled Banner.'"[1]

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Detroit, five persons were acquitted on February 23, 1966, of charges which resulted from their jeering The Star Spangled Banner during the ceremonies which ended Detroit's attempt in 1963 to be named host for the 1968 Olympic Games; a Criminal Court jury "found the five not guilty of disturbing a lawful meeting."[2] And on April 18, 1966, the management of the Chicago White Sox decided to discontinue playing the Star Spangled Banner before their baseball games at Comiskey Park, because it was alleged to be too hard to sing. Ed Short, the club's general manager, declared that the fans "just weren't singing 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'"[3]

The problem of learning the words of the national anthem seemed also be as cause of difficulty on one popular television program. When Joey Bishop asked his staff on his show if they knew the words of the Star Spangled Banner, they admitted that none of them knew the words.[4]

At the opening of the 35th Democratic National Convention in Chicago on Monday evening, August 26, 1968, the national antham

---

[1] New York Journal-American, May 26, 1965, p. 30.

[2] The New York Times, February 24, 1966, p. L 17.

[3] Ibid., April 19, 1966, p. L 52.

[4] This question was asked on the Joey Bishop Show, ABC-TV, Channel 7, seen in Washington, D.C. on Tuesday, September 12, 1967, time 11:45 P.M.

was sung by Miss Aretha Franklin in "soul" style. Her performance was condemned as tasteless and inappropriate. One letter signed by a "Union Musician" sent to Washington's Evening Star, considered her rendition of the national anthem "a new low in musical taste and an affront to all Americans. It was a sacrilege to hear the jazzed-up version of our National Anthem and any instrumentalist would probably be called before the National Board of the American Federation of Musicians for such conduct. It's a good thing John Bailey doesn't live in England; he would no doubt invite the Beatles to render their 'interpretation' of God Save the Queen."[1] Another letter sent to the same newspaper and signed by a "Former Democrat," also strongly objected to Miss Franklin's rendition in these terms: "I do resent what she did to our 'Star Spangled Banner.'! There are so many singers, white and black, that can sing our National Anthem so beautifully, why someone like Aretha Franklin?"[2]

Over a hundred years ago, in August of 1864, the Democrats held another convention in Chicago, during which one of their claims to the Star Spangled Banner was that the wife of their Vice-Presidential candidate on the McClellan ticket, George C. Pendleton, was the daughter of Francis Scott Key.[3] At that time the Star Spangled Banner was rendered consistently with its musical style. But perhaps the old adage

---

[1]The Evening Star, September 2, 1968, p. A-14.

[2]Ibid.

[3]See Supra, p. 194.

is correct when it says that "tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in iis," or "times change and we change with them."

It seems that the Star Spangled Banner is predestined to be a constant subject of criticism. Some critics will always oppose it as weak, others as abusive to friendly nations or difficult to sing. Even as recently as October 1, 1968, Senator Thomas J. McIntyre, Democrat of New Hampshire, speaking in the Senate, called the Star Spangled Banner "an unnerving musical experience," and expressed his belief that some new alternative should be considered for it. He admitted, however, that the Star Spangled Banner "does have a strong historic place in American history."[1]

One can dispute all these statements, but the fact is that as of now no formal version of the Star Spangled Banner has yet been adopted, and the fight against it, as well as for it, continues.

---

[1] The Evening Star, (Washington, D. C.), October 2, 1968, p. A-3.

XVIII. EPILOGUE

To honor a person means in a broad sense to honor his moral values and dignity, while to offend a person means to deny or violate his moral values and to denigrate his personality. What applies to an individual applies also to a nation, to the symbol of that nation, and to its principles. Today, when national honor and moral dignity are at stake we often wonder what has happened to these virtues for which the American nation became famous.

Francis Scott Key's poem was a song of liberty from a captive's pen and was dedicated to the American flag. He himself coined the expression "the Star Spangled Banner," and caught the spirit of the nation. There was and continues to be opposition towards the national anthem, because its music is of foreign origin and also because some Puritan elements saw this music as evil, associated with drinking and involving a pagan element, and because most persons cannot sing it.

As an English observer of American customs, Sir Denis William Brogan, once observed, "the flag, in America, is more than a mere symbol among many others. It is the regimental color of a regiment in which all Americans are enrolled."[1]

The tradition of raising the flag over schoolhouses in this country has a long history. The first recorded ceremony of this type was in May of 1812 at Catamount Hill, Colrain, Massachusetts,

---

[1]Denis William Brogan, The American Character. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944), p. 138.

where a monument has been erected to commemorate this event.[1] The person who is responsible for some of the patriotic exercises which we observe today is Colonel George T. Balch, who was born on October 2, 1828, and died on April 15, 1894. He was a West Point graduate of 1852, served in the Civil War, and made several investigations and important studies for the City of New York.[2] In the late 1880s he was appointed actuary to the Board of Education of that city.[3] His book, Methods of Teaching Patriotism in the Public Schools, was a timely contribution by which the attention of the American public was focused on patriotism and loyalty to country and flag.[4] The patriotic exercises at the New York City schools had the purpose of inculcating these values in the minds of the students. Paragraph 137, Articles 1 and 2 of By-laws, General Rules and Regulations specifically stated:

> 1. On the school days immediately preceding the fourth day of July, and the twenty-second day of February in each year, the Principals of all the Grammar Schools of this City shall assemble the pupils of their respective schools, and read, or cause to be read to them, either the 'Declaration of Independence' or 'Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States,' combining therewith such other patriotic exercises as many be advisable.

---

[1]Harlan Hoyt Horner, The American Flag. New York State Education Department, Sixth Annual Report - Supplemental Volume. (Albany:State of New York Education Department, 1910), p. 65.

[2]For his biography and portrait, cf. Calusha B. Balch, Genealogy of the Balch Families in America. (Salem, Mass.: Eben Putnam Publisher, 1897), pp. 306-307.

[3]Ibid., p. 307.

[4]George T. Balch, Methods of Teaching Patriotism in the Public Schools. Being an extract from an address delivered before the teachers of the Children's Aid Society of the City of New York, June 28, 1889. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1890), passim.

2. The recitation of quotations of a patriot nature shall be made a part of the opening exercises at least twice each week.[1]

The decision of the Board to erect flagpoles for every school building in New York City came in 1890;[2] this act indicates that Col. Balch's study was beginning to have some influence. On April 3, 1895, the State authorities of New York ordered the United States flag to be displayed on public school houses during school hours, and the State Commissioner of Education was ordered to provide for the salute to the flag and other patriotic exercises because it was felt that in the history of America the flag had an inspirational meaning for the public in general and for children in particular.[3]

The action of the State of New York undoubtedly set a strong precedent. Among the States which subsequently passed legislation providing for display of the flag on school houses were Michigan (1895), Illinois (1895), Ohio (1896), Pennsylvania (1897), Rhode Island (1901), West Virginia (1901), Wyoming (1903), New Hampshire

---

[1]See By-laws, General Rules and Regulations of the Board of Education, in Manual of the Board of Education of the City of New York, 1888. (New York: Hall of the Board of Education, 1888), pp. 204-205.

[2]A resolution on this subject was adopted by the Board of Education on January 8, 1890. Cf. for this Journal of the Board of Education of the City of New York, 1890. (New York: Hall of the Board of Education, 1890), p. 37.

[3]Horner, op. cit., p. 66.

(1903), Arizona (1903), Idaho (1903), New Mexico (1905), Oklahoma (1905), Oregon (1907), Kansas (1907), Utah (1907), Indiana (1907), Vermont (1908)[1]; by 1908 a total of 29 states and territories had enacted similar legislation.

It is evident that the subject of honors to the flag lay in the hearts not only of the general public but also of the military. Senator Julius Caesar Burrows, Republican of Michigan, addressing the West Point graduates of 1891, discussed the importance of the respect which each individual should pay to the American flag, saying:

> Go, therefore, gentlemen to your posts of duty. Take with you the strict discipline, the high sense of honor, the soldierly bearing, and the love of country which this institution has sought to inculcate, and not only treasure them as priceless jewels of a soldier's life, but by precept and example inspire their acquisition in others. And above all else venerate the flag of your country as you do the altar of your religion. It is a memory and a hope. Morning and evening salute it, and as the rising and setting sun lights up its glories, with uncovered head swear renewed and eternal allegiance to this symbol of a nation's sovereignty. Senator Manderson, as I rose to address you, related an incident which once came under his observation. Seated in a great assemblage, the band struck up 'God Save the Queen,' and instantly every Englishman present sprang to his feet and reverently stood during the rendition of this national invocation. Let us imitate that spirit, and not only salute the flag, but when the music of our national airs falls upon the ear, let every soldier and citizen

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 66-67.

rise in patriotic recognition of its inspiring strains.[1]

The honor to be paid the American flag by the military was prescribed in General Orders No. 125, dated September 29, 1900, which provided that, "As the flag is the symbol of our nationality, it will be held in sacred regard and given every care and protection at all times." Furthermore, "Good martial music contributes immeasurably to the contentment and welfare of troops and inspires in them a valiant and patriotic spirit, which is most essential; hence, it will be encouraged, especially vocal music, which will include the singing of the national anthems and patriotic hymns and songs."[2]

In 1897 the American Flag Association was organized in New York City;[3] this organization has undoubtedly contributed to the education of the public in respect for the flag.

The patriotic spirit of America and the respect which its people showed for the flag had a deep effect upon one foreign visitor. H.G. Wells, upon his visit to the Hebrew Educational Alliance in New York City, was so impressed with the Flag Day observances conducted by American children that he wrote:

---

[1]R.G. 94. Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617.

[2]See Supra, p. 231.

[3]Horner, op. cit., p. 69.

> It is a thing I'm glad not to have missed. I recall a large, cool room with a sloping floor, tier rising above tier of seats and desks, and a big class of bright-eyed Jewish children, boys and girls, each waving two little American flags to the measure of the song they sang, singing to the accompaniment of the piano on the platform beside us. 'God bless our native land,' they sang - with a considerable variety of accent and distinct - ness, but with a very real emotion. Some of them had been in America a month, some much longer, but here they were - under the auspices of the wealthy Hebrews of New York and Mr. Blaustein's enthusiastic direction - being Americanized. They sang of America - 'sweet land of liberty;' they stood up and drilled with the little bright pretty flags; swish they crossed and swish they waved back, a waving froth of flags and flushed children's faces; and they stood up and repeated the oath of allegiance, and at the end filed tramping by me and out of the hall. The oath they take is finely worded. It runs: 'Flag of our great Republic, inspirer in battle, guardian of our homes, whose stars and stripes stand for bravery, purity, truth, and union, we salute thee! We, the natives of distant lands, who find rest under thy folds, do pledge our hearts, our lives, and our sacred honor to love and protect thee, our country, and the liberty of the American people forever'...'It is touching!' whispered my guide, and I saw she had caught a faint reflection of that glow that lit the children. I told her it was the most touching thing I had seen in America. And so it remains. Think of the immense profit in it! Think of the flower of belief and effort that may spring from this warm sowing![1]

The Star Spangled Banner had inspirational meaning for the successive generations of immigrants to these shores. Preble observed that the American flag had not only been extended "extensively" -- by millions of immigrants' coming to live under its protective folds in the United States. The immigrant has greatly

---

[1]H.G. Wells, The Future in America. A Search After Realities. (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1906), pp. 148-150.

assisted in building up America, culturally, economically, and militarily. The fact that he is a loyal member of the military services of the United States is proof that his allegiance is not divided between his former country and his newfound home.[1] Perhaps the classical example of this devotion is found in the life of Jacob A. Riis, New York journalist and social reformer, born in Denmark, who was called by President Theodore Roosevelt New York's most valuable citizen. Riis loved his native land deeply and respected its flag. Once he visited Denmark and during the course of his visit became ill. He related the effect of seeing from his sickbed the American flag on a ship in Danish waters. "Gone", he said, "were illness, discouragement, and gloom. Forgotten weakness and suffering. I shouted, laughed, and cried by turns. I knew then it was my flag; that I had become an American in truth. And I thanked God, and, like the man sick with the palsy, arose from my bed and went home healed."[2]

During the First World War the patriotic spirit of America increased and intensified; this spirit of patriotism led William Tyler page, Clerk of the House of Representatives, in 1917 to

---

[1]Preble, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 795-796.

[2]Annie E. S. Beard, Our Foreign-Born Citizens. New Revised Edition. Revised by William A. Fahey. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1955), p. 79.

write "The American's Creed,"[1] which was accepted by the House of Representatives on behalf of the American people, on April 3, 1918.[2]

Similarly during the Second World War the spirit of American patriotism was evident, not only in the more frequent singing of the Star Spangled Banner but also in the display of the National Flag.

By Presidential Proclamation 2795, signed by President Harry S. Truman on July 2, 1948, the flag of the United States is displayed day and night at Fort McHenry National Monument, the birthplace of the Star Spangled Banner.[3]

In addition to Fort McHenry the American flag is displayed twenty-four hours daily in the following locations:[4]

United States Capitol - Since World War I

Marine Memorial, Arlington, Va., Presidential Proclamation 1961

War Memorial, Worcester, Mass. - Since 1933

Star-Spangled Banner Flag House, Baltimore, Md. - Act of Congress 1954

---

[1]U.S. Congressional Record, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., 1918, LVI, Part 5, p. 4745.

[2]U.S. Congressional Record, Appendix, 65th Cong., 2 Sess., 1918, LVI, Part 12, p. 288.

[3]Federal Register, Vol. 13, No. 131 (July 7, 1948), pp. 3757 and 3759.

[4]See U.S. Marine Band Library File; Star-Spangled Banner Flag House File; Quaife, Weig and Appleman, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

Francis Scott Key's birthplace - about five miles from Taneytown in Western Maryland - Patriotic tradition.

Francis Scott Key grave, Frederick, Md.

Betsy Ross grave, Philadelphia, Pa.

Taos, New Mexico, Kit Carson Memorial - Since the Civil War

Deadwood, S.D., Memorial to the Old West

The grave of Captain William Driver, Nashville, Tenn. Gave to the flag the name of "Old Glory." H.J. Res. 12, 1966.

Marine Monument, Quantico, Virginia

Pike's Peak, Colorado

Mount Suribachi (Iwo Jima) until recently. This island was returned recently by the United States to the Japanese Government.

This permanent display of the flag may sometimes lead to confusion or embarrassment, as may be seen from the following incident which occurred in the summer of 1967 at Fort McHenry. According to a Chicago Tribune editorial entitled "Nearly Always",

> The other evening, as a boatload of visitors were approaching Fort McHenry during a tour of Baltimore harbor, the commentator went into his usual routine about how the flag is always flying, 24 hours a day, at the spot made famous by 'The Star Spangled Banner.' The tourists looked - but they saw no flag.

> Later inquiry developed the information that on that particular evening the flagpole at Fort McHenry had been painted, and was not yet dry. Thus once again the dangers of easy generalization are illustrated. Nearly always 'never' and 'always' are less accurate than 'hardly ever' and 'almost always.' The Star Spangled Banner almost always flies at Fort McHenry - but not when there is wet paint on the flagpole.[1]

On Friday, July 20, 1945, the American Flag was raised over Berlin as American troops prepared to take part in the allied occupation government. At the flag-raising ceremony President Harry S. Truman said, "There is not one piece of territory or one thing of a monetary nature that we want out of this war."[2]

Respect for the American flag has been marked among the Czech people, particularly in the City of Pilsen, which at the end of the Second World War was liberated by General Patton's army. This respect did not fade, even after the Communist coup d'etat in February of 1948. On the contrary it increased. According to the account of one Czech, "Some of our people went to jail because they had American flags they kept. We always kept

---

[1] Chicago Tribune, August 17, 1967, Section 1, p. 18.
[2] The New York Times, July 21, 1945, pp. L 1 and 5.

making new ones and finding old ones. Nobody knew when we would use them again or if we would use them at all. We just kept them."[1] The time came during the Pilsen uprising in June of 1953 when the Czech workers revolted, and the American flag was carried by them in a demonstration against the Communist tyranny. According to Seymour Freidin, "Outreged Czech workers rioted through the streets and in factories in a dozen places. Shouting, 'United States come back!' crowds trampled on pictures of Stalin and Gottwald. Bouquets were placed ceremoniously at the roads, where in 1945, Gen. George Patton's victorious armor crunched."[2] Similarly on April 27, 1968, Czech students battled North Vietnamese students in Prague to save the American flag flying from the American Embassy.[3] Recently the American flag has been desecreted on several occasions here and abroad, and the honor of America impugned; however, attacks on the flag were championed by the Communists as early as the 1920s. When a teacher asked her pupils to write an essay on what they considered the best flag of the world, an 11-year old girl of

---

[1]Seymour Freidin, The Forgotten People. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), p. 153.

[2]Ibid., p. 151. Seymour Freidin, Executive Director in charge of foreign news for the New York Herald Tribune, on pages 151-159 gives an excellent account of this Pilsen incident.

[3]The Sunday Star, (Washington, D.C.), April 28, 1968, p. A-5.

East Liverpool, Ohio, started her composition as follows: "The best flag in the Red Flag, the workers' flag." To avoid any misunderstanding as to what she meant, she continued: "Do not ever think that the red white and blue is the best flag, because it is not." According to the New York Communist newspaper The Daily Worker, "The child was severely reprimanded by her jingoistic teacher. The teacher, after marking paper after paper that dutifully sang the praises of 'the red white and blue,' was so absolutely surprised and shocked that she has refused to grade the child's work. This in spite of the fact that it has been pointed out that the child had done the work assigned to her."[1] Since the 1950s the Communist attacks on the American flag have intensified. On May 8, 1958, Vice President and Mrs. Richard M. Nixon were greeted with hostility and abuse in Lima, Peru, during a goodwill tour of South America, and the Communists desecrated the American flag.[2] During the visit of Vice President Hubert Humphrey to Paris on April 7, 1967, leftist-led rioters burned the American flag near the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier beneath the Arc de Triomphe.[3] An estimated crowd of 125,000 people

---

[1]The Daily Worker, (New York City), April 25, 1928, p. 6.
[2]The New York Times, May 9, 1958, pp. L 1 and 8.
[3]Ibid., April 8, 1967, pp. L 1 and 11.

turned out for a U.S. flag burning in New York's Central Park during a demonstration on Saturday, April 15, 1967.[1] An Associate Professor of English at Indiana State University burned a 3-by-5 inch American flag during a class discussion on symbolism, and then denied that his act was unpatriotic.[2] The Chicago Tribune in its editorial, "Confused Professor," pointed out: "Most of us learn respect for the flag as a cherished symbol of our country early in grade school without getting involved in abstract questions. A college professor who hasn't learned it is mixed up, to say the least. No wonder there are so many mixed-up youths on college campuses today."[3] On April 25, 1967, the American flag was desecrated by Italian demonstrators in Venice, Italy,[4] and on May 11, 1967, Brazilian students burned an American flag in the northern Brazilian city of Belem.[5] According to a newspaper account one black demonstrator in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, "grabbed the U.S. flag off a motorcycle" on September 4, 1967, "crumpled it and later tossed it into the

---

[1] Sunday News (New York City), April 16, 1967, p. 3.
[2] The Washington Daily News, April 17, 1967, p. 9.
[3] Chicago Tribune, April 20, 1967, Section 1, p. 20.
[4] The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.), April 26, 1967, p. A-19.
[5] The Miami Herald, May 13, 1967, p. 3-B.

Milwaukee River."[1] Similarly in September of 1967 the black nationalist flag was displayed for several hours in Brooklyn's Public School 270, replacing the American flag.[2] And last but not least the U.S. flag was trampled on Monday night, April 8, 1968, by Italian students in Rome. According to a United Press International dispatch, "Leftwing students dragged a U.S. flag through the streets of Rome and repeatedly trampled it....They cleaned passing cars with the flag and shouted, 'Washington is burning.'"[3] These are only a few examples from many in the history of the desecration of the American flag. Public outcry against this practice has resulted in heavy mail from constituents to their Congressmen demanding that a Bill be enacted to make desecration of the flag punishable by fines and prison terms. After much debate the House of Representatives on June 20, 1967, finally passed a Bill to make this act a Federal crime,[4] and the Bill was sent immediately from the House to the Senate; however, as of now, no action has been taken by that body on the measure.

---

[1] The Washington Daily News, September 5, 1967, p. 7.

[2] The New York Times, September 15, 1967, p. C 40.

[3] The Washington Post, April 10, 1968, p. A 28.

[4] U.S. Congress, Senate, To prohibit desecration of the flag, and for other purposes, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., 1967, H.R. 10480, pp. 1-3.

In these days of topsy-turvy values it is good to be reminded of the symbols to which we adhere and which we cherish. Responsible citizenship is the basic premise of all freedom and progress. The wish for "undisburbed self-indulgence" is tragic, and fatal to a free society. It is important to remember that laws and codes of behavior compose the necessary framework for freedom and order.

The American society is an open society, with no established public orthodoxy, but with institutionalized channels accessible to competing social ideals. The genius of the American system is based on this concept of openness, and its achievement is that it constantly encourages competition; consequently, when one national policy becomes obsolete another is always in the corner ready to take over. The theory of the open society has the difficulty that no idea is allowed a presumptive claim on the nation's consent, even in theory.

It is generally true that strong men and strong nations, who are conscious of their moral values, are usually slow to take action, but on the other hand they will not allow insult, injury, or bullying, internally or externally, at the pleasure of anyone, and they will endeavor to exploit all peaceful means amicably to realize their policies. This is a principle of democracy, and is

neither timidity nor weakness, but rather the benevolence of the morally strong individual or Nation.

The flag which Francis Scott Key saw flying over Fort McHenry and which inspired him to write his immortal poem had fifteen stripes and fifteen stars. It represented the country in its beginning. Since then the nation has grown into the mightiest in the world. On July 4, 1959, the 49th star was added to the United States flag, as Alaska was admitted to the Union. A year later, on July 4, 1960, Hawaii became the fiftieth State.

Vox populi - vox Dei, is an old saying meaning, "the voice of the people is the voice of God." This nation was founded on the basis of the many aspects of freedom granted in the Constitution, and particularly in the Bill of Rights. President Johnson, in his speech which he delivered on June 27, 1967, to the annual convention of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce in the Baltimore Civic Center, brought the audience of 5,000 "Jaycees" to their feet, when he compared the United States to the rest of the world. While he found much to praise, he also deplored the impact of dissent, and

particularly condemned the defilers of the flag.[1] Obviously the nation cannot win the world if a great number of men and women do not care enough to produce what they must as their contribution to the freedom of the world. One must remember that equality of rights necessarily involves equality of duties. This means that each person must be willing to accept his proper share of responsibility for the future of the nation.

The American flag represents freedom and liberty as it is embodied in these words. It was commitment to the principle of liberty which led Francis Scott Key to write his now famous poem during that memorable night of September 1814. He coined the expression "the Star Spangled Banner" for the flag, and his poem, which eventually became the National anthem, is an ode to the flag as the symbol of America's existence. As Francis Scott Key was, so we should also be committed to those principles of liberty which the Star Spangled Banner celebrates, and which lead us to support human right, our own principles and human decency.

---

[1]The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.), June 27, 1967, p. A-1.

APPENDICES

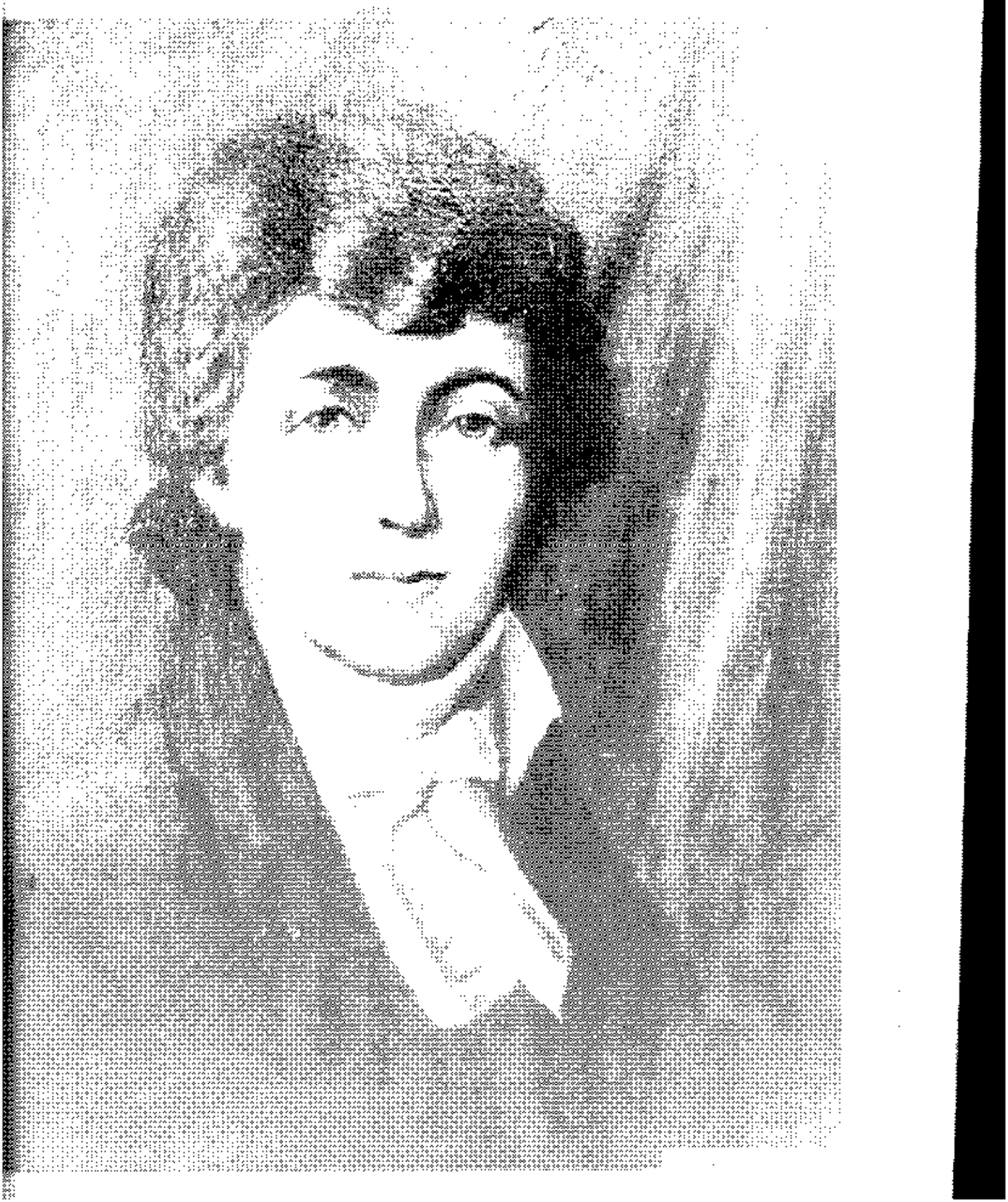
APPENDIX A

1. BOMBARDMENT OF FORT McHENRY. Artist unknown but considered by authorities to be an eyewitness. By courtesy of the Peale Museum.

App. A. Plate 1.

APPENDIX B

2. FRANCIS SCOTT KEY AT THE AGE OF ABOUT EIGHTEEN. By Courtesy of the Star Spangled Banner Flag House Association.



APPENDIX C

3. FIRST PUBLICATION OF THE WORDS AND MUSIC OF THE "STAR SPANGLED BANNER" BY JOSEPH CARR'S MUSIC STORE, BALTIMORE. By Courtesy of Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine.
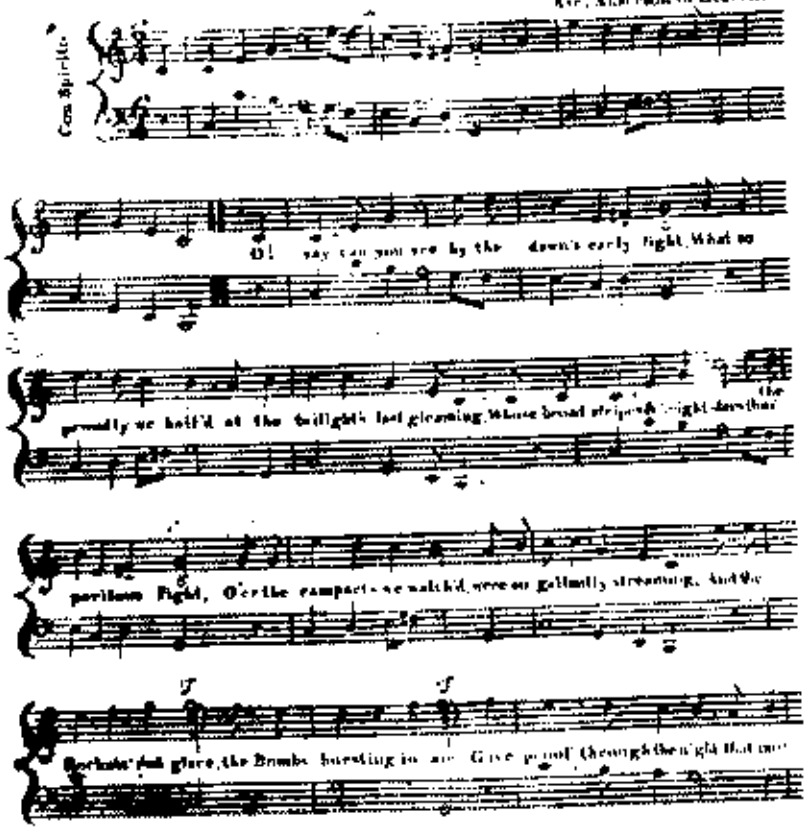
THE

STAR SPANGLED BANNER

A PATRIOTIC SONG.
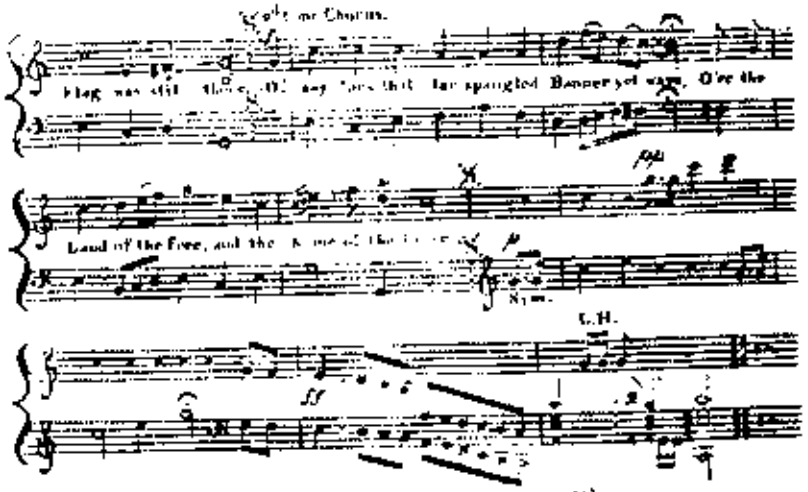
Baltimore: Printed and Sold at CARR'S Music Store 56 Baltimore Street.

Arr. Air, Anacreon in Heaven.



(Adapt'd &c. by T.C.)

(Pl. 1.)



2

On the shore dimly seen thro' the mists of the deep
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes
What is that which the breeze o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows half conceals half discloses
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam
In full glory reflected now shines in the stream
'Tis the star-spangled banner O long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.
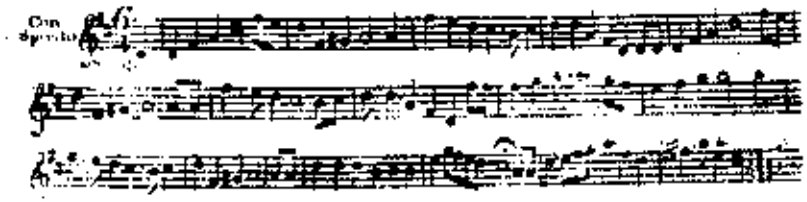
(3)

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and a country should leave us no more
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps pollution
No refuge could save the hireling and slave,
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave,
And the star spangled banner, in triumph doth wave
O'er the Land &c.

(4)

O! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved home and the war's desolations
Blest with victory and peace, may the Heav'n rescued land,
Praise the Pow'r that hath made and preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just
And this be our motto, In God is our Trust
And the star spangled banner, in triumph shall wave,
O'er the Land &c.

For the Flute.



(Adapt'd & Arr'd by T.C.)

4678

APPENDIX D

4. AMENDED EDITION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER PUBLISHED AND SOLD BY T. CARR'S MUSIC STORE, BALTIMORE. By Courtesy of Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine.

See Next Page

STAR SPANGLED BANNER



Written by F. Key Esqr

Written during the Bombardment of Fort M.Henry
on the 13 & 14th Sept 1814

Published and Sold by T. CARR, Music Store Baltimore.

With spirit.

O! say can you see by the dawns early light, What so

proudly we hail'd at the twilights last gleaming Whose broad stripes & bright stars thro the

perilous fight O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming. And the

Rockets red glare the Bombs bursting in air Gave proof through the night that

From Chorus.

O! say does that Star spangled Banner yet wave, O'er the

Land of the Free and the Home of the brave

On the shore dimly seen thro the mists of the deep
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep
As it fitfully blows half conceals half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam
In full glory reflected now shines in the stream
'Tis the Star spangled Banner O long may it wave
O'er the Land &c.

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
A home and a country, shall leave us no more
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps pollution;
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave
And the Star spangled Banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the Land &c.

O! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved home and the war's desolation
Blest with victory and peace may the Heaven rescued land,
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must when our cause it is just
And this be our motto "In God is our trust"
And the Star spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the Land &c.

For the Flute.

(With Spirit)

4688

APPENDIX E

5. ENGLISH AND GERMAN TEXTS OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER PUBLISHED IN NEW YORK ca. 1861. Joseph Muller, Comp., The Star Spangled Banner, Words and Music Issued Between 1814-1864, (New York: Published by G. A. Baker & Co., Inc., 1935), p. 26.

"THE UNION MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED!"



THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.

THE SONG OF THE PATRIOT.

O say, can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there
O say, does the star-spangled banner still wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore, dimly seen through the mist of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes—
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines on the stream;
'Tis the star-spangled banner; O long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

And where is that band, who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and a country should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave.
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

O thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved homes and war's desolation;
Blest with victory and peace, may the heav'n-rescued land
Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just,
And this be our motto: "In God is our trust!"
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

O'er [illegible] yet wave
[illegible]
Between [illegible] and the [illegible]
[illegible]
O'er the [illegible] yet wave
[illegible]
Between [illegible] and the [illegible]
[illegible]
O'er the [illegible] yet wave
[illegible]
Between [illegible] and the [illegible]
[illegible]
O'er the [illegible] yet wave
[illegible]
Between [illegible] and the [illegible]
[illegible]
O'er the [illegible] yet wave
[illegible]
Between [illegible] and the [illegible]
[illegible]

Boston: [illegible]

APPENDIX F

ADOPTION OF THE "STAR SPANGLED BANNER" BY THE NAVY DEPARTMENT FOR MORNING COLORS

General Order
No. 374

Navy Department

Washington, July 26, 1889

In order to insure uniformity, the following routine will be observed at morning and evening colors on board of all men-of-war in commission, and at all Naval Stations. When a band is present it will play -

At morning colors: "The Star Spangled Banner."

At evening colors: "Hail Columbia."

All persons present, belonging to the Navy, not so employed as to render it impracticable, will please face towards the colors and salute as the ensign reaches the peak or truck in hoisting, or the taffrail or ground in hauling down.[1]

B. F. Tracy
Secretary of the Navy

[1] General Orders and Circulars, No. 4. Navy Department. (RG No.45), p. 156.

APPENDIX G

ADOPTION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER BY THE NAVY DEPARTMENT FOR MORNING AND EVENING COLORS[1]

Honors to the national ensign: Article 157: The following ceremonies shall be observed at "colors" on board ships in commission.

The field music and band, if there be one, shall be present. At morning "colors" the music shall give three rolls and three flourishes. At the third roll the ensign shall be started from the deck and hoisted slowly to the peak or truck, during which the band shall play the "Star Spangled Banner." When the ensign leaves the deck or rail all sentries shall salute and remain at a salute until the band ceases to play the national air; all officers and men present shall stand facing the ensign and shall salute when it reaches the peak or truck.

The same ceremonies shall be observed at sunset "colors" except that the music shall give three rolls and three flourishes before the ensign leaves the peak or truck, and all officers and men shall salute when the ensign touches the deck.

At naval stations the same ceremonies shall be observed as closely as possible.

Upon hoisting the ensign at sun rise the usual honors and ceremonies shall be paid, and they shall not be repeated at 8 a.m.

[1]Regulations for the Government of the Navy of the United States, 1893. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 39.

APPENDIX H

U. S. NAVY REGULATIONS, 1896, Sec. 158, Arts. 1, 2, 3 and 4, PRESCRIBING THE PLAYING OF THE "STAR SPANGLED BANNER" AT COLORS ABOARD SHIPS IN COMMISSION AND AT NAVAL STATIONS.

Honors to the National Ensign:

158. (1) The following ceremonies shall be observed at "colors" on board ships in commission and at naval stations: The field music and band, if there be one, shall be present. At morning "colors" the music shall give three rolls and three flourishes. At the third roll the ensign shall be started from the deck and hoisted slowly to the peak or truck, during which the band shall play the "Star Spangled Banner," When the ensign leaves the deck or rail all sentries shall salute and remain at a salute until the band ceases to play the national air; all officers and men present shall stand facing the ensign and shall salute when it reaches the peak or truck.

(2) The same ceremonies shall be observed at sunset "colors," except that the music shall give three rolls and three flourishes before the ensign leaves the peak or truck; the band shall play "Hail Columbia," while the ensign is being hauled down, and all officers and men shall salute when the ensign touches the deck.

(3) At naval stations the same ceremonies shall be observed as closely as possible.

(4) Upon hoisting the ensign at sunrise the usual honors and ceremonies shall be paid, and they shall not be repeated at 8 a.m.[1]

[1] Regulations for the Government of the Navy of the United States, 1896. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), p. 42.

APPENDIX I

6. GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER.
Leyh, Eduard F., Drei Uebersetzungen aus dem Englischen, von Edward Leyh [The three translations from the English by Eduard Leyh]. Joaquin Miller's Arizonian. W. Motherwell's Jeanie Morrison. F. Scott Key's Star Spangled Banner. (Baltimore: Verlag von Cushing & Company, 1894), pp. 22-23.

Das Lied vom Sternenbanner

Von Francis Scott Key

O sprich, kannst Du seh'n bei der schwindenden Nacht
Was wir freudig noch grüßten im Abendrotglanze,
Auf'm Streifen und Sterne, die während der Schlacht
Im Winde geflattert, dort, hoch auf der Schanze?
Der Kanonen Gesaus — und der Bomben Gebraus,
Strahlten durch's Dunkel: die Flagge hält aus!
O sprich! weht das Banner im Morgenlichtschein
Noch über den Helden, im Lande der Frei'n?

[illegible], das am Strande im Nebel dort webt,
[illegible] des Feindes jetzt rasten?
[illegible], das so stolz auf der Wallhöhe steht,
[illegible] des Morgens so flatternd erfaßten?
[illegible] im Licht — wo der Morgen anbricht —
[illegible] leuchtend — jetzt ist es in Sicht!
[illegible]-bestirnte Banner; lang weh' es allein
[illegible] der Helden, im Lande der Frei'n!

[illegible], das so prahlend einst schwur,
[illegible] Krieg und wild blutige Thaten
[illegible], die heilige Flur?
[illegible] jede Spur, die sie traten.
[illegible] nicht das gemarterte Herr —

Sie raffleben oder fallen; das [illegible]
Und das stern-besäte Banner weht [illegible]
In der Heimath der Helden, im Lande der [illegible]

O [illegible] es so, wenn sich Männer bewähren,
In vertheid'gen ihr Land gegen feindliche Heeren!
Der Sieg und der Frieden sei ihnen beschert,
Preis dem Himmel, daß endlich wir frei sind geworden!
Und Segen hinfort — an jeglichem Ort,
Und dies ist der Wahlspruch: „Sei Gott unser Hort!"
Und das stern-besäte Banner weh' immer allein
In der Heimath der Helden, im Lande der Frei'n!

APPENDIX J

GENERAL ORDERS, NO. 246, WAR DEPARTMENT, 1916

General Orders,
No. 246

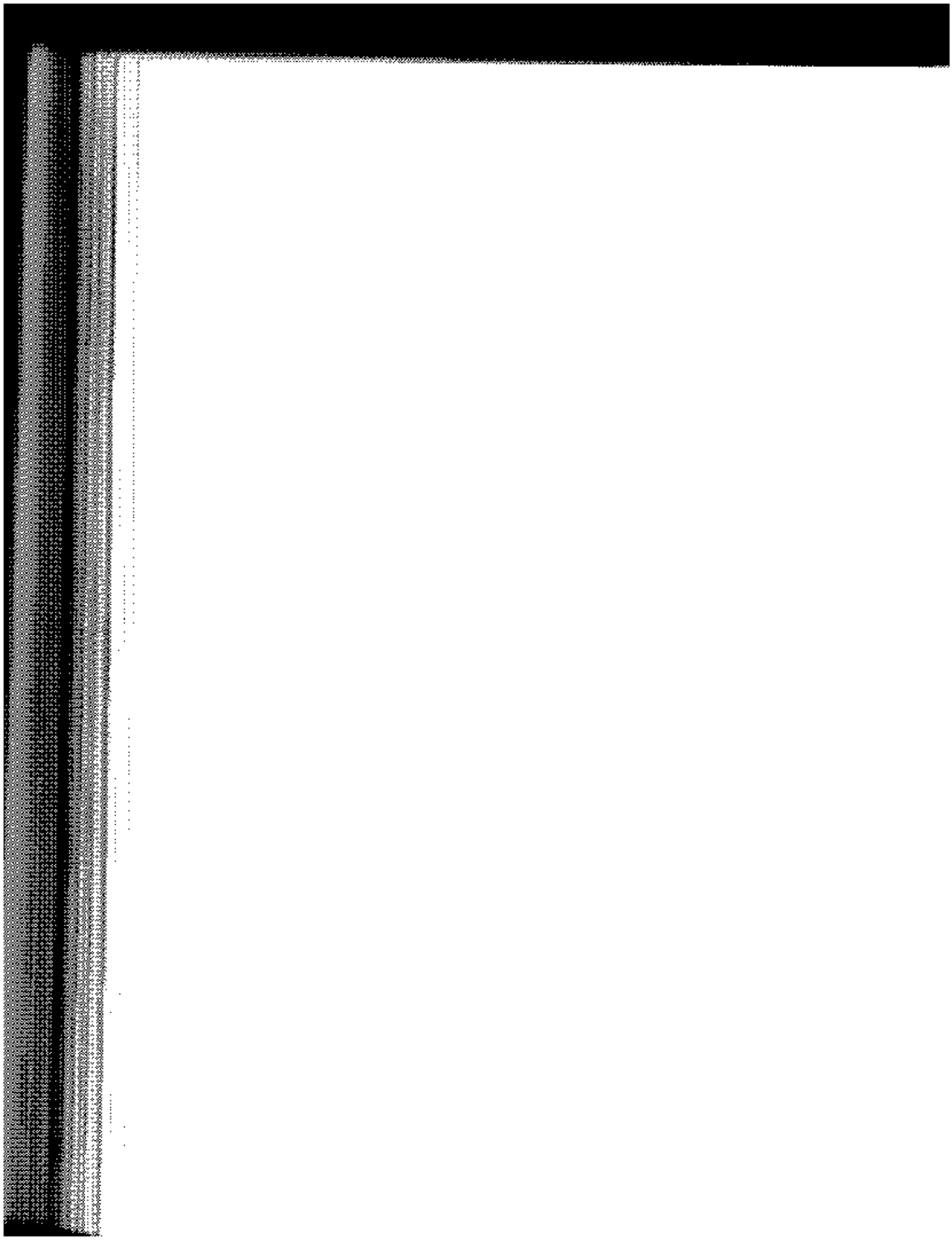
December 16, 1907

Paragraph 383. Whenever "The Star Spangled Banner" is played by the band on a formal occasion at a military station, or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, all officers and enlisted men present will stand at attention, such position being retained until the last note of "The Star Spangled Banner." The same respect will be observed toward the national air of any other country when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such country. Whenever "The Star Spangled Banner" is played under circumstances contemplated by this paragraph, the air will be played through once without repetition of any part, except such repetition as is called for by the musical score.

Paragraph 441. At every military post or station the flag will be hoisted at the sounding of the first note of the reveille, or of the first note of the march, if a march be played before the reveille. The flag will be lowered at the sounding of the last note of the retreat, and while the flag is being lowered the band will play "The Star Spangled Banner," or, if there be no band present, the field music will sound "to the color." When "to the color" is sounded by the field music while the flag is being lowered the same respect will be observed as when "The Star Spangled

Banner" is played by the band, and in either case officers and enlisted men out of ranks will face toward the flag, stand at attention, and render the prescribed salute at the last note of the music. The national flag will be displayed at a seacoast or lake fort at the beginning of and during an action in which the fort may be engaged, whether by day or by night.

[1]General Orders, No. 246, War Department, Washington, December 16, 1908, p. 1 in General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1907 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908).



APPENDIX K

GENERAL ORDERS, NO. 247, WAR DEPARTMENT, 1907.

General Orders, No. 247 December 17, 1907.

Paragraph 588. Whenever "The Star Spangled Banner" is played by the band on a formal occasion at a military station, or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, all officers and enlisted men present will stand at attention, such position being retained until the last note of "The Star Spangled Banner." The same respect will be observed toward the national air of any other country when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such country. Whenever "The Star Spangled Banner" is played under circumstances comtemplated by this paragraph, the air will be played through once without repetition of any part, except such repetition as is called for by the musical score.

Paragraph 509. The colors will be hoisted at guard mounting and lowered at retreat, under the direction of the guard, which will be formed at the time, the band in both cases playing "The Star Spangled Banner," or, if there will be no band on board, the field music sounding "to the color." All persons on deck will face the colors and stand at "attention," and officers and enlisted men, if not in ranks, will render the prescribed salute at the last note of the music.

Paragraph 256. The colors will be hoisted at guard mounting and lowered at retreat, under the direction of the guard , which will be formed at the time, the band in both cases playing "The Star Spangled Banner," or, if there be no band on board, the field music sounding "to the color." All persons on deck will face the colors and stand at "attention," and officers and enlisted men, if not in ranks, will render the prescribed salute at the last note of the music.

Paragraph 1089. Whenever "The Star Spangled Banner" is played by the band on a formal occasion at a military station , or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in their official capacity, all officers and enlisted men present will stand at attention, such position being retained until the last note of "The Star Spangled Banner." The same respect will be observed when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such country. Whenever "The Star Spangled Banner" is played under circumstances contemplated by this paragraph, the air will be played through once without repetition of any part, except such repetition as is called for by the musical score.[1]

[1]General Orders, No. 247. War Department, Washington, December 17, 1907, pp. 1-2 in General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1907 (Washington:Government Printing Office, 1908).

APPENDIX L

7. CZECH TRANSLATION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER. Národní zpěvník česko-americký [Czech-American National Songster]. (Omaha, Neb.: Tiskem a nákladem Národní Tiskárny, 1909), pp. 78-83.

57—The Star Spangled Banner.

1.

Oh! say can you see
by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hail'd
at the twi-light's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and stars
through the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watch'd
were so gallantly streaming.

And the rocket's red glare,
the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof thro' the night,
that our flag was still there!
Oh, say, does the star spangled
banner yet wave,
O'er the land of the free,
and the home of the brave!

2.

On the shore dimly seen
thro' the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host
in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze
o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows,
half conceals, half discloses.
Now it reaches the gleam
of the morning's beams,
In full glory reflected
now shines on the stream
'Tis the starspangled banner.
Oh, long may it wave,
O'er the land of the free,
and the home of the brave!

3.

And where is that band
who so vauntingly swore,
That the havoc of war,
and the battle's confusion,
A home and a country
shall leave us no more?
Their blood has wash'd out
their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge can save
the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight,
or the gloom of the grave:
And the star spangled banner
in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free
and the home of the brave.

4.

Oh, thus be it e'er,
when freeman shall stand
Between their lov'd homes,
and the war's desolation,
Bless'd with victory and peace
may the heaven-rescued land
Praise the power, that has made
and preserved us a nation.

Then conquer we must,
when our cause it is just.
And this be our motto:
"In God is our Trust";
And the star spangled banner
in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free,
and the home of the brave.

58—Hvězdnatý prapor.

1.

O řci, zda teď zříš
při jitřním úsvitu,
co hrdě pozdravil
z nás každý, když soumrak till?
Pruhy jasných hvězd,
jež v bojích brozivých
jsme střehli, zřeli jsme
vznešeně se větrem nést.
A raket rudý plam,
pum třeskot vzduchem sám,
vše v noci svědčilo,
že prapor náš je tam!
Ó řci, jest hvězdný prapor
dál ve vlání svém
nad svobodnou zemí
a chrabrým domovem?

2.

Na břehu, jenž tam
ztrácí se v mlhách vod,
kde zpupných vrahů voj
v hrozivém tichu teď dlí:
Co neklidný van
nad svahem vězitým
co to co se chvěje,
tu skrývá, tu odhalí?
Hoj, první paprsk teď
to záři polil, hleď,
v nádheře zrcadlí
vln to též jasná zeď!
Toť hvězdnatý náš prapor!
Buď dál ve vlání svém
nad svobodnou zemí
a chrabrým domovem!

3.

A kde je ten dav,
jenž zpupně přísahal,
že zloba válečná
a zmatky bojovných dob
nám domova, vlasti
nedopřejí už dál?

Jich vlastní smyla krev
ty skvrny jich hnusných stop.
Ať v spásu nevěří,
ti robi, žoldnéři,
strach jejich údělem
neb hrobu zášeří!
A hvězdnatý náš prapor
ve vlání vítězném
nad svobodnou zemí
a chrabrým domovem!

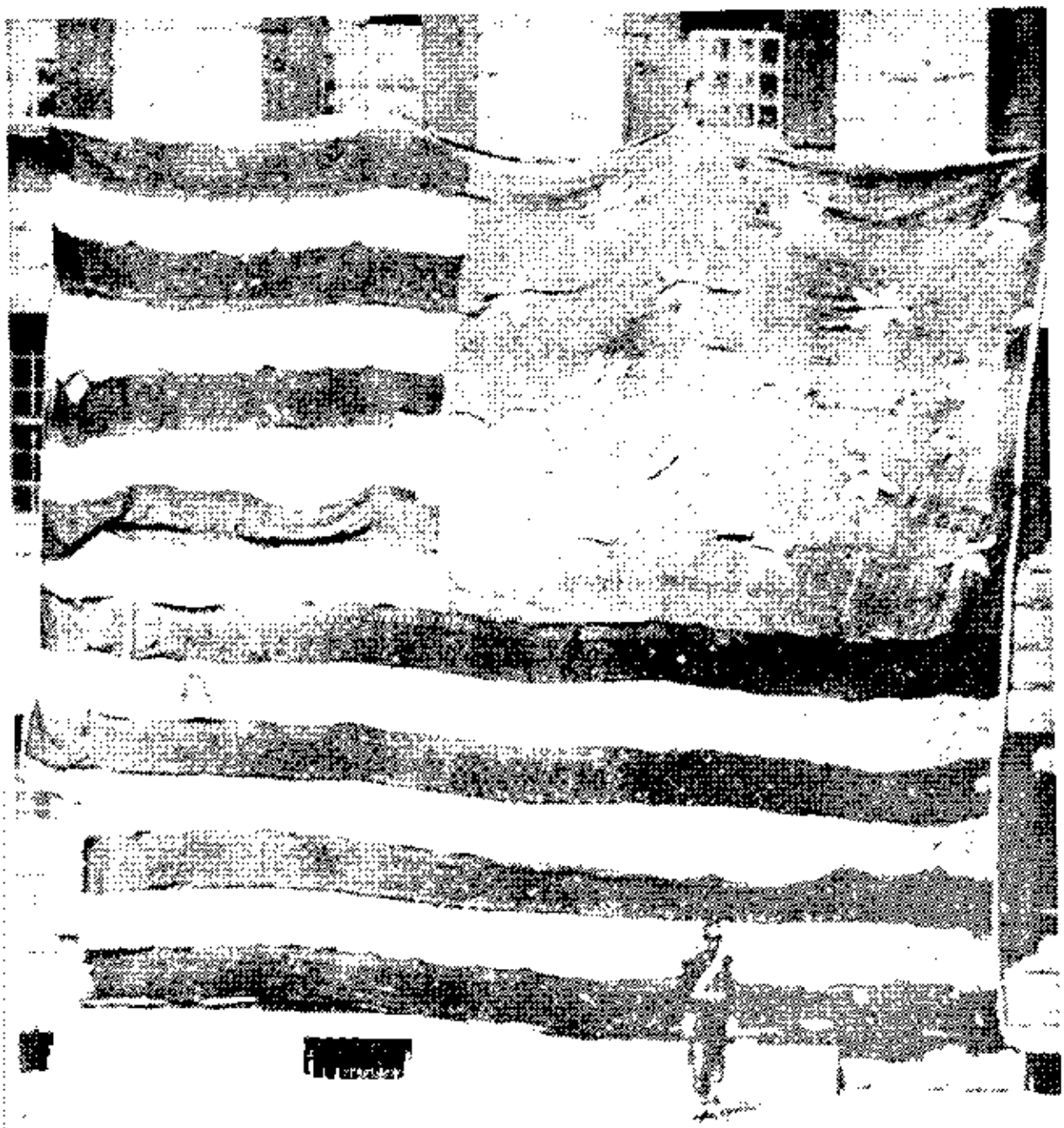
4.

A tak budiž vždy,
kdy války hrůzný vír
nad mužů volných by
se vznes drahým domovem!
Vítězství a mír
žehnej spasenou zem!
Moc chvalme, kterou jsme,
a zůstaneme národem!
Když pravdu budem mít,
vždy budeme se bít,
a heslem našim buď:
"Bůh pouze jest náš štít!"
Buď hvězdnatý náš prapor
ve vlání vítězném
nad svobodnou tou zemí
a chrabrých domovem!

App. L, Plate 7

APPENDIX M

8. REPRODUCTION OF THE FIRST KNOWN PHOTOGRAPH OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER, TAKEN IN THE BOSTON NAVY YARD, 1874. Photographer unknown. By Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

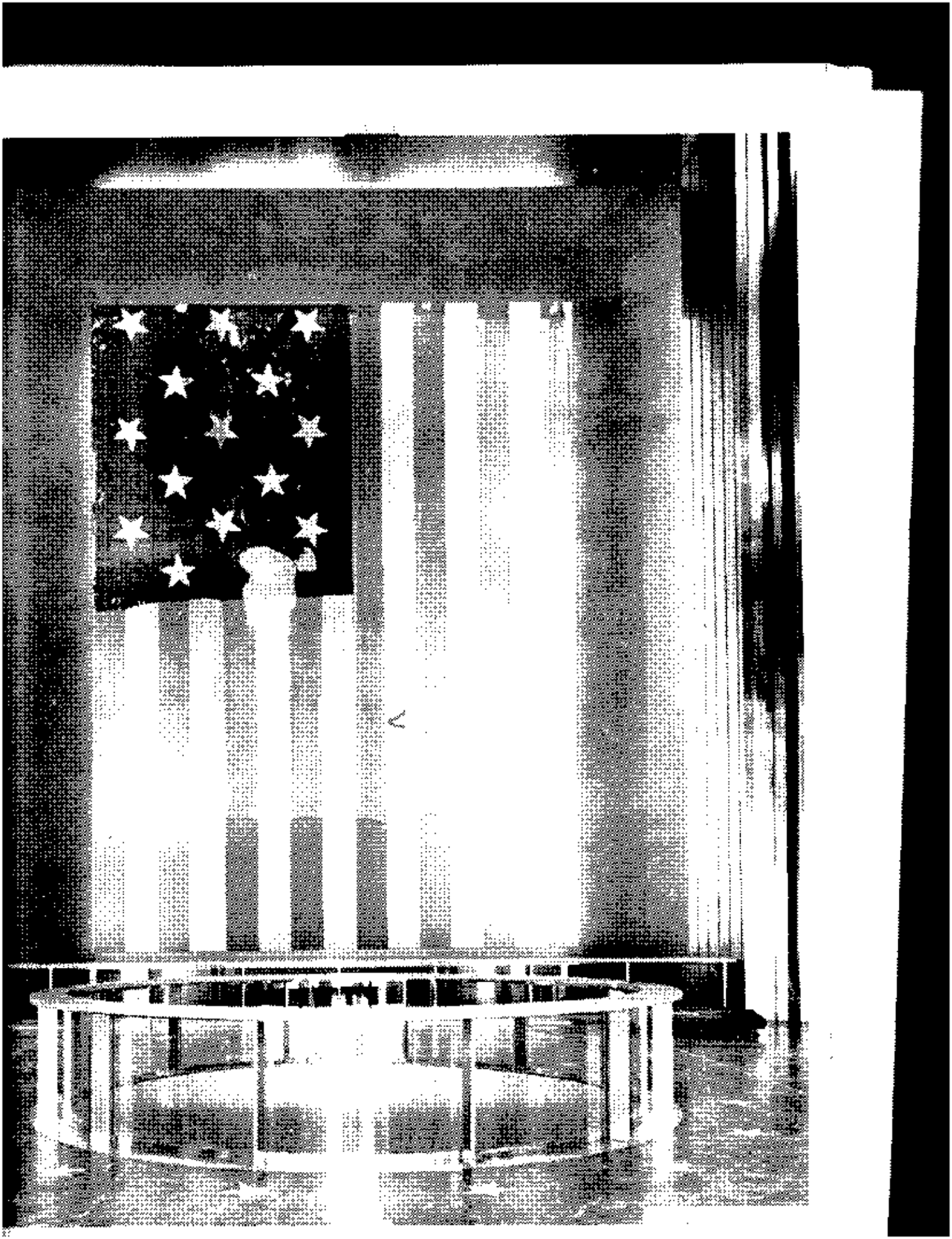


APPENDIX N

9. MRS. FOWLER AND HER CO-WORKERS RENOVATING THE FLAG IN 1914.
By Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

APPENDIX O

10. THE ORIGINAL STAR SPANGLED BANNER, AS PRESENTLY DISPLAYED IN THE CENTRAL HALL OF THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. By Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.



APPENDIX F

11. A LETTER OF MARCH 22, 1918, FROM THE MARYLAND SOCIETY OF UNITED STATES DAUGHTERS OF 1812, TO CONGRESSMAN J. CHARLES LINTHICUM, ASKING HIM TO INTRODUCE IN THE CONGRESS A BILL WHICH WOULD MAKE THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER OUR NATIONAL ANTHEM. A photostatic copy of this letter is located in the Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers.

National Society
United States Daughters of 1812
State of Maryland

March 22, 1918.

Hon. J. Chas. Linthicum,
Member of Congress.

Dear Sir:

In our country's present crisis the need is felt for a national anthem, one not only recognised by usage but legalised by an act of Congress, and as the Star Spangled Banner was written by a native of Maryland, during the war to which this society owes its origin, we would, therefore, most respectfully request that you, as a Representative of this state, place before the House of Congress a bill to make Francis Scott Key's immortal song the National Anthem.

Assuring you of our deep appreciation for whatever action you may take in this matter.

Yours respectfully,

Reuben Ross Holloway
President State Society
Annie Boyle Lyon
Recording Secretary
Ella [illegible]
Corresponding Secretary

James H. Preston
ex Mayor of Baltimore
James H. Preston
Pres. Nat'l Star Spangled Banner Assn

APPENDIX Q

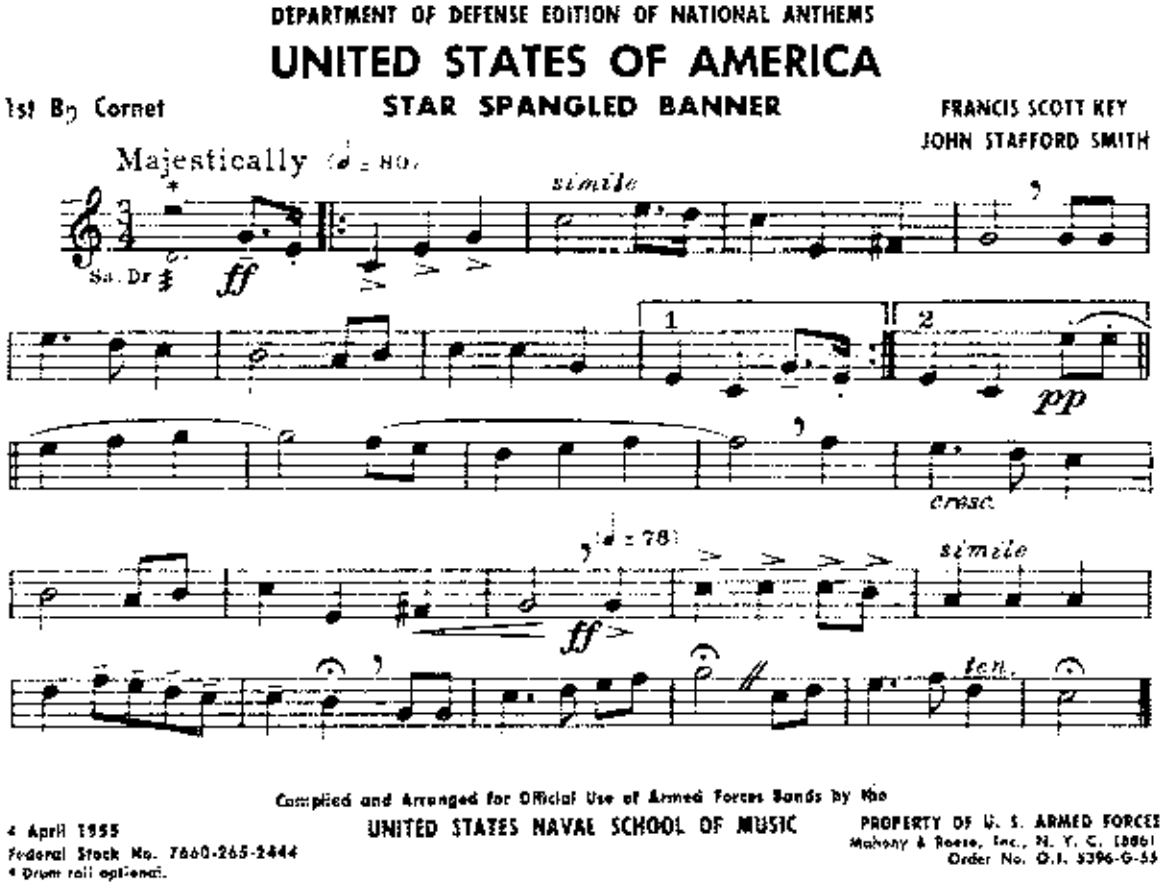
12. MRS. REUBEN ROSS HOLLOWAY. By Courtesy of Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine.



APPENDIX R

13. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE OFFICIAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER
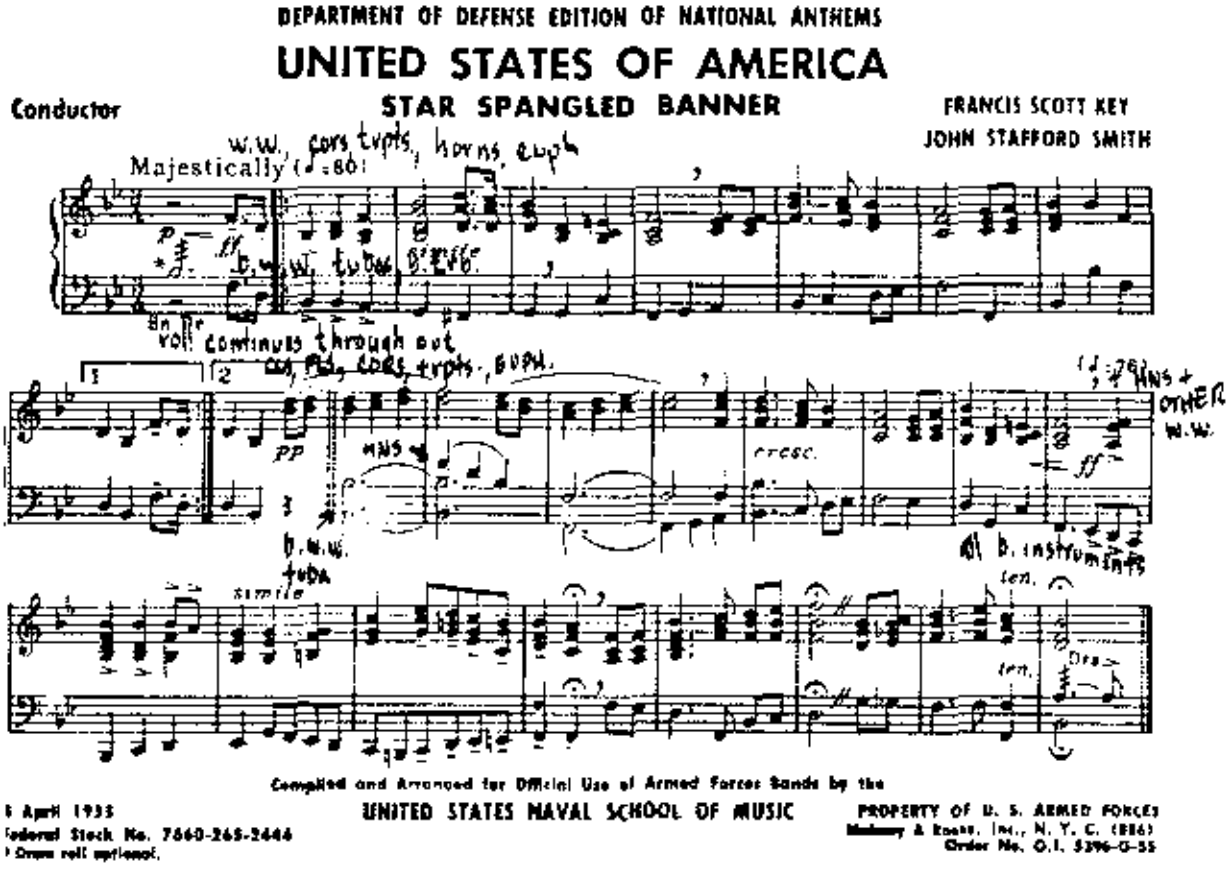
First B flat cornet part, showing the form of the melody and its dynamic and interpretive markings. By Courtesy of the United States Navy Band.



APPENDIX S

14. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

Conductor score, showing harmony and instrumentation.
By Courtesy of the United States Marine Band.



APPENDIX T

15. CONGRESSMAN J. CHARLES LINTHICUM OF THE FOURTH MARYLAND DISTRICT (1911-1932). By Courtesy of Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine.



APPENDIX U

16. THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER, AS OWNED AND DISPLAYED BY THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. By Courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society.

O say can you see [redacted] by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes & bright stars through the perilous fight
O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare the bomb bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there
O say does that Star-spangled Banner yet wave
O'er the Land of the free & the Home of the Brave!

On the shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines on the stream,
'Tis the Star-spangled Banner — O long may it wave
O'er the Land of the free & the Home of the Brave!

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore,
That the havoc of war & the battle's confusion
A home & a Country should leave us no more?
— [redacted] —
Their blood has wash'd out their foul footsteps pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling & slave
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave,
And the Star-spangled Banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the Land of the free & the Home of the Brave.

O thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved Home & the war's desolation!
Blest with victory & peace may the Heav'n rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made & preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto — "In God is our trust"
And the Star-spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the Land of the free & the Home of the Brave. —

APPENDIX V

17. THE CIST COPY OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER, NOW IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. By Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The Star-Spangled Banner

O say, can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hail'd by the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose bright stars & broad stripes, through the clouds of the fight
O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.
O say does that Star-Spangled Banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave?

On that shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected, now shines on the stream.
'Tis the Star-Spangled Banner - O long may it wave
O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war & the battle's confusion
A home & a country should leave us no more?
Their blood has wash'd out their foul footsteps pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling & slave,
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave,
And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave.

O! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved homes & the war's desolation
Blest with vict'ry & peace, may the heav'n rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made & preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto: In God is our trust
And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave.

Washington
Oct 21 - 40.

F. Key

APPENDIX W

18. THE KEIM COPY OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER, NOW IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. By Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

O say can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the clouds of the fight
O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare – the bomb bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there
O say, does that Star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the Land of the free & the home of the brave? –

On that shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes
What is that, which the breeze, o'er the towering steep
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam – of the morning's first beam
In full glory reflected, now shines in the stream,
'Tis the Star-spangled banner – O long may it wave
O'er the Land of the free & the home of the brave.

And where are the foes that so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war & the battle's confusion
A home and a Country should leave us no more?
Their blood has wash'd out their foul footsteps pollution.
No refuge could save – the hireling & slave
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave,
And the Star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the Land of the free & the home of the brave.

APPENDIX X

19. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER MANUSCRIPT IN THE GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES. By Courtesy of the Georgetown University.

Oh say, can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the clouds of the fight
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming
And the rockets' red glare - the bombs bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.
Oh say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On that shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which in breeze o'er the towering steep
As it fitfully blows half conceals half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam - of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected, now shines on the stream;
'Tis the star-spangled banner - Oh long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and a country should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave;
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

O thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved home and the war's desolation.
Blest with victory and peace may the heaven rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must - when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto - "In God is our trust."
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Washington
Aug 30 - 42.

F Key

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Materials

Admiralty 1, Vol. 506, Dispatches of Admirals Warren and Cochrane, Public Record Office.

Admiralty 1, Vol. 507, Dispatches of Admirals Cochrane and Cockburn, Public Record Office.

Admiralty 2, Vol. 933, Letters of the Secretary of the Admiralty to the Commander in Chief of the North American Station, 1808-1815, Public Record Office.

Admiralty 2, Vol. 1380, Secret Orders and Letters, April-October 1814, Public Record Office.

Eben Appleton, Esq. re: Star Spangled Banner, Accession No. 54-876, Office of the Registrar, Smithsonian Institution.

British Admiralty Records, Log of H.M.S. Royal Oak.

Bureau of Navigation General Correspondence Files P 10-4 (62), P 10-4 (63). P 10-4 (70), P 10-4 (76), P 10-4 (114), P 10-4 (175), P 10-4,(252), P 10-4 (264). Record Group 24, National Archives.

Bureau of Navigation General Correspondence File 55410-1015. Record Group 24, National Archives.

Sir George Cockburn MSS, Library of Congress.

Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine File.

General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 3980-182, 1904. Record Group 80, National Archives.

General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 4924-746, 1923. Record Group 80, National Archives.

General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 19444-1950. Record Group 80, National Archives.

General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 4950, 1908. Record Group 80, National Archives.

General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 4950, 1909. Record Group 80, National Archives.

General Records of the Department of the Navy, Correspondence File 4950, 1910. Record Group 80, National Archives.

Marine Band Chronology from 1798. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

Marine Band Tours, 1891-1940. U.S. Marine Band Library File.

Melville Papers, Clemens Library, University of Michigan.

Music Branch File, Bureau of Naval Personnel.

Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library. Record Group 45, National Archives.

Joseph H. Nicholson Papers, Library of Congress.

Office of the Adjutant General Document File 83767, Box No. 617. Record Group 94, National Archives.

Office of the Adjutant General Document File, Box 1112. Record Group 94, National Archives.

Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway Papers, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine.

Commodore John Rodgers Papers, Library of Congress.

Samuel Smith Papers, Library of Congress.

Roger Brooke Taney Papers, Library of Congress.

U.S. Marine Band Library File.

U.S. Navy Band Library File.

War Office 1, Vol. 141, Expedition to the Southern Coasts of North America, 1814-1815, Public Record Office.

War Office 6, Vol. 2, Out Letters, North America, 1814, Public Record Office.

J.A. Webster to Brantz Mayer, July 22, 1853, Vertical File, Maryland Historical Society.

Public Documents

American State Papers, Class V, Military Affairs, Vol. I,
Class X, Miscellaneous, Vol. II.

Annals of the Congress of the United States, 3rd Cong.,
11th Cong., 2d Sess.,
15th Cong., 1st Sess.

Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 19[illegible]. Washington: The Library of Congress, 19[illegible].

Changes in Army Regulations and Naval Instructions No. 2, Navy Department, February 14, 1917, Paragraph 1179.

Department of Defense Information, Performance of The National Anthem and "Hail to the Chief" by Service Bands. Library of Congress, Res. Proj. Nos-63.

Field Service Regulations, United States Army. Prepared by the General Staff, under the direction of The Chief of Staff, U.S. Army. Published by the Authority of the Secretary of War. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905.

General Orders and Bulletins, War Department 1917. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918.

General Orders and Circulars, Adjutant General's Office, 1898. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899.

General Orders and Circulars, Adjutant General's Office, 1899. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900.

General Orders and Circulars, Adjutant General's Office, 1900. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901.

General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1905. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906.

General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1906. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907.

General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1908. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909.

General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1909. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910.

Infantry Drill Regulations, United States Army. Revised 1904. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789, Vol. XV, 1779; September 8-December 31.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana During the Sixty-Fourth Session of the General Assembly, Commencing Thursday, January 5, 1905. Regular Session. Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1905.

Journal of the Indiana State Senate During the Sixty-Fourth Session of the General Assembly Commencing Thursday, January 5, 1905. Regular Session. Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1905.

Laws of the State of Maryland Made and Passed at the Session of the General Assembly Made and Held at the City of Annapolis, on the Second Day of January, 1929, and Ending on the First Day of April, 1929. Published by Authority. Baltimore: Wm. Ingle Bros., Inc., State Printers, 1929.

Manual of the Board of Education of the City of New York, 1888. New York: Hall of the Board of Education, 1888.

Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1901 with Appendix, Separately Indexed, Showing Changes to January 1, 1901. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901.

Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1901 with Appendix, Separately Indexed, Showing Changes to December 31, 1902. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902.

Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1904. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1905.
Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905.

Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1910.
Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910.

Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1913.
Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913.

Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1913, Corrected to April 15, 1917. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917.

Hearings Before the Committee on the Library of Representatives, Sixty-Fifth Congress, First Session on H.J. Res. 258 and H.J. Res. 259, Authorizing the Issue of Two Medals of Honor to Members of the Aero Squadron, Signal Corps, U.S. Army, Who Lost Their Lives While in the Service of the United States on the Mexican Border. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917.

Hearings Before the Committee on the Library, House of Representatives, Sixty-Fifth Congress, Second Session, on H.J. Res. 327, Authorizing the Issue of Two Medals of Honor to Members of the Aero Squadron, Signal Corps, U.S. Army, Who Lost Their Lives While in the Service of the United States on the Mexican Border. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918.

House of Representatives, 65th Congress, 2nd Session. Proceedings in the Congress of the United States Upon the "Star-Spangled Banner" as Declared to be the National Anthem of the United States of America. Senate, [illegible], 1918, Joint Resolution No. [illegible].

Jane's Fighting Ships for 1919. New York: Macmillan Company.

U.S. Congress, House. To Adopt a National Air for the United States of America. 65th Cong., 2d Sess., 1918, H.J.R. 350.

U.S. Congress, House. To Adopt the Star-Spangled Banner, Words by Francis Scott Key and Music by [illegible], as the National Anthem. 65th Cong., 2d Sess., 1918, H.J.R. 350.

U.S. Congress, House. [illegible] the "Star-Spangled Banner," Words by Francis Scott Key and Music by [illegible], as the National Anthem. [illegible], 65th, 2d, [illegible], [illegible].

U.S. Congress, House. Relative to the "Star-Spangled Banner" [illegible] Music by John Stafford Smith, as the National Anthem. [illegible], 65th Cong., 2d Sess., [illegible], U.S. Res. [illegible].

U.S. Congress, House. Adopting the Star Spangled Banner, Words by Francis Scott Key and Music by Samuel Roberts, As the National Anthem, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., 1925, H.J.R. 120.

U.S. Congress, House. Adopting the Star-Spangled Banner, Words by Francis Scott Key and Music by Samuel Roberts, As the National Anthem, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., 1926, H.J.R. 50.

U.S. Congress, House. To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., H.J.R. 341, 1955.

U.S. Congress, House. To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 85th Cong., 1st Sess., H.J.R. 17, 1957.

U.S. Congress, House. To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, H.J.R. 517.

U.S. Congress, House. To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., H.J.R. 558, 1958.

U.S. Congress, House. To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 87th Cong., 2d Sess., H.J.R. 630, 1962.

U.S. Congress, House. To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., H.J.R. 1, 1963.

U.S. Congress, House. Amending the Rules of the House of Representatives and Providing for the Use of "The Star-Spangled Banner" in the Daily Sessions and Order of Business, 87th Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. 97.

U.S. Congress, House. To amend the Communications Act of 1934 to require that radio and television stations broadcast the national anthem of the United States, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1963, H.R. 7010.

U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on the Judiciary, Hearings on S.3, S.29 and S.J.R. 63, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., 1926.

U.S. Congress, House. Committee on the Judiciary, Hearings on H.R. 11 Legislation to Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" 71st Cong., 2d Sess., 1930.

U.S. Congress, House. Declaring the "Star-Spangled Banner" to be the National Anthem, 70th Cong., 1st Sess., 1928, H.J.R. 243.

U.S. Congress, House. Designating the "Star-Spangled Banner" as the National Anthem, 63d Cong., 2d Sess., 1914, H.J.R. 301.

U.S. Congress, House. To make the Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, 63d Cong., 2d Sess., H.J.R. 344.

U.S. Congress, House. To make "The Star Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, H.J.R. 191.

U.S. Congress, House. To make The Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America. 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, H.J.R. 71.

U.S. Congress, House. To make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 65th Cong., 1st Sess., 1917, H.J.R. 370.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make "The Star Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 65th Cong., 1st Sess., 1917, H.J.R. 91.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make 'The Star-Spangled Banner' the National Anthem of the United States of America, 65th Cong., 1st Sess., 1917, H.J.R. 191.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make the Words of 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' as Written by Francis S. Key, and the Music, as Arranged by Thomas C. Mc Donough, the National Anthem, 65th Cong., 1st Sess., 1917, H.J.R. 13.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 67th Cong., 2d Sess., 1922.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make the Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem, 66th Cong., 2d Sess., 1919, H.R. 11131.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make the Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem, [illegible] Cong., 2d Sess., 1920, H.R. 14356.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 67th Cong., 1st Sess., 1921, [illegible].

U.S. Congress, Senate. To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, and to Punish Any Interference Therewith; and to Make "National Anthem or to the National Flag of the United States of America, 67th Cong., 2d Sess., [illegible].

U.S. Congress, [illegible]. To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., [illegible].

U.S. Congress, House. To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, and to Punish Any Interference Therewith; and to Make "National Anthem or to the National Flag of the United States of America, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., 1924, H.R. 6324.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., 1926, H.R. 1734.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., 1926, H.R. 1734.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the National Anthem of the United States of America, 70th Cong., 1st Sess., 1927, H.R. 1734.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make The Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., 1929, H.R. 1.

U.S. Congress, House. To make The Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, 71st Cong., 2d Sess., 1930, H.R. 17. (Report No. 627).

U.S. Congress, House. To prescribe the official version, and the manner of rendition, of The Star-Spangled Banner, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, H.R. 12787.

U.S. Congress, House. To prescribe the official version, and the manner of rendition, of The Star-Spangled Banner, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, H.R. 13472.

U.S. Congress, House. To remove ambiguity by providing that all officers and employees of the United States and the District of Columbia shall rise at the playing of the National Anthem, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., 1941, H.R. 797.

U.S. Congress, House. Designating a National Anthem, 61st Cong., 1st Sess., 1909, H.R. 2.

U.S. Congress, House. Designating a National Anthem, 61st Cong., 1st Sess., 1910, H.R. 2.

U.S. Congress, House. Providing for the Adoption of the Star-Spangled Banner as the National Anthem, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., 1925, H.R. 7.

U.S. Congress, House. Providing for the Adoption of the Star-Spangled Banner as the National Anthem, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., 1929, H.R. 77.

U.S. Congress, House. Providing for the Printing of Ten Thousand Copies of the Report on The Star Spangled Banner, Hail Columbia, and Yankee Doodle, 61st Cong., 2d Sess., 1910, H. Doc. No. 98.

U.S. Congress, House. To provide an additional rule with respect to the rendition of the national anthem of the United States of America, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., 1939, H.R. 4204.

U.S. Congress, House. Recognizing "The Star Spangled Banner" as the Official Anthem of the United States of America, 62d Cong., 3d Sess., 1913, H.J.R. 391.

U.S. Congress, House. Recognizing "The Star Spangled Banner" as the Official Anthem of the United States of America, 63d Cong., 1st Sess., 1913, H.J.R. 21.

U.S. Congress, House, Committee on the Judiciary, Hearings on H.R. 6129 and H.J.R. 60, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., 1924.

U.S. Congress, Senate. Adopting "The Star-Spangled Banner," Words of Francis Scott Key and Music of Samuel Arnold, as the National Anthem, 63d Cong., 2d Sess., 1913, S.J.R. 48.

U.S. Congress, Senate. Adopting "The Star Spangled Banner," Words by Francis Scott Key and Music by Samuel Arnold, as the National Anthem, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, S.J.R. 61.

U.S. Congress, Senate. To adopt a specific version of The Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., 1918, S.J.R. 131.

U.S. Congress, Senate. To Make the Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., 1929, S.J.R. 27.

U.S. Congress, House. To Make The Star-Spangled Banner the National Anthem of the United States of America, 71st Cong., 3d Sess., 1931, H.R. [illegible], Calendar No. 1501.

U.S. Congress, Senate. To prohibit desecration of the flag, and for other purposes. 75th Cong., 1st Sess., 1937, S.J. [illegible].

U.S. Congressional Record, Vols. LVI and LXXIV.

United States Code: Containing [illegible], 1934. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935.

United States Code: Containing [illegible], 1934. Supplement, 1939, with all changes up to [illegible]. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940.

U.S. Statutes at Large, Vols. I, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XLIII.

[illegible]

Beard, Annie T. E., Our Foreign-Born Citizens. New Revised Edition, Revised by William A. Fahey. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952.

Bearss, Edwin C., Decision in Mississippi. Mississippi's Important Role in the War Between the States. Jackson, Mississippi: Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States, 1962.

Billman, John C. The Star Spangled Banner. Kansas City, Missouri: Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, 1932.

Blake, John Henry, American National Anthem "Star Spangled Banner" Made Playable For the Voices of the People. History of the Origin of the Words and Music Written For the Information and Use of the American People. With Modern Music Setting for all Voices and all Instruments. New York: Published by John Henry Blake, 1912.

The Book of American Songs: With Notes, Biographical and Historical. Edited and Arranged by Howard Paul. London: Ward and Lock, 1857.

Boyce, A.C., [illegible] by Jean Marais to Simonides. 2d, Revised edition. [illegible], 1961.

Boswell's Life of Johnson. Revised by George Birkbeck Hill. Vol. II. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1887.

Brogan, Denis William, The American Character. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950.

Browne, C.A., The Story of Our National Ballads. Revised and enlarged edition. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1951.

Brooklyn Citizens' Music Fund, Part I, Vol. 1, A Selection of the Most Approved Songs, from the Various Collections Recently Published. - Vol. Part II, A Collection of Popular Songs, Not Found in Other Publications. Compiled by the Brooklyn Lyceum Glee Club. Brooklyn, N.Y.: A. Spooner & Son, Printers, 1[illegible].

Brooks, Noah, [illegible], Lincoln's Time. Edited, with an Introduction by Herbert Mitgang. New York: Collier Books, 1962.

Brown, [illegible] Henry Steele Commager, Europe and America since [illegible] Development and Its Influence. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1[illegible].

[illegible], Peter, [illegible] Professional Handbook [illegible]. [illegible] Based on Experiences [illegible]. Chicago, Illinois: A. Schulte Rapid Heritage, [illegible].

A Choice Collection of Patriotic and Comic Songs. Boston: T. Chen, Printer, 1825.

Clark, Colonel Thomas, History of the Seventh Regiment of New York 1806-1889. Vol. II. New York: Published by the Seventh Regiment, 1890.

The Clay Minstrel; or, National Lyrics. To Which is Prefixed a Sketch of the Life, Public Services, and Character of Henry Clay. Philadelphia and New York: Turner & Fisher, 1844.

Codrington, Edward Sir, Memoir of the Life of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington With Selections from His Public and Private Correspondence. Edited by His Daughter, Lady Bourchier. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1873.

The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII. Roy P. Basler, Editor, Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, Assistant Editors. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953.

Congreve, William, The Dramatic Plays of William Congreve. Edited by Herbert Davis. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1967.)

Delaplaine, Edward S., Francis Scott Key: Life and Times, New York: Biography Press, 1937.

Dewey, George, Autobiography of George Dewey Admiral of the Navy. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916.

Doubleday, Abner, Reminiscences of Forts Sumter and Moultrie in 1860-'61. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1876.

Durant, Horace B., Prohibition Home Protection Party Campaign Songs. Claysville, Pa.: Published by Mrs. H. Abraham Durant, 1884.

Elliot, Mrs. E.F., The Seven Circles of the Republic, or the Beauties and Celebrities of the Nation; Illustrating Life and Society Under Eighteen Presidents; Describing the Social Features of the Successive Administrations from Washington to Grant...Illustrated with Portraits, Splendidly Engraved on Steel. Hartford, Conn.: Burr Publishing Co., 1872.

Ellis, J. S., Campaign Songs for 1884. Leaflet No. 1
Postcard. Copyrighted 1884, by J.S. Ellis.

Elson, Louis C., The National Music of America and Its Sources.
Boston: L.C. Page and Co., 1900.

Ferguson, Joseph, Life-scenes in Rebel Prisons; A Record of the Sufferings, Escapes, Adventures and Starvation of the Union Prisoners. With an Introduction by Rev. Joseph T. Cooper, D.D. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Ferguson, Publisher, 1865.

Festschrift zur 25ste National-Sängerfest des Nordöstlichen Sängerbundes Maryland-Distrikt. Baltimore, Md. June 7, 1905. [illegible] Copyright 1905 by C. Schumer (for 1905).

Fillmore, ed. American Songs for the Children. Union and Peace.
New York: Richard K. Fox, 1865.

Fillmore, J.C., The Temperance Musician: A Choice Collection of Original and Selected Temperance Music. Arranged for One, Two, Three, or More Voices, With an Unbroken Variety of Popular Choruses and Songs, Designed for the Home. Cincinnati: Published by [illegible] & Co., 1865.

Flags and Anthems of the United Nations. Cincinnati: The Schultz Printing Co., n.d.

Fobes, William L., Temperance Songs and Hymns. Boston: Published by Walter H. Fobes, 1874.

Fooks, Herbert C., Fit for Use Out of Doors: For Army. Baltimore Dempsey-Fooks Co., Book of the New Civilization, 1917.

The Forget Me Not Songster, Containing a Choice Collection of Old Social Songs, as Sung by Our Grandmothers. New York: Hafis & Cornish, n.d.

Freiffe, Herman, The Unfortunate People. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918.

Fremont Songs for the People, Collected and Selected. Compiled by Thomas Frew. Boston: Published by John P. Jewett and Company, 1856.

Frost, John, The Book of the Navy: Containing a General History of the American Navy; and Particular Accounts of all the Most Celebrated Naval Battles, from the Declaration of Independence to the Present Time. New York: J. Appleton & Co., 1842.

Fuld, James J., The Book of World-Famous Music, Classical, Popular and Folk. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1966.)

Gabriel, Ralph Henry, The Course of American Democratic Thought. An Intellectual History Since 1815. New York: The Ronald Press Company. 1940.

Gleig, George Robert, A Subaltern in America: Comprising His Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, at Baltimore, Washington, etc., etc. during the Late War. In One Volume. Philadelphia and Baltimore: E.L. Carey & A. Hart, 1833.

Gleig, George Robert, A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army, at Washington, Baltimore, and New Orleans, Under Generals Ross, Pakenham, & Lambert, in the Years 1814 and 1815; With Some Account of the Countries Visited. To which is annexed An Appendix, containing An Exposition of Sundry Errors in the Work. Philadelphia: Published by E. Carey & A. Hart. 1821.

Gottlieb, Theodore H., comp., Safety Belt and the Flag. Legend, Myth, History. Compiled by Theodore H. Gottlieb, Chairman, Americanization Committee, Patriotic Order Sons of America, State Camp of New Jersey. No publisher nor date given.

Gouraud, Louis Napoleon, Notes of a Pianist. Edited by his sister Clara Gouraud. Translated from the French by Robert E. Peterson, M.D. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1881.

The Great and Co.Lax Songster; Comprising a Choice Selection of New and Popular Songs and Ballads for the Campaign. New York: Beadle and Company, Publishers, 1860.

Green, Matthew, The Spleen. An Epistle to his Particular Friend Mr. C.J. London: Printed and Sold by A. Dodd, 1737.

Grigg's Southern and Western Songster: Being a Choice Collection of the Most Fashionable Songs, Many of Which Are Original. New Edition, Greatly Enlarged. Philadelphia: Published by J. Grigg, 1829.

Grigg's Southern and Western Songster: Being a Choice Collection of the Most Fashionable Songs, Many of Which Are Original. New Edition, Greatly Enlarged. Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot, 1835.

Grigg's Southern and Western Songster: Being a Choice Collection of the Most Fashionable Songs, Many of Which Are Original. New Edition, Greatly Enlarged. Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot, 1841

Hanford, Franklin, Did He or Any One Design the Flag of the United States of America? Swedesboro, N.J.: Isaac Van Sciver, Printer, 1917.

The Harp of '76: Illustrated. Comprising a Collection of the Most Popular and Patriotic Songs, Illustrative of the Enthusiastic Feelings of a Heroic, but Down-Trodden People Towards the Gallant Defenders of their Country. Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot, 1840.

Hastings, George W., Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926.

Hawkins, Hiram W., The Life and Times of Hon. Elijah Stanbury, An "Old Defender" and Ex-Mayor of Baltimore; Together With Paul, Pamphlets, ... With Brief Life, and Memories, a Period of Six Years. Baltimore: Edition by John Murphy & Co., 1858.

Herbert, Alan, Untitled Pamphlet in Library Collection of Patriotic Songs, Sung in Favor of the Constitution and the Union, the Freedom of Speech, Press, the Declaration of the Federal Principles of the Last Administration, Peace, With ed. [n.p.: n.p., n.d.], 1 p.

Hill, Richard, Declaration of "The Free and United Owners" in the United States [n.p.: n.p., n.d.]. Courtesy, Lawrence S. Kaplan, Washington, D.C. The Library of Congress, Copyright, 1951, by Richard Hill, Jr.

Higby, Chester Penn, Tavern Life in Old; A Social, Cultural, and Industrial View [n.p.: n.p., n.d.]. New York: n.p., 1926.

Horner, Harlan Hoyt, The Lincoln Ship, New York State Education Department, 1944 Annual Report - Supplemental Volume. Albany: State of New York Education Department, 1944.

Hunt, [illegible], The Life of Patrick Henry, Orator, Statesman, and Philanthropist, from the Founder to the Purpose of the Publication: National, Colonial, Personal; The Ensigns of Virginia Emblems, The Symbols of Lost Causes. London and New York: [illegible], n.d., 1891.

Hunt, Gaillard, The Life of James Madison. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902.

Hutchinson's Melodies, as Sung at the Tabernacle, New York, Arranged by John W. Hutchinson, of the Hutchinson Family of Singers. New York: [illegible], Oliver Ditson, 1850.

Ingersoll, Charles J., Historical Sketch of the Second War Between the United States of America, and Great Britain, Declared by Act of Congress, the 18th of June, 1812, and Concluded by Peace, the 15th of February, 1815. Philadelphia: Lee and Blanchard, 1845.

James, William, A Full and Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the late War between Great Britain and the United States of America; With an Appendix, and Plates. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. London: Printed for the Author, by Joyce Gold, 1818.

Kenedy, John, The American Songster, Containing a Choice Selection of About One Hundred and Fifty Modern and Popular Songs, As Sung by Mr. [illegible], Mr. [illegible], Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Bernard, Mr. [illegible], Mr. [illegible], Mr. [illegible], Mr. Hodgkinson, Mr. [illegible], Mr. [illegible], Mr. Graham, Mr. [illegible], Mr. [illegible], Mrs. [illegible], Mr. Simpson, Mr. Matthews, Mrs. [illegible], Mrs. Holman, Miss [illegible], Miss [illegible], Miss George, Miss Jefferson, Miss [illegible], Miss Stephens, Miss [illegible], Miss [illegible], Miss [illegible], Miss [illegible], Miss [illegible], [illegible], etc. [illegible]. [illegible] Edition. Philadelphia: [illegible], 18[illegible].

[illegible], [illegible], The [illegible] of the United States, [illegible] and [illegible]. [illegible] Edition. [illegible] House [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] 18[illegible].

Kneeland, Abner, National Hymns, Original and Selected; For the Use of Those Who Are "Slaves to No Sect." Boston: Published and Sold at the Office of the Boston Investigator, 18[illegible].

Krout, John Allen, The Origins of Prohibition. New York: Russell & Russell, 19[illegible].

Lane, Julian C., Key and Allied Families. Macon, Ga.: Press of the J. W. Burke Co., 19[illegible].

Lessem, Harold I. and [illegible], Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Maryland. (National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, No. 5), Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957.

The [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], 18[illegible].

The [illegible] Songster. Philadelphia: [illegible], 18[illegible].

The Log Cabin and Hard Cider Melodies: A Collection of Popular and Patriotic Songs, [illegible] to the Friends of Harrison and Tyler. [illegible], 18[illegible].

Lossing, Benson J., The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the Last War for American Independence. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1869.

Mahan, A.T., The Power In Its Relations To the War of 1812. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1905.

Manakee, Harold R., Maryland in the Civil War. Baltimore: Maryland Bicentennial Society, 1961.

Maro, Publius Vergilius, Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis. Opera ex recensione Thomae Cooke, Londini: Impensis Jacobi Hodges ad Insignia Apollinis juxta Portam vulgo vocatam London-bridge, 1717.

Marshall-Cornwall, James, Napoleon as Military Commander. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., & D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., Princeton, New Jersey, 1967.

Marshall, Thomas R., Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall Vice-President and Governor Published by Himself. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1925.

Martin, Edgar W., History of Worcester in the War of the Rebellion. New Edition, With Additions and Corrections. Worcester: Published by the Author, 1870.

Moore, Frank, The Civil War in Song and Story, 1860-1865. New York: P.F. Collier, 1889.

Moore, Thomas, Irish Melodies, With Notes. Chicago and New York: The Belford-Clarke Co., n.d.

Morris, Charles, The Flag of the United States: Its History and Symbolism. In addition, Introduction by J.V. Brumbaugh, U.S. Commissioner of Education. Washington, D.C.: United States Flag Association, 1916.

Miller, Henry, comp., The Most Popular Songs, Duets and Music Issued During the War. New York: Published by G.A. Baker & Co., Inc., 1865.

Mitchell, John, and Herbert Greenhouse, Flags of the World. With Most Historic Flags, World Wide. U.S.: National Geographic Society, 1975.

Mason, John, Journal of an Expedition. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1859.

The National Rifle Association, _____ to Zeke Hill's Untold Journalist, for the Most Critical Issues of 19__, Number Published by Owned Public, 19__.

The National Republican Convention Convened, 1900, Canfield & Arthur, Syracuse, N.Y.: William O. Moffitt, 1900.

Nations, Governor of a Collection of the Most Famous Patriotic Songs, of the American Colonies, Played by the Naval and Military Bands of the United States of America, from Canal and Pioneer Corps of the Regular, and the Best Civilian Bands, Since Washington's Time, Washington: Printed by John Gardner and Daniel Rapine, 1861.

Nevins, Allan, ed. Diary, Allan Nevins, Jr., The Diary of George Templeton Strong, The Civil War, 1860-1865, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952.

Norton, Jim, The Illustrated Songs of the Republican Party Since 1856, Norton Publishing Co., 1976.

O'Connor, Mary, History of the First Regiment of Iowa Volunteers, Iowa City, Iowa, The Press Printing Job Printing House, 1862.

Odell, George C.D., Annals of the New York Stage, Vol. Two: 1798-1821. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927.

Porter, David, General Order #1 New Orleans, History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862: With an Account of the Capture of New Orleans, and a Sketch of the Previous Career of the General Civil and Military, 1868 Edition, Boston: Crosby, Nichols and Company, 1862.

Purvis, Norbert J., The Will of Steinert, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970.

Republican Campaign Songbook, Philadelphia: Charles H. Welch, 1860.

The Various Inaugural Odes of Peculiar and Interesting Kind With Music and Many Original Words for the Singing of American Children, Edited by: John Whittier, Augusta, 1829.

Tyrell, William G., Civil War, Black Civil Slavery and Their Civilians, A Military History of the Role of the Black Soldier in the Civil War as a National Issue, Washington: The University Press, 1900.

Poems of the Late Francis S. Key, Esq., Author of "The Star Spangled Banner." With an Introductory Letter by Chief Justice Taney. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857.

The Poor But Honest Soldier, To Which Is Added, The Much Admired Songs of the Hopkins Juvenile Minstrels, Tulpehocken, and a Medley of Whimsicals. Baltimore: Printed for the Purchaser, 1810.

Porter, Logan S., Logan Campaign Songster for 1900, for Male Voices. Logansport, Ind.: The Home Music Company, 1900.

Pratt, Julius W., Expansionists of 1812. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925.

Pratt, Julius W., A History of the United States Foreign Policy. Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955.

Preble, George Henry, Origin and History of the American Flag. Vol. I of the naval and yacht-club signals, seals, and flags, and principal national songs of the United States, with a chronicle of the symbols, standards, banners, and flags of ancient and modern nations. New edition in two volumes. Supplemented by Charles Wharf Lewis. Philadelphia: Nicholas L. Brown, 1917.

The President Lincoln Campaign Songster. New York: T. H. Dauley, 1864.

Quaife, Milo Milton, The Flag of the United States. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1942.

Quaife, Milo M., Melvin J. Weig, and Roy E. Appleman, The History of the United States Flag From the Revolution to the Present, Including a Guide to Its Use and Display. New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, 1961.

Rockwell, Ethel J., Star-Spangled Banner Pageant. Staged in the Capitol Park at Madison, Wisconsin in Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Writing of this National Song by Francis Scott Key. Madison, Wisconsin: Tracy & Kilgore, Printers, 1914.

Roosevelt, Theodore, America and the World War. Fear God and Take Your Own Part. The Works of Theodore Roosevelt. National Edition, Vol. XVIII. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926.

The Rough and Ready Melodist. Illustrated U.S. Edition. Containing a selection of the best Taylor and Fillmore songs, with many written and arranged expressly for this work. New York: I. Long and Brother, 1848.

Scharf, J. Thomas, The Chronicles of Baltimore; Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874.

Scharf, J. Thomas, History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men. Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881.

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von, Wallenstein. Die dramatischen Gedicht, II. Wallensteins Tod. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1863.

The Great Campaign, Compiled Expressly for the Presidential Campaign of 1852; Exclusively Dedicated to the Old Warriors of the War of 1812; and the Glee Clubs and Tippecanoe Ladies of the Land and Sold at the Low Rate of Six Cents per Copy. [Cover Title, Imprint: Boston: Russell, 1852.

The Hive Melody, Containing a Choice Collection of Most Celebrated Songs. Newark, N.J.: Printed and Published by Benjamin Olds, 1813.

Mitchell, Donald G., Dr. Johns (A Memorial of Bachelor Life, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1864).

The Minstrel: Or Naval, Military & Patriotic Collection of the Most Popular, Admired & Patriotic, Naval, and Civil Songs. Eighteenth Edition. Philadelphia: Published, Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1839.

Muir, Frank Key, The Life of the United States of America, (State of California, Department of Education Bulletin, No. 7, April 1, 1937). Sacramento, California: State Printing Office, George H. Moore, State Printer, 1939.

The Songster's Magazine, A Choice Selection of the Most Approved Patriotic, Comic, Sentimental, Amatory and Naval Songs, both Ancient and Modern. Vol. I. New-York: Published and Sold by T.B. Jansen, 1813.

The Songster's Museum: A New and Choice Collection of Popular Songs, Selected from the Best Authors. Hartford: Published by Henry Bolton, 1797.

The Songster's Museum: A New And Choice Collection of Popular Songs, Selected from the Best Authors, Second Edition, Portland: Published by Henry Benton, 1813.

The Songster's Pocket Companion, or Gentleman and Ladies' Vocal Museum: Being a Selection of the Most Elegant and Fashionable Modern Songs. Newark: Printed and Published by A.M. Maltby & Co., 1811.

Sonneck, Oscar George Theodore, A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music. (18th Century). Revised and Enlarged by William Treat Upton. With a Preface to the De Capo Edition by Irving Lowens, Library of Congress, Music Division. New York: De Capo Press, 1964.

Sonneck, Oscar George Theodore, comp., Report on "The Star Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," "America," "Yankee Doodle," Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909.

Sonneck, Oscar George Theodore, The Star Spangled Banner. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914.

Spear, John Phillip, Marching Along. Recollections of Men, Women and Music. Boston: Hyde, Goodrich & Flint, 1892.

Spear, John Phillip, National, Patriotic, and Typical Airs of All Lands, With Copious Notes. Philadelphia: H. Coleman, 1890.

The Southern and Western Songster: Being a Choice Collection of the Most Fashionable Songs, Many of Which Are Original. Second edition, greatly enlarged. Philadelphia: Published by John Grigg, 1827.

The Star. A Collection of Songs, Sentimental, Humorous, and Patriotic. Pittsburgh: Published by Lambdin & Minis, 1814.

The Star Spangled Banner: Being a Collection of the Best Naval, Martial, Patriotic Songs, etc., etc., etc. Chiefly Written During, and In Relation to the Late War. Wilmington, Del.: Printed and Sold by J. Wilson, 1817.

The Star Spangled Banner: being a Collection of the Best Naval, Martial, Patriotic Songs, etc., etc., etc. Chiefly Written During, and In Relation to the Late War. Second Edition. Wilmington, Del.: Printed and Sold by J. Wilson, 1817.

Star Spangled Banner. Hymn Coordinated Dictator Anthem Alla Zolotavo orkhestra. (Star Spangled Banner. Anthem of the United States for brass orchestra). Moskva: Muzgiz, 1960.

The Star Spangled Banner. Written by F. S. Key, Esq. Arranged with an accompaniment for the piano forte. Boston: Published by Oliver Ditson, n.d.

Stein, Charles Francis, Jr., Our National Anthem The Star-Spangled Banner: Its History and Significance. Baltimore: Published by the Hymn Book Federal Savings & Loan Association, 1961.

Steiner, Bernard C., The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry, Secretary of War Under Washington and Adams. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1907.

Stiles, Ezra, The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, S.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. Edited Under the Authority of the Corporation of Yale University by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Vol. II: March 14, 1776 - December 31, 1781. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

Stockton, Joseph, War Diary (1812-2) of Brevet Brigadier General Joseph Stockton. Chicago, Ill.: Printed for Distribution by John J. Stockton, 1910.

Thomas, C.A., McKinley Campaign Songster for 1900, For Male Voices. Indianapolis, Ind.: The Home Music Company, 1900.

The Union Song Book: A Collection of Log Cabin and Democratic Melodies. Philadelphia: Marshall, Williams, and Taylor, 1840.

Townsend, George Alfred, Campaigns of a Non-Combatant, and His Romaunt Abroad During the War. New York: Blelock & Co., 1866.

Tyler, Samuel, Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney, LL.D., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Baltimore: J. Murphy & Co., 1872.

Underwood, John J., The Three Years' Service of the Thirty-Third Mass. Infantry Regiment 1862-1865, and the Campaigns and Battles of Fredericksburg, Beverly's Ford, Gettysburg, Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga, Atlanta, The March to the Sea and Through the Carolinas in Which It Took Part. Boston: J. Williams & Co., Publishers, 1892.

The United States Songster, A Choice Selection of About One Hundred and Twenty of the Most Popular Songs: Including Nearly All the Songs Contained in the American Songster. Cincinnati: Published by U.P. James, 1850.

The Vocal Reader, or, Short Easy and Familiar Pieces, for the Use of Schools: Being a Select Collection from Different Authors of Such Moral, Instructive and Entertaining Pieces, as Will Be Intelligible, Pleasing & Useful to Children of Tender Years. Also, Many of Those Sentimental, Humorous & Descriptive Pieces, Which, Though Calculated for Recitation, Are Not to Be Found in Any Other Collection. Richmond: Published by J.H. Nash, and D. Pace; C. Russell and C. Hall, Norfolk; and H.H. Haine, Fredericksburg, 1801.

The War of the Rebellion: / Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Prepared Under the Direction of the Secretary of War, by Bvt. Lieut. Col. Robert N. Scott, Third U.S. Artillery, and Published Pursuant to Act of Congress Approved June 16, 1880. Series I, Vol. IX. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883.

Washington Guards. Written by John F. Wells, A Member of the Third Company of Washington Guards. Philadelphia: Published and Sold at G. Willig's Music Store, n.d. [but believed 1815].

Waterston, R.C., Adelaide Phillips, a Record. Boston: A. Williams and Co., 1883.

Wells, H.G., The Future in America. A Search After Realities. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1906.

White, Richard Grant, National Hymns. How they are written and how they are not written. New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1861.

Words and Music of "The Star-Spangled Banner" Expose the Spirit of Democracy Which the Declaration of Independence Embodies. New York: Copyright by Fitty Cheatham, 1919.

Articles and Periodicals

The Advance, Vol. LXVI, No. 2520 (February 19, 1914).

America. (A Catholic Review of the Week). Vol. IX, No. 19 (August 16, 1913).

The American Historical Record, Vol. 2, No. 15 (March 1873).

The Analectic Magazine, Vol. IV, New Series, (November 1814).

Army and Navy Register, June 20, 1890.

The Atlantic Monthly, Vol X, No. LIX (September 1862).

Baltimore, Vol. XXXII, No. 11 (September 1954).

Bierck, Harold A., Jr., "Bells, Boats, and Skinner," Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. XLIX, No. 1 (March 1954), pp. 21-40 And Vol. XLIX, No. 2 (June 1954), pp. 143-155.

Cheetham, Kitty, "Our National Anthem - A Protest." Musical America, Vol. XXVII, No. 18 (March 2, 1918), p. 28.

The Cold Water Magazine, Vol. I, No. 3, 1843.

Dvořák, Antonín, "Music in America." Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. XC, No. 537 (February 1895), pp. 429-434.

Dyster, Nellie, "The Star Spangled Banner, An Hour With An Octogenarian." Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. XLIII, No. 25 (July 1871), pp. 254-258.

Federal Register, Vol. 13, No. 131 (July 7, 1948).

Goodman, Warren H., "The Origins of the War of 1812: A Survey of Changing Interpretations," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (September 1941), pp. 171-196.

Hastings, George E., "Francis Hopkinson and the American Flag," Americana, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3 (July 1939), pp. 293-309.

Henry, W.S., "The Air of the 'Star-Spangled Banner.'" Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (December 1912), pp. 289-335.

The Historical Magazine, Vol. VIII, No. 10 (October 186[illegible]).

Howard, McHenry, "Date of Francis Scott Key's Birth." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. II, No. 2 (June 1907), pp. 137-140.

Howard, McHenry, "Some Old English Letters." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. IX, No. 2 (June 1914), pp. 107-113.

Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (July 1897).

Journal of the Board of Education of the City of New York, 1890.

Journal of Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Music Supervisors' National Conference held at St. Louis, Missouri March 31 - April 4, 1919, pp. 145-147.

Keller, Norbert Anthony, "John Stuart Skinner," Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XVII. Edited by Dumas Malone. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), pp. 199-201.

Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. [illegible], No. 4 (December 19[illegible]); Vol. XIII, No. 4 (December 1918).

Music Supervisors' Journal, Vol. V, No. 2 (November 1918).

National Geographic Magazine, Vol. XXXII, No. 4 (October 1917).

Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. VII, No. 2 (Sept. 24, 1814), No. 3, (October 1, 1814), No. 13 (December 3, 1814), No. 18 (Dec. 31, 1814), Vol. VII (Sept. 1814-Mar. 1815), Supplement to Vol. VII.

The North American Review, Vol. 199, No. 5 (May-June 1914), Vol. 202, No. 7 (November 7, 1915).

"...Our Flag Was Still There..." The Collector, Vol. LVI, No. 7 (June - July, 1942), pp. 97-99.

The Outlook, Vol. 67, No. 9 (October 3, 1903), No. 10 (November 7, 1903).

Robinson, Ralph, "The Use of Rockets by the British in the War of 1812." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. XL, No. 1 (March 1945), pp. 1-[illegible].

Robinson, Ralph S., "The Man Who Key. New Facts in the National Anthem Story." Baltimore, Vol. XLIX, No. 12 (September 1956), pp. 33, 35, 37 and 39.

Sands, Samuel, "A 'Reminiscence' of the War of 1812." The American Farmer, Vol. III, No. 6 (June 1874), pp. 220-221.

Spencer, Richard Henry, "The Provincial Flag of Maryland." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. IX, No. 3 (September 1914), pp. 218-225.

"The Star Spangled Banner." The American Historical Record, Vol. 2, Vol. 2, No. 13 (January 1873), pp. 24-25.

U.S. Army Recruiting News, January 1, 1924.

Warner, John L., "The Origin of the American National Anthem Called the Star Spangled Banner." The Historical Magazine, Second Series, Vol. 1, No. 5 (May 1867), pp. 279-280.

Wroth, Clarence J., "Francis Scott Key as a Churchman." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. IV, No. 2 (June 1909), pp. 154-170.

Newspapers

Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria,Va.), September 13, 1854, March 06, 1871.

Allentown Morning Call (Allentown, Pa.), June 9, 1909.

The American (New York, N.Y.), August 20, 1801.

American & Commercial Daily Advertiser (Baltimore, Md.), 1821-1831.

Baltimore American, June 29, September 10, 1821.

Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, July 1, 1876.

The Baltimore Sun, December 14, 1836, May 21, 1909; June 15, 1921; December 17, 1918.

Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Advertiser, August 10, 1834.

Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette, May 23, 29, 1819.

Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser, 1821-1825.

Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, 1810-1829.

Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser, July 29, 30, 1834.

Bangor Daily Commercial, April 17, 1907.

The Bangor Daily News, April 17, 1907.

Boston Courier, July 7, 1836.

Boston Daily Evening Transcript, June 16, 1869.

The Boston Daily Globe, November 3, 1917.

Boston Evening Transcript, April 26, 29, 1861; July 23, 1923; November 22, 1917; December 29, 31, 1922.

The Boston Globe, November 1, 1917; August 05, 1922.

The Boston Herald, December 9, 1918.

The Boston Herald and Journal, November 5, 1917.

Boston Patriot, September 14, 17, 28, November 16, 23, December 7, 1811.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, October 2, 1871; May 7, 1884.

Buffalo Morning Express, August 6, 1913.

The Charleston Courier, July 3, 1821; April 15, 1865.

The Charleston Daily Courier, April 13-15, 1861.

The Charleston Mercury, December 22, 29, 1860.

The Charleston Tri-Weekly Courier, April 16, 18, 1861.

Chicago Daily Tribune, July 24, 1862.

The Chicago Times, August 30, September 9, 1864.

Chicago Tribune, April 4, 1865; April 20, August 17, 1967.

Cincinnati Daily Commercial, January 15, February 4, 28, 1862.

Cincinnati Daily Gazette, July 5, 1876.

The Cincinnati Enquirer, July 5, 1876.

City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser (Charleston, S.C.), March 20, 1819; July 13, 1820; July 4, 1821.

The Daily Age (Philadelphia, Pa.,) October 20, 1864.

The Daily Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia, Pa.), January 7, 1861; July 6, 1863; June 16, 17, October 7, 1864.

The Daily Morning Chronicle (Washington, D.C.), July 30, August 27, 1864.

Daily News (New York, N.Y.), June 12, 1922.

Daily Nebraska State Journal (Lincoln, Neb.) April 22, 1891.

Daily National Intelligencer, (Washington, D.C.), 1814-1861.

The Daily Southern Argus (Norfolk, Va.), July 6, 1855.

The Daily Worker (New York, N.Y.), April 23, 1929.

The Democratic Press (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 19, 1826; July 8, 1828.

The Detroit Free Press April 17, 1901.

The Emigrant (New York, N.Y.), December 3, 1831; January 28, February 4, March 11, 25, 1835.

The Emigrant and Old Countryman (New York, N.Y.), December 9, 1835; March 30, December 7, 1836; March 22, 29, 1837; January 31, 1838.

The Evening Bulletin (Providence, R.I.), October 31, November 1, 1917.

The Evening News (Detroit, Mich.), April 13, 1891.

The Evening Post (New York, N.Y.), July 6, 1863.

The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.), July 5, 7, 1861; July 6, 1863; February 3, 1868; July 5, 1876; March 21, 1899; March 15, 1902; February 1, 23, 27, April 26, June 27, 1907; September 8, October 8, 1908.

The Evening Sun (Baltimore, Md.), August 7, November 3, 1913; November 3, 5, 1917; December 10, 1926; April 24, 1929; March 4, 16, 1931; October 20, 1932; January 6, 1934.

The Evening Telegraph (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 4, 1876.

Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, October 14, 19, November 12, 28, 1814; February 26, 1821.

Federal Republican (Georgetown, D.C.), September 27, 1814.

Frederick-Town Herald (Frederick-Town, Md.), January 18, 1806; September 24, 1814.

The Herald (New York, N.Y.), February 13, 14, 15, 1837.

The Indianapolis Journal, March 3, 1899; March 28, 1901.

The Indianapolis Sentinel, March 26, 1901.

The Indianapolis Star, June 16, 1931.

The Manchester Union, April 24, 1907.

The Maryland Gazette (Annapolis, Md.), July 31, 1834.

The Maryland Republican, or Political and Agricultural Museum (Annapolis, Md.), July 8, 1826.

The Miami Herald, May 13, 1967.

The Milwaukee Daily News, July 8, 1876.

Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, July 6, 1876.

The Minneapolis Tribune, April 6, 1901.

Morning World-Herald (Omaha, Neb.), April 23, 1891; June 9, 1918.

The National Advocate (New York, N.Y.), September 19, 27, November 23, 1821; July 7, 1826.

National Intelligencer (Washington, D.C.), January 16, 1816.

National Gazette and Literary Register (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 8, 1826.

Newark Daily Advertiser (Newark, N.J.), April 19, 1865.

New-Hampshire Patriot (Concord, N.H.), October 11, November 29, 1814.

The New-Orleans Times, July 5, 1876.

New York American, The American Weekly, June 3, 1917.

New-York Daily Advertiser, July 7, 1830.

New-York Daily Tribune, July 7, 1856; April 10, 1861; September 23, 1864; April 4, 6, 15, 1865; July 5, 1876; January 15, 1897; September 16, 1903; June 25, 1906.

The New York Herald, May 8, 9, 10, 1846; February 21, April 18, 20, 21, 22, 29, 30, May 30, 23, 1861; January 11, October 26, 1862; June 17, 1864; July 5, 1876.

The New-York Evening Post, November 29, November 30, 1814; December 20, 1826; August 29, 1871; July 5, 1826.

New-York Gazette & General Advertiser, September 17, November 29, 30, 1830.

The New York Herald, April 11, 1865; July 5, 1866; May 27, 1871; April 29, 1875.

New York Journal-American, May 26, 1965.

The New York Times, 1961-1968.

New York Times & Commercial Intelligencer, July 11, 1840.

New York Tribune, June 11, 1922.

New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, April 23, 1919.

The News American (Baltimore, Md.), August 12, 1968.

Omaha Bee, May 2, 1893.

The Philadelphia Inquirer, July 6, November 21, 1963; April 4, 1965; July 3, 1968.

Poulson's American Daily Advertiser (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 6, 1826.

The Press (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 29, 1968; April 10, 1967.

The Providence Journal (Providence, R.I.), November 1, 1917.

Public Ledger (Philadelphia, Pa.), August 7, 1913.

The Republican, and Savannah Evening Ledger (Savannah, Georgia), October 4, 1814.

Richmond Enquirer (Richmond, Va.), September 28, 1814; July 15, 1817; July 7, 11, August 1, 1826; July 10, 1832; August 5, 1834.

Richmond Daily Dispatch, February 23, 24, 1855.

St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat, July 4, 1923.

St. Paul Dispatch, March 6, 1924.

The Sun (Baltimore, Md.), 1963-1968.

The Sun (New York, N.Y.), August 6, 15, 1834; March 5, 1918; December 21, 24, 1926.

Sunday Dispatch (Philadelphia, Pa.), May 7, 1854; October 7, 1855.

The Sunday Morning Chronicle (Washington, D.C.), August 7, 1864.

Sunday News (New York, N.Y.), April 16, 1967.

The Sunday Star (Washington, D.C.), April 24, 1927; April 28, 1968.

The Times (Los Angeles, Cal.), May 12, 1919.

The Times (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 5, 1876.

Virginia Argus (Richmond, Va.), November 16, 1814.

Virginian-Pilot and the Norfolk Landmark (Norfolk, Va.), July 22, 1926.

The Washington Daily News, May 13, 1958; April 17, September 5, 1967.

The Washington Herald, January 13, 1908; August 9, 1925; April 27, 1927.

The Washington Post, November 7, 1917; April 22, 1927; February 27, 1928; March 5, 1939; March 16, 1962; March 3, 1967; April 10, 1968.

Worcester Daily Spy, June 16, 1869.

The World (New York, N.Y.), November 21, 1903; January 10, May 26, 1929.

Other Sources

Letter from Ceptain Allen C. Crowell, Director, The United States Army Chorus, August 3, 1967.

Letter from Lt. Col. Arnald D. Gabriel, Commander, U.S. Air Force Band, August 23, 1967.

Letter from S. W. Stauffer, Lieutenant, U.S. Navy, Assistant Leader, The United States Navy Band, August 18, 1967.

Oral interview with Mr. George Gullixsen, November 1, 1967.

Oral statement from Mr. W.B. Firschner, Music Branch (Pers-316), Bureau of Naval Personnel, September 22, 1967.

Written statement from M/Sgt. Sgt. Charles H. Walls, Chief Librarian, U.S. Marine Band, July 3, 1968.

GPO 877-848