PLAYING, LEARNING, AND USING MUSIC IN EARLY MIDDLE INDIANA

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To the countless unnamed men, women, and children who have, for thousands of years, made Indiana a musical state, I give my sincere thanks.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Music appears to be universal across the human experience; to the best of our knowledge, every human culture has expressed itself, in some way, through melody, rhythm, and song.[1] For millennia, people have used music in innumerable ways: to entertain, to teach, to mourn, to remember, to celebrate.[2] Before the late nineteenth century, when the invention of mechanically recorded sound radically changed the way people played, learned, and consumed music, every musical sound a person heard was "live"—produced by a fellow human being.[3] And, as historians Jack Larkin and Richard Cullen Rath have observed, in a world without modern America's inescapable background hum, this human–created sound was even more striking, and more meaning–laden, to its makers and listeners than it is today.[4] Given its expressive power and potential as a window to mindsets long past, it is unfortunate that historians have, until recently, left the study of historical music to formally trained musicologists.[5]

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[1] Daniel J. Levtin, *The World in Six Songs: How the Musical Brain Created Human Nature* (New York: Dutton, 2008), 2–3; Oliver Sacks, *Musicophilia: Tales of Music and the Brain* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), x.

[2] As John Noble Wilford recently noted in the *New York Times*, "*Homo sapiens* populations were . . . making flutes in German caves about 42,000 years ago." "With Science, New Portrait of the Cave Artist," *New York Times*, June 15, 2012.

[3] On the social impact of recording, see Jon Fredrickson, "Technology and Music Performance in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 20, no. 2 (December 1989): 193–220.

[4] Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 232–34; Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 1–5.

The fault lies with neither the musicologists nor the historians. Music historians—scholars trained in the structural theory and history of music—have traditionally worked in highbrow, artistic musical styles. Until quite recently, they have generated as their scholarship material such as edited symphonic scores, or commentaries on the musical inspirations or legacies of a particular composer or stylistic innovation. Historians themselves, until the postwar shifts towards "social" and "cultural" history, have also preferred to study the affluent and powerful; furthermore, while historians may be interested in, say, the social impact of an artist or a music–driven political movement, very few are prepared to competently read, write, and analyze musical notation.[6] Obviously, this favoring of formal, "art" or "classical" music traditions by both fields has created an undeniable bias in the study of historical music towards the musical tastes of wealthy whites. Until well into the twentieth century, both historians and musicologists left the musical lives of underprivileged groups with informal, inaccessible, or unwritten song traditions essentially untouched.

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[5] Lester Levy's *Grace Notes in American History: Popular Sheet Music from 1820–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967) was probably the first attempt to formally connect social and musical histories, although his approach of "telling the stories behind the songs" now seems a bit trite. Richard Crawford addressed the gulf between cultural history and musicology in "A Historian's Introduction to Early American Music," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 89, no. 2 (October 1979): 261–62. For a fuller examination of this problem, see Jeffrey H. Jackson and Stanley C. Pelkey, eds., introduction to *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2005): vii–xvii.

[6] Lawrence B. Glickman, "The 'Cultural Turn,'" in *American History Now*, ed. Eric Foner and Lisa McGirr (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 221–24; Jackson and Pelkey, vii–ix.

Happily, while the formal study of music certainly still presents a range of barriers that many historians are not trained to conquer, some scholars have started to bypass these challenges. Postwar works such as the late Eugene Genovese's groundbreaking *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* have reframed music and dance as cultural and literary artifacts, rather than as strange texts written in a technical, even foreign, language.[7] This revolution has encouraged recent generations of historians to consider the full range of music, from high–art to popular, sacred, and traditional styles, as both text and context, as threads in the social fabric that backgrounds nearly every person's life.[8]

This thesis will examine the ways that people played and consumed music in middle Indiana after the turn of the nineteenth century. "Middle Indiana," for the purposes of this study, consists of the nine counties in the heart of the state: Marion County, at its geographic center and the site of the State House in Indianapolis, and the eight counties that surround it (figs. 1 and 2). The reader should note that this is a term, if not a concept, of my own creation. These counties contain approximately 10 percent of Indiana's land area and, while this area is now both the metaphorical and physical hub upon which the state turns, that was certainly not the case in the

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[7] Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974).

[8] A mere handful of the recent wave of works using music as social and cultural history include: Dorian Lynskey, *33 Revolutions per Minute: A History of Protest Songs, from Billie Holiday to Green Day* (New York: Ecco, 2011); Alice Echols, *Hot Stuff: Disco and the Remaking of American Culture* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2010); William G. Roy, *Reds, Whites, and Blues: Social Movements, Folk Music, and Race in America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010); and Barbara L. Kelly, *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870–1939* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008).

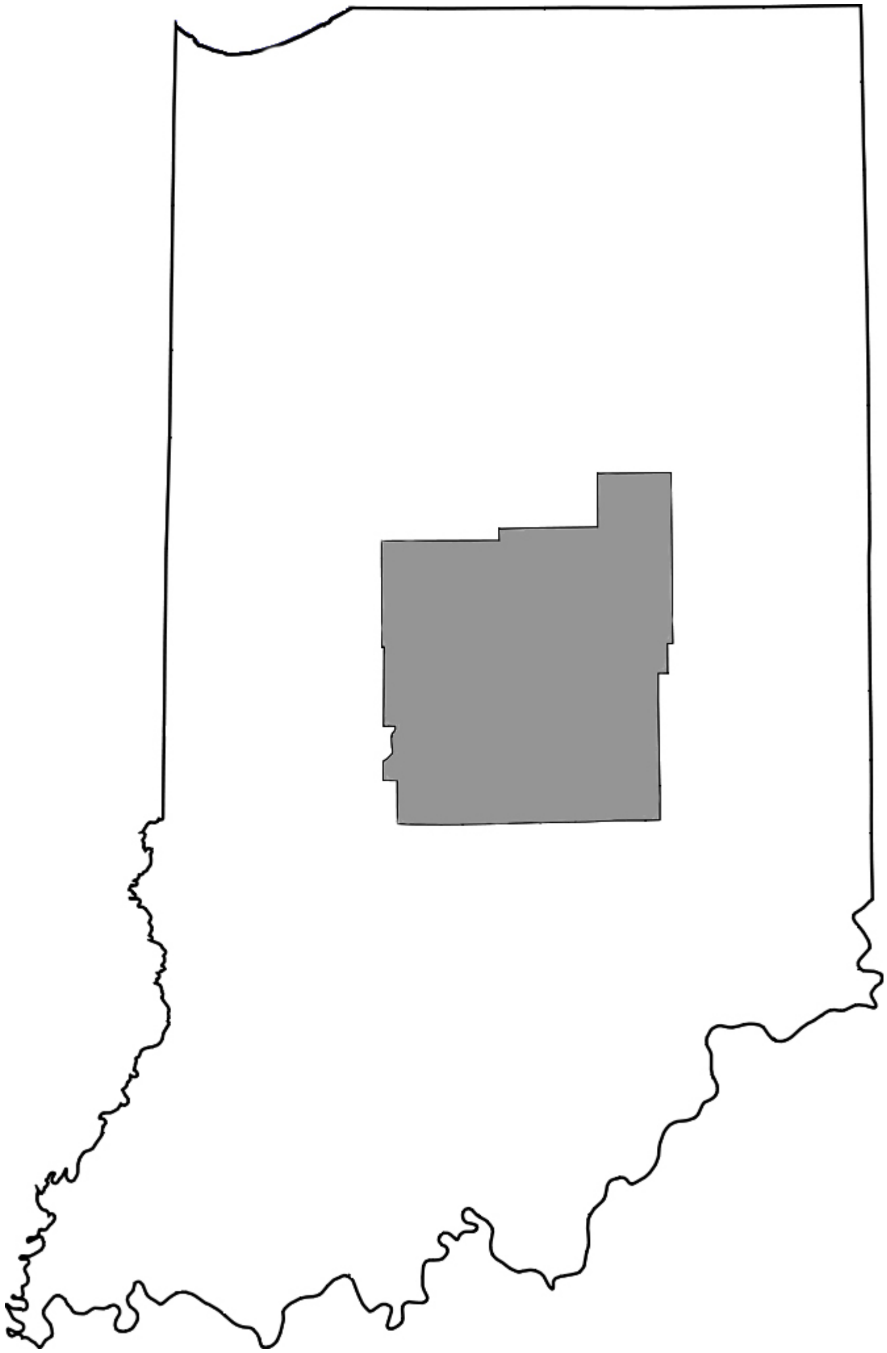

Figure 1. Middle Indiana. Adapted by the author from a public domain image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

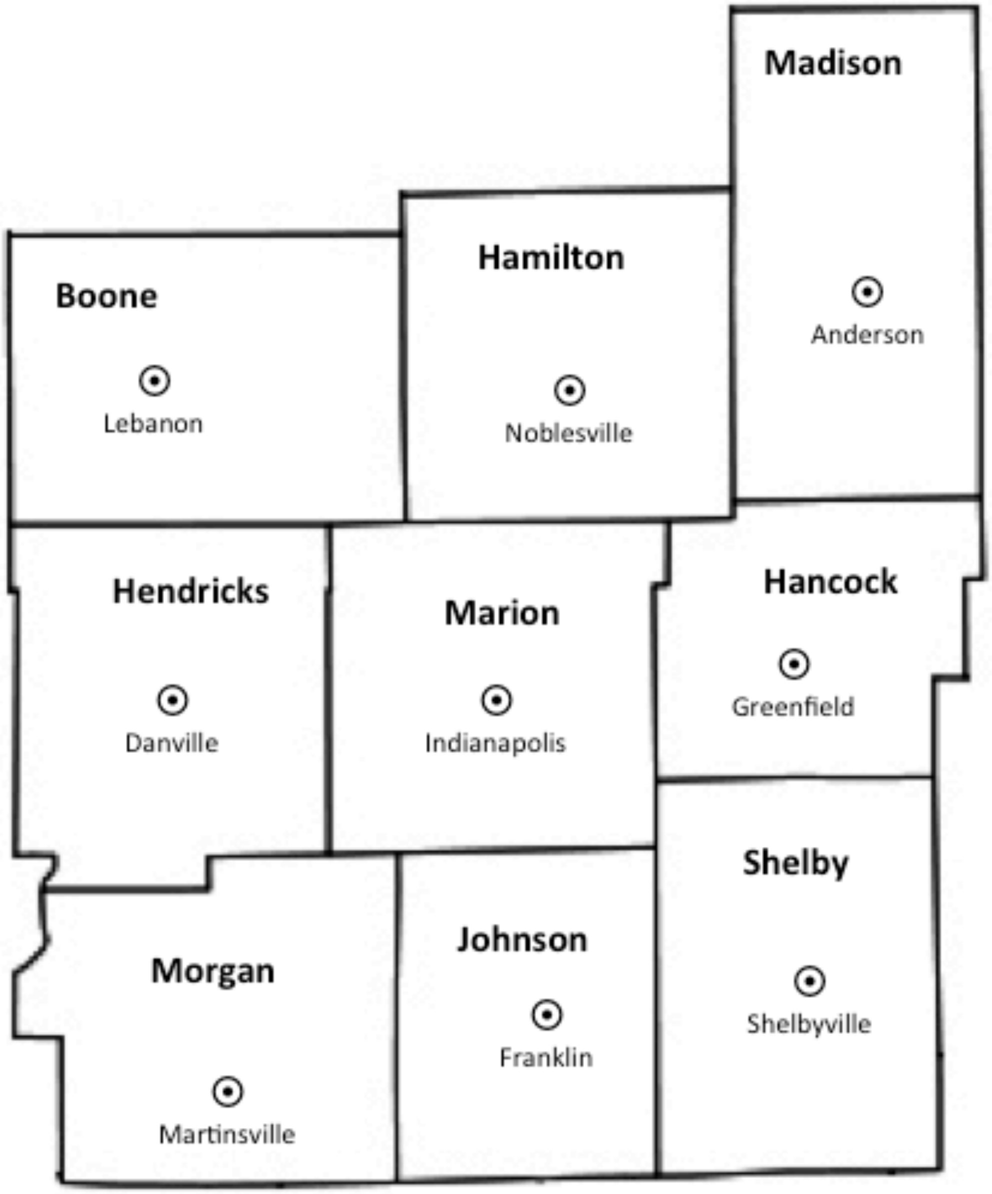
Madison
Anderson
Hamilton
Noblesville
Boone
Lebanon
Hendricks
Danville
Marion
Indianapolis
Hancock
Greenfield
Shelby
Shelbyville
Morgan
Martinsville
Johnson
Franklin

Figure 2. Middle Indiana with county names and county seats. Adapted by the author from a public domain image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

early nineteenth century.[9] I choose the term "middle" Indiana—denoting not only its location within the state, but also its role in this period as a transitional zone and meeting ground for the many groups living in, and moving to, the area—over the more familiar "central" Indiana, which implies a "centrality," an importance reaching beyond geography that this region simply did not have at the turn of the nineteenth century.[10] While some scholarship on music in early Indianapolis does exist, this expanded geographic scale allows me to examine sources, populations, and contexts beyond those of a city–specific study.[11]

This thesis is a work of social and cultural history, and does not aspire to be a musicological study. My interest is not in the creation and evolution of the artistic and physical artifacts of music itself, and I will leave questions of development and transmission of melody, style, and form to those better prepared to ask and answer them. Rather, I wish to explore questions about early Indiana's performers and their audiences as active participants in the musical process: given the state's primitive transportation system at the time, how did people acquire instruments and written music? In Indiana's sparsely populated interior, how did musicians learn to sing or play instruments? And what, if anything, can we know about what they were singing?

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[9] James J. Divita, "Overview: Demography and Ethnicity," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, ed. David J. Bodenhammer and Robert Barrows (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 51–53.

[10] I owe this particular definition of "middleness" to Richard White's classic *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[11] For the scholarship on music in early Indianapolis and Indiana, see the discussion at the end of this chapter.

I have chosen to bound this study within the years from 1800 to 1840. Although the state of Indiana was not formally established until 1816 (and the counties in question were only formed in the following decades), middle Indiana's population had started to generate a workable, if scattered, volume of historical traces by the turn of the nineteenth century. This study ends at 1840 primarily because it is also intended as a piece of public history: its third chapter is a proposed application of this research for the staff and audience of Prairietown, a reproduction of an 1836 frontier village at Conner Prairie Interactive History Park in Fishers, Indiana. Once visitors, like the aforementioned historians, are liberated from the barriers of literacy and technique, they often find engaging with music to be a comfortable and even appealing interpretive approach; people readily recognize melodies and styles that are either familiar or new to them, even if they can't fully articulate why.[12] Communicating historical research to a large, diverse audience is the challenge of public history, and this section of my work will suggest ways for interpreters and audiences to use music as a vehicle for historic learning and imagining.

This study will, I hope, be a contribution to both the general cultural history of music and, more specifically, the limited scholarship on music in early Indiana. However, I do offer a preemptive acknowledgment: even though this thesis levels several charges of historical bias, especially in the historiography, despite my best efforts my own work cannot escape the prejudices and flaws of the historical record.

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[12] As Ulysses S. Grant famously quipped: "I only know two tunes. One is 'Yankee Doodle' and the other one isn't." Quoted in John Tasker Howard, *Our Contemporary Composers: American Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1941), 244.

A wide range of people lived in middle Indiana in the early nineteenth century, but only the most economically and socially privileged left more than a handful of traces for historical study. This problem is even greater in musical history. Most traditional music in preindustrial America was only taught and transmitted orally and aurally, leaving neither lyrics nor written notes, much less commentary on style and social meaning. Thus, largely because of the character of the early American frontier's documentary and material record, this study will itself show an undeniable slant towards middle Indiana's affluent whites.

Despite these obstacles, several scholars have begun to study early America's aural world. As Richard Cullen Rath provocatively opens his 2003 examination of listening and speech in preindustrial America, "Sound was more important to early Americans than it is to you."[13] Historians and philosophers have long been fascinated with the aural world, and following a decline during the primacy of "scientific" history around the turn of the twentieth century, scholars in recent decades have revived its study. Mark M. Smith, in particular, has examined the power of oration in antebellum America, and the ways in which speakers on each side of the sectional divide used aural imagery—such as groaning slaves and rattling chains, opposed by singing field hands and the placid stillness of a plantation at dusk—to support their arguments.[14] Rath, quoted above, looks at how early Americans experienced the natural world, and also how they crafted physical spaces—how, for example, the architecture of public spaces privileged certain speakers, and certain types of speech, over others.[15] Human speech, particularly in areas without newspapers and reliable mail service, was a powerful and essential medium to citizens of early America.

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[13] Rath, ix.

[14] Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth–Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 67–91, 150–71.

The natural world provided the most constant, and most primal, soundscape that Americans experienced until the Industrial Revolution.[16] Even standing at the center of Indianapolis as late as 1840, one would have heard the singing of birds and the rustle of wind amid the young city's constant murmur of human, animal, and mechanical voices. Phenomenologist Bruce R. Smith has commented on the experiential and physical differences between the modern world and eighteenth–century England—a world acoustically quite similar to nineteenth–century rural America. He notes that the rural "acoustic horizon . . . was wider and deeper" than that of England's (and America's) early cities, and that these early cities would themselves have had soundscapes that were quieter, yet richer, than those familiar to residents of even modest contemporary cities.[17] As most scholars of sound in history note, the modern world's aural profile is not only louder than it once was, but it is also muddied by low–frequency electronic and mechanical background noise; the sounds of the natural world, while certainly more familiar to frontier Indianans, would also have been both more perceptible, and more experientially relevant, than they are to contemporary listeners.[18]

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[15] Rath, 97.
[16] Rath, 10–11.
[17] Bruce R. Smith, "Soundscapes of Early Modern England," in *Hearing History: A Reader*, ed. Mark M. Smith (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 97.
[18] R. Murray Schafer, "Soundscapes and Earwitnesses," in *Hearing History*, 3; Rath, 10–11.

Listening to music was a rich and layered social activity in nineteenth–century America, socially placed somewhere between the worlds of nature and humanity. Audiences and critics often used imagery of the natural world when discussing music and musicians, and pastoral imagery filled the nostalgic parlor songs and folk ballads popular at the time.[19] But music was also an undeniably human phenomenon: until the very end of the nineteenth century, people only experienced music in live performance and—barring the occasional mechanical novelty—only human beings produced music.[20] Most Americans made music every day for themselves and each other, in a wide range of styles and venues: both historians and musicologists have observed that the practice of music, and particularly singing, was very widespread in antebellum America across divisions of gender, race, class, and locale.[21] Unlike today, making music in this period was almost entirely an amateur's pursuit: although the first generation of blackface minstrels became America's original homegrown musical stars in the late 1820s, the concept of a trained American musician making his living as a performer (as opposed to a teacher or composer) only widely entered the national conscience around 1840.[22]

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[19] Nicholas Tawa, *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans: The Parlor Song in America, 1790–1860* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980), 146. As a simple example, Jenny Lind—by far the most famous singer in America during the 1850s—was popularly known as the "Swedish Nightingale."

[20] Even the broadest definitions of music, such as Edgar Varèse's oft–cited quote that it is simply "organized sound," presume a human craftsmanship and appreciation. Whether animals producing "musical" sounds, such as birds and whales, do so in the conscious pursuit of aesthetic experience is an ongoing debate in the field of zoomusicology. See http://www.zoosemiotics.helsinki.fi/zm/welcome.htm for an introduction (accessed November 30, 2012).

[21] Larkin, 232–33; Tawa *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans*, 10–13.

Historians who study music written after the advent of printing typically divide the subject into the categories of "sacred," "art," and "vernacular" styles. Like many scholarly constructs, these categories are artificial and typically applied many years after the music in study was created: Stephen Foster, George F. Root, and Louis Moreau Gottschalk, all important and popular professional American composers of the late antebellum era, each wrote freely in all three of these genres as opportunities (or need) arose. Furthermore, as Joy Carden's study of Lexington, Kentucky's composer, teacher, and impresario Wilhelm Iucho demonstrates, performers also felt quite free to mix comic novelties, instrumental concertos, folk songs, and patriotic ballads on a single concert program.[23] These categories have long allowed scholars, myself included, to make convenient comparisons and generalizations and, although they were largely unknown or irrelevant to antebellum musicians and audiences, they will guide much of my analysis.

Sacred music is, of course, the music of faith; for the available historical sources on the antebellum United States, and definitely for early Indiana, this faith is almost exclusively Christian. Religious music was extremely important in the lives of most Americans at the turn of the nineteenth century. People sang hymns and psalms nearly every day, and nearly everywhere: in their own homes, when visiting with friends, at work, and in public for worship and civil ceremonies.[24] American church music in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was surprisingly contentious around matters such as singing style, the establishment of specialized choirs, and whether congregations would introduce expert singers to worship services.[25] Although most urban congregations had settled these debates by the turn of the nineteenth century, many frontier churches, certainly including many in rural Indiana, rejected the more formalized "Reform" or "Regular" singing method, which requires at least a modicum of musical literacy from its congregations, and still sang from memory in the looser "Old" or "Common Way" style.[26]

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[22] Tawa, *High–Minded and Low–Down: Music in the Lives of Americans* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 120–21; Daniel Cavicchi, *Listening and Longing: Music Lovers in the Age of Barnum* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2011), 1–3.

[23] Joy Carden, *Music in Lexington Before 1840* (Lexington, KY: Lexington–Fayette County Historical Commission, 1980), 112–24.

The use of musical instruments during worship was also a source of conflict in American churches at this time: urban Protestant churches had used organs and orchestras for centuries, but many smaller congregations sang unaccompanied into the late nineteenth century.[27] The reason for this resistance is unclear, but it appears, at least in the early American West, to simply be traditionalism. Indiana pioneer Noah Major reminisced that the more devout of his fellow early settlers once denounced music (particularly the fiddle) as the vehicle of dancing and sin, and further commented that

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[24] Tawa, *High–Minded and Low*–Down, 90–91.
[25] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present*, rev. 3rd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 19–21.
[26] "Reformed" hymns are arranged and fully notated by a composer and sung in harmonized unity. "Common Way" congregations loosely followed the lead of an appointed singing master, who would set the appointed text to a melody from among a shared group of memorized tunes. He would then lead the singing in a call–and–response performance known as "lining out." John Ogasapian, *Church Music in America, 1620–2000* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007), 9–20, 104–6.
[27] David A. Music, *Instruments in Church: A Collection of Source Documents* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 1998), 119, 127.

> the old–time rules and regulations of this society have greatly changed during the last half–century . . . the progressive wing has adopted music at home and in church, and also many other things to the disgust of the staid, conservative element.[28]

As this resistance softened, the first instruments to appear widely in American rural churches were bass viols (bowed instruments with three to six strings, related to the cello and double bass), small pump organs, and a variety of other orchestral instruments.[29]

For worshippers who could read text or musical notation, sacred songs were available in a wide range of printed formats. "End–opener" hymnals, typically around six by ten inches and bound along the short edge, were very popular: they appear frequently in both historical newspaper advertising and modern museum collections (fig. 3). First printed in standard musical notation, these hymnals are now best known as the principal medium for the "shape–note" (also called "Sacred Harp" or "Missouri Harmony" singing after the titles of two popular hymnals) system of musical notation, which offers the user additional visual clues to sing the correct pitches (fig. 4).[30] Typically written for three or four unaccompanied voices, most hymnals of this time—whatever the notation system—open with instructional sections ranging from a dozen to thirty or more pages on reading music, harmonic theory, and vocal technique. Melodies and choral arrangements vary widely

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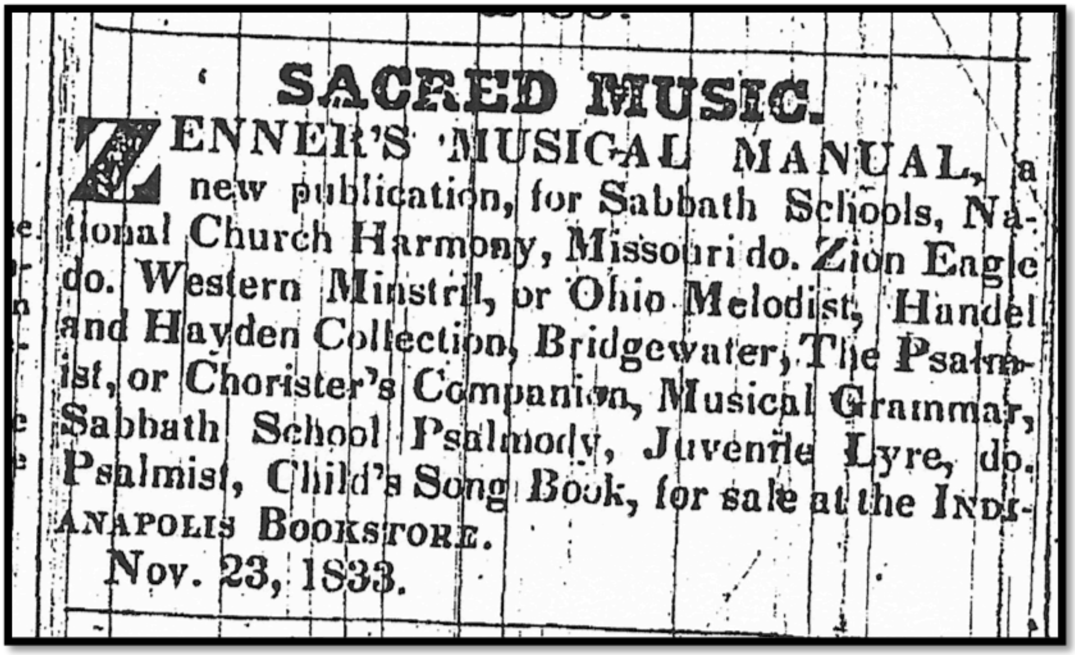
[28] Noah Major and Logan Esarey, *The Pioneers of Morgan County: Memoirs of Noah J. Major* (Indianapolis, IN: E. J. Hecker, 1915), 347, 336.

[29] Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2001), 35; David Stowe, *How Sweet the Sound: Music in the Spiritual Lives of Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 41–43.

[30] Some scholars posit that the shape–note system was, for singers with little or no musical literacy, a steppingstone to the more formal, standard, notation. See Stephen A. Marini, *Sacred Song in America: Religion, Music, and Public Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 79–80.



SACRED MUSIC.

ZENNER'S MUSICAL MANUAL, a new publication, for Sabbath Schools, National Church Harmony, Missouri do. Zion Eagle do. Western Minstrel, or Ohio Melodist, Handel and Hayden Collection, Bridgewater, The Psalmist, or Chorister's Companion, Musical Grammar, Sabbath School Psalmody, Juvenile Lyre, do. Psalmist, Child's Song Book, for sale at the INDIANAPOLIS BOOKSTORE.

Nov. 23, 1833.

Figure 3. Music for sale in early Indianapolis. Most of the books advertised here are end–opener hymnals, in both shape–note and standard notation. *Indiana Democrat* (Indianapolis) February 22, 1834, 3.

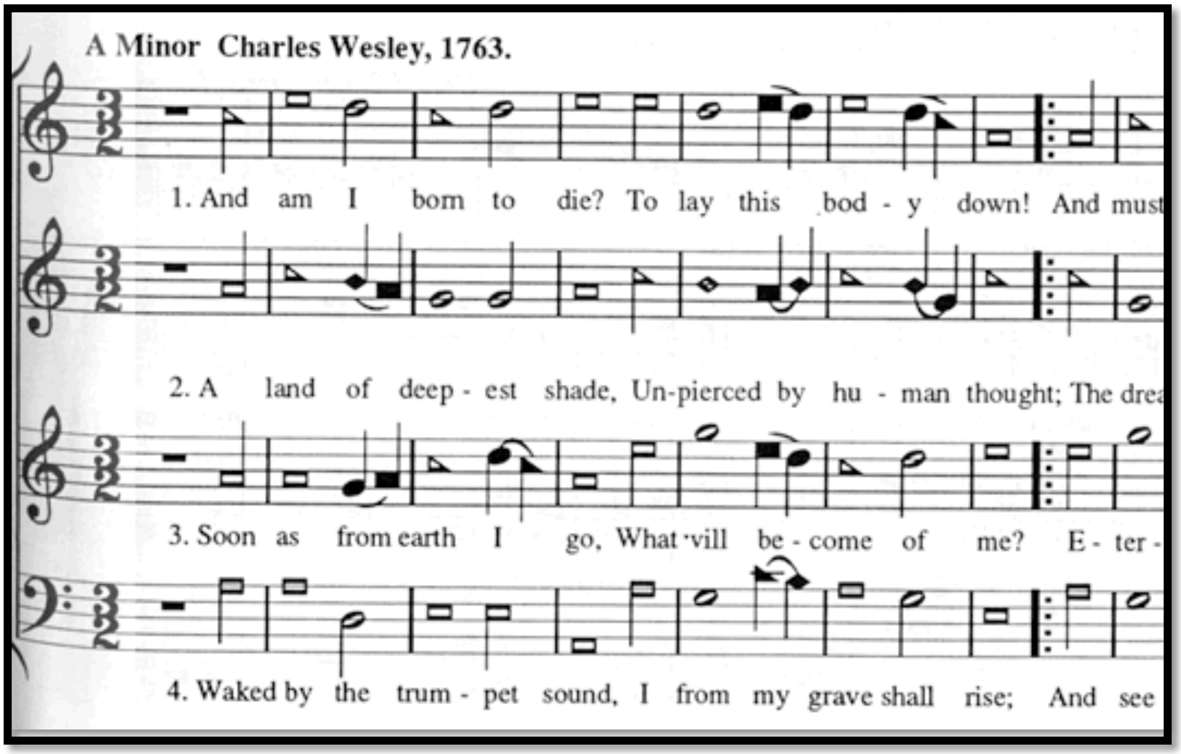

A Minor Charles Wesley, 1763.
1. And am I born to die? To lay this bod - y down! And must
2. A land of deep - est shade, Un-pierced by hu - man thought; The drea
3. Soon as from earth I go, What will be - come of me? E - ter -
4. Waked by the trum - pet sound, I from my grave shall rise; And see

Figure 4. Shape–note notation: “Idumea,” text from Eccles. 3.2 and harmonized by Ananias Davisson in 1816. In shape–note hymns such as this, both the musical staff and the shapes of the note heads indicate pitch. Although this is a modern printing, it still uses the harmonic and visual vocabularies established at the turn of the nineteenth century. Image, edited by the author, from the webpage of the Columbia (Missouri) Shape Note Singers, http://columbiafasola.missouri.org (accessed November 30, 2012).

between hymnals (and sometimes even between different editions of the same book), but these books typically shared enough material that owners of hymnals written by differing composers could sing together when visiting other congregations or attending revival meetings.[31]

Unlike sacred music, "art" music is composed for connoisseur audiences and intended to be performed by formally trained, often paid, musicians; it consists of both sung and instrumental works.[32] Although this category includes what modern listeners commonly call "classical" music, we must remember that at the turn of the nineteenth century, much of that music was actually very current: Mozart had only died in 1791, Haydn lived until 1809, Beethoven to 1827, and Schubert to 1828. European art music was an important element in the antebellum music scene. Despite its heightened demands for both performers and listeners, art music was popular among both elites and the masses: arias from German, French, or Italian operas, for example, are common in both concert programs and popular pocket songbooks in this era.[33]

American composers, critics, and concertgoers started to recognize the genre of "art" music as something distinct from "popular" music shortly after the turn of the nineteenth century.[34] Aesthetically refined and technically difficult music by European masters, or by Americans emulating them, became the pinnacle of composition and performance for the nation's burgeoning musical elite, many of whom were new members of the nation's growing middle class.[35] Owning instruments such as the piano, flute, violin, and guitar—and paying teachers, often European immigrants, for lessons on them—became, for Americans, the material and social hallmarks of sophistication and economic mobility.[36] The first generation of American music critics and composers began contributing to a handful of art music journals as early as the 1820s but, tellingly, judged American composition by European standards and almost universally disparaged homegrown popular songs as vulgar, trite, or irrelevant.[37] Most music historians also include "parlor songs" in the category of art music: these songs, indigenous to America, are notable for their genteel, melancholic themes of love and nostalgia.[38] Emotionally wrought commercial art ballads were extraordinarily popular in antebellum America, but are now largely forgotten. Although their appeal crossed borders of class and race, they were particularly beloved by the white urban middle classes.[39]

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[31] Ogasapian, 110–12.

[32] *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), s.v. "Art Song."

[33] For concerts, see Appendix E, "Concerts and Musical Programs Presented in Lexington, 1805–1840," in Carden, 115–22. Example songbooks include *Grigg's Southern and Western Songster* (Philadelphia: J. Grigg, 1829) and John Kenedy's *The American Songster, Containing a Choice Selection of About One Hundred and Fifty Modern and Popular Songs, etc.* (Baltimore: J. Kenedy, 1836).

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[34] Musicologists estimate this separation began around the 1820s or 1830s. Paul Charosh, "'Popular' and 'Classical' in the Mid–Nineteenth Century," *American Music* 10, no. 2 (Summer 1992): 117–35.

[35] Carolann Guglielm, "Musical Life in the United States as Reported in the American Musical Press, 1819–1852" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1998), 8–9; Tawa, *High–Minded and Low–Down*, 13–14.

[36] Larkin, 249–50.

[37] Guglielm, 2–3.

[38] For a more complete definition of the parlor song, see Tawa, *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans*, 3–14.

[39] Tawa, *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans*, 3–4, 15.

Vernacular music includes ancient ballads and instrumental folk dance tunes, but not the composed works that are derived from or inspired by them. However, not all vernacular music is necessarily ageless and anonymous; musicologists also include blackface minstrel songs, comedic odes, and other popular "lowbrow" comic pieces in this genre. Vernacular music, such as the ballads of Robert Burns or the jaunty songs of blackface pioneer Thomas "Daddy" Rice, truly transcended barriers of class and taste in antebellum America, particularly in its frontier regions.[40] Professionals and amateurs alike sang both ancient folksongs and newly minted hits with simple melodies that matched the shamelessly unsophisticated appeal of their lyrics.[41]

Like their European antecedents, American folk and popular ballads turned on familiar themes that reassured those who sang them about their places in a turbulent young nation.[42] However, even as Americans struggled to define the United States as something new, and distinctly different from its colonial forebears, their vernacular music remained strikingly European: Appalachian fiddling and banjo playing draws heavily on British Isles melodic traditions, and the New England contra dance, a forerunner of the southern and western square dance, is an admixture of French cotillions and English country dances.[43] Antebellum song, too, still showed its European roots. The ballads of Scotsman Robert Burns (1759–96) and Irishman Thomas Moore (1779–1852) were immensely popular and appear in countless sheet music editions and songsters, often joined by "La Marseillaise," "To Anacreon in Heav'n," and other old world folk (and folk–like) songs.[44] European dance fads, most notably the waltz (or valse), polka, mazurka, and schottische, further captivated the American public throughout the antebellum era.[45]

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[40] Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1983), 60–61, 109.

[41] Larkin, 233–39.

[42] Tawa, *High–Minded and Low–Down*, 62.

[43] Cecelia Conway, *African Banjo Echoes in Appalachia: A Study of Folk Traditions* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 73–75; Larkin, 240–41.

Patriotic songs and ballads were practically universal in antebellum vernacular music. People of all ages sang "Yankee Doodle" at the drop of a hat, and Philip Phile's "Hail, Columbia" vied with "The Star–Spangled Banner" for the status of America's unofficial national anthem.[46] Innumerable other songs such as "President Washington's March," "The Hunters of Kentucky," "Hull's Victory" and, of course, the aforementioned *de facto* national anthems commemorated the Revolution and the War of 1812 as victories by a scrappy upstart nation over its imperialist patriarch. The early nineteenth century saw an amazing flowering of political songs, particularly those written for Presidential elections; the range and volume in local collections of songbooks promoting William Henry Harrison's 1840 electoral campaign, widely considered the first to use music as actual campaign propaganda instead of mere entertainment, is particularly striking.[47]

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[44] On the huge popularity and impact of Moore's *Irish Melodies,* first published in the United States in 1808 or 1809, see Hamm, 42–61,

[45] Crawford, 238–39.

[46] Tawa, *High–Minded and Low–Down*, 204; Chase, 104, 107. Patriotic campaigns begun around the turn of the twentieth century propelled "The Star–Spangled Banner" to its present, official, status in 1931. Crawford, 530.

[47] Tawa, *High–Minded and Low–Down*, 201–3; Benjamin S. Schoening and Eric T. Kasper, *Don't Stop Thinking About the Music: The Politics of Song and Musicians in Presidential Campaigns* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012), 44–55. For a take that is more singable, but less scholarly, see Chapter Two, "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too: The First Great Singing Campaign, The Historic Election of 1840" in Irwin Silber, *Songs America Voted By* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1971), 33–45.

General scholarship on the history of music in America tends, largely for reasons of density of both people and sources, to favor the nation's major coastal population centers. Despite this limitation, it provides an important backdrop to the examination of music in early Indiana. The first historians to study music in America were, ironically, attempting to study European, and in particular British, folk songs.[48] Francis James Child (1824–96), professor of oratory at Harvard, and his followers, notably Cecil Sharp (1859–1924) and Olive Dame Campbell (1882–1954), declared that urbanization and mass popular culture had forever corrupted the wellsprings of "pure" European folk culture. They therefore searched for what they believed would be less "tainted" English and Scottish ballads in rural America, chiefly in isolated Appalachian mountain communities. Child's books, especially his namesake collections of folk ballads, guide American ethnomusicologists and folk aficionados to this day. Early scholars of American classical and popular music also generally assumed that American composers had produced nothing of unique significance; they focused instead on Old World composition traditions, and only bothered to consider American contributions in the fields of performance and instruction.[49]

Music scholarship following the turn of the twentieth century, possibly nudged by a wave of sesquicentennial fervor, changed dramatically for the study of both traditional and commercial music forms in America. A generation of folk music researchers led by John A. Lomax (1867–1948), Carl Sandburg (1878–1967), and later Lomax's son Alan (1915–2002), began to champion a distinct and uniquely American music tradition found not only among the Southern poor, but also with the nation's urban and Western working classes.[50] The resulting works, such as the elder Lomax's *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* (1910), Sandburg's *American Songbag* (1927) and the landmark Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress, not only invented the idea of American traditional music, but were also among the first to document and popularize the folk music of African, Native, and Hispanic Americans.[51]

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[48] Benjamin Filene, *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory and American Roots Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 9–12.

[49] Historians of popular music had even less to say in this period, as practically nobody—European, or otherwise—thought it worth study. See Crawford, x–xii.

The first full treatment of American art music, John Tasker Howard's *Our American Music*, appeared only a few years later.[52] Early editions of this book now seem dated and patrician—focused only in formal concert music, Howard initially ignored the contributions of both amateurs and nonwhites—but as the first major scholarly survey of American music and composers, its significance cannot be ignored. Most modern musicologists acknowledge the late Gilbert Chase's *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* as the first complete survey of the full range of American musical styles.[53] This pioneering book, last appearing in a third revised edition, was the first to study neglected aspects of American music such as the blues, gospel music, dance tunes, and popular songs on equal terms with the formal "art" music that Howard had favored.[54] Subsequent scholars largely follow this tack; the current, and very inclusive, standard tome is Richard Crawford's *American Musical Life,* but even a half–century after its first publishing, Chase's work remains a cherished touchstone among American musicologists.[55]

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[50] Robert Cantwell, *When We Were Good: The Folk Revival* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 27–28. See also Ronald D. Cohen, *Rainbow Quest: The Folk Music Revival and American Society, 1940–1970* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 10. Both scholars tie these musical efforts to other nostalgic trends of the time, such as Ford's Greenfield Village and Rockefeller's preservation work at Colonial Williamsburg.

[51] John A. Lomax, *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1910); Carl Sandburg, *The American Songbag* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co.: 1927). The Archive of American Folk Song (now called the Archive of Folk Culture) was founded in 1928 and Lomax spent most of the 1930s curating and collecting music there. He not only promoted the early career of bluesman Hudie "Lead Belly" Ledbetter to urban whites, but also was the first to publish "Home on the Range" and innumerable other now–standard folk and country songs.

[52] John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music: Three Hundred Years of It* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1931). Its fourth, and final, edition (subtitled *A Comprehensive History from 1620 to the Present*) was published in 1965.

Research specifically on American sacred and popular music quickly followed these more general texts. A trio of works in the decades surrounding World War Two began to trace the comprehensive history of American church music, and a steady stream of articles and books dedicated to specific regions or faith traditions has followed since the 1950s.[56] These early works, unsurprisingly, show gendered, racial and regional biases that writers of current surveys still strive to correct.[57] Sigmund Spaeth's *A History of Popular Music in America*, published in 1948, is the first monograph dedicated to American popular song, but the late Charles Hamm, in his *Yesterdays,* was the first formally trained musicologist to approach the topic.[58] Subsequent generations of scholars, prominent among them the late Dr. Nicholas Tawa, discussed below, have since written a range of books on specific styles, regions, or periods of popular music.

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[53] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw–Hill, 1955); rev. 3rd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

[54] For particular comment on Chase's inclusion of African American music styles, see Eileen Southern, review of *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present*, by Gilbert Chase, *Black Perspectives in Music* 17, no. 1/2 (1989): 191–92.

[55] Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History*. In his introduction, xi–xii, Crawford explicitly links his book to Chase's earlier work.

[56] Archibald T. Davidson, *Protestant Church Music in America* (Boston, MA: E.C. Schirmer Music Co., 1936); Henry Wilder Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940); Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music* (New York: Morehouse–Gorham, 1953).

[57] Stephen A. Marini, *Sacred Song in America*; David W. Stowe, *How Sweet the Sound: Music in the Spiritual Lives of Americans*; John Ogasapian, *Church Music in America, 1620–2000*.

The scholarship dedicated specifically to music of the American antebellum period is a relatively recent development. Scholars such as W. Thomas Marrocco and Irving Lowens did recognize even this early American music as something differing, albeit derived, from European music.[59] However, like their predecessors, they still focused almost exclusively on church and art music, and largely dismissed the folk and popular songs of this era as hackneyed and unimportant. Nicholas Tawa seems to be the first to study American popular music from a formal, musicological approach. In a trio of books, he asserts that songs such as "Home! Sweet Home!" and "Woodman, Spare That Tree!" sound trifling and clichéd to modern ears for a very good reason (fig. 5).[60] These songs, for him, are answering questions—now meaningless to us—that were vitally important to antebellum listeners striving to establish their roles and identities in a nation undergoing rapid social, economic, and political change.

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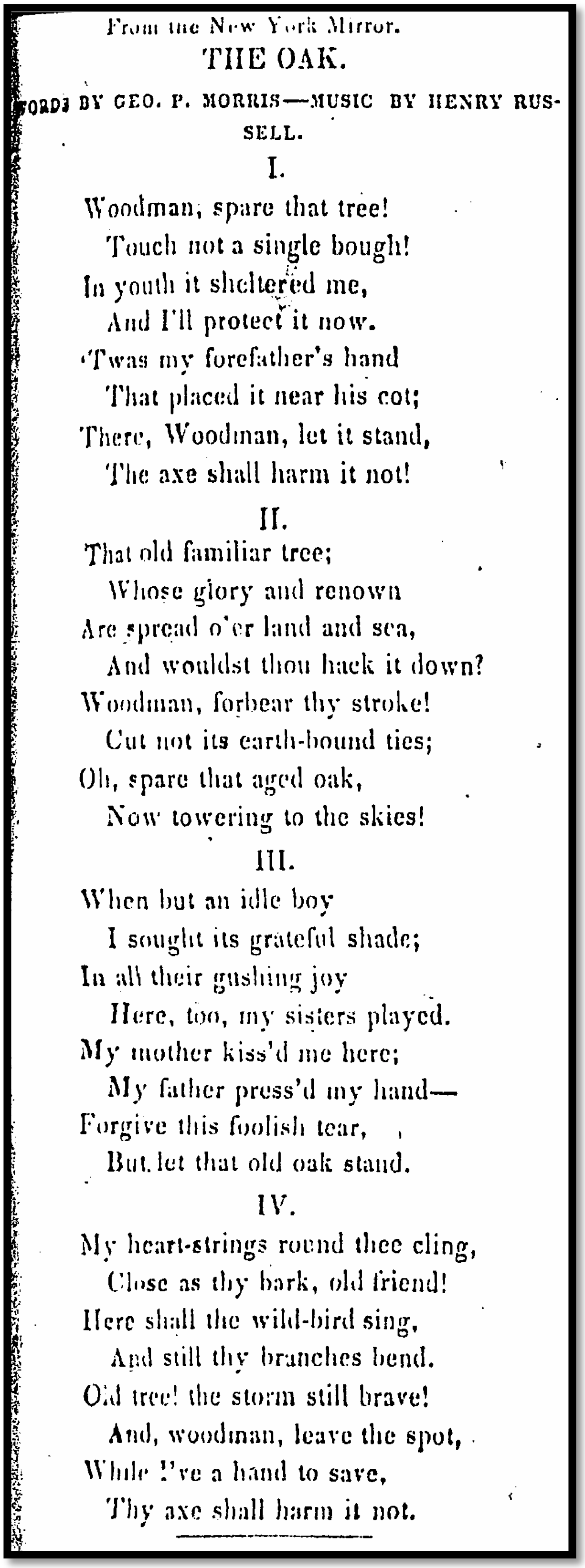
[58] Sigmund Gottfried Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America* (New York: Random House, 1948); Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America*.
[59] W. Thomas Marrocco, *Music in America: An Anthology from the Landing of the Pilgrims to the Close of the Civil War, 1620–1865* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1964); Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1964). See also Richard Crawford, *A Historian's Introduction to Early American Music* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1979) and Lowens, *Music in America and American Music: Two Views of the Scene, with a Bibliography of the Published Writings of Irving Lowens* (New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, The City University of New York: 1978).
[60] Nicholas Tawa, *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans: The Parlor Song in America, 1790–1860*; *A Music for the Millions: Antebellum Democratic Attitudes and the Birth of American Popular Music* (New York: Pendragon, 1984); *High–Minded and Low–Down: Music in the Lives of Americans, 1800–1861*.



From the New York Mirror.

THE OAK.

WORDS BY GEO. P. MORRIS—MUSIC BY HENRY RUSSELL.

I.

Woodman, spare that tree!
Touch not a single bough!
In youth it sheltered me,
And I'll protect it now.
'Twas my forefather's hand
That placed it near his cot;
There, Woodman, let it stand,
The axe shall harm it not!

II.

That old familiar tree;
Whose glory and renown
Are spread o'er land and sea,
And wouldst thou hack it down?
Woodman, forbear thy stroke!
Cut not its earth-bound ties;
Oh, spare that aged oak,
Now towering to the skies!

III.

When but an idle boy
I sought its grateful shade;
In all their gushing joy
Here, too, my sisters played.
My mother kiss'd me here;
My father press'd my hand—
Forgive this foolish tear,
But let that old oak stand.

IV.

My heart-strings round thee cling,
Close as thy bark, old friend!
Here shall the wild-bird sing,
And still thy branches bend.
Old tree! the storm still brave!
And, woodman, leave the spot,
While I've a hand to save,
Thy axe shall harm it not.

Figure 5. "The Oak" (known since the 1850s as "Woodman, Spare that Tree!"), words by George Morris and music by Henry Russell. *Indiana Journal* (Indianapolis) March 4, 1837, 1.

For Tawa, the very strangeness of antebellum music to modern ears suggests not only the cultural distance between us and the people who wrote and loved these songs, but also the possibility that the melodies and texts of the songs themselves could be a way to bridge that gap. He argues that popular American songs of the early nineteenth century illustrate a pervasive challenge and tension in the nation. On one hand, he sees a Jacksonian militant patriotism and the allure of the frontier, illustrated by the first generation of raucous minstrel songs like "Jump Jim Crow" and rowdy nationalistic songs such as "The Hunters of Kentucky" (fig. 6). These songs, projecting the young nation's cocky vigor, are opposed by sentimental ballads wrought with images of dying family and lovers, or a more general nostalgia for the old, seaboard, farms and plantations left behind in that same westward expansion—the defining poles, for Tawa, of early nineteenth–century American popular culture.[61] We need not, he argues, "appreciate and love the old songs;" but rather than condemn their simple sentiments and melodies, we should recognize these elements as the keys to the widespread and (for a time) enduring popularity of America's first national music.[62]

Unfortunately for the historian of the early West, the vast majority of scholarship on antebellum music (including Tawa's) is dedicated to the East Coast. Even though Cincinnati, St. Louis, and both Louisville and Lexington in Kentucky were significant centers of music publishing in this period, only a handful of historians have written on them. Prominent among these books are the first five chapters of William Osborne's comprehensive *Music in Ohio* and Joy Carden's

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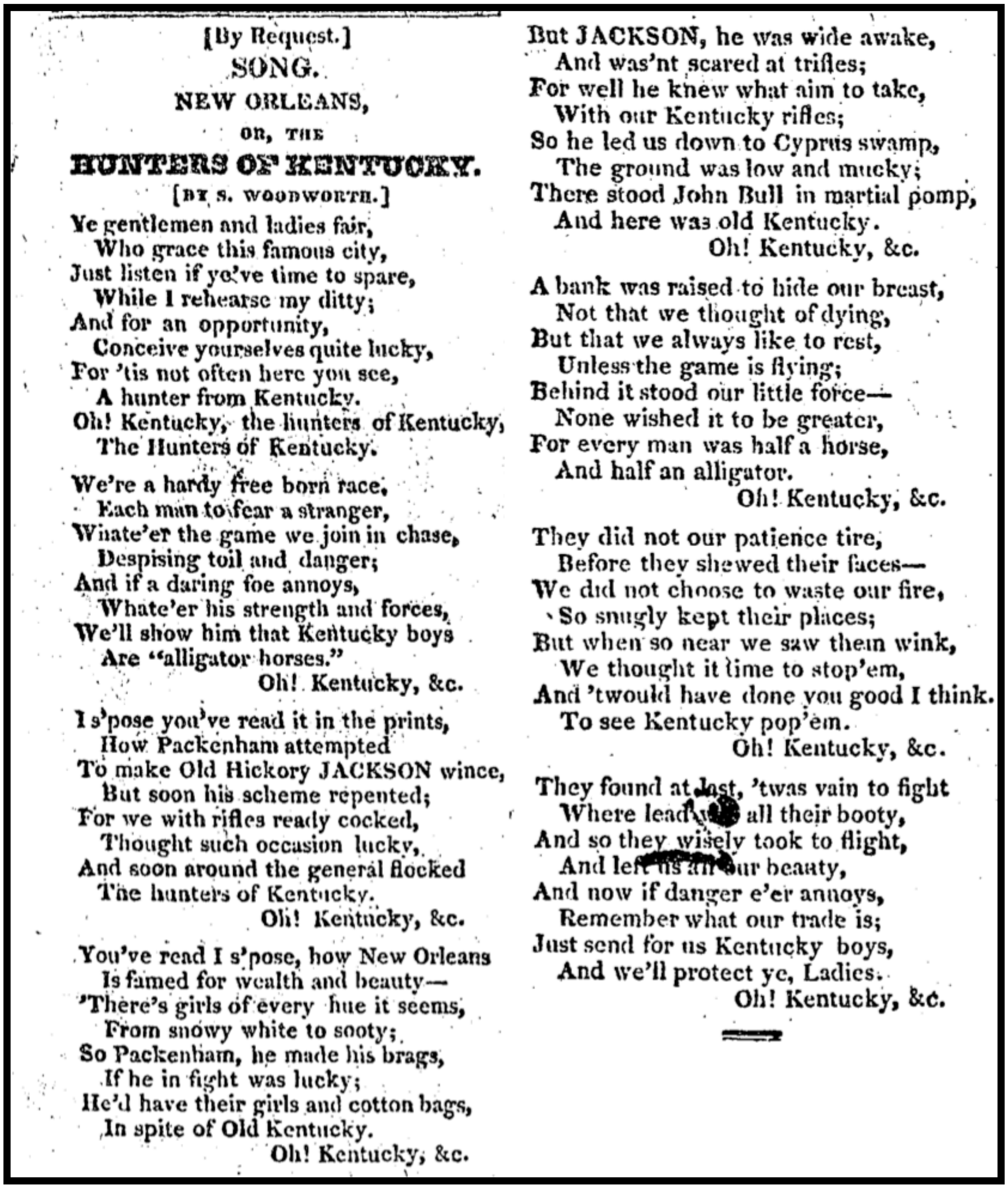
[61] Tawa, *A Music for the Millions*, vii–ix.
[62] Tawa, *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans*, 192.



[By Request.]

SONG.

NEW ORLEANS,

ON, THE

HUNTERS OF KENTUCKY.

[BY S. WOODWORTH.]

Ye gentlemen and ladies fair,
Who grace this famous city,
Just listen if ye've time to spare,
While I rehearse my ditty;
And for an opportunity,
Conceive yourselves quite lucky,
For 'tis not often here you see,
A hunter from Kentucky.
Oh! Kentucky, the hunters of Kentucky,
The Hunters of Kentucky.

We're a hardy free born race,
Each man to fear a stranger,
Whate'er the game we join in chase,
Despising toil and danger;
And if a daring foe annoys,
Whate'er his strength and forces,
We'll show him that Kentucky boys
Are "alligator horses."
Oh! Kentucky, &c.

I s'pose you've read it in the prints,
How Packenham attempted
To make Old Hickory JACKSON wince,
But soon his scheme repented;
For we with rifles ready cocked,
Thought such occasion lucky,
And soon around the general flocked
The hunters of Kentucky.
Oh! Kentucky, &c.

You've read I s'pose, how New Orleans
Is famed for wealth and beauty—
'There's girls of every hue it seems,
From snowy white to sooty;
So Packenham, he made his brags,
If he in fight was lucky;
He'd have their girls and cotton bags,
In spite of Old Kentucky.
Oh! Kentucky, &c.

But JACKSON, he was wide awake,
And was'nt scared at trifles;
For well he knew what aim to take,
With our Kentucky rifles;
So he led us down to Cyprus swamp,
The ground was low and mucky;
There stood John Bull in martial pomp,
And here was old Kentucky.
Oh! Kentucky, &c.

A bank was raised to hide our breast,
Not that we thought of dying,
But that we always like to rest,
Unless the game is flying;
Behind it stood our little force—
None wished it to be greater,
For every man was half a horse,
And half an alligator.
Oh! Kentucky, &c.

They did not our patience tire,
Before they shewed their faces—
We did not choose to waste our fire,
So snugly kept their places;
But when so near we saw them wink,
We thought it time to stop'em,
And 'twould have done you good I think.
To see Kentucky pop'em.
Oh! Kentucky, &c.

They found at last, 'twas vain to fight
Where lead was all their booty,
And so they wisely took to flight,
And left us all our beauty,
And now if danger e'er annoys,
Remember what our trade is;
Just send for us Kentucky boys,
And we'll protect ye, Ladies.
Oh! Kentucky, &c.

Figure 6. "New Orleans, Or, The Hunters of Kentucky," words and music by Samuel Wordsworth. *Maryland Gazette and State Register* (Annapolis), October 12, 1826, 1.

remarkable *Music in Lexington Before 1840*.[63] Additionally, Russell Sanjek's highly technical study of American popular music publishers dedicates ten pages to "Frontier and Western Music Publishers" in this era, and Carolann Guglielm's comprehensive study of antebellum music criticism, "Musical Life in the United States as Reported in the American Musical Press, 1819–1852," includes two midwestern journals (from a total of thirty).[64] Aside from a book and a dissertation on the highly musical Rappite communities of New Harmony, a few books on the state's early twentieth–century folklife, and a handful of articles on music in early Indianapolis, little other scholarship is specifically dedicated to music in early

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[63] William Osborne, *Music in Ohio* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2004); Joy Carden, *Music in Lexington Before 1840*.

[64] Russell Sanjek, *From 1790 to 1909,* vol. 2 of *American Popular Music and its Business: The First Four Hundred Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Carolann Guglielm, "Musical Life in the United States as Reported in the American Musical Press, 1819–1852."

Indiana.[65] Music history on early central Indiana and Indianapolis is similarly sparse.[66]

Music, laden as it is with cultural and emotional power, is a potent avenue for studying the worldviews of people that might be otherwise inaccessible. However, social and cultural historians have only started to explore how people have used and understood music fairly recently; fewer still have examined its place in the nineteenth century American West. Although a study of the social context of music in early middle Indiana presents many problems (scattered evidence and limited relevant scholarship loom large among them), the rewards of potential contributions to the history of American music, and better insight into the cultural world of early middle Indiana, certainly seem to justify the effort. The next chapter will examine the contexts and sources for the discussion of music in frontier Indiana in greater detail. Intertwining current scholarship and relevant primary sources, it will give a rough sketch of Indiana's populations at the turn of the nineteenth century, and consider how these groups changed over the next forty years—and what the historical record tells us about their musical activities.

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[65] Richard D. Wetzel, *Frontier Musicians on the Connoquenessing, Wabash, and Ohio: A History of the Music and Musicians of George Rapp's Harmony Society (1805–1906)* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976); Claude K. Sluder, "Music in New Harmony, Indiana, 1825–1865: A Study of the Music and Musical Activities of Robert Owen's Community of Equality (1825–1827) and its Cultural Afterglow (1827–1865)" (PhD diss. Indiana University, 1987); Leah Jackson Wolford, *The Play–Party in Indiana* (1917; repr., Indianapolis, IN: Indianapolis Historical Society, 1959); Paul Brewster, *Ballads and Songs of Indiana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1940); Cecilia Ray Berry, *Folk Songs of Old Vincennes* (Chicago, IL: H.T. Fitz–Simmons, 1946); Effa Morrison Danner, "Mary Wright, Pioneer Musician of Switzerland County," *Indiana Magazine of History* 24, no. 1 (March 1928): 26–33.

[66] The best recent summaries are David G. Vanderstel's "Overview: Cultural Institutions," Marianne W. McKinney's "Overview: Performing Arts," and Anita Heppner Plotinsky's "Music, Nineteenth–Century," all in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 39–41, 142–49, 1029–31. Earlier works include Eva Draeger, "The Theater in Indianapolis Before 1880," *Indiana Magazine of History* 51, no. 2 (June 1955): 121–38; and Martha F. Bellinger, "Music in Indianapolis, 1821–1900," *Indiana Magazine of History* 41, no. 4 (December 1945): 345–62.

Chapter Two: Early Middle Indiana and its Music

Music is a cultural construct, performed and appreciated by people in specific times and locales; to best understand its social meanings, historians need to examine the places where music was made and the people who created it. According to the standard historical narrative for Indiana, until the arrival of the railroads in the late 1840s, only the presence of the State House distinguished the state's core from any other stretch of frontier farmland between the French–flavored cities of Vincennes and Lafayette to the north and west, and the Appalachian–influenced Ohio River settlements, such as Corydon and Madison, in the south.[1] But this portrayal belies the fact that Indiana's interior was a dynamic, albeit sparsely populated, zone of contact and interchange for a wide range of people: American Indians, Europeans, and Americans both black and white all met here in this period. Each of these groups, to greater or lesser degrees, played a role in early middle Indiana's nascent musical culture.

This chapter will explore middle Indiana's early music within the context of the history of the early state and its people. It must be noted however, that the source material for music in early middle Indiana is quite scattered. Whereas comparable works in neighboring states, such as Joy Carden's *Music in Lexington Before 1840* and Steven C. Tracy's *Going to the City: A History of Blues in the Queen City* are built on dense, varied bodies of material including newspaper articles, journals, letters, and concert programs, these sources are much rarer, if not entirely lacking, for middle Indiana in this period.[2] This problem is certainly understandable: in 1830, Fayette County, Kentucky (Lexington) had over 25,000 residents, Hamilton County, Ohio (Cincinnati) numbered over 52,000, and St. Louis County, Missouri topped 14,000, while Marion County, Indiana contained barely 7,000 citizens.[3] With much lower populations, and lower population densities, the counties of early middle Indiana simply could not support the volume of newspapers, musicians, and concert venues seen in these larger cities.

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[1] Donald F. Carmony, *Indiana, 1816–1850: The Pioneer Era* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau & Indiana Historical Society, 1998), 114.

Material traces of middle Indiana's early cultural life do, however, exist. Regional historical societies and libraries hold a smattering of local newspapers from this period, typically now available on microfilm. By the early 1830s Indianapolis bookstores regularly advertised hymnals for sale in these newspapers, and they often sold vernacular songsters, sheet music, and sometimes instruments as well.[4] Advertising for music instruction, a handful of anecdotes from early journals and county histories, and the large volumes of songbooks and sheet music in local and regional collections all help fill out the impression of early middle Indiana's enthusiastic, if preprofessionalized, musical culture.

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[2] Joy Carden, *Music in Lexington Before 1840*; Steven C. Tracy, *Going to the City: A History of Blues in the Queen City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993). Other examples of regional musical studies in this era include William Osborne, *Music in Ohio* and Ernst Krohn, *Music Publishing in the Middle Western States Before the Civil War* (Detroit, MI: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1972).

[3] *Abstract of the Returns of the Fifth Census, Showing the Number of Free People, the Number of Slaves, the Federal or Representative Number, and the Aggregate of Each County of Each State of the United States. Prepared from the Corrected Returns of the Secretary of State to Congress, by the Clerk of the House of Representatives* (Washington, D.C.: Printed by Duff Green, 1832), 34–35.

[4] Michael Harris's analysis of store sales records suggests that music accounted for roughly three to five percent of sales by book and general stores in early Indiana. See his "The Availability of Books and the Nature of Book Ownership on the Southern Indiana Frontier, 1800–1850" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1971), 111, 215–21.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, what is now Indiana was the southeastern corner of the Indiana Territory, which was itself the remnant of the Northwest Territory remaining after Ohio began preparing for statehood in 1800.[5] Most sources estimate the population of what would become Indiana at the turn of the nineteenth century to be around 2,500 white Europeans and Americans, mixed with and surrounded by an untallied—but substantial—number of Native Americans. Indiana gained statehood in late 1816 and saw tremendous growth throughout the period of this study: by 1840, the state's population had reached 686,000, of which some 16,000 lived in Marion County and about 95,000 (roughly one–seventh of the state's population) lived in the nine counties of middle Indiana altogether.[6] Although hundreds of white squatters, explorers, and prospectors had been living in central Indiana since well before statehood, the area only saw its first significant population boom once the Miami Indians ceded much of their land, roughly the middle third of the modern state, to the federal government in October of 1818.[7]

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[5] Information in this and the following paragraphs is summarized from Howard H. Peckham, *Indiana: A Bicentennial History* (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1978), 14–45.

[6] U. S. Department of State, *Compendium of the Sixth Census of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States* (Washington, DC, 1841), 80–82.

[7] Stewart Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654–1994* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1994), 80–82. See also the map of cessions in Elizabeth Glenn and Stewart Rafert, *The Native Americans* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2009), 55.

From this cession, the state created the nine counties defined in this study as "middle Indiana" between 1821 and 1830; therefore, all of these counties first appear in the 1830 census. State lawmakers selected Indianapolis, in Marion County, as the new state capital in 1820 for its central location on the White River; the seat of state government officially relocated to Indianapolis from Corydon in early 1825.[8] Despite their geographic centrality and governmental significance, the counties of middle Indiana remained a predominantly agricultural region until well after the Civil War.[9] That said, middle Indiana had established commercial and social ties to larger regional cities such as Cincinnati, Louisville, and Lexington as early as the turn of the nineteenth century. Although the settlers of Indianapolis found the White River to be effectively non–navigable shortly after the city's founding, a network of crude roads soon connected middle Indiana to the rest of Indiana and its neighboring states.[10] Both the National Road and, via overland transport to the south and west, and the Ohio and Wabash Rivers helped tie Indianapolis and its surrounding communities to its "regional economy" and, eventually, the nation.[11] Increasing population densities and improved transportation networks began to strengthen these ties by the 1830s and 1840s, presaging the dramatic population boom in and around Indianapolis from the 1850s to the 1870s.

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[8] Peckham, 50–53.

[9] James J. Divita, "Overview: Demography and Ethnicity," in *The Encyclopedia of* Indianapolis, 51–53.

[10] Ralph D. Gray, "Overview: Transportation," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 189–90.

[11] Kim M. Gruenwald, *River of Enterprise: The Commercial Origins of Regional Identity in the Ohio Valley, 1790–1850* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), xi–xvi.

As noted above, members of several American Indian tribes were the first people to live and make music in middle Indiana; the Native presence in Indiana, based on the archaeological record, dates back at least ten thousand years.[12] Historian Andrew Cayton estimates that, following a series of epidemics brought by contact with white explorers and traders, Indiana's Native American population numbered "around 2,000" seminomadic people in 1750 — but it appears that they recovered fairly quickly.[13] Whether through an increased birth rate or immigration from neighboring regions, by 1817 the federal Indian agent in Fort Wayne oversaw more than 3,000 Miami and Potawatomi alone.[14] Other significant American Indian groups living in and moving through central Indiana included the Wea, Piankashaw, Kickapoo, Lenape (Delaware) and Shawnee.[15]

The paucity of sources and scholarship on Native American society in early middle Indiana is, if not surprising, striking. Native Americans were important members of early Indiana's cultural life, and we know that interchange was common between them and the new, white immigrants; early trader and politician William Conner (namesake of Conner Prairie), for example, was married to a Lenape woman for eighteen years and carried on an extensive trade with American Indians in

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[12] Glenn and Rafert, 10–11.

[13] Andrew Cayton, *Frontier Indiana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 6.

[14] Glenn and Rafert, 48.

[15] Glenn and Rafert, 14.

Middle Indiana.[16] Despite this, Native American music is effectively nonexistent in the historical record for this period—and while the descendants of early Indiana's Native populations, particularly the Miami, still practice a living music and dance tradition in both Indiana and Oklahoma, equating modern to ancient practices for any society is risky. As musicologist William Osborne observes for Ohio,

> fragmentary evidence suggests that the American Indian tribes that were gradually dispersed elsewhere as their lands were appropriated by war and treaty practiced their own musical dialects, although with hardly enough specificity to allow a sense of how these might have sounded. Since theirs was a purely oral tradition, it would be presumptuous to suggest that the music of [modern] American Indians . . . bears a resemblance to that practiced two centuries ago.[17]

He further adds that only a thin handful of European and American journals records Native American music from anywhere in the Northwest Territory in this period. Travelers might have written down a few phonetic lyrics, a rhythm, or perhaps the impression of a distant chanting in the woods, but little more.[18] The general scholarship on American Indian music in this period is equally sparse: it largely consists of vague comments that Native Americans—not unlike any other cultural group—used music, both socially and in ceremonies, "[to address] virtually every aspect of tribal life."[19]

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[16] Timothy Crumrin, "Conner, William," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 471–72. Mekinges, Conner's wife, left the state with their six children in 1820 upon the federal removal of central Indiana's Native population and never returned. Although it focuses on a single, and particularly brutal, event, David Thomas Murphy's *Murder in Their Hearts: The Fall Creek Massacre* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2010) also illuminates the many ways in which Native and white lives intertwined in early Indiana.

[17] Osborne, 3.

[18] Osborne, 3–5.

[19] Stephen A. Marini, *Sacred Song in America*, 17.

The size and presence of early Indiana's black population, like nonwhites in other frontier and rural regions, is difficult to accurately assess.[20] Free, escaped, and enslaved African Americans lived in Indiana for essentially as long as any other immigrant population, and they comprised about one percent of middle Indiana's population by the turn of the nineteenth century.[21] Nearly all of Indiana's African Americans in this era had migrated from the South; some, such as many of the farming families in and around the Hamilton County village of Roberts Settlement, had stopped in Ohio or Pennsylvania before moving on to farm cheaper land to the west.[22] The other significant cluster of African Americans in early middle Indiana was found in Indianapolis, already forming the urban enclave "slightly north and west of the center of the city" that would become, in the decades following the Civil War, the famed Indiana Avenue community.[23]

Little scholarship exists on the musical lives of African Americans in the early rural North, but we can make some educated guesses. The vast majority of black Indianans in this era came from the South, and they certainly brought elements of that region's rich, African–influenced folk culture and music to Indiana.[24] Religious music, as it did for whites, played an important role for black Indianans; the residents of Roberts Settlement appear to have worshipped with their Quaker neighbors at first, but like many urban and rural African Americans, formed or joined African Methodist Episcopal and mainstream Methodist and Baptist congregations within a few years.[25] It is quite likely that, in addition to standard congregational texts, members of local A.M.E. congregations used either the original or revised edition of Richard Allen's *Collection of Songs, Selected from Various Authors* for their hymnals.[26]

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[20] For a deeper analysis of antebellum Indiana's African and Native American populations (and the challenges in studying them), see Richard S. Rose, "The Distribution of Indiana's Ethnic and Racial Minorities in 1850," *Indiana Magazine of History* 87, no. 3 (September 1991): 246–60.

[21] *Compendium of the Sixth Census*, 80–82. By far the largest concentration, for middle Indiana, roughly 1.5% of the city's 16,000 citizens, lived in Indianapolis. Although the 1830 and 1840 censuses each list three enslaved African Americans in the state's southern counties, neither census lists any enslaved people in middle Indiana.

[22] Stephen A. Vincent, *Southern Seed, Northern Soil: African–American Farm Communities in the Midwest, 1765–1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), xi–xvii.

[23] Emma Lou Thornbrough, "Overview: African–Americans" in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 6.

The field of African American folk and popular music in the rural antebellum North remains virtually unstudied.[27] Although a rare few blacks do appear in Indiana's primary sources, the white writers of these accounts were typically too interested in their subjects' otherness to record much of their musical lives.[28] As an oppressed (or even despised) minority in early Indiana, pioneering African Americans may not have wished to attract attention to themselves. Perceived, and often portrayed, as African exotics or rural Southern bumpkins by white neighbors and the popular culture of the time, it appears that many African Americans in the rural antebellum North kept to themselves, reducing their presence in the historic record even further.[29] While black migrants might also have eschewed some Southern musical traditions such as fiddling, the banjo, and field songs, as the trappings of a slave society, they did carry and adapt other musical practices, such as the ring shout, into "safe" social spaces such as A.M.E. worship services.[30]

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[24] Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana Before 1900: A Study of a Minority* (1957; repr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), and "African Americans," in *Peopling Indiana*, ed. Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1996), 12–14.

[25] Thornbrough, 151–60; Vincent, 72–73.

[26] For more on Allen, the founder of the A.M.E. Church, and the evolution of his hymnal, its African–American qualities, and its importance to the early church, see Eileen Southern, "Hymnals of the Black Church," *The Black Perspective in Music* 17, no. 1/2 (1989): 153–57.

[27] For example, the current standard historical survey of African American music features chapters on "Antebellum Urban Life," on the North, and "Antebellum Rural Life," for the South, and the principal scholarly treatment of pre–Civil War black folk music focuses almost entirely on the South. See Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1997); Dena J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

The first whites in Indiana, starting in the late 1600s, were French, and later British, citizens.[31] Although their influence was in decline by the turn of the nineteenth century, Europeans still played significant roles in Indiana up until and well past the granting of statehood. Hundreds of whites entered the region that would become Indiana as merchants, land prospectors, and soldiers; later, they also came as journalists and tourists. These Europeans brought not only their languages and cultures, but also of course their musical interests, to early Indiana. Members of colonial militaries are prominent among the earliest non–Native musical ensembles in the state, and British and French officers are among the earliest named musicians in regional primary sources.[32] French soldiers and citizens seem to have been particularly influential in creating frontier Indiana's social dance community: early journals often refer to French dances such as the *cotillion* and *minuet*, and the earliest music–related book published in Indiana is the work of a French dance instructor.[33]

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[28] Diarist and lawyer Calvin Fletcher, for example, seems to have been more interested in African Americans as objects of legal and social curiosity than human beings. *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher*, ed. Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy L. Riker (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1973), 1:167–68; 1:455–56; 2:132–33; and 2:175.

[29] Thornbrough, "African Americans," in *Peopling Indiana*, 13–14; Vincent, 52–53, 63–64.

[30] Dena J. Epstein, "Secular Folk Music," and Mellonee Burnim, "Religious Music," in *African American Music: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006), ed. Mellonee V. Burnim and Portia K. Maultsby, 35–50, 56–58.

[31] For simplicity, the term "British" here indicates people of both English and Scottish origin.

By the mid–1830s, growing numbers of German and Irish immigrants had also begun to arrive in central Indiana. While these people were not participants in the large waves of American immigration that the state would see a decade or two later, these first pioneers established footholds that later generations, fleeing revolution and famine, would follow.[34] Germans in early Indiana were divided roughly evenly between Protestants and Catholics, and these faiths were vital, defining elements of their lives.[35] Their presence in local and regional bands indicates German immigrants' interest in popular and concert music, and the founding in the 1850s of the Maennerchor, a German–American music society still performing to this day, indicates Indianapolis's strong immigrant musical community in this period.[36]

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[32] For a summary of types and uses of music in colonial militaries, see Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 83–85.

[33] M. B. Brouillett, *A Collection of Cotillions, Scotch Reels, etc. Introduced at the Dancing School of M. B. Brouillett* (Logansport, IN: Lasselle, 1834).

[34] Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans," and William W. Giffin, "Irish," in *Peopling Indiana*, 152–160, 246–53.

[35] Many of the first immigrants to the Rappite colony in (New) Harmony were also Germans. Although the Harmonists communicated about music quite extensively with other faith–based communities, their impact outside of southwestern Indiana was negligible. Richard D. Wetzel, *Frontier Musicians*, 138–40**.** For more on music and German–American identity, see Philip V. Bohlman and Otto Holzapfel, eds., *Land Without Nightingales: Music in the Making of German–America* (Madison, University of Wisconsin, 2002).

Large numbers of early Irish immigrants to the American frontier came from impoverished rural areas of Ireland's western coast; while many sought to return to farming, the demand for unskilled workers, often to build canals and roads, also drew many Irish to Indiana in the early nineteenth century.[37] They sang folk ballads in both English and Gaelic, and played dance tunes on the small, portable instruments of their homeland such as fiddle, flute, and whistle. At least one anecdote, however, complicates this picture. Many of the details that historians know of early Indianapolis are found in the extensive diaries of lawyer, politician, and banker Calvin Fletcher (1798–1866), who moved to the young city in 1821.[38] Fletcher noted in early 1839, "In the eve a Mr. Brown an Irish or Scotchman plaid [*sic*] on the union bag pipes the first time I ever saw."[39] The "union" pipes are unique to Ireland, so while the timing is perfect to imagine this unknown musician as a worker on the Central Canal (construction began in 1836 and stumbled along for three or four more years), the fact that this musician owned and performed on an expensive, complicated and, at the time, relatively new instrument suggests a man of far greater means than a common laborer.[40] Without additional information, much less a first name, it is impossible to know anything specific about Brown the piper, but Fletcher's record of his concert gives a tantalizing hint of a trained, and possibly affluent, upper stratum of early Indiana's Irish population.

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[36] Carden's work on Wilhelm Iucho is enlightening on urban German musicians in the region; see her *Music in Lexington Before 1840*, 12–20.

[37] William W. Giffin, "Irish," in *Peopling Indiana*, 246–47. On conditions for the Central Canal labor force, see Rita W. Harlan, "The Central in the City: The Impact of the Central Canal in Indianapolis, 1836–1900" (master's thesis, Indiana University, 1996), 14–17.

[38] Sheryl D. Vanderstel, "Fletcher, Calvin," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 577–79.

[39] *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher*, 2:63.

Many other early musical venues cannot be connected to specific nationalities or ethnic groups; one can, perhaps, best link them with the waves of internal American migrants to Indiana from the south (particularly Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia) and east (principally Ohio and Pennsylvania).[41] Circuses, for example, were wildly popular throughout Europe and the American eastern seaboard in the eighteenth century, and began touring in flatboats and wagons in the 1820s.[42] They quickly spread to the American frontier, and are first recorded in Indiana in late 1823.[43] While early circuses in Indiana are best associated with river towns and, somewhat later, the number of large traveling shows that wintered about seventy miles north of Indianapolis in Peru, a variety of historical sources indicate that middle Indiana saw at least a handful of traveling shows in the 1830s and 40s (fig. 7).[44]

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[40] This notoriously complex and challenging instrument is now more commonly known as the "uilleann" pipes. A published history on the Irish pipes does not yet exist, but most sources date the creation of their modern form to the late eighteenth century. See "History of the Uilleann Pipes," drawn from an exhibit catalog by the National Museum of Ireland, at http://www.pipers.ie/home/Resources_History%20Pipes.htm (accessed September 10, 2012).

[41] Divita, 53. On the cultural patterns and legacies of these American immigration streams, see James M. Bergquist, "Tracing the Origins of a Midwestern Culture: The Case of Central Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* 77, no. 1 (March 1981): 1–32.

[42] Helen Stoddart, *Rings of Desire: Circus History and Representation* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000), 13–22.

[43] Frederick H. Graham, *Wait for the Muncie Boys: Indiana's Early Circuses* (Indianapolis: Guild Press of Indiana, 1995), 7–8.

Music was a vital entertainment in circuses in the early nineteenth century (as it still is today), in a variety of forms. While the ritualized blackface "minstrel show" structure was not created until early 1843, many antebellum minstrel performers started their careers as blackface clowns, comedians, and singers in touring circuses.[45] Touring circus bands likely featured whatever portable instruments their performers were proficient upon: voice, drums, brass, and woodwinds would not have been uncommon. Although he failed to note whether or not the performers wore blackface, Morgan County frontiersman Noah Major hinted at potential early appearances of minstrels in Indiana: his memoir records the appearances of both a "striped clown" in 1833 and, in 1836, of Frost, Husted & Co.'s traveling circus with "[a] string band [that] has seldom been excelled in Martinsville."[46]

Sacred music was also extremely important to early Americans, and evidence supporting the significance of church music to early white settlers is widespread throughout middle Indiana. Hymnals are common in modern museum and library

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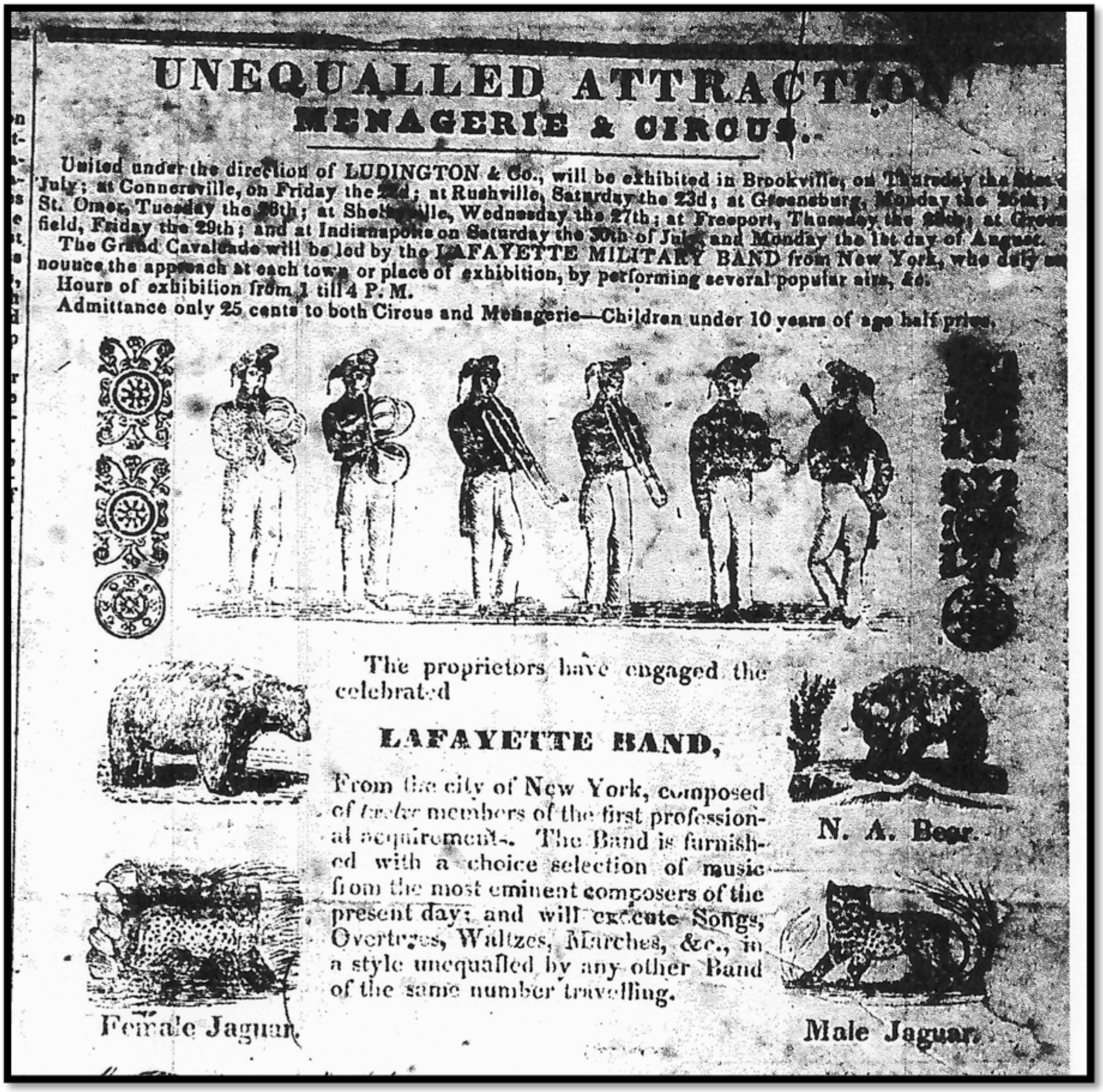
[44] For example, Noah Major's memoir lists at least seven circuses touring in Martinsville between 1830 and 1836, and notes that they thereafter "appeared once or twice a year with great regularity." Noah Major and Logan Esarey, *The Pioneers of Morgan County*, 385–91.

[45] Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 30; Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and its Business,* 2:166–70. Historians link, in turn, these circus and minstrel show performers to the tradition of the blackface comedians that were popular in American medicine shows from the 1850s to the 1930s. Brooks McNamara, *Step Right Up*, rev. ed. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), 125–27.

[46] Major and Esarey, 390–91.



UNEQUALLED ATTRACTION

MENAGERIE & CIRCUS.

United under the direction of LUDINGTON & Co., will be exhibited in Brookville, on Thursday the [illegible] July; at Connersville, on Friday the 22d; at Rushville, Saturday the 23d; at Greensburg, Monday the 25th; at St. Omer, Tuesday the 26th; at Shelbyville, Wednesday the 27th; at Freeport, Thursday the 28th; at Greenfield, Friday the 29th; and at Indianapolis on Saturday the 30th of July and Monday the 1st day of August.

The Grand Cavalcade will be led by the LAFAYETTE MILITARY BAND from New York, who duly announce the approach at each town or place of exhibition, by performing several popular airs, &c.

Hours of exhibition from 1 till 4 P. M.

Admittance only 25 cents to both Circus and Menagerie—Children under 10 years of age half price.

The proprietors have engaged the celebrated

LAFAYETTE BAND,

From the city of New York, composed of *twelve* members of the first professional acquirements. The Band is furnished with a choice selection of music from the most eminent composers of the present day; and will execute Songs, Overtures, Waltzes, Marches, &c., in a style unequalled by any other Band of the same number travelling.

N. A. Bear.

Female Jaguar.

Male Jaguar.

Figure 7. Circus music in early middle Indiana. Along with a large animal menagerie and “equestrian company,” the Luddington & Co. circus promised “Songs, Overtures, Waltzes, Marches, &c. in a style unequaled by any other band of the same number travelling [*sic*]” from the Lafayette Military Band, “composed of *twelve* members of the first professional requirements,” on their 1836 tour of central Indiana. *Indiana Journal* (Indianapolis), July 9, 1836, 3 (detail).

collections, in both standard and shape–note formats. While some of this material may have come to the state more recently, some of it clearly did not: a fine example is the copy of the second edition of W. C. Knight's *The Juvenile Harmony* in the collection of the Johnson County Museum of History in Franklin, Indiana. Although the *Juvenile Harmony* was published in Cincinnati, its owner verified its importance to himself (and to this study) by inscribing the front cover, "Squire Hendricks His Book 1830 purchased from Samuel Hericott (?) Franklin Johnson." Local newspaper advertising for both instruments and hymnals supports scholarly assertions that early church choirs were common in the region, and at least a few were probably accompanied by "small orchestras" (see figs. 3 and 8).[47] Shape–note choirs were popular in frontier middle Indiana, and the earliest generation of county histories frequently cites them as "old–timey" musical curiosities.[48]

How, then, were early Indianans learning to perform and appreciate music? As occurred throughout antebellum America, the early state's citizens learned music performance largely informally, at home or in church, but a few sites of formal music education began appearing shortly after the state's founding.[49] According to the diary of Sarah Hill Fletcher, wife of the aforementioned Calvin, Indianapolis had at least one singing school by late 1821; it is, however, unclear if this school was

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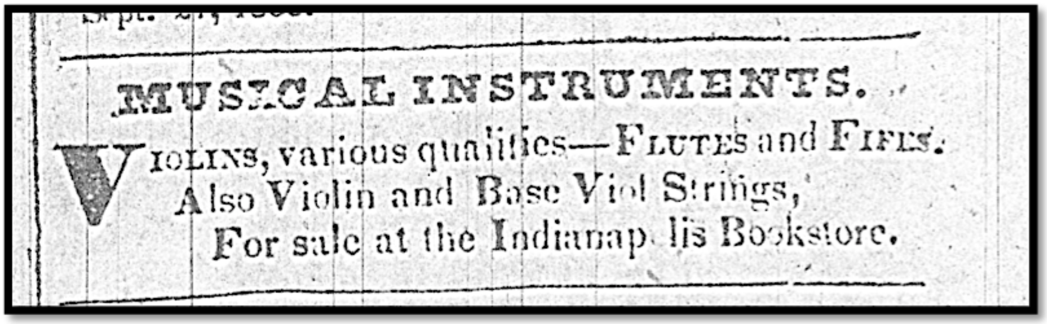
[47] Marianne W. McKinney, "Overview: Performing Arts" in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 142–43. The *Indiana Journal*, *Indiana Democrat*, and *Indianapolis Gazette* all ran similar bookstore advertisements in the 1830s. Similar ads in newspapers such as the *Lafayette Free Press*, *Logansport Telegraph*, *Crawfordsville Record*, and *Delphi Oracle*, indicate that bookstores well beyond Indianapolis were selling hymnals as well.
[48] See, for example: Edward H. Chadwick, *Chadwick's History of Shelby County, Indiana* (Indianapolis, IN: B. F. Bowen, 1909), 307; Major and Esarey, 441.
[49] For an excellent portrait of frontier music education in neighboring Ohio, see "The Singing School" in Osborne, 63–90.



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

VIOLINS, various qualities—FLUTES and FIFES.
Also Violin and Base Viol Strings,
For sale at the Indianapolis Bookstore.

Figure 8. Instruments in early Indianapolis. “Base [*sic*] viol” likely refers to the cello–like instrument used in churches, rather than the more familiar, modern, “double” bass. *Indiana Democrat* (Indianapolis), November 2, 1833, 4.

linked to her church or supported by subscriptions, and thus open to all who could pay.[50] The citizens of Indianapolis founded a short–lived "society of vocal music" in August of 1827, and in the 1830s, Shelby County music patron Dr. David McGaughey opened a "Missouri," or shape–note, singing school in Morristown that taught and performed at least into the late 1940s.[51] Most strikingly, by 1838 the Presbyterian seminary in Indianapolis was offering a singing school for "all the youth of our place," and the Indianapolis Female Institute, possibly the same institution, was offering lessons in both piano and voice (as well as drawing and French) to the city's young ladies (figs. 9 and 10).[52]

For the people of frontier Indiana, the pursuit of music was a vital and popular, albeit an amateur, activity. They used it not only to entertain themselves and each other, but also to express important social, political, and religious messages. Early Indianans who could afford expensive, prestigious musical instruments such as the guitar, and especially the piano, studied art and parlor songs to maintain a link with the nation's more populous, more "civilized," cities. Immigrants and their descendants used music to preserve, and sometimes create, memories of their Old World homelands even as the blackface minstrel show declared, for the first time across the entire nation, who Americans were and what

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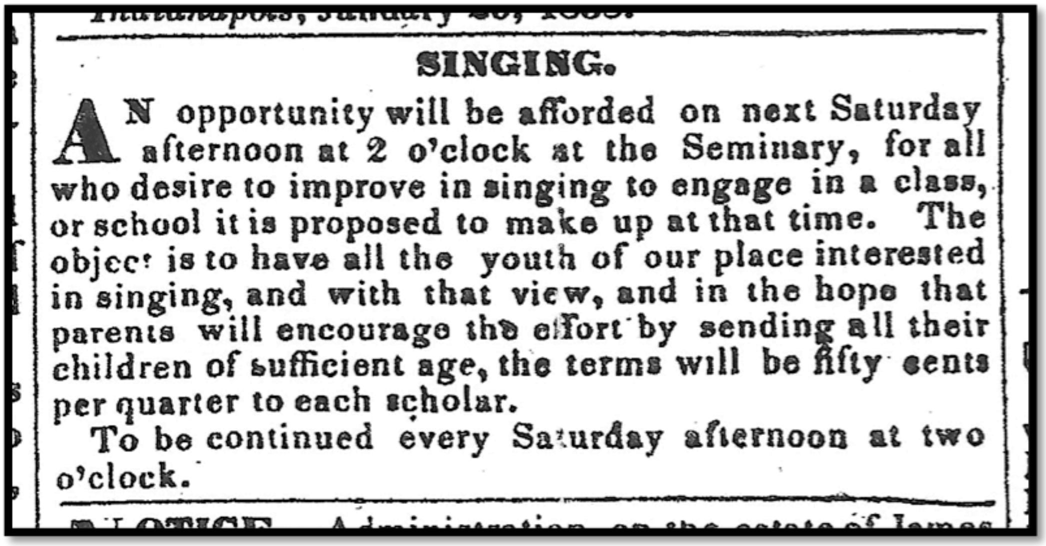
[50] *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher*, 1:46.

[51] *Indiana Journal* (Indianapolis), August 28, 1827, 1; Chadwick, 307; "Diapason Singing Class Making Plans for Reunion," *The Shelbyville Republican*, May 22, 1947.

[52] On this school, see Alexander Urbiel, "Indianapolis Female Institute/Seminary," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 773–74.

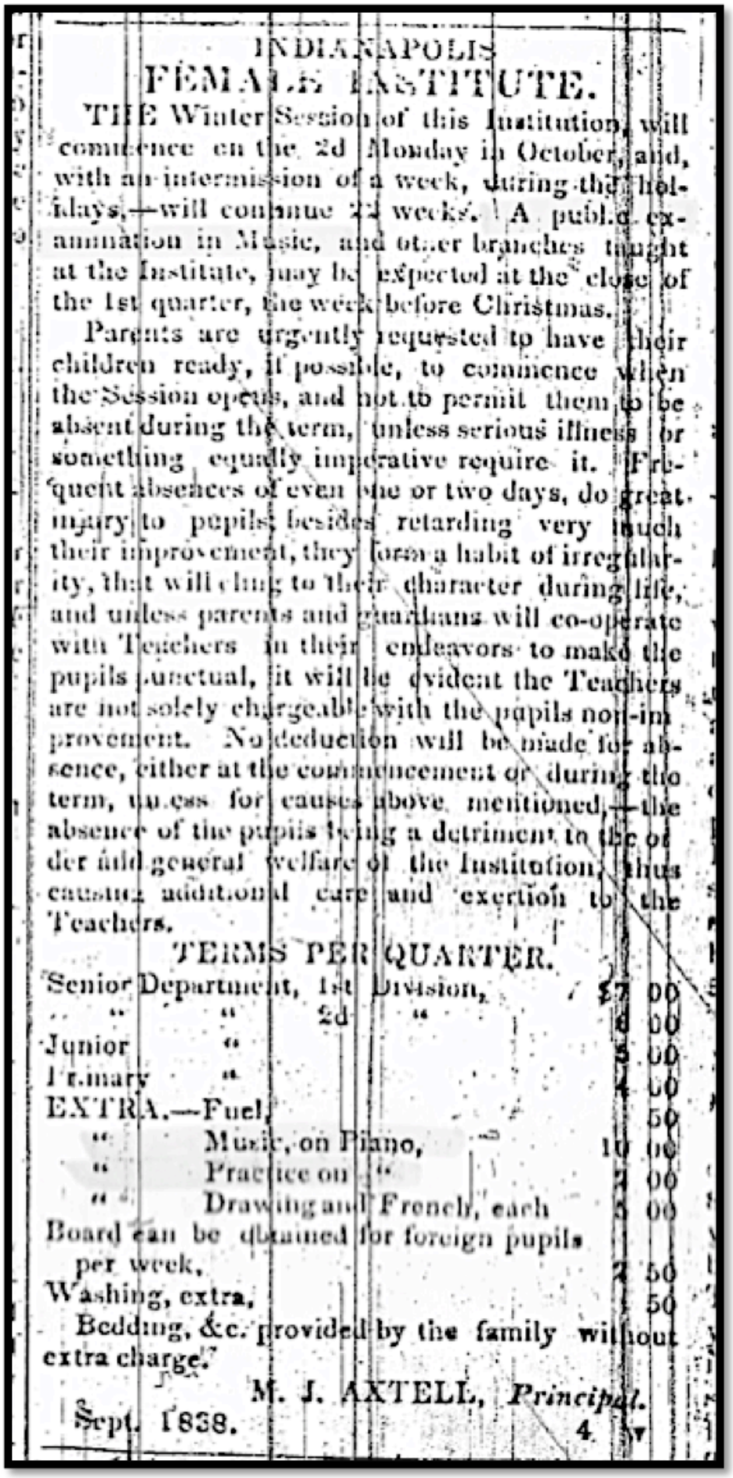


SINGING.

AN opportunity will be afforded on next Saturday afternoon at 2 o'clock at the Seminary, for all who desire to improve in singing to engage in a class, or school it is proposed to make up at that time. The object is to have all the youth of our place interested in singing, and with that view, and in the hope that parents will encourage the effort by sending all their children of sufficient age, the terms will be fifty cents per quarter to each scholar.

To be continued every Saturday afternoon at two o'clock.

Figure 9. Vocal instruction in early Indianapolis. *Indiana State Journal* (Indianapolis), January 20, 1838, 3.



INDIANAPOLIS
FEMALE INSTITUTE.

THE Winter Session of this Institution, will commence on the 2d Monday in October, and, with an intermission of a week, during the holidays,—will continue 22 weeks. A public examination in Music, and other branches taught at the Institute, may be expected at the close of the 1st quarter, the week before Christmas.

Parents are urgently requested to have their children ready, if possible, to commence when the Session opens, and not to permit them to be absent during the term, unless serious illness or something equally imperative require it. Frequent absences of even one or two days, do great injury to pupils; besides retarding very much their improvement, they form a habit of irregularity, that will cling to their character during life, and unless parents and guardians will co-operate with Teachers in their endeavors to make the pupils punctual, it will be evident the Teachers are not solely chargeable with the pupils non-improvement. No deduction will be made for absence, either at the commencement or during the term, unless for causes above mentioned,—the absence of the pupils being a detriment to the order and general welfare of the Institution, thus causing additional care and exertion to the Teachers.

TERMS PER QUARTER.

Senior Department, 1st Division,		$7 00
" " 2d "		6 00
Junior "		5 00
Primary "		4 00
EXTRA.—Fuel,		50
"	Music, on Piano,	10 00
"	Practice on "	2 00
"	Drawing and French, each	5 00
Board can be obtained for foreign pupils per week,		2 50
Washing, extra,		50

Bedding, &c. provided by the family without extra charge.

M. J. AXTELL, *Principal.*

Sept. 1838. 4

Figure 10. Piano instruction in early Indianapolis. *Indiana Democrat* (Indianapolis), October 31, 1838, 3.

they valued.[53] The following chapter proposes a series of potential public applications for this scholarship. How, in a public history setting, can historians use music to reinforce educational messages or subvert audience expectations? What is familiar about the sound and style of rural antebellum music, what about it might sound odd or exotic, and how can we use these characteristics to engage diverse, varying audiences?

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[53] William J. Mahar, *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask: Early Blackface Minstrelsy and Antebellum American Popular Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 9–11.

Chapter Three: A Public History Application of Music and History

Music, as elucidated in the prior chapters, was a powerful medium of social interchange for citizens of the early American frontier. This chapter will examine how historians working with twenty–first century audiences can use music to explore life on the nineteenth century Indiana frontier. It will begin with a brief survey of the scholarship and context for listening to music in early America and a summary of the theory and technique on using music to teach history, followed by a summary of what, to the best of our knowledge, current scholars think music in nineteenth century America would actually have sounded like. The final sections of this chapter will propose a set of specific projects and programs for a major living history park in central Indiana.

Given the universality of music in human experience, there should be little wonder that people have long used it for teaching; in fact, the earliest major history of Indianapolis tells of an unnamed and itinerant schoolmaster who, in the 1840s, taught geography in song.[1] We often use song to record and remember historical events (our national anthem is, after all, an account of the siege of Fort McHenry in the War of 1812), but historians and educators have only recently begun to craft a small body of scholarship on the theory and practice of using music to teach history.

While many universities and archives have been recording and distributing folk music since the 1930s or even earlier, only a handful of these actively use their collections for historic outreach. Venues such as the Regional Music Project at the University of West Georgia's Center for Public History, the Center for Texas Music

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[1] B. R. Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County Indiana* (1884; repr., Evansville, IL: Unigraphic, Inc., 1974), 84.

History at Texas State University, and the Smithsonian Institution's "New Harmonies" traveling exhibit use historic recordings and texts to recreate historic soundscapes, helping their audiences better understand, and sympathize with, people and communities that are long gone.[2] Also, history and social studies educators now use a range of textual and digital musical resources, such as the Library of Congress's "National Jukebox" website, to introduce their students to challenging topics in American history even as they recreate the nation's popular culture.[3]

Additionally, an emerging body of articles in both education and history journals supports a more general call for historians and history teachers to reconsider the validity and power of music as a historic text. Many of these articles offer methods, resources, and discographies for using both recorded and live music in the classroom to better immerse students in historical eras.[4] Another group of articles proposes using song lyrics as primary sources for textual analysis.[5] While these articles can be quite provocative, they often assume that time has not changed the interpretation, popularity, and availability of the music studied. Factors such as commercialism and cultural memory can powerfully affect how popular songs are written, performed, and remembered, and young historians should be reminded so.[6] The best and most complete examination of melding history and music is found in the July 2005 issue of *OAH Magazine of History*, featuring ten articles devoted to synthesizing and unifying many of the approaches listed above.[7]

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[2] The Regional Music Project, http://www.westga.edu/cph/index_12608.php; The Center for Texas Music History, http://www.txstate.edu/ctmh/; The Smithsonian's "New Harmonies," http://www.museumonmainstreet.org/newharmonies/index.htm (all accessed June 19, 2012).

[3] The National Jukebox, http://www.loc.gov/jukebox (accessed June 18, 2012); Stacie Moats and Stephanie Poxon, "'I Didn't Raise My Boy to be a Soldier:' Ideas and Strategies for Using Music from the National Jukebox to Teach Difficult Topics in History," *Social Education* 75, no. 6 (November 2011): 291–94; Richard Hughes, "Race, Music, and a Meaningful Approach to Teaching Historical Methods," *Teaching History: A Journal Of Methods* 35, no. 2 (September 2010): 59–67.

[4] George B. Lipscomb, Lisa Marie Guenther, and Perry McLeod, "Sounds Good to Me: Using Digital Audio in the Social Studies Classroom," *Social Education* 71, no. 3 (April 2007): 120–24; Lane Jennings, "Where, Oh Where, Have the Good Old Songs Gone? As Schools Cut Music Programs, America's Folk Music May Disappear," *The Futurist* 37, no. 6 (November 2003): 8–9; Alex Zukas, "Different Drummers: Using Music to Teach History," *Perspectives: Newsletter of the American Historical Association* 34, no. 6 (September 1996): 27–33.

Musical performances from the early nineteenth century American frontier would likely sound both familiar and strange to modern ears. While some songs that were widely known in the early nineteenth century, such as "Yankee Doodle," "The Star–Spangled Banner," Robert Burns's "Auld Lang Syne," or Thomas Moore's "The Minstrel Boy," are still heard today, the vast majority of musical material from this era is largely forgotten.[8] The very foreignness of music such as "Hail, Columbia!," "Taste Life's Glad Moments," or František Koczwara's piano sonata "The Battle of Prague," once standards of the American musical repertoire, is quite possibly the first and most striking difference that a contemporary listener will notice when she encounters music of this period.

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[5] Cameron White and Susan McCormack, "The Message in the Music: Popular Culture and Teaching in Social Studies," *The Social Studies* 97, no. 3 (May 2006): 122–27; Pat Wynne, "Teaching Labor History through Song," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 26, no. 1–2 (1998): 180–94; H. Eugene Karjala and Raymond E. White, "American History through Music and Role Play," *The History Teacher* 17, no. 1 (November 1983): 33–59.

[6] On how commercialism can transform how we experience and remember music, see Benjamin Filene, *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory and American Roots Music*.

[7] *OAH Magazine of History* 19, no. 4 (July 2005).

[8] Stephen Foster, whose minstrel and parlor songs (e.g. "Oh! Susanna," "Swanee River," "Jeannie With the Light Brown Hair") make him the antebellum composer best known today, did not begin publishing until the late 1840s. Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays*, 205–7.

Musical instruments of early middle Indiana give a modern listener a similar feeling of familiar foreignness. Many of the instruments one might expect were in fact common in the American frontier: drums, various horns such as the coronet and bugle, flutes, fifes, and whistles, and even a few pianos appear in primary sources from the midwestern frontier (figs. 11 and 12).[9] The fiddle, certainly, was the king of instruments in the early West and is far more likely than any other instrument to be mentioned in these texts.[10] Jew's harps, rare novelties today, were popular in America since the seventeenth century for their cheapness and portability, and Appalachian "lap" dulcimers were common among Indiana's Southern immigrants.[11] A few wealthy households or churches also had melodeons, an early form of pump organ, and as the anecdote discussed in Chapter Two of the piper recorded in Calvin

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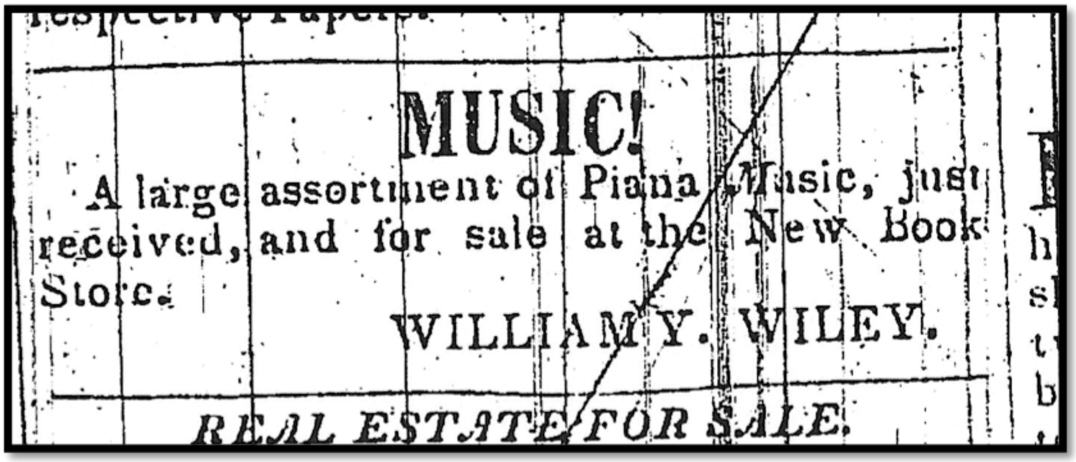
[9] One common mark of "civilization" in early memoirs and local histories is the arrival of the region's first piano, almost universally a gift from a wealthy man to his wife See, for example, Martha F. Bellinger, "Music in Indianapolis, 1821–1900," 346; Noah Major and Logan Esarey, *The Pioneers of Morgan County*, 441; and George J. Richman, *History of Hancock County, Indiana: Its People, Industries, and Institutions* (Greenfield, IN: Wm. Mitchell, 1916), 653.

[10] Major and Esarey, 286, 347; Oliver Johnson and Howard Johnson, *A Home in the Woods: Oliver Johnson's Reminiscences of Early Marion County as Related by Howard Johnson* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 119.

[11] Leonard Fox, *The Jew's Harp: A Comprehensive Anthology* (Lewisburg, UK: Bucknell University Press, 1988), 29; Keith Collins, "Dulcimer Documentation" (Winter 2004–5) and C. H. Loomis, "The Period Dulcimer: A Pre–1850 Indiana Instrument" (August 1974), both in research file 5.38a, "Music: Dulcimer," Conner Prairie Interactive History Park, Fishers, IN.



respective Papers.

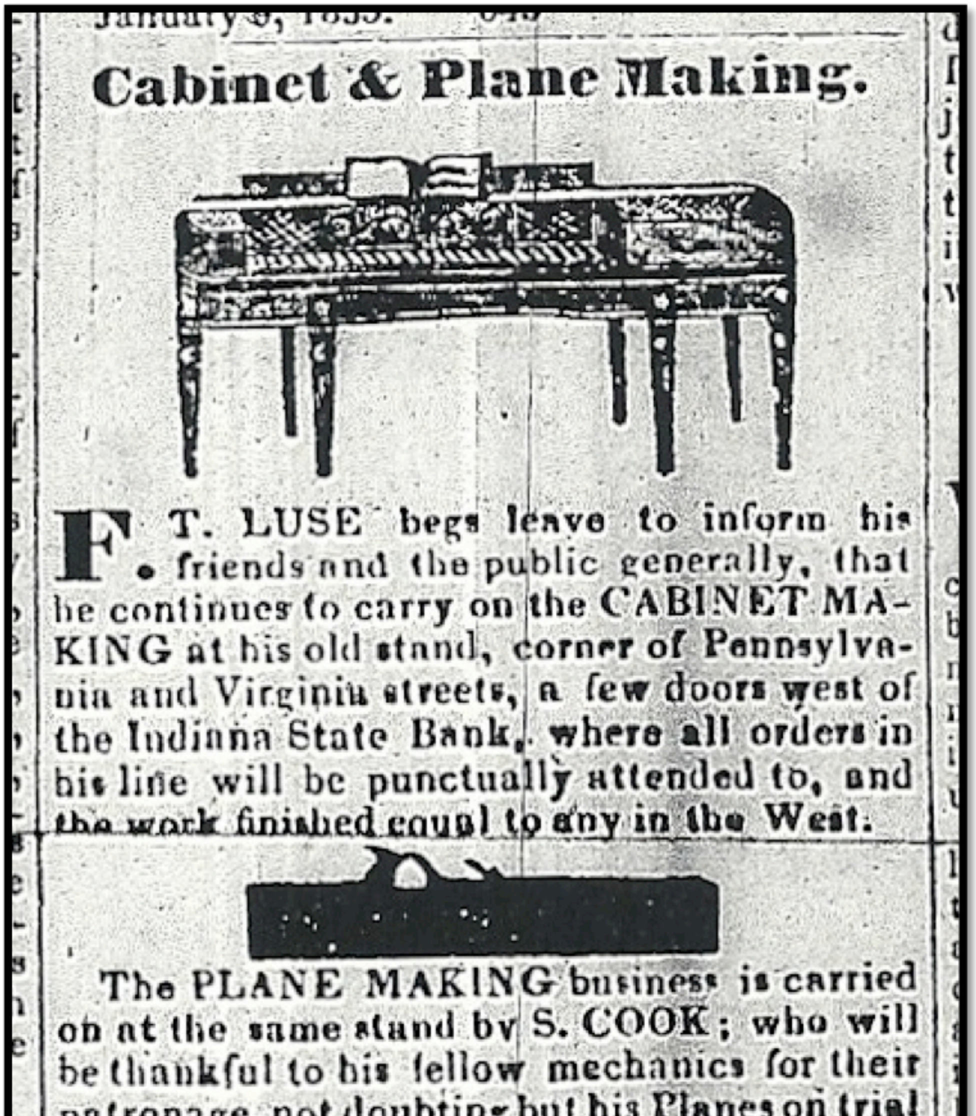
MUSIC!

A large assortment of Piana Music, just received, and for sale at the New Book Store.

WILLIAM Y. WILEY.

REAL ESTATE FOR SALE.

Figure 11. Piano music in early Indiana. *Indiana Democrat* (Indianapolis) February 23, 1838, 1.



Cabinet & Plane Making.

F. T. LUSE begs leave to inform his friends and the public generally, that he continues to carry on the CABINET MAKING at his old stand, corner of Pennsylvania and Virginia streets, a few doors west of the Indiana State Bank, where all orders in his line will be punctually attended to, and the work finished equal to any in the West.

The PLANE MAKING business is carried on at the same stand by S. COOK; who will be thankful to his fellow mechanics for their patronage, not doubting but his Planes on trial will be found equal to any in the place.

Indianapolis, January 9, 1835. 43–1y

Figure 12. Pianos in early Indianapolis. Although Luse's advertisement does not specifically say so, the image of a square piano certainly suggests that he was prepared to maintain the city's pianos. *Indiana Journal* (Indianapolis), January 9, 1835, 3.

Fletcher's diary shows, both Irish and Scottish piping were, if not familiar, at least not unknown in early Indiana.[12]

However, other instruments that one might expect to encounter in frontier Indiana were in fact rare, if not unknown. African Americans had played the banjo for centuries, and white minstrel performers, wearing blackface makeup, started using it in circuses and plays in the eighteenth century, but this was largely an urban phenomenon.[13] Early Indianans might have known the banjo from itinerant circus musicians, but there is no evidence to suggest that either whites or blacks were playing it widely in Indiana before the Civil War.[14] Americans were importing European guitars in this era, and a few American luthiers had started manufacturing them domestically, but they were still expensive, delicate, and rarefied.[15] Little evidence supports either the presence or absence of guitars on the rural frontier, but the latter seems far more likely. Musicians played and manufactured hammered dulcimers in early Indiana, but they remained rare and exotic instruments throughout the nation until the post–World War Two folk music revival.[16] Other now–common "folk" instruments were equally unknown on the Indiana frontier; the harmonica, concertina, and accordion were rare in America until at least the 1850s and the earliest forms of chorded zithers and autoharps were not patented until the 1880s.[17]

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[12] *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher*, 2:63. For more on Fletcher's piper, see the discussion in Chapter Two of this thesis.

[13] Cecelia Conway, *African Banjo Echoes in Appalachia*, 84–86. Although individual musicians had worn blackface in circuses and stage plays since the eighteenth century, performers did not codify the *minstrel show*, a specific stage performance by four or more white men in blackface makeup, until early 1843. See Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up*, 26–30.

[14] Keith Collins, "Banjo Documentation, Revised," in research file 5.38b, "Music: Banjo," Conner Prairie Interactive History Park, Fishers, IN.

[15] For a fine survey of the guitar's early history in America, see Phillip F. Gura, *C. F. Martin and His Guitars, 1796–1873* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 1–34.

[16] Paul M. Gifford, *The Hammered Dulcimer: A History* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2001), 239–44, 351–52.

Overview of Conner Prairie and Prairietown

Conner Prairie Interactive Historic Park ("Conner Prairie," hereafter) is a large living history site in Fishers, Indiana, approximately twenty miles north of downtown Indianapolis in southern Hamilton County. In 2010 its annual attendance, across all programs, was approximately 380,000 visitors and its total budget was just under eleven million dollars.[18] Founded in 1934 by pharmaceutical magnate and philanthropist Eli Lilly, it is the site of the William Conner House, built in 1823 by early Indiana trader and politician William Conner (1777–1855).[19] The recipient of multiple regional and national awards, Conner Prairie's mission is "to inspire curiosity and inspire learning about Indiana's past by providing engaging, individualized and unique experiences."[20] Although it lacks precise figures for its general visitation, school groups and multigenerational families make up the majority of Conner Prairie's visitors.[21]

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[17] Ivan Stiles, "The True History of the Autoharp," first published in *The Autoharp Quarterly* 3, no. 3 [1991?] and available online at http://www.ivanstiles.com/history.html (accessed June 29, 2012).

[18] Conner Prairie Interactive History Park, 2010 Annual Report (Fishers, IN: Conner Prairie, 2010), 3. Available at http://www.connerprairie.org/site–assets/documents/2010–annual–report.aspx (accessed June 16, 2012).

[19] United States Department of the Interior, National Register of Historic Places nomination form for the William Conner House (NRHP # 80000038), 3. Available at https://secure.in.gov/apps/dnr/shaard/r/1c9a7/N/William_Conner_House_Hamilton_CO_Nom.pdf (accessed June 16, 2012).

[20] Conner Prairie, 2010 Annual Report, 1.

Conner Prairie features several different recreated historical environments; its oldest, known as Prairietown, is approximately forty years old.[22] A fictional recreation of a village from the central Indiana frontier set in 1836, Prairietown consists of fifteen historic and reproduced buildings, none of which are original to the site.[23] A changing cast of roughly ten costumed staff, volunteers, and youth interns uses first–person interpretation to depict the daily lives of the town's shopkeepers, artisans, professionals, and farmers. Although these characters are fictional, they are composites based on extensive primary and secondary historical research. Conner Prairie's intent for its visitors, expressed by offering them sets of characters and tasks, is that they take up the roles of travelers to the Indiana frontier and determine whether they would like to secure the town's future prosperity by settling there.[24] The following are three proposals for giving Conner Prairie's audiences a fuller, more engaging historical experience by incorporating period music more completely into Prairietown's environment and interpretation: a permanent ambient soundtrack, approaches for costumed interpreters in the village, and programs that could take place in Prairietown or elsewhere on the site.

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[21] Aili McGill, former Director of Visitor Experiences at Conner Prairie, interviewed by author, Indianapolis, IN, July 5, 2012.

[22] "Who We Are: Conner Prairie History," http://www.connerprairie.org/About–Us/Who–We–Are/History–Of–Conner–Prairie.aspx (accessed June 16, 2012).

[23] "1836 Prairietown," http://www.connerprairie.org/Plan–Your–Visit/1836–Prairietown/About–Prairietown.aspx (accessed June 16, 2012).

[24] "Who Would You Be in Prairietown?" http://www.connerprairie.org/Plan–Your–Visit/1836–Prairietown/Who–Would–You–Be–in–Prairietown.aspx (accessed June 16, 2012).

Project 1: Prairietown Portal Experience

Hearing sound and music can be a transformative experience, and a range of scholars have studied music's potential as a medium for conveying clear, if unspoken, messages of time and place.[25] Ambient sound is now a standard feature of modern museum design, and for good reason: it's hard to imagine a modern exhibit on World War Two without the crisp warmth of Glenn Miller's horn section, or a history of the Great Depression devoid of Woody Guthrie's plaintive Dust Bowl ballads.[26] Acid rock instantly conveys the Vietnam War era, ragtime piano places us in the Roaring Twenties, and the blues prepares us for a discussion of African American history.

In the summer of 2012, Conner Prairie added an introductory "portal" exhibit to Prairietown's main entrance to help visitors understand that they are entering a world very different from their own. Text and graphic panels explain the changes in society and technology between the modern and frontier versions of Indiana as the visitor "steps back in time" (figs. 13 and 14). Adding an aural component to this environment would clearly add another layer to this transitional experience; notably, Conner Prairie already uses this technique at the entrance to their reconstructed Lenape Indian village, cueing visitors that they are crossing a threshold that is not only physical, but also historical and cultural as well.

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[25] The first examination of using live and recorded sound in museum settings seems to be Charles Hoffman's "Exploring Music in the Museum," *Curator* 8, no. 4 (October 1965): 347–51. More recent work includes Charity Counts, "Spectacular Design in Museum Exhibitions," *Curator* 52, no. 3 (July 2009): 273–88 and Robert D. Jakubowski, "Museum Soundscapes and Their Impact on Visitor Outcomes" (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 2012).

[26] Pam Locker, *Exhibition Design* (London: AVA Publishing, 2011), 96–97.

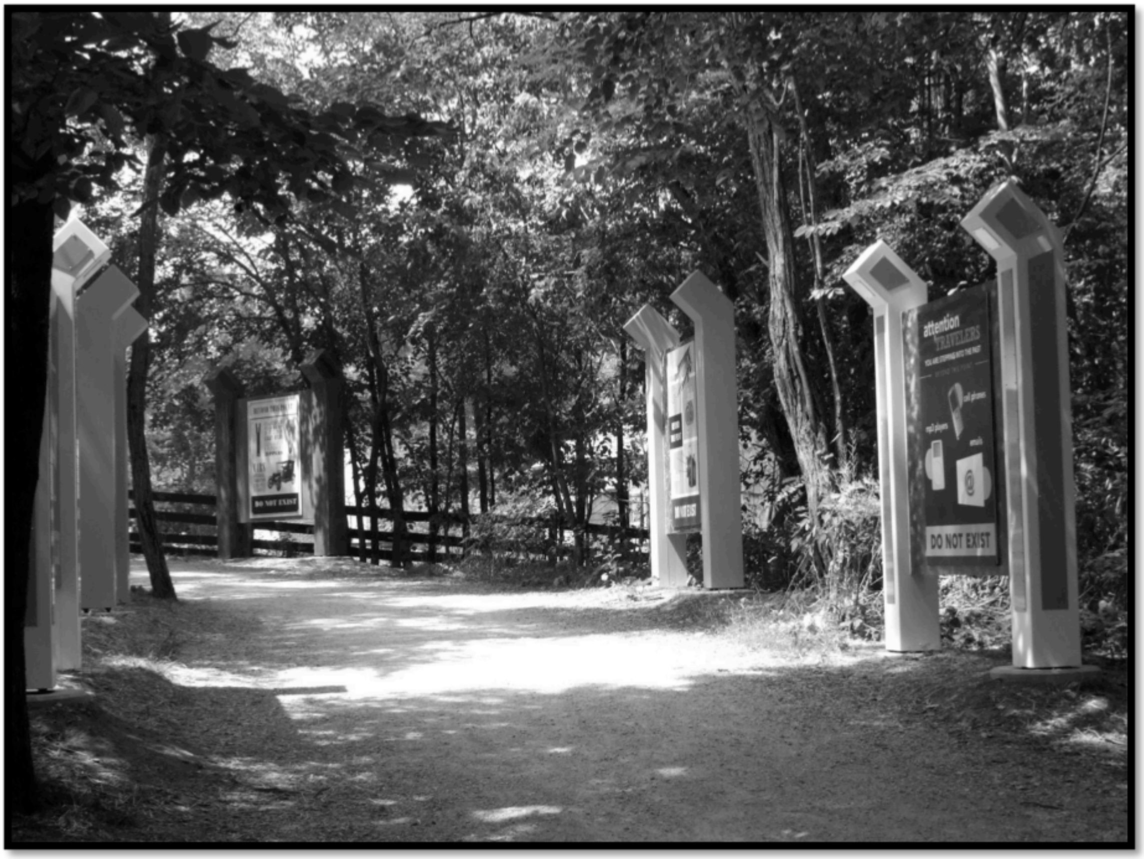
attention
TRAVELERS
DO NOT EXIST
DO NOT EXIST

Figure 13. Portal experience text panels along the entry path to Prairietown. Conner Prairie Interactive History Park, Fishers, IN. Photograph by the author, July 2012.

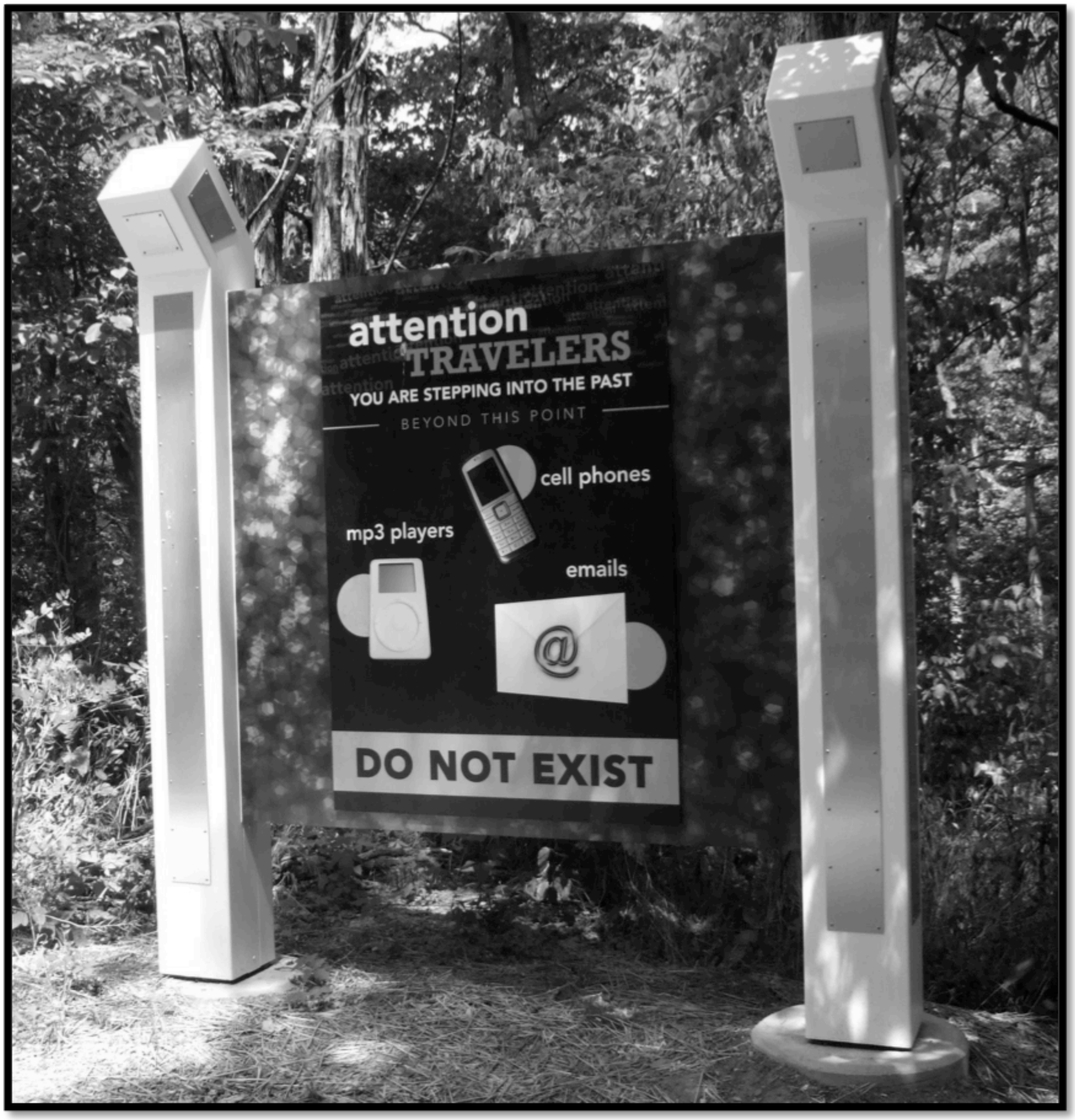
attention
TRAVELERS
YOU ARE STEPPING INTO THE PAST
BEYOND THIS POINT
cell phones
mp3 players
emails
@
DO NOT EXIST

Figure 14. Portal experience text panel, close–up. Conner Prairie Interactive History Park, Fishers, IN. Photograph by the author, July 2012.

The panels are, however, spaced closely enough together that playing a full timeline of music would be impractical. As near as these panels are, were they each to broadcast music from every era along the visitor's "journey back in time," the sounds would bleed into each other, creating a meaningless aural wash. But a soundtrack of reconstructed music from the midwestern frontier would beckon the audience to its final temporal destination. We rarely hear music from this era, and the very unfamiliarity of antebellum songs and instrumentation would reinforce Conner Prairie's message that Prairietown is a place set aside from the modern world (see Appendix I, "Prairietown Portal Recording Project," for reference tracks, proposed songs and instrumentation, and liner notes for this project). A reconstructed soundtrack of frontier Indiana, featuring music from the early state's many cultures and social strata, would help prepare visitors for their time in Prairietown by opening their minds to yet another layer of the differences, as well as the similarities, between the modern and historical worlds around them.

Project 2: Character–Based Interpretation

Decades of theory and research have shown that audience engagement with historical characters can be a powerful educational tool; live and interactive music holds great potential to help bring visitors into the world of early Indiana.[27] Adding and deepening the performance of music to Prairietown would undeniably present challenges, but on reflection these problems would seem to be no more insurmountable than those surrounding any number of other topics that first–person interpretive historic sites such as Conner Prairie routinely face.[28]

Actual proficiency in music instruction and performance for Conner Prairie's interpretive staff appears, at first, to be a significant obstacle. Reading notation (both standard, and historically, shape–note), playing instruments, and singing are all skills expected of a performer or music teacher both now and in antebellum America. Indeed, the range of techniques routinely offered for instruction by music masters of the early nineteenth century—including not only voice but also often multiple instruments such as piano, flute, violin, and guitar—is an intimidating and demanding list. That said, nearly every other interpretive role at a living history site also requires a high degree of skill. Blacksmithing, historical farming and carpentry, and open–hearth cooking, are all skills that, while now uncommon, are widely practiced at living history sites. Modern interpreters must master them through long hours of practice before they can successfully demonstrate them for visitors: musical proficiency, once it is understood as a learnable technical skill rather than an innate virtuosity, is no greater an obstacle for an interested interpreter than throwing pots or carding and hand–spinning wool.

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[27] Pieter A. van Dijk, Liam D. G. Smith, and Betty Weiler, "To Re–Enact or Not to Re–Enact? Investigating the Impacts of First–and Third–Person Interpretation at a Heritage Tourism Site," *Visitor Studies* 15, no. 1 (January 2012): 46–61; Eva Ulrike Pirker, "' They Saw Our People Dressed Up and They Just . . . Escaped!' Mark Wallis in Interview About the Development of Professional Live History in Britain," *Rethinking History* 15, no. 4 (December 2011): 551–65; Scott Magelssen, "Living History Museums and the Construction of the Real Through Performance," *Theatre Survey: The Journal of the American Society for Theatre Research* 45, no. 1 (May 2004): 61–74.

[28] For basic definitions of first–person ("we do this . . . ") and third–person ("they did this . . . ") interpretation, see "About Museum Theatre: Definitions," International Museum Theatre Alliance, http://imtal.org/Default.aspx?pageId=1126439 (accessed December 11, 2012).

Some audiences may be reluctant or even intimidated by the prospect of participating in performative experiences; Americans now rarely sing together, and typically only do so in highly ritualized settings such as church services and sporting events.[29] However, recent studies indicate that music and interactive demonstrations are extremely popular among visitors for outdoor history sites.[30] New York–based musician and educator Bill Schustik has noted that pre–adolescent children — who make up a large portion of Conner Prairie's audience — are significantly more willing to sing with adults and each other, particularly when the performance is combined with historic inquiry and, ideally, a dose of entertainment.[31] In this light, it seems that historic music could be both educational and enjoyable for many of Conner Prairie's visitors. Reinforcing and adding music to Prairietown through programs and characters falls along a spectrum of musical involvement: from simply emphasizing the ubiquity of music in the lives of antebellum Americans, to a more structured, but still informal, interpretation of musical education, or to the creation of a new Prairietown character.

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[29] Karen Loew, "How Communal Singing Disappeared From American Life," *The Atlantic*, March 28, 2012. Available online at http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2012/03/how–communal–singing–disappeared–from–american–life/255094/ (accessed January 4, 2013).

[30] A 2008 study of large outdoor history museums found that 54% of visitors favored "authentic musical performances," particularly if children are allowed and encouraged to participate, and fully 86% preferred "demonstrations," among which the more mundane, everyday facets of historical music might be placed. Susie Wilkening and James Chung, *Life Stages of the Museum Visitor: Building Engagement Over a Lifetime* (Washington, DC: American Association of Museums Press, 2009), 27–28.

Historians such as Jack Larkin and Nicholas Tawa have demonstrated that music was ever–present in the lives of early Americans: people sang when they worked, when they walked, in church, and at social gatherings both formal and casual.[32] This implies not only a near–ubiquity of music in peoples' lives, but also a greater tolerance for the full range of their musical abilities: in a region with neither recorded music nor professional musicians, people had to make and enjoy what they and their neighbors could produce, and did so enthusiastically. Conner Prairie would do well to liberate both its staff and visitors of the modern expectations of musical virtuosity, that they might more fully enact Prairietown's historic soundscape.

Perhaps the simplest method to infuse music into Prairietown would be to provide its existing interpreters with a body of songs, ideally ones that are tailored to their characters, and some basic singing instruction. Interpreters can, with time and practice, overcome any initial reluctance and awkwardness to more fully portray the musical lives of antebellum Indianans. Certainly, singing and other musicalities may not be appropriate for all the residents of Prairietown, but for many it could readily open new avenues for portraying and exploring questions of class, race, and identity on the Indiana frontier.[33] In fact, interpreters need not even perform to strengthen the presence of music in Prairietown; they could, for example, comment on hearing the doctor's wife playing her piano in the evenings or tell the story of a song they learned from a traveling circus troupe (see fig. 5).

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[31] Bill Schustik, "Integrating Live Music in the Classroom: Reflections of a Troubadour on Teaching History," *OAH Magazine of History* 19, no. 4 (July 2005): 48–50.
[32] Nicholas Tawa, *High–Minded and Low–Down*, 176; Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life*, 232.

Adding a more formal, but still not fully professionalized, level of musicianship to a character would infuse a deeper layer of musicality to Prairietown. An existing, most likely affluent, character could, for example, choose to start offering singing, dancing, or instrumental lessons to her fellow townsfolk—and, of course, to Conner Prairie's visitors as well.[34] Alternately, a new character could enact this hybridity: a former singing master, perhaps, who has chosen to take up farming or shop keeping but teaches lessons in his spare time. By focusing Prairietown's musical life more clearly into a single person, this method would likely offer visitors a clearer choice to participate in—or avoid, if they wish—musical interactions in Prairietown while limiting retraining demands on the rest of the staff.

The fullest, and most ambitious, introduction of musical interpretation to Prairietown would be the creation of a new character, that of a dedicated music teacher. Music masters, almost exclusively men, certainly traveled to the American

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[33] On nonmusicality in antebellum America, see Tawa, *High–Minded and Low–Down*, 33–37.

[34] See Appendix II, "A Prairietown Music Program," for a proposed short singing program.

West in the nineteenth century. They typically taught voice and several instruments or dancing, and sometimes led local choirs and composed music as well; Wilhelm Iucho, of Lexington, Kentucky, is a fine example of these multifaceted music masters on the nineteenth century American frontier and could be a template for such a character.[35] This character could, however, be the hardest conceptual stretch for Prairietown: most trained and professionalized musicians in this period came from the East Coast or Europe, and such a person might stand out from the rest of Prairietown's citizens to a distracting degree.[36] It would, furthermore, require a considerable degree of ambition (if not delusion) for a person to travel to a frontier town that lacks even a church, much less its choir, and assume he can make a living as a professional musician. Instead of taking up permanent residence, this music teacher could be itinerant, or he could be visiting from Indianapolis or another large settlement—but the ongoing presence of a traveling character in the town through an entire summer, much less potentially over several years, could become challenging to justify.

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[35] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music*, 33–34; Iucho is the principal subject of Joy Carden's *Music in Lexington Before 1840*.

[36] Tawa *High–Minded and Low–Down*, 93–102; "Meet the Citizens of Prairietown," http://www.connerprairie.org/Plan–Your–Visit/1836–Prairietown/Meet–the–Citizens.aspx (accessed June 15, 2012).

Project 3: Other Programming

Conner Prairie could create a range of programs based on music from early middle Indiana, but not specifically linked to the places and characters of Prairietown. These third–person (non–character) interpretive programs could bring historic music beyond the town's conceptual and physical boundaries: visitors could, for example, try out historical musical instruments at musical "petting zoos" hosted by uniformed, but not costumed, staff either in Prairietown or at Conner Prairie's central building. Some instruments, such as the violin, whistle, and drum would likely be familiar to most visitors while others, such as the Jew's harp, might strike many guests as more exotic. Older children and adults might be curious to know why some instruments that they might expect to see (such as the banjo, guitar, harmonica, and autoharp) but would in fact not be appropriate to 1836 Indiana are missing, opening opportunities to discuss both musical and regional history. Additionally, actually holding and playing a musical instrument is a vastly different experience from hearing one. Museums are increasingly exploring multisensory interpretation for a wide range of reasons, and sensations such as the heft of a parlor guitar, the odd buzz of Jew's harp, or the smell of violin rosin can be evocative, meaningful experiences for both the hearing–impaired and the fully able visitor.[37]

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[37] An important early study on this topic is Betty Davidson, Candace Lee Heald, and George E. Hein, "Increased Exhibit Accessibility Through Multisensory Interaction," in *The Educational Role of the Museum*, 2nd ed., ed. Eilean Hooper–Greenhill (New York: Routledge, 1999), 223–38. See also, D. Lynn McRainey, "A Sense of the Past," in *Connecting Kids to History with Museum Exhibitions*, ed. D. Lynn McRainey and John Russick (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2010), 155–72.

Conner Prairie could also host or offer either individual or group music lessons in either modern or historical techniques; depending on other initiatives in Prairietown, these could even conceivably be offered by characters from the village. This would clearly be an investment of effort and space for Conner Prairie, and while it suggests a certain synergy with its popular Symphony on the Prairie concert series, the site would definitely need to gauge audience interest for such an effort. Lastly, similar to its popular Arts & Arms Making Workshops, Conner Prairie could offer instruction in building historic musical instruments.[38] Participants could, with instruction, make very simple instruments such as flutes, drums, and whistles in as little as an hour and likely assemble a cigar–box guitar or a lap dulcimer in a few hours and simple banjo in a full day or so. Again, judging audience interest would be key to this program but other classes such as guitar maintenance, violin bow rehairing, or piano tuning spring to mind as well. Programs such as these, offering visitors a multisensory and tactile interaction with Prairietown's material culture, would help them personalize the experience of early Indiana's omnipresent, if amateur, musical life.

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[38] See http://www.connerprairie.org/Learn–And–Do/Programs/Arts–and–Arms–Making–Workshop.aspx (accessed June 16, 2012).

Chapter Four: Reflection and Conclusion

At the outset of my thesis process, I intended to explore a number of questions about the music and people of early middle Indiana: what songs were they performing and listening to, and how did that material descend or differ from the music of Indiana's "ancestor" states such as Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania? What were the "top ten" popular songs of frontier Indiana, and what do those songs tell us about the values and identities of the people who enjoyed them? How does this music inform our scholarship on topics of race, class, and gender relations in early Indiana and the western expansion at large, and what might its legacy be for the modern state's rich musical heritage?

This, obviously, is not quite that thesis.

The reasons I could not answer those questions are manifold, all of which are familiar to practitioners of history: the thin record left by early Indiana's citizens, the vagaries of those material culture and primary sources that do last to the present day, the author's limited reserves of time and willpower. The challenge of producing valid scholarship with fragmentary evidence is, perhaps, the core trait of the historical profession—and as Rebecca Conard argued in the Winter 2006 issue of *The Public Historian*, the "intellectual core" that "sets public history apart" from more traditional historical approaches is its convention of "reflective practice" around that challenge.[1] This act of reviewing our own work, and then sharing those reflections with our fellow scholars, strengthens public historians as individual scholars as well as the historical community at large.

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[1] Rebecca Conard, "Public History as Reflective Practice: An Introduction," *The Public Historian* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 9, 11.

This final chapter is, therefore, a contemplation on my methods and sources as a small piece of my own reflective practice. Although I have certainly benefitted from writing this chapter, I much more hope that it will be of some small aid to future historians working in or around similar topics. In this conclusion I offer an evaluation of the available source material on music in early middle Indiana, a brief commentary on how this material did or did not aid my thesis project, and a musing on some questions and thoughts that yet remain, awaiting another historian of early nineteenth–century Indiana's lived culture.

One can find a considerable volume of musical material culture from the turn of the nineteenth century in central Indiana and, more broadly, the Ohio River valley. Printed sheet music, songbooks, and hymnals are the most common historical evidence of peoples' musical lives from the time prior to the invention of audio recordings. Lyrics have proven a fertile ground for historic textual analyses, and although sheet music does not give historians a complete picture of what music people were playing and singing (sheet music in this era is nearly always written for the piano, illuminating only the tastes of those who could afford these expensive instruments), certain material aspects of printed music can reveal deeper contextual layers. Fingerings and other pencil marks on music, for example, usually indicate that the piece was a student's copy, and therefore imply a teacher as well. Additionally, some musicians—practically always young women—had their collections of sheet music bound into single tomes, providing a snapshot of popular music at the time the books were created.

Institutions such as the Indiana Historical Society, the main branch of the Indianapolis–Marion County Public Library (both in Indianapolis, IN), and the Lilly Music Library at Indiana University, Bloomington, all have considerable holdings of early printed music; the Indiana Historical Society's collection of song books from William Henry Harrison's "log cabin" campaign of 1840 would be especially fascinating for historians of the intersection of popular culture and presidential campaigns. Also noteworthy is a fine assemblage of early hymnals at the Johnson County Museum of History (Franklin, IN). Unfortunately, it is impossible to make any sort of definitive statement based on this material: nearly all of it (save the "Squire Hendricks" hymnal mentioned in Chapter Two) lacks provenance, so although it is *now* in middle Indiana, it is unclear when it came into the state. Sheet music vendors in this era did often mark their sales with either ink stamps or embossments, but it appears that no stores in middle Indiana did so before the early 1850s.[2]

Two regional archives are equally noteworthy for their holdings of nineteenth–century music. The Ohio Historical Society (Columbus, OH) has an impressive number of early hymnals, a surprisingly large number of which were printed throughout the state, and its collection of historic musical instruments, held throughout the state at its various historic sites, is remarkable.[3] Certainly the finest collection of early sheet music, however, is that of the Filson Historical Society (Louisville, KY). The Filson's archives hold some 3,800 pieces of historical sheet music, much of it printed in Kentucky and Ohio; while their collections tend to focus on songs about Kentucky, or from or about the Civil War, several hundred of their pieces date from well before 1850. Parts of both of these collections have clear provenances. The Filson, in particular, has over a dozen bound collections of sheet music, many of which bear the names and addresses of the ladies who owned them, allowing the modern historian to make precise statements about the groupings of songs that were popular in a given time and place.[4] These places are, unfortunately, not Indiana—so while the Indiana historian can study them for commentary on what was commercially available in the region, he can glean nothing particularly characteristic about local tastes.

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[2] See in particular the bound sheet music collections at the Indianapolis–Marion County Public Library. Although these are neither sorted nor cataloged, a few do start to show markings from music stores (e.g., A. E. Jones, S. Brainard & Co., A. G. Willard, and Emil Wulschner) in the decade before the Civil War. Unsurprisingly, some of these shops also sold pianos and guitars, but it remains unclear if all of them did so.

Other documentary sources in early middle Indiana certainly exist as well. Many of the region's preserved nineteenth–century newspapers are held at the Indiana State Library (Indianapolis, IN); copies of most of these are available on microfilm, and the Library's digitization project is ongoing. Historians in all nine counties of middle Indiana wrote (sometimes multiple) local histories in the years between the Civil War and World War One, and regional historical societies and universities have edited and printed several memoirs that cover this period as well.[5] Prized by local historians among these is the *Diary of Calvin Fletcher*, a massive and insightful firsthand record of life in Indianapolis and the region from 1817 to 1865 by the prominent banker, land speculator, lawyer, and politician.[6]

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[3] See its online collections catalog at http://www.ohiohistory.org/collections––archives/online–collections–catalog (accessed December 15, 2012).

[4] Especially interesting to some future musicologist are two bound collections, catalogued in the Filson's sheet music collection as boxes 24 and 27. These volumes consist entirely of guitar music from the 1850s, quite rare in the antebellum West.

These written sources are, however, uniformly vague on the topic of music, if they mention it at all. Bookstore advertisements offered music for sale, and while they sometimes did mention the titles of songsters or hymnals, they never listed individual song titles. Sheet music was wildly popular in antebellum America, so it seems unlikely that these stores would not have sold it—but lacking advertisements or store records, we can make no specific claims about it. Both journals and newspapers mention singing schools in middle Indiana at this time, but tell us nothing more specific about the schools' pedagogy, where or whether the students performed in public, or even the songs they learned. We know from these books that fiddling was common at local dances and celebrations, but nowhere do they tell us what tunes the musicians played, how they learned them, or, most maddeningly for a cultural historian, how their audiences *felt* when they heard this music. While this lacuna is certainly understandable—do you, after all, write the name of your favorite song, and what you like about it, in your diary each day?—it drastically curtails what modern historians can say about the music scene in early middle Indiana.

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[5] See for example Oliver Johnson and Howard Johnson, *A Home in the Woods*, and Noah Major and Logan Esarey, *The Pioneers of Morgan County*.

[6] *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher*, ed. Gayle Thornbrough, Dorothy L. Riker, and Paula Corpuz (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1972–83).

Music was if anything, more important to the people of early Indiana than it is to us today. Always live, always produced by the effort of a fellow human being, the early music carried, in its very medium, meanings of community and interconnection for its audiences and performers. These meanings are, of course, still with us; even in the age of prerecorded and "lip synched" concerts, the *belief* in a live performance is more than enough to draw massive audiences for today's top artists. The people of early middle Indiana avidly pursued and consumed music in a variety of styles and traditions, and like nearly every early American they played or sang music on a daily basis for themselves and each other. Historians, especially those at living history sites such as Conner Prairie, should embrace this knowledge and more deeply engage in music as a medium for historic education

As this thesis has demonstrated, historians and musicologists have only begun to study the field of music in the early American West, and the voids of this work itself show the range of questions yet remaining for study. Even as we see that frontier musicians were using both popular and art music to connect to larger population centers, what sorts of messages—such as the image of William Henry Harrison, the cider–drinking "log cabin" hero of territorial Indiana—did the West return, and how were those messages received? The history of minstrelsy in Indiana is essentially unstudied, despite the state's prominence as a cultural, racial, and physical crossroads, and this omission yearns for attention.[7] Similarly, an untold number of early musical instruments is scattered across a range of both public and private institutions; even a rough inventory would be of great assistance to scholars interested in the state's early material culture. Primary sources in very early Indiana are undeniably scarce, and very few mention music directly—but can we glean a more detailed picture of the state's musical life with a deep, comparative study of retail or household inventories, textual analysis of common songs and songbooks, or other means? Future work in these and many other questions will deepen our understanding of music in the antebellum American West and the artistic culture and worldview of the people early middle Indiana.

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[7] Indianapolis has long been, and continues to be, an important stop for road–bound musicians in the Midwest and Upper South; see Preston Lauterbach, *The Chitlin' Circuit and the Road to Rock 'n' Roll* (W. W. Norton and Company, 2011).

Appendix I: Prairietown Portal Recording Project

The following table is a proposed set of musical pieces for a soundtrack for the Prairietown Portal (figs. 11 and 12). While this recording would ideally be made anew, featuring musicians from the region, the last column lists reference tracks for the enclosed "reference CD," assembled from various commercial recordings, to convey at least a rough idea of what these songs and tunes would sound like. A draft of short liner notes and full citations for the example recordings follows.

Table 1: Proposed and Reference Audio Tracks

Track	Title	Instrumentation	Reference Track[1]
1	Kentucky fiddling	Fiddle	"Buck Hoard," trad.
2	Sacred harp hymn	Mixed chorus	"Cowper," Wm. Cowper.
3	Parlor song	Voice, guitar or piano	"Home! Sweet Home," Bishop/Payne.
4	Drover's or boatman's song	Voice and chorus	"Shawnee Town," trad.
5	Scottish tunes	Fiddle	Strathspeys and reels, trad.
6	Folk ballad	Solo voice	"Barbara Allen," trad.
7	Native American song	Voice or chorus	Unknown
8	Dance music	Violin and piano	"Dampier," trad.
9	Election song	Voice, chorus, band	"Van Buren (1836)," unknown.
10	Comic song	Voice and Jew's harp	"Did You Ever See the Devil, Uncle Joe?," trad.
11	Woman's song	Voice and lap dulcimer	"What'll I Do With the Baby–O?," trad.
12	Irish air	Uileann pipes	"The Wounded Hussar," trad.
13	Classical piece	Piano	"Moment Musical in F minor," Franz Schubert.
14	African American hymn	Chorus	"Early, My God, Without Delay," Watts
15	Patriotic song	Voice, chorus, band	"Hail, Columbia!," Hopkinson and Phile.

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[1] Note: These tracks are intended for demonstration only, and copyrights for them have not been secured. Commercial broadcast or reproduction is forbidden by U. S. law.

Track One: Kentucky Fiddling

Fiddling was popular in early Indiana, both for social dances and as a way to pass idle time.[1] Not many people wrote down what they played and heard, but we know that settlers moving north into Indiana from Kentucky and Tennessee would have brought tunes like this with them.

Example: Bruce Molsky, "Buck Hoard." From *Lost Boy*, Rounder CD 0361. 1996.

Track Two: Sacred Harp

"Shape–note," "Missouri Harmony," or "Sacred Harp" singing first appeared in Massachusetts around the turn of the nineteenth century, but quickly became extremely popular in the western and southeastern states.[2] Its notation, which uses different shapes to indicate what intervals the singer should sing, helped people with little formal training sing complex harmonies.

Example: Sacred Harp Singers, "Cowper." From *Lookout Mountain Convention 1968*, Squirrel Hill Recordings CD 34350. 2003.

Track Three: Parlor Song

Henry Bishop and Howard Payne wrote "Home! Sweet Home!" in 1823 and its simple melody and nostalgic lyrics quickly became popular throughout antebellum America. Although we don't know when exactly the guitar first appeared in Indiana, its low cost and portability made it a popular instrument in early America.[3]

Example: Deanna Durbin, "Home! Sweet Home!" From *Can't Help Singing–Greatest Hits,* ASV Living Era CD 5149. 2005.

Track Four: Boatman's Song

The state of Indiana invested millions of dollars in constructing canals to improve commercial transportation in the 1830s. Although most of the canals were abandoned or never even completed, hundreds of boatmen and diggers built and worked on these projects.[4]

Example: Dramtreeo, "Shawnee Town." From *Storm*, Southern Branch Music CD 9501. 1995.

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[1] See for example, among many others, Oliver Johnson and Howard Johnson, *A Home in the Woods*, 119.

[2] David W. Stowe, *How Sweet the Sound: Music in the Spiritual Lives of Americans*, 255–56.

[3] Philip F. Gura, *C. F. Martin and His Guitars*, 17–24.

[4] John Lauritz Larson, "Central Canal" in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 395–96; Rita W. Harlan, "The Central in the City," 12–17.

Track Five: Scottish Fiddling

The Scots have long and deep roots in Indiana, dating back at least into the mid–eighteenth century.[5] Some of Indiana's first European musicians were officers of Scottish descent in the British and American armies, so it seems only fitting to hear the sort of dance tunes that were popular in both Scotland and America in this period.

Example: The Beaton Family of Mabou, Strathpeys and Reels ("The Brig o' Balter/Fife Hunt/Traditional/Mrs. Ronald MacDonald's"). From *Cape Breton Fiddle and Piano Music*, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings CD SFW 40507. 2004.

Track Six: Native American Song

Although American Indians had a significant and lasting presence in middle Indiana well into the 1830s, their musical traditions are almost completely absent from the historical record. That said, we know that whites shared lasting cultural exchanges with them, and their songs would surely have been part of the early state's soundscape.[6]

Example: Some recordings of traditional Lenape (Delaware) and Miami songs exist, but the author is reluctant to offer a specific, but inexpert, track recommendation.[7]

Track Seven: Ballad

"Barbara Allen" is an ancient folk ballad from the British Isles, and it remains popular to this day.[8] Given its popularity in songbooks of the time, English–speaking immigrants to early Indiana, coming either directly from Europe or from America's eastern or southern regions, would surely have been familiar with this tale of love and sorrow.

Example: Texas Gladden, "Barbara Allen." From *Portraits: Texas Gladden, Ballad Legacy,* Rounder CD 11661–1800–2. 2001.

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[5] Gordon R. Mork, "Scots," in *Peopling Indiana*, 498.

[6] Elizabeth Glenn and Stewart Rafert, "Native Americans," in *Peopling Indiana*, 392–404.

[7] A few examples: *Songs of the Lenape* (Dewek, OK: Touching Leaves, 1980); *Siipionci: From the River* (Pennsauken, NJ: Twigh Twee Singers, 2001); and numerous field recordings at the Smithsonian Center for Folklife, the Library of Congress, and the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University–Bloomington.

[8] "Barbara Allen" appears as early as 1666, mentioned in the famed diary of Samuel Pepys, and may be the most–collected folk ballad in the English language. Dave Marsh, "Barbara Allen," in *The Rose and the Briar: Death, Love, and Liberty in the American Ballad*, ed. Sean Wilentz and Greil Marcus (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2005), 9–10.

Track Eight: Dance Music

Social dances such as the *cotillion* and *minuet,* more formal than rustic folk and square dances, were popular among Europeans, military officers, and other elites.

Example: Early Music New York (Frederick Renz, director), "Dampier." From *Colonial Capers: Odes, Anthems, Jigs and Reels*, ExCathedra Records CD 384161. 2010.

Track Nine: Election Song

Although musicologists typically think of the 1840 presidential election as the first to use popular song as a campaign tool, Americans have expressed their political opinions in song since well before the Revolution.[9] "Van Buren," from 1836, laid the groundwork for the better–known Whig songs that would help William Henry Harrison win the following election.

Example: Oscar Brand, "Van Buren." From *Election Songs of the United States*, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings CD FW 05280. 2004.

Track Ten: Comic Song

The Jew's harp (also know as the jaw harp or tromp), being cheap and portable, was extremely popular in the early American West among both whites and Native Americans. Early diaries and travel journals often note the near–ubiquity of its droning twang, particularly among the young.[10]

Example: Mike Seeger, "Did You Ever See the Devil, Uncle Joe?" From *True Vine*, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings CD SFW 40136. 2003.

Track Eleven: Woman's Song

Immigrants from the Appalachian Mountains brought the simple lap dulcimer to southern Indiana. It is often associated with women, who often used it to accompany folk ballads and lullabies.[11]

Example: Jennifer Rose, "What'll I Do With the Baby–O?" From *Songs of My Childhood*, CD Baby 38697. 2006.

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[9] Nicholas Tawa, *High–Minded and Low–Down*, 200–2.

[10] Leonard Fox, *The Jew's Harp: A Comprehensive Anthology*, 29.

[11] Ralph Lee Smith, *Appalachian Dulcimer Traditions* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 5–6.

Track Twelve: Irish Air

The *Diary of Calvin Fletcher* contains an account of his attendance at a concert by a man who played on the "union" pipes, now more commonly known as the "uilleann" pipes.[12] This form of Irish pipes had only been developed a few decades earlier, so we can only guess that this performance on the Indiana frontier must have been truly remarkable.[13]

Example: Lúnasa, "The Wounded Hussar." From *The Kinnity Sessions*, Compass Records CD 4377. 2004.

Track Thirteen: Art Music

People were bringing pianos into southern Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and they appear in middle Indiana by the late 1820s.[14] Almost all early pianists were wealthy women, reflecting the amount of money and leisure time required to master these rare and expensive symbols of affluence.

Example: Franz Schubert, "Moment Musical No. 3 in F minor." From *100 Classical Music Pieces: Essential Solo Piano Classics,* Amathus Music CD 5008. 2011.

Track Fourteen: Hymn

African Americans made up a small, but important, element of early Indiana's population.[15] Although they are mentioned only rarely in historic texts, we know that worship and communal singing were important community–building activities to these early black pioneers.

Example: The Richard Allen Singers, "Early, My God, Without Delay." From *Wade in the Water: African American Congregational Singing (Vol. 2: Nineteenth–Century Roots)*, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings CD SF 40076. 1994.

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[12] *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher*, 2:63.

[13] "History of the Uilleann Pipes," http://www.pipers.ie/home/Resources_History%20Pipes.htm (accessed June 6, 2012).

[14] To the best of our knowledge, the first piano brought to Indiana was made in London and arrived in 1817 via flatboat from Pittsburgh; Effa Morrison Danner, "Mary Wright," 26–33.

[15] Emma Lou Thornbrough, "African Americans," in *Peopling Indiana*, 12–14.

Track Fifteen: Anthem

Philip Phile's "Hail, Columbia!" was our first, if unofficial, national anthem. Early Americans sang it both socially and at formal occasions. First performed in 1789, it was popular throughout the nineteenth century but waned in the years around World War One. We primarily hear its melody now as the official entrance march for the Vice President.[16]

Example: Wallace House, "Hail, Columbia!" From *Ballads of the War of 1812*, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings CD FW 05002. 2004.

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[16] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music*, 103–4; Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 529–33.

Appendix II: A Prairietown Music Program

Program Name: "Hail, Columbia! at Noon"

Program Type: Performance

Proposed Date: Throughout the Prairietown season; at noon, or even hourly on busy days.

Description: Visitors would be alerted to this program by an announcement in Conner Prairie's daily program; if they miss this, they might also learn about it through interacting with Prairietown townsfolk. At the given time, a character with authority, such as the doctor or schoolteacher, rings a bell to gather townsfolk and visitors for a program. He or she, in the spirit of unity and patriotism, instructs the audience and sings the national anthem, "Hail, Columbia!" with them. Total program length, estimated 10 minutes.

Target Audience: Families, school groups, general visitation.

Anticipated Attendance: Highly variable, dependent on general visitation at the time of presentation. Estimated 3–15.

Justification: Most Americans are unaware that we have only had an official national anthem since 1931. Philp Phile and Joseph Hopkinson completed "Hail, Columbia" in 1798, well before Key's "The Star–Spangled Banner" (1814) and Smith's "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" (1831); it was, in the frontier West, by far the most popular of the three. Most people sang in early Indiana, and group singing is a simple and participatory way to add music to the daily life of Prairietown.

Spaces Required: The Prairietown crossroads; during inclement weather, the Campbell house living room or any other indoor space would suffice.

Materials Required: Some means of showing the audience the words and music for the chorus, if not the entirety of the song, would be needed. This could be printed on a large banner or sign, or handed out on individual pieces of paper.

Staff and Volunteers Involved: Only one would be needed on a particular day, but at least a few Prairietown interpreters, perhaps three to five, would need to learn the song's melody. However, as the nineteenth century was a period of enthusiastic amateurism in music, they need not be particularly fine singers. Other interpreters could join the anthem as would be appropriate to their characters; they might even request or begin to sing other songs used at the time as national anthems, highlighting the number of these at the turn of the nineteenth century. Any interpreters who could participate on a period–correct instrument would, of course, enhance the program's impact.

Goals and Objectives: Singing a "national anthem" that is not "The Star–Spangled Banner" will provoke historical awareness in visitors. Personally enacting change in popular culture over time will prod audience members to consider other changes in American popular and artistic culture. They will, furthermore, realize how much more common patriotic displays and public singing were in early Indiana, and will hopefully reflect on those differences, among others, between Prairietown and the modern world.

Visitor Outcomes: Participating visitors should:

- Enjoy the experience of singing with a Prairietown character and each other;
- Learn some of the history of America's early national anthems; and
- Gain an appreciation for how prevalent music was in the lives of frontier Americans

Evaluation: Success in this program would be judged by changes in the visitors' historical awareness, not in their ability to learn or perform a song. As such, evaluation would likely have to be informal. Success in provoking historical thought could be judged by visitor interactions with the performer or other characters in Prairietown: they might ask about or request other songs, indicating a curiosity around the topic historical music. They might also, when entering parts of Conner Prairie that interpret other time periods, ask about the national anthem in those eras.

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Research and Training:

Popular culture in the American frontier era
The American folk music revival
Museum interpretation
Historic preservation

Professional Experience:

Consultant, Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art: 2012–13
Research Intern, Indiana Humanities: 2010–11
Research Intern, Conner Prairie Interactive History Park, 2010
Exhibit Carpenter, The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, 2006–08
Lead Craftsperson, VEE Production Services, 2000–05

Conferences and Presentations:

Guest: *Hoosier History Live!*, hosted by Nelson Price on WICR 88.7 FM (Indianapolis, IN), January 2013

Panelist: "Recognizing and Involving Other Ways of Knowing in Cultural Work." World Archaeological Inter–Congress, "Indigenous People and Ways of Knowing: Unraveling the Tensions," 2011

Co–host: "Coast to Coast and Public to Private, Finding Your Place in History," video panel discussion with Drs. Marianne Babal and Cynthia Koch. National Council on Public History "Careers in History Symposium," 2010